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

SCHAKERSMAN.

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

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THE  
WESTMINSTER  
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FOREIGN QUARTERLY  
REVIEW.

JANUARY 1, 1869.

ART. I.—THE STRUGGLE FOR EMPIRE WITH THE  
MAURATTAS.

*History of the Mahrattas.* By JAMES GRANT DUFF, Esq.  
Longman and Co. London: 1826.

A FEW words of preface are needed to explain why we ask of our readers to revisit past scenes of Indian history. We govern India as it seemeth best to our English wisdom, but no response ever comes to us from the people themselves to say if we are doing things well or ill. Our work has to be done in the darkness. Whatever may be in the minds of our subjects—in whatever way our legislation may affect them, they cover up their feelings in silence. It is from this reticence that the apathy and want of public spirit, which are the marked characteristics of the Bengali alone, have been popularly extended to all the inhabitants of Hindustan. It is true that we have in a great measure produced the results we deplore. In rooting out the tares we have well nigh destroyed the wheat also. We have almost starved to death all the higher and better parts of the native character. To know at this time what the Hindustani really is, we must go back to a period anterior to the consolidation of British rule. To judge of his capacities, both for good and evil, we must realize him as he was, before he fell stunned beneath the mace of British power. The present essay is intended as a small contribution towards this knowledge.

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Dark as in many respects the picture is which we have been compelled to draw, there are not wanting bright gleams of hope; instances of high courage, lofty aims, true nobleness, and great abilities, which we feel confident are still to be found among the people of India, needing only to be set free from the thralldom in which they have been hitherto held, and to work, under happier auspices and a wiser guidance, to accomplish by no slow, uncertain steps the regeneration of their country.

Maharashtra, or the country of the Mahrattas, is that portion of Hindustan which lies between the range of mountains stretching along the south of the Nerbudda river, parallel to the Vindhya chain, and a line drawn from Goa, on the sea coast, through Bidar to Chanda, on the Warda river. The Warda is its boundary on the east, and the sea on the west. The great feature in this tract of country is the range of the Siadri mountains, commonly called the Ghats, which runs along the western part of it, thirty or forty miles from the sea. On the west these hills rise up abruptly, almost from the level of the sea; but on the east they support a table-land 1500 or 2000 feet high, which stretches with a gradual slope to the eastward, far beyond the limits of Maharashtra, to the Bay of Bengal.

The narrow strip of land between the hills and the sea is called the Concan, and native legends relate that the sea once washed the foot of the hills, and that this narrow strip was rescued by the interposition of one of the gods. Although so far below the Ghats, the Concan is not a level tract of country, but broken and rugged, with huge mountains starting abruptly from its surface, covered in parts with thick and almost impenetrable jungle, and intersected by numberless streams. The roads are for the most part merely stony footpaths (except where English engineers have been at work), which become more and more inaccessible as they ascend the hills.

The summits of the ridge itself are bare rocks; its sides are covered with tall trees, mixed with underwood. A dense forest, inhabited by wild beasts, spreads over the table-land for some distance to the east, when the valleys become open and fertile, and are gradually lost in those interminable plains so wearisome to the mind and eye of the European compelled to pass his life in India. The prospect from the summits of the Ghats, especially to the southward of Poona, is the grandest conceivable. Mountain after mountain towers up in endless succession, covered with trees, except in places where the huge black barren rocks are so solid as to prevent the hardiest shrub from striking root in their interstices. In the rainy season, tempests and thunderstorms of the most tremendous character break along the summits of these

mountains; and the wild luxuriance of the vegetation heightens the splendour and sublimity of the scene.

It was at Poona, in the very heart of this romantic region, that Sivajee, the founder of the Mahratta empire, grew up from infancy to manhood. His father, Shahjee Bhonslay, was a distinguished soldier in the service of Mohammed Adil Shah, the King of Beejapore. In addition to his estates in Maharashtra, Shahjee possessed extensive lands in the Carnatic. These he retained under his personal superintendence; but those in the vicinity of Poona were entrusted to the care of a Brahmin named Dadajee Konedco. He was a man of great intelligence, and stood high in the confidence of his master, who also committed to him the care of his second son Sivajee.

Sivajee was carefully instructed in all the accomplishments befitting a Mahratta gentleman of birth and position. He could never write his name, but he was an unerring marksman, a most accomplished horseman, and skilled to perfection in the use of sword, spear, and dagger. His guardian impressed him deeply with all the religious feelings of the Hindoo, and his own tastes caused him to listen with delight and avidity to the tales of his country's departed glory related in the Hindoo epics, and the wild legends of his countrymen. His associates were his father's soldiery, and the wild, fearless hill-men among whom he lived. Before he was sixteen he knew every forest path and every mountain defile of the country in which he afterwards established himself as king; and it was whispered that he had already shared in several extensive gang robberies committed in the Concan.

Dadajee was alarmed at these indications of a wild and lawless spirit in his young pupil. He strove to wean him from his companions by entrusting him with important duties in the management of his father's estate. But the young Mahratta, feeling, perhaps, the force and bent of his own genius, had fixed his mind upon becoming an independent sovereign, and Dadajee's prudent counsels were disregarded. The circumstances of the time were calculated to kindle his ambition, and the condition and nature of the country offered facilities for the accomplishment of his purposes of which Sivajee was not slow to avail himself.

The summits of the Ghats are frequently crowned with huge masses of basaltic rock. These, with little aid from art, can be formed into strong fortresses. In many of them are springs of the finest water, and in all a supply can be secured in tanks or reservoirs during the periodical rains from May to October. The rulers of the country had not been blind to these natural advantages. They cut flights of steps or winding roads up the rocks, and studded the whole country with forts, which from



their situation seemed impregnable. But from the carelessness of the garrisons, the neglect of government in keeping them supplied with provisions, and other causes, these forts in time of war had never opposed to an invading enemy a resistance at all commensurate with their strength, and they were in consequence deemed of small importance. With a few exceptions they were left ungarrisoned, and only under the general control of the revenue officers in whose districts they chanced to be situated.

Sivajee divined the use that might be made of them in proper hands, and resolved to begin his career by getting some of them in his possession. Twenty miles to the south-west of Poona, the strong fort of Torna rose on the summit of a precipitous hill. This was Sivajee's first acquisition. The means he employed to overcome the scruples of the officer in charge are not known; but once in possession, a judicious application of arguments and bribery convinced the Court of Beejapore that he (Sivajee) was the proper person to remain in charge. This event, which may be said to have been the laying of the foundation-stone of the Mahratta army, occurred in the year 1646. In digging up some ruins in his new acquisition, Sivajee discovered a large quantity of treasure. This piece of good-fortune was attributed by his associates to the beneficent interposition of the goddess Bhowanee, and the prestige of Sivajee, as one under divine protection, was greatly increased. Sivajee employed the treasure in the purchase of arms and ammunition, and in fortifying a hill-top which had hitherto been left vacant. This fresh act of aggression roused the suspicions of the Beejapore Court, but only to be allayed by renewed applications of money and protestations. Shortly after, Dadajee died. Sivajee at once commenced to act with greater vigour. He took charge of his father's estates, appropriated the revenues to his own uses, and by his usual combination of money and dexterity, contrived to insinuate himself into the possession of five other hill-forts.

As these proceedings had occasioned neither stir nor bloodshed, they excited no observation at Beejapore, the King being at that time engaged in a war in the Carnatic. Sivajee made the best use of the time thus gained. He increased the number of his followers. He employed trustworthy Brahmins to obtain intelligence of the state of the country. From these he learned that a large treasure was crossing the Concan on its way to Beejapore. He attacked the escort with three hundred horse, dispersed them, and carried off the treasure to the hill-fort of Rajgurh. This robbery unmasked his designs; but hardly had the intelligence reached the capital, when the Court was again startled by the information that five of the principal hill-forts had been surprised and captured by the same daring adventurer.

At the same time a Brahmin surprised and made prisoner the Mahomedan governor of Kalliaun, compelled him to cede all his forts in the Northern Concan, and took formal possession of the whole province in the name of Sivajee.

The Court of Beejapore was fairly roused, and hit upon a notable expedient for checking these outrages. The King seized Shahjee, the father of Sivajee, confined him in a stone dungeon, the door of which, all but a small aperture, was built up, and he was told that if within a certain period his son did not tender his submission, the opening would be closed for ever. Sivajee, however, was not driven to submission. He made overtures to Shah Jehan, the Moghul Emperor, and through his intervention obtained the release of the father. As soon as this was effected, he renewed his depredations.

The whole of the hilly country south of Poona, from the Ghats to the upper Kistna, was under the sway of a Hindu Raja whom Sivajee had frequently attempted, but failed to persuade, to make common cause with him. He now resolved to wrest his country from him; and as the Raja was too strong to be attacked openly, he was doomed to fall a victim to treachery. Sivajee sent two agents—it is almost needless to say Brahmins, a class in Mahratta history which shines foremost in every act of knavery or murder—ostensibly for the purpose of arranging a marriage between Sivajee and the daughter of the Raja, but really for the purpose of ascertaining the strength of the principal places.

Chunder Rao—such was the Rajah's name—courteously received and entertained Sivajee's emissaries in his capital town of Joulee. They, seeing the Raja totally off his guard, came to the conclusion that assassination would be the speediest and easiest way of obtaining the country for Sivajee. They communicated the result of their deliberations to Sivajee, who expressed his prompt and cordial approval. Troops were sent secretly to Joulee to support them. Sivajee, after proceeding in an opposite direction to divert suspicion, returned by night and took command of them. As soon as the preparations were complete, the murderers demanded an interview of the Raja and his brother, stabbed both to the heart, and before the deed was known escaped into the dense jungle with which Joulee was surrounded. Sivajee, at the same time, pushing on at the head of his troops, carried the place by storm before the general consternation occasioned by the Raja's assassination had subsided.

The Government of Beejapore was at this time so hard pressed by the imperial army under the command of Aurungzebe, the Emperor's son, that they were unable to check the progress of Sivajee; and he was allowed to build forts in great numbers, to

surprise others, and extend and consolidate his authority unmo-  
lested.

In 1659, after the lapse of several years, the Beejapore monarch resolved upon a strenuous effort for the suppression of the Mahratta marauder. An army was collected of 5000 horse, 7000 infantry, and a good train of artillery. Afzool Khan, a nobleman of distinction, volunteered to take the command, and at his public audience of leave, with the customary arrogance of a follower of the Prophet, proclaimed his intention of bringing back the insignificant rebel, and casting him in chains under the footsteps of the throne.

On the approach of Afzool Khan, Sivajee repaired to one of his hill-forts, Pertabghur, surrounded by a dense jungle, and situated in the centre of a most intricate and difficult country. He sent the humblest messages to Afzool Khan. He declared he had no intention of opposing so exalted a personage; he bewailed his many offences against the monarch of Beejapore, and professed his willingness to surrender all his acquisitions into the hands of Afzool Khan, if by so doing he could obtain his powerful intercessions at the foot of the throne. Afzool Khan entertained a profound contempt for his adversary, but he knew the difficulty of conducting military operations in the vicinity of Pertabghur, and thought it wise, if possible, to make terms with Sivajee. He despatched a Brahmin, suitably attended, to Pertabghur. Sivajee received him with professions of thankfulness, but not altogether with the appearance of abject submission which the tone of his messages had led the Brahmin to expect. Nothing, however, occurred during the day to rouse the suspicions of the envoy; but in the middle of the night he was surprised by the entrance of Sivajee into his sleeping apartment. The Mahratta chief addressed the Brahmin as his (Sivajee's) superior. He represented that all "he (Sivajee) had done was for the sake of the Hindoos, and the Hindoo faith; that he was called on by Bhowannee herself to protect Brahmins and kine, to punish the violators of their temples and their gods, and to resist the enemies of their religion; that it became him as a Brahmin to assist in what was already declared by the deity, and that here amongst his caste and countrymen he should hereafter live in comfort and affluence." This appeal was backed up by handsome presents, and the promise of an estate to be settled upon him and his heirs for ever.

Where was the Brahmin who could have resisted an appeal at once to his religious intolerance, and his love of gain? Most probably not in all Maharashtra; certainly Puntjee Gopinat, the envoy of Afzool Khan, was no such Abdiel. He swore fidelity to Sivajee, and invoked Bhowannee to punish him if he

broke his oath. This done, he entered into Sivajee's plans with all the fulness of relish which almost invariably distinguished the Mahratta Brahmin when any scheme of crooked policy was to be worked out, or some secret and atrocious murder to be perpetrated. The next day Puntojee returned to the camp of Afzool Khan, attended by a confidential servant of Sivajee's. He represented Sivajee as exceedingly desirous to make his submission, but in such extreme terror that he would only consent to deliver himself up to Afzool Khan, if that nobleman consented to an interview unattended. The inordinate vanity of the Mussulman blinded his eyes to the trap which was being laid for him, and he consented. Sivajee prepared for the interview by cutting a road through the jungle, and clearing some ground in front of the fort. Every other avenue was closed, and thousands of armed men under tried leaders were planted in ambuscade, with orders upon a given signal to attack and disperse the Beejapore army.

The appointed morning came, and Sivajee made his preparations for the atrocity he meditated as though he was intent upon some hazardous but noble action which would carry his name down honourably to succeeding ages. He performed his ablutions—a ceremony of great sacredness with the Hindoo—with extreme earnestness, and laying his head at his mother's feet, implored her blessing. He then clothed himself with armour under his cotton gown, concealed a crooked dagger in his right sleeve, and on the fingers of his left hand he fixed a "wagnuck,"—a small steel instrument made to fit on the fore and little finger, and provided with three crooked blades, which are easily concealed in a half-closed hand. Thus accoutred, and attended by one trusted friend, Sivajee repaired to the meeting-place. Afzool Khan was already there, unarmed except with a small light sword, and attended by only a single follower. Sivajee advanced, making a humble obeisance to the Khan; the latter approached, and embraced the treacherous Mahratta in the manner customary among the people of India. Sivajee seized the opportunity to strike his wagnuck into the bowels of Afzool Khan, and followed up the blow with a thrust from his dagger. The Khan fell to the ground and was killed. His attendant, who gallantly refused his life on condition of surrender, was also assaulted and despatched. The signal was then sounded to attack the Beejapore troops. Unsuspicious of treachery, and taken completely by surprise, they offered little resistance.

The immediate fruits of this atrocious massacre were four thousand horses, a number of elephants and camels, a considerable treasure, and the baggage and equipment of the routed army. The reputation of Sivajee rose greatly. The Mahrattas were never

remarkable for an elevated standard of right and wrong. Necessity in their judgment was a sufficient justification for murder; and political assassination a very proper proceeding upon due occasion. Sivajee had shown just the dexterity, the craft and the daring, which attracted their admiration, and they flocked in crowds to his standard. The sword of Afzool Khan was preserved as a valued trophy in the armoury of Sivajee's descendants. Puntojee Gopinat received his promised reward, and rose to considerable eminence in the service of his master.

The war, however, did not cease with the destruction of Afzool Khan's army. A second and a third army were despatched from Beejapore; the King himself took the field, and at one time Sivajee's situation was extremely desperate. But when, after many years of fighting, peace was concluded in 1662, Sivajee remained the undisputed sovereign of a tract of country which extended for two hundred and fifty miles along the sea coast. Above the hills his possessions comprised all the land lying between Poona and the Kistna river, a distance of one hundred and fifty miles. In this territory he maintained an army of seven thousand horse and fifty thousand foot. Thus was the nucleus formed round which the Mahratta empire grew up and spread out on every side, until it covered half of Hindustan. The conqueror, however,—the man who overruns a large extent of country, and rules it for a few years in a rough and ready way,—is too common a phenomenon in Indian history to call for much remark. Sivajee was this. He baffled all the power and pertinacity of Aurungzebe; he made the kingdoms of Beejapore and Golcondah his tributaries. But he was at the same time much more than a mere conqueror. His character was a rare combination of craft and courage, of military skill and political capacity. It is in the spirit with which he inspired the rude hill-men of Maharashtra that we find the surest proof of commanding genius. Cold, cruel, and utterly selfish as he was, he had a power equal to Napoleon's for awakening the enthusiasm and attachment of his followers. For him they flung away their lives like things of no value. There was no deed so desperate which they would not attempt at his bidding. A word of reproach from him stung them to the quick. Sivajee himself, although like a true Mahratta he preferred to compass his ends by dexterity, could, when the time demanded, be a very paladin of valour. Thus, both by precept and example, he kindled among the tribes of his native hills a national and patriotic spirit, and a reliance on their own courage, which raised them to the highest position among the kingdoms of Hindustan. His favourite sword, which he named after the goddess Bhowannee, was preserved by the Rajas of Sattara with the utmost veneration.

tion, and had all the honours of an idol paid to it. Aurungzebe did not conceal his satisfaction when Sivajee died. "He was," he said, "a great captain, and the only one who has had the magnanimity to raise a new kingdom, while I have been endeavouring to destroy the ancient sovereignties of India. My armies have been employed against him for nineteen years, and nevertheless his state has always been increasing."\*

After the death of Sivajee, Aurungzebe invaded the Deccan at the head of an immense army. For twenty years that unhappy country was a scene of constant and desolating warfare. The kingdoms of Beejapore and Hyderabad were merged into the already overgrown Moghul Empire. Sumbhajee, the son and successor of Sivajee, was captured and put to death by Aurungzebe. The representatives of the Mahratta royal family were at one time cooped up in the fort of Giujee on the coast of the Carnatic, and the whole of their territory occupied by imperial troops. But this universal anarchy and confusion created just the atmosphere in which a predatory power could expand. It made the Mahrattas aware of the true nature of their strength; it added innumerable adventurers to their ranks; so that hardly had the Moghul armies withdrawn, than like a stream that overflows its banks myriads of horse burst across the limits of the Deccan, and flooded Hindustan.

Aurungzebe is the idol of Mussulman historians. He had just that narrow and intolerant bigotry in matters of religion which the Mussulman conceives to be the crown and summit of perfection. Under the wise and tolerant rule of his predecessors there were no political distinctions between Hindoo and Mussulman, and the one served the state as loyally and zealously as the other. Aurungzebe reversed this policy. He strove to exclude the Hindoos from all share in the management of the country, but finding, as one of the historians of his reign observes (himself a Mahometan), "that nothing would go forward unless he employed the Hindoos again in his service,—a set of men who, either as powerful princes, or as keeping the books and registers of the revenue, were the axletrees of the wheels of government,—he contrived to take his revenge on that loyal and submissive people by loading them with new impositions, ex-

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\* A Bondeela officer, who served in Aurungzebe's armies, and wrote a Diary of his campaigns in the Deccan, says of Sivajee:—"Sivajee was as a soldier unequalled, skilled in the arts of government, and a friend to men of virtue and religion. He planned his schemes wisely, and executed them with steadiness. He consulted many on every point, but acted according to that advice which, after weighing in his own mind, he thought best applicable to his designs. No one was ever acquainted with his determinations but by the success of their execution."

acting double duties from those of that description, and submitting them to a poll tax."\* This poll or capitation tax was especially obnoxious to the Hindoo population. Crowds besieged the Emperor's palace with remonstrances and complaints. These were silenced by an imperial order to trample the crowd down under the feet of elephants and horses. But when Aurungzebe, on his entrance into the Dekkan, enacted the same tax, and ordered it to be rigorously collected, the opposition assumed a more formidable character. The tax added fuel to the fire which Sivajee had kindled; it quickened the national spirit of the Hindoo, and drew closer the ties which bound the race together. The collectors of the tax, too, being in an enemy's country, considered themselves at liberty to place no limits on their exactions, so that crowds of the cultivators, unable any longer to submit to their tyranny, took spear and horse and joined the Mahratta army. On the other hand, the treacherous and suspicious nature of Aurungzebe alienated the hearts of his generals and statesmen, and undermined the fabric of the Moghul empire. He had raised himself to the throne by the perpetration of numerous crimes, and the practice of the profoundest dissimulation. The recollection of his own acts inspired him with a deep distrust of all the world. The greater the abilities of any of his servants, the warmer his protestations of fidelity, the deeper became his master's fear and suspicion. That man was certain, sooner or later, to be deprived of his emoluments and dignities, and condemned to languish in obscurity. Hence, Aurungzebe never succeeded fully in any of his undertakings. His servants in self-defence were obliged to stop short of complete success, and through their treachery and disaffection he frequently met with the most disastrous defeats.

In the same way this jealous temperament led him to attempt a personal supervision of the pettiest details of the civil government. This of course was impossible, and the business of the

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\* This historian is an exception to the race of panegyrists. His concluding remarks on the persecuting tendencies of Aurungzebe are worth citing, if only for the quotation from Saadi.

"After all it must be remembered, that as princes and kings are reputed the shadows of God, they ought, in humble imitation of his divine attributes, to accommodate themselves to the dispositions and minds of their subjects; so as to carry an equal hand over them, without exception, without predilection, and without showing a dislike or hatred to any description of men. . . . For the subject must be cherished in the very palm of the monarch's hand, if the monarch really intends to discharge his duty, and to let the world see that he feels all the meaning of these verses of Saadi's:

"That beneficent Being, who from his invisible treasury

Feeds with an equal hand the believer, the unbeliever, the weak and the strong."—*SİYAR-UL-MUTAKERİN*.

country fell into ruinous confusion. Every department of the Government became a mass of corruption. When any office became vacant, the Government selected a candidate; the established premium for such an appointment, to be paid into the imperial exchequer, being six and a half year's purchase, or 657 per cent. on one year's emoluments. Men appointed to rule districts on such terms as these, and with the fear of removal constantly before their eyes, were not scrupulous in the means they employed for remunerating themselves. Moreover in every place where the emperor appointed a jaghirdar, the Mahrattas appointed another, and both collected as they found opportunity. Thus every place had two masters. The farmers ceased to cultivate more land than would barely subsist them, or, throwing up their occupation altogether, reinforced the hordes who subsisted upon plunder.

Aurungebe undervalued the predatory power. Instead of employing the resources of the Beejapore and Golcondah states in its suppression, he devoted all his energies to subvert them. They fell; but their fall set free some two hundred thousand horse to swell the ranks of the Mahrattas. Thus the Mahratta armies continually grew and grew. Deprived of any local habitation which they could call their own, they lived in free quarters at the expense of their enemy. Every one who had a horse and spear—who could ride the one, and use the other—was fitted to form one in their army. By preconcerted agreement some eight or ten thousand of these predatory horse would assemble in some remote spot. Baggage they had none, except the blankets on their saddles, a little provision, and led horses with bags for the reception of plunder. Thus lightly equipped, they traversed the country with amazing speed. When they halted, they slept each man by his horse, their bridles in their hands, swords at their sides, and their spears stuck beside them in the ground. They hardly ever cared to encounter the imperial army in the open field, but assailed detachments, attacked convoys, cut off supplies, and wore out the enemy by dint of constant harassing. Such a huge host as that of Aurungebe soon exhausted the resources of the country in which it moved; and vast convoys of provisions had to be despatched from Hindustan. These the Mahrattas continually pounced upon, and many a man driven from his lands by the rapacity of Government made his fortune in a single day by the plunder of a convoy. Thus the predatory hordes in the Dekkan increased in number from day to day. They swarmed, says the Boondeela officer, "like ants or locusts. They stopped every communication of supply to the imperial camp, where numbers perished by famine; and their insolence grew to such a pitch, that they once a week offered up mock



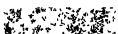
prayers for the long life of Aurungzebe, whose mode of making war was so favourable to their invasions and depredations." Aurungzebe was not a soldier and consummate general like the conquerors of Hindustan; nor his army an army of veteran warriors, reckless of danger, and inured to labour and privation, such as marched with Baber to the conquest of Delhi.

Peace, luxury, and the enervating effects of climate, had completely changed the descendants of those hardy warriors. Aurungzebe took the field with the same magnificence and splendour which he maintained in his court at either Delhi or Agra.

"The canvas walls which encompassed the royal tents formed a circumference of 1200 yards, and contained every description of apartment to be found in the most spacious palace. Halls of audience for public assemblies and privy councils, with all the courts and cabinets attached to them, each hall magnificently adorned, and having within it a raised seat or throne for the emperor, surrounded by gilded pillars, with canopies of velvet, richly fringed and superbly embroidered; separate tents, as mosques and oratories; baths, and galleries for archery and gymnastic exercises; a seraglio as remarkable for luxury and privacy as that of Delhi; Persian carpets, damasks, and tapestries; European velvets, satins, and broadcloths; Chinese silks of every description, and Indian muslins and cloth of gold,—were employed in all the tents with the utmost profusion and effect. Gilded balls and cupolas surmounted the tops of the royal tents; the outside of which, and the canvas walls, were of a variety of lively colours, disposed in a manner which heightened the general splendour. The entrance into the royal enclosure was through a spacious portal, flanked by two elegant pavilions, from which extended, on each side, rows of cannon, forming an avenue, at the extremity of which was an immense tent containing the great state drums, and imperial band; a little farther in front was the post of the grand guard on duty, commanded by a nobleman who mounted with it daily. On the other sides, surrounding the great enclosure just mentioned, were separate tents for the emperor's armoury, harness, &c., a tent for water, kept cool with saltpetre, another for fruit, a third for sweetmeats, a fourth for betel, and so on, with numerous kitchens, stables, &c."\*

Besides all this, every tent had its duplicate, which was sent on in advance to await the Emperor's arrival. A magnificent stud of horses for the Emperor's riding accompanied the camp, a menagerie of rare wild beasts for his amusement, numerous elephants for the conveyance of the ladies of the seraglio, hawks, hounds, hunting tigers, and trained elephants. The nobles of the army, and even the private soldiers so far as they could, imitated the imperial magnificence. The noble took the field clothed in a coat of wadding which could resist the stroke of a

\* "Grant Duff's History of the Mahrattas," vol. i. p. 330.



sword. Over this he wore chain or plate armour. His horse was weighed down with a huge saddle and heavy housings; his neck and harness ornamented with bells, chains, and precious metals. Thus accoutred, the Moghul cavaliers formed a cavalry (as Mr. Elphinstone has observed) admirably fitted to prance in a procession, but almost good for nothing in a broken and difficult country, and opposed to such a light and nimble foe as the Mahratta horseman. Discipline there was none in the imperial army. The commanders gave in false musters, and did not keep up one-half of their proper quota of men. No one would perform picket duty or remain on the alert. Hours were taken up, when the alarm was given, in adjusting the cumbrous armaments of man and horse. Long before this could be done the Mahrattas were among them, cutting down and sabreing at will.

After twenty years' fruitless exertions, Aurungzebe gave up the contest. He retired to Ahmednuggar, so hard pressed by the Mahrattas as to narrowly escape capture, and died there. The long struggle ceased; the Mahrattas had vindicated their right to a position among the nations of Hindustan.

For a time, indeed, after the withdrawal of the Moghul army, there was no visible abatement of the tumult and disorder. "The wind was down, but still the waves ran high." Two rival claimants started up for the throne of Sivajee; swarms of predatory horse traversed the country—burning, pillaging, and laying waste. But gradually something like order and settled government was evolved from this condition of seething anarchy. A grandson of the great Sivajee, commonly called the Shao Raja, was recognised as the sovereign of Maharashtra. He was a monarch not wanting in abilities, but of an easy and indolent temperament, glad to be relieved of the troubles and labour of government, and during his long reign the chief authority in the state insensibly slipped away from him, and passed into the hand of the Paishwa, or prime-minister, an office which after this revolution of power became hereditary in a family of Concanist Brahmins.

The Moghul empire in the meantime was rapidly falling to pieces. A succession of weak sovereigns and unprincipled ministers brought the central authority into contempt. Government, in any proper sense of the word, almost entirely ceased. The Emperors rarely emerged from the depths of their seraglio; they surrounded themselves with fiddlers and dancing girls, and took no further concern in state affairs than to occasionally intrigue for the assassination of a too powerful minister. One noble after another struggled into power, and during his precarious tenure of office devoted himself to amassing as much wealth as he could. The rulers of the more distant provinces

shook off their allegiance, and set up as independent sovereigns ; in this way the kingdoms of Hyderabad, Oude, Rohilcund, and Bengal, came into existence. The able Brahmins who wielded the powers of the Mahratta state were not slow to perceive their opportunity in this growing weakness. Under the second and greatest of the paishwas, Bajee Rao, that scheme of policy was devised which made the Mahrattas the scourge of the perishing Moghul empire, and the most powerful people in India. To make this system intelligible it is necessary to give some account of the Mahrattas as a people, and of the institutions under which they lived. Their whole internal system of government was based upon the existence and peculiar organization of the village communities, which contained in miniature all the materials of a state within themselves, and were well-nigh sufficient to protect their members if all other rule had been withdrawn. To each village a portion of ground was attached, the care of which was entrusted to the inhabitants. The boundaries were carefully marked and jealously guarded ; each field had its name, and was kept distinct, even when it had been permitted to lie waste for a long period of time. The inhabitants formed a corporation or township—a sort of petty republic, the affairs of which were conducted by hereditary officers. The chief of these were the headman, who had a general superintendence over the affairs of the village, settled the disputes of the villagers, attended to the police, and collected the revenue ; the accountant, whose duty it was to register the names of the proprietors of land, to note down all changes among them, to attest all deeds of sale, transfer, or assignment, and to keep an account of the cultivation and the produce ; and lastly, the boundaryman, who was expected to know the limits of the different fields, and measure and allot the land. Disputes as to these limits were incessant ; there being no point on which the natives of India are more sensitive. Oaths and ordeals were frequently resorted to for their accommodation. The one most commonly adopted was for the headman of the village to walk along the disputed boundary, bearing on his head a clod composed of the soil of both villages kneaded up with various strange ingredients, and consecrated by many superstitious ceremonies. If the clod held together, the justice of his claims was established ; but even then his family and cattle were watched for certain fixed days, and if anything that had life, and was in health at the time of the ceremony, died, it was deemed a judgment upon falsehood, and the settlement rendered null and void. The cultivators of the soil were either proprietors, tenants with a right to transmit their lands to their children, tenants for the year only, or labourers. No political convulsion was sufficiently tremendous to sever the ties which held

these little communities together. During the long period of trouble which closed with the extermination of the Pindharees, numerous villages situated in the valley of the Nerbudda had been depopulated, and the lands left uncultivated for upwards of thirty years. The inhabitants were scattered abroad in every direction; many of the headmen became plunderers; many of the villagers cultivated lands at a distance of many hundred miles from their homes; the majority of them had found refuge in the large towns, and earned a subsistence as gardeners. Nevertheless they never abandoned the hope of returning to their old homes. The inhabitants of each village kept up constant communication, intermarriages were made, and the feeling of connexion seemed only to become stronger in adversity. When convinced that tranquillity was again established, they flocked back to their roofless homes. Infant headmen (in some cases the third in descent from the emigrator) were carried at the head of these parties; and when they reached their villages, every wall of a house, every field, was taken possession of by the owner or cultivator, without dispute or litigation among themselves or with Government; and in a few days everything was in progress as if it had never been disturbed. The Mahratta soldier took the field in the same dress and retained the same habits which belonged to him when he tilled his fields or tended his flocks. He never lost his affection for the place of his birth. To be the headman of some small village in his native territory was regarded by the highest chieftains as a more enviable distinction than all the high-sounding titles which the Imperial Court could bestow. But this home feeling did not need anything so marked as an hereditary office for its continued existence. In the Mahratta country all inheritance goes by the name of "wuttun," and no one would willingly part with his "wuttun" for a far greater sum than its intrinsic value. The most serious distress is that of being compelled to sell one's "wuttun." The feeling was singularly intense, but one not easily described or understood; the attachment to a house, a field, or garden, we can enter into, but "wuttun" was sometimes merely the right to a few blades of wheat from the grain-sellers in the bazaar, which would be maintained with an eagerness which did not proceed from its value, but from its being "wuttun." Captain Grant mentions that he has seen two women fight and tear each other in the streets of Sattara because the one had removed a loose stone from near the house of the other, which was part (so the enraged and aggrieved person declared) of her "wuttun." This sense of "wuttun" held the Mahrattas together even when, as was frequently the case, they were ranged against each other in hostile armies. Whether in Hindustan or Malwa, they kept up an

intimate intercourse with their families and tribes in their native districts ; nor was the bond destroyed, or even weakened, by one party reaching high power and the other remaining in obscurity.

The other remarkable characteristic of the Mahratta nation was the peculiar position occupied in the community by members of the Brahmin caste. The Mahratta proper was simply a hardy mountaineer, utterly illiterate, and hardly ever able even to write his name. The Mahratta Brahmins, on the contrary, were almost to a man well educated, and, from the habits of their order, temperate, and though very often utterly unprincipled, remarkable for industry and perseverance. Hence, nearly the whole *business* of the Mahratta Government passed into their hands, and they became the masters, while nominally the servants of the chieftains who employed them.

On this double foundation—the power of the Brahmin caste, and the attachment of the Mahratta chief to his native soil—Bajee Rao (himself a Brahmin) constructed the Mahratta confederacy. To govern a country for the good of the people who live in it, is a thought which has rarely found access to the mind of a Hindustani. Power for the sake of selfish gratification—an insatiable craving to set field to field, that he may stand alone in the earth—are the motives which prompt the ceaseless activity of an Eastern conqueror. However small his possessions may be, or however large, he is ever on the watch to seize something additional. Urged by this common feeling, Bajee Rao devised his grand scheme. In India he saw, as Napoleon would say, that Providence invariably favoured the strongest battalions. (This it must be remembered was previous to the rise of English power.) The Mahratta horse constituted the most formidable army in India, but, cooped up in the Dekkan, they destroyed the resources of the country, and were an insuperable obstacle to the establishment of order. The weakness of the Moghul empire invited attack. Accordingly the empire was mapped out into a certain number of provinces ; and into province after province an army of Mahratta horse, under a tried leader, was sent to obtain subsistence. One host overran Malwa, a second Guzerat, a third penetrated into Kuttack and Berar, and Bajee Rao conducted in person a fourth up to the walls of Delhi. No attempt, in the first instance, was made to obtain full possession of the provinces thus overrun, but the power to ravage was held as creative of a sort of right to share in the produce of the land. Hence began the levy of “chout,” or a fourth part of the land revenue, which the Mahratta claimed as his share. So long as this was paid, the crops were spared, and the plunderers passed on to another province. But as the imperial rule became weaker, the outlying provinces were left

more and more defenceless. Greater concessions were continually being exacted ; first, an imperial rescript authorizing the levy of "chout" throughout the imperial dominions ; then Malwa, Guzerat, and Berar, were successively detached from the Moghul empire, and formally incorporated as portions of the Mahratta. The ruling chiefs were the servants of the Paishwa, and responsible to him for their actions. One half of the collections remained with the chief to defray his expenses and those of his army ; the other half was transmitted to the Paishwa at Poona. Bajee Rao hoped to retain his authority by means of that attachment to their native villages of which we have already spoken, and the aid of the Brahmin officials and accountants who accompanied each chief to superintend the collection and disbursement of revenue.

But the chief from the first was necessarily almost independent, and the practice among the Hindus of making every office hereditary tended to strengthen this independence, by giving him rights and limiting the patronage of the Paishwa. The Paishwas themselves involuntarily aided in loosening the confederacy they had formed. They feared to disturb the peace of the country or waste its resources by recalling chiefs flushed with victory and accustomed to a lawless life ; and were satisfied with a nominal allegiance if only they could keep at a distance the successful general and his adherents. Thus, instead of one homogeneous whole, the Mahratta empire was composed of a number of independent states, who were continually engaged in war with each other, and the chiefs of which had no other bond of union than a traditional reverence for the authority of the Paishwa, which continually grew less and less ; and the indefinable feeling for "wuttun." Disputes also, which resulted in war as to the right of succession to the office of Paishwa, greatly diminished the independent power of that officer, by making him lean for support upon a party. From these and other causes the Paishwa gradually ceased to have more than a nominal control over the great Mahratta chieftains ; insomuch that when Bajee Rao, the second of that name, and the last of the Paishwas, ascended the throne, he was a mere puppet in the hands of Dowlut Rao Scindiah—the most powerful of the Mahratta chiefs at this period of their history.

The first of this family who rose to any eminence was Ranajee Scindiah. He began life in the humble capacity of slipper-bearer to the great Paishwa, the first Bajee Rao. It is related of him that Bajee Rao, coming out from a long interview with the Sahoo Raja, found Ranajee asleep, with his master's slippers clasped with fixed hands to his breast. Struck by this extreme care shown for so trifling a charge, Bajee Rao appointed Ranajee

to the command of some horse. Ranajee justified this confidence. He became famous as an active and enterprising soldier, and at his death left to his son Madajee Scindiah his estates, which comprised half the rich province of Malwa. Madhajee was a statesman as well as soldier. Taking advantage of the dissensions at the Imperial Court, he marched to Delhi, and obtained possession of the person of the unfortunate Shah Alum. Acting nominally as the servant of the Paishwa, he extended his conquests not only over Malwa and Rajpootana, but in Hindustan. He aspired to govern in a more regular and methodical manner than had hitherto been attempted by the Mahratta conquerors, and for this purpose he employed De Boigne, a French gentleman, to raise and discipline those regular armies which after a long career of unbroken conquest were cut to pieces on the well-contested fields of Assye and Laswaree. This chieftain died suddenly in 1794, and his large possessions and immense military resources passed to a youth, thirteen years old, Dowlut Rao Scindiah, the son of Madhajee's youngest nephew, and his adopted heir. The possessions of this stripling included one half of Malwa, a large portion of Bundelcund, and all that fertile tract of country which extends from Gwalior to Delhi. The Emperor Shah Alum was a pensioner on his bounty, and the finest army in India obeyed his commands. That nothing should be wanting to complete his greatness, circumstances shortly after the death of his uncle gave him absolute control over the fortunes of the Holkar family—the second great member of the Mahratta confederacy.

The Holkar family belonged to the shepherd tribe. The first who became distinguished was Mulhar Rao Holkar. The story is told of his infancy common to so many Indian heroes. A cobra was seen to interpose its hood between the young shepherd and the sun, as he lay asleep in the fields. This was interpreted as a sign of future greatness, and his uncle gave him a commission in a small party of horse. The young Holkar rapidly signalized himself. In his first action he attacked a distinguished Mussulman leader, and slew him after a hand-to-hand combat. In the incessant wars of the period he became known as a singularly skilful and daring leader. Bajee Rao, the great Paishwa, took him into his service, and gave him the command of five hundred horse. Wherever there was hard fighting, honour to be gained, or plunder won, there Mulhar Rao was sure to be heard of. One of his exploits deserves to be commemorated for its similarity to a device of Hannibal's. Safder Jung, the vizier of Oude, had invited Mulhar Rao to assist him against the attacks of the Rohillas. With a very small body of men Mulhar Rao routed the enemy in a night attack. He ordered torches and

lights to be tied to the horns of a number of cattle, and caused them to be driven in a particular direction. In the opposite direction he planted lights upon every bush and tree. This done, he marched silently through the darkness by another route, and made a furious attack upon the Rohilla camp. Pressed by an actual assault at one point, terrified by the innumerable lights glimmering around them, and the tramp of the driven cattle, the enemy, believing themselves surrounded, fled, leaving their camp and a rich booty in the hands of the Mahrattas. Mulhar Rao died full of years and honours. He had little or none of the craft and villany of the Mahratta, but all the high courage and open-handed generosity which befit a leader of free lances. "Fill his shield with rupees!" was his customary exclamation when pleased with a soldier's gallantry. He was succeeded in the government of his provinces which lay in Malwa, and north of the Nerbudda river, by Aliah Bae, the widow of his son, and, considering the circumstances of her time, one of the most remarkable women to be met with in history.

Among the Mahrattas of rank it is not customary to confine females, or compel them to wear veils. Aliah Bae, in consequence, offended no prejudices when she took upon herself the management of public affairs, and transacted business in open durbar. We do not wish to refer without reason to the hackneyed simile of an oasis in the desert, but there is nothing else which can so well characterize the spot of sunny green which Aliah Bae's administration of Malwa marks out from the surrounding waste. The great aim of her rule was to raise the condition of the agricultural classes. She recognised them as the backbone of a state which derives almost all its revenue from the land, and strove to develop cultivation by light assessments and a sacred respect for proprietary rights. She made use of courts of arbitration; but was herself always accessible to appeals, and on all points connected with the administration of justice she was most patient and unwearied. A deep sense of responsibility accompanied her in the performance of her duties. "She deemed herself answerable to God for every exercise of power," was one of her sayings; and when urged by her ministers to acts of severity she would reply, "Let us mortals beware how we destroy the works of the Almighty."

For more than twenty years she sustained the burden of rule. During that time the country was free from external aggression, and enjoyed almost perfect tranquillity within. It was the greatest pleasure of her life to behold the contentment and prosperity of her subjects. So far from deeming an increase of wealth to be a ground for greater exactions, she held it to be a legitimate claim for favour and protection. Under her care, Indore, the



present capital of Holkar's dominions, rose from a village to a wealthy town. She constructed roads over the difficult hill ranges which intersect Malwa; she built resting-places and dug wells for the use of travellers along all the routes in her kingdom. Through all Hindustan she was an object of admiration and esteem. Among her own chiefs it would have been regarded as the height of wickedness to have become her enemy, or, if need were, not to die in her defence. The Nizam of Hyderabad, and Tippoo the Sultan of Mysore, paid her as much respect as the Paishwa, and Mahomedans joined with Hindus in prayer for her long life and prosperity. Flattery was lost upon her. A Brahmin wrote a book in her praise; she heard it read with patience, merely observing that "She was a weak sinful woman, and not deserving such fine encomiums," ordered the book to be thrown into the Nerbudda, and took no further notice of the writer. Such was Aliah Bae—

"A female without vanity, a bigot without intolerance, a mind imbued with the deepest superstitions, yet receiving no impressions except what led to the benefit and happiness of those under its influence; a being exercising in the most active and able manner despotic power, not merely with sincere humility, but under the severest moral restraints that a strict conscience could lay upon human action; and this combined with the greatest indulgence for the weakness and faults of others. To sum up all, she was goodness, in its most comprehensive sense, personified."\*

The death of Aliah Bae was speedily followed by that of Tukajee Holkar, her commander-in-chief. The right of succession then devolved upon his two sons, Kassee Rao and Mulhar Rao; the first feeble both in mind and body, the second a young man of courage and capacity.

Disputes soon arose between the brothers, which resulted in Mulhar Rao separating from his brother at the head of a small body of troops. Khassee Rao appealed to Scindiah for assistance, who was only too glad to interfere, knowing that the imbecility of Khassee Rao would give him a commanding power in Holkar's dominions. A body of troops were despatched for the purpose of apprehending Mulhar Rao. He refused to surrender, and maintained a desperate resistance until he was killed. Scindiah further secured his advantage by having the infant son of Mulhar Rao kept in safe custody.†

The third great member of the Mahratta confederacy was Rughoojee Bhonslay, the Raja of Berar, and the affairs of the

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\* Sir J. Malcolm's "Report upon Malwa."

† The descendants of Scindiah and Holkar still reign in India as independent sovereigns; the one at Gwalior, and the other at Indore.

Paishwa at his capital, Poona, were administered by the celebrated nana Furnuverse—the “Indian Machiavel,” as he was termed by the English, but not the less a minister able, honest, and patriotic.

Such were the principal personages in the Mahratta empire when Bajee Rao, the last of the Paishwas, ascended the musnud in the year 1796. Bajee Rao was eminently handsome, and had a manner so captivating and an eloquence so powerful that he gained the good wishes of all who approached him. He was an excellent horseman, skilled in the use of sword and bow, and held to be the most practised spearsman throughout his dominions. But this fascinating exterior concealed a most accomplished villain. The nana Sahib, of atrocious memory, was the adopted son of Bajee Rao, and it would seem as if the Paishwa had selected an heir who in similarity of character might have been his true offspring. Bajee Rao never had an opportunity to commit such a crime as the Cawnpore massacres, but what he could do he did. Cruel, bloody, treacherous, and dastardly, his life was unredeemed by a single trait of manliness or generosity. He had sworn by the most solemn oaths never to harbour any evil designs against Furnuverse. But no sooner was he secure in his seat than he began to intrigue for his destruction. In four years his machinations brought the aged minister with sorrow to the grave, and “with him,” writes the English Resident, “departed all the wisdom and moderation of the Mahratta Government.” Rid of one encumbrance, Bajee Rao determined to shake off the yoke of Scindiah. It would be wearisome to attempt to unravel the plots and counter-plots which were spun to accomplish this purpose. The whole land was covered with a network of intrigue. Insurrections, engendered by the distrust and uncertainty which filled the political atmosphere, broke out in half a dozen places. The disorder grew with the portentous rapidity common to Eastern climes, and every one that was in distress, or in debt, or discontented, sniffing the battle afar off, issued from their different caves, and began their usual practices of ravage and plunder.

Among these was the celebrated Jeswunt Rao Holkar, an illegitimate son of Tukajee Holkar. He had escaped from a prison in Nagpore, and after a series of wild adventures had succeeded in collecting a considerable force of freebooters. He proclaimed himself as the representative of the infant son of the murdered Mulhar Rao, and in that character carried fire and sword through Scindiah's land in Malwa. Jeswunt Rao was the very beau ideal of a leader of savage freebooters. Strong, active, an accomplished horseman, and skilled in the use of his weapons, he was always foremost in the battle, and on many occasions he gave

evidence of considerable military skill. Though he gave his followers the widest indulgence in their excesses, the commanding energy of his character enabled him at will to have absolute control over them, and they, in their turn, rendered to him an obedience which raised him to a terrible height as a destroyer. For a time his career in Malwa was altogether unchecked. One division of Scindiah's army was compelled to surrender; a second and a stronger one was totally destroyed after an obstinate encounter at Oujein Scindiah's capital. The town was subjected to a heavy fine, and then Holkar assailed Scindiah's train of artillery, which under the protection of a strong force, commanded by an Englishman, Captain Brownrigg, was awaiting the junction of the main army. The attack was repulsed with heavy loss, and Scindiah's main army having by this time crossed the Nerbudda, Holkar was compelled to fight a battle in defence of Indore, and totally defeated. Scindiah failed to follow up the blow with alacrity. Holkar's enterprising character endeared him to the hosts of plunderers who took the field for the sake of gain merely. He was soon at the head of another army, ravaging the territories of friend and foe alike. Suddenly he collected all his troops, and marched off towards Poona, giving out that he intended to claim the intercession of the Paishwa, to settle his disputes with Scindia. Bajee Rao was alarmed beyond measure at the approach of this terrible subject. He hastened to confirm his alliance with Scindia, and entreat for troops for the defence of Poona. Under the walls of Poona a battle was fought, in which, mainly by his own energy and daring, Holkar was completely victorious. Bajee Rao fled to Severndroog, abandoning his capital to the tender mercies of the conqueror. At Severndroog he embarked on board a British vessel and was conveyed to Bassein, where he concluded the treaty of that name, which ultimately brought about the total overthrow of the Mahratta power in India.

The Court of Directors has often been represented as having been actuated by an insatiable lust for dominion in their dealings with the native states of Hindustan, but certainly with very little justice. Never, probably, did any body of men achieve greatness with so much reluctance and grievous heaviness of heart. "To live and let live," this was the maxim on which they would fain have acted, had the fates permitted them. They were a mercantile corporation, careful only for dividends. Their ideal of an Indian policy was to obtain the largest possible dividends with the smallest amount of trouble. If the native sovereigns chose to carry on a continual war among themselves, why should the East India Company interfere? On the contrary, might they not, amid the universal hubbub, be per-

mitted to go on year by year netting those precious dividends, unnoticed and undisturbed? Acting upon such convictions, peace at any price was the sum total of their instructions to each successive Governor-General. Lord Cornwallis did his best to carry out their wishes, by attempting to preserve a balance of power among the native states. But he thoroughly recognised the importance of maintaining unsullied English prestige and English reputation for fidelity to our engagements. The promptness with which he took the field to avenge the unprompted attack on the Raja of Travancore by Tippoo Sultan, the vigour and success with which the military operations were conducted, and the conditions of peace exacted from Tippoo under the walls of Seringapatam, elevated the English to a commanding position in India.

But under his successor, Sir John Shore, this reputation was frittered away. He allowed nothing to interfere with the ideal policy of the Court of Directors. He withdrew as much as possible from all participation in Indian politics. The English military establishments were permitted to fall into a state of most dangerous inefficiency. Our old and faithful ally, the Nizam of Hyderabad, was abandoned to the rapacity of the Mahrattas, who robbed him of a large portion of his dominions. Everywhere the British name and British power were spoken of with contempt. Accustomed to see dynasties and kingdoms flourish and wither away in incredibly brief periods of time, the people of India fancied that the dominion of the English was already on the wane. It would not have been long before these symptoms of weakness would have been construed into signals for aggression; and when the Marquess Wellesley (then Earl of Mornington) landed in India, our empire in the East was in an extremely critical condition. We had not a single ally on whom we could depend, and our very existence was menaced on every side by formidable foes. Tippoo Sultan had greatly recruited his resources. He was animated with his old deadly hatred against the English, and was intriguing right and left, with the French nation, with the Mahrattas, with the Court of Hyderabad, for the destruction of English power. The whole power of the Mahratta state had passed into the hands of Dowlut Rao Scindiah, a chief avowedly hostile to the English nation; while, as a dark background to the picture, loomed the imminent probability of a renewed struggle for Indian ascendancy with the French Republic.

The hope of re-erecting a French empire in India was still fondly cherished by the French people; and at this time the extraordinary successes of the French armies—the apparent invincibility and inordinate ambition of Buonaparte—the plans of

universal conquest which he was so fond of proclaiming to the world, seemed to indicate that the period for a second struggle had arrived. Every eye was on the watch for the first symptoms of the coming storm. Every native Court was agitated with rumours of French interference, and the political condition of one-half of Hindustan seemed to invite it.

The Sultan of Mysore had actually concluded an alliance with the representatives of the French Republic in the Isle of France, and French officers were reported to be on their way to assume charge of his troops. The Nizam, convinced by the apathy of Sir John Shore, that no aid was to be expected from the English against the insatiable Mahrattas, had turned, in his despair, to the French. A corps of 14,000 men, and a large train of artillery, officered and disciplined by French adventurers, held military possession of the Hyderabad territory. Lands had been made over to the commandant, M. Raymond, to ensure their regular payment, arsenals and foundries formed for their equipment, and nothing had been spared which could add to their efficiency and stability. M. Raymond was a man of ability, and he and all his officers were deeply impressed with the Jacobinical feeling of hostility against the English nation. His battalions carried the colours of the French Republic (then at war with England), and the cap of liberty was engraved upon the buttons of their clothing. French officers were continually arriving at Hyderabad by secret routes, to reinforce this formidable army; and it was observed that wherever any detachment of the force was stationed, a strong feeling of hostility grew up against the British. Thus, in the very heart of the dominions of a nominal ally, and close to the frontier of our most active and unscrupulous enemy, was established what might without any exaggeration be termed a French army of 14,000 men. At the same time, such was the weakness of the Nizam's government, that in the case of war breaking out with Tippoo—a war known to be inevitable—it was nearly certain that M. Raymond would openly join him, seize the Nizam's territories, and secure them for the French Republic, under an alliance offensive and defensive with Tippoo.

This danger, again, was greatly increased by the constitution of Scindiah's army. The situation of Scindiah's territories in Hindustan would, under any circumstances, have been a source of constant menace to British interests. Some of his principal posts extended far into our dominions, and the possession of Agra, Delhi, and the right bank of the Jumna, gave him the command of almost the whole extent of our north-west frontier. These provinces were at this time defended by sixteen battalions of infantry, drilled and disciplined in the European fashion, and

one hundred pieces of cannon. These troops were the finest hitherto seen in India, and, until opposed by the English, deemed to be invincible. No troops in Asia, and few in Europe, ever underwent more fatigue or shared in harder fighting during twenty years of active service in the field. Their life was one long campaign, and the conquests of the Mahrattas, from the river Chumbul to the Sewalick mountains, were won by these war-bred battalions alone. Nothing was spared which could ensure their fidelity. Their pay was regularly disbursed. Officers and soldiers when wounded received a gratuity varying from fifteen days to three or four months' pay, according to the severity of their injuries, without any stoppages during the time they were disabled. Pensions and grants of land were freely distributed among those who had suffered upon service. Their arms, accoutrements, artillery, and munitions of war, were superior to those used in the British army.\*

The commandant of this army was M. Perron, a French adventurer, a brave and energetic soldier, and bitterly hostile to the English. Since his accession to the command, he had filled every post in the army with French officers. The protracted absence of Scindiah in the Dekkan, the weakness and distractions in his Court, had thrown additional power into his hands. The inhabitants of the Doab regarded him as their ruler; the troops as the executive authority from whom they received orders, pay, and subsistence. Shah Alum, the reigning Emperor, was a passive instrument in his hands, to be turned to any use his keeper pleased. Perron was, in fact, the ruler of an independent French state, having possession of the person of the Emperor, the two imperial cities of Agra and Delhi, and in command of the most efficient army of regular infantry, and the most powerful train of artillery, then in India. The officers of this great army were in constant communication with their countrymen in the state of Hyderabad. Scindiah was known to be in communication with Tippoo, and it was not improbable that these potentates would unite in an attack upon the dominions of the Nizam. The junction thus effected by the French officers in the several armies of the Nizam, Scindiah, and Tippoo—the blind and unreasoning manner in which native troops generally follow those they have been accustomed to look up to—would have given to the watchful ambition of the French

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\* "Their army is better appointed than ours. No expense is spared whatever; they have three times the number of men to a gun we have; their bullocks, of which they have many more than we have, are of a very superior quality; all their men's knapsacks and baggage are carried upon camels, by which means they can march double the distance."—*General Lake to the Marquess Wellesley.*

Republic the very opportunity they had waited for so long, and the power of France in India would in all probability have been re-established upon the ruins of the states of Poona and Hyderabad. Menaced thus on every side, the British possessions in India were hardly ever in a more defenceless condition. Our nominal allies were the Nizam of Hyderabad, and Bajee Rao, the Paishwa of the Mahrattas. The Nizam was powerless in the presence of the army he had created; and the Paishwa, destitute of men and money, hated and feared for his cowardice and treachery, was virtually a prisoner in his palace at Poona. Our finances were in an embarrassed condition, and our military establishments had sunk so low—especially on the Madras coast, where the fullest force of the storm would be felt—that the Government of Fort St. George entreated the Governor-General not to kindle the animosity of Tippoo by any warlike preparations. His resources, they urged, were more available than our own, and he would indubitably overrun the Carnatic if we gave him the smallest excuse for doing so.\*

Lord Mornington (or the Marquess Wellesley as we shall call him in the present paper) landed in India on the 26th April, 1798. With the rapid intuition of genius he seems almost at once to have understood the dangers of the situation, and the nature of the remedies to be applied. He rejected the delusion that a state of anarchy immediately beyond the borders of the English possessions was any guarantee for their quiet and prosperity. He saw that sooner or later the want of subsistence in

\* Our readers will, we think, very heartily agree in the Governor-General's indignant comments on this extraordinary mode of reasoning. "It is difficult," he writes, "to describe the pain and regret which that letter from the Government of Fort St. George occasioned in my mind; nor can I conceive that it is calculated to raise any other emotions in the mind of any friend to the prosperity of the British interests, or to the honour of the British name in India. If the facts and arguments stated in that letter be correct, it must now be admitted that the glorious successes of the last war in the Mysore . . . have terminated in no better result than to render Tippoo absolutely invincible, and to place the disposal of our fate in his hands. For, if the sentiments of the Government of Fort St. George be founded upon a just estimate of the relative conditions of Tippoo Sultan and the Company in India, he possesses the ready means of attack, while we cannot venture to resort even to those of defence; but, with a full knowledge of his hostility, of his offensive alliance publicly concluded with the enemy, and of his continual and advanced preparations for war, we must submit to remain unarmed, because any attempt to counteract his designs might possibly accelerate their execution. This argument against the prudence of preparing for our defence would become stronger every day in proportion to the progress of Tippoo's hostile preparations, until at length we should be reduced to the alternative either of implicit submission, or of incurring a much greater risk than any which can now be apprehended from assembling our defensive force."

the countries wasted by war must cause the tide of depredation to flow across the frontier line of the British possessions. He perceived the folly of attempting to maintain a balance of power in a continent where the entire code of international law was comprised in the will of the strongest. The only means for securing the peace of the British possessions, for preserving the rest of Hindustan from anarchy and misery, and depriving the French of all hope of interfering with any effect in the troubled politics of India, were for us to abandon our neutral and apathetic attitude; to assume our proper position as the paramount power of Hindustan; and establish such a commanding authority at the various native courts that these endless wars of conquest should thenceforth be impossible, except through our agency, and when we permitted.

It does not belong to our subject to give any account of the various steps by which this new policy was carried out. Suffice it to say that in a very short time the French army in the territories of the Nizam had ceased to exist. An offensive and defensive alliance was concluded with the Nizam. An English force marched to Hyderabad, and surrounded the lines of the French army. Fourteen thousand men laid down their arms, and were disbanded; the French officers were shipped to Europe, and, in place of a hostile contingent, six battalions of English troops held military possession of the Hyderabad state. This bold and successful stroke was followed by the war with Tippoo—a war altogether due to the inveterate animosity of that sovereign, and which ended in his own death and the subversion of his dynasty.

The English now stood without a rival in India, except the Mahrattas. So long as these remained distracted with civil dissensions, there was nothing to fear from them. But the French—ever on the watch—might at any moment take advantage of the ceaseless confusion, to appear as the nominal supporter of one or other of the rival chieftains. It was therefore obviously the policy of the British Government to establish such a system of alliances with the Mahratta chieftains as *would* prevent the possibility of such interference.\*

\* How deeply the necessity of guarding against French interference coloured all our schemes of Indian policy at this time may be seen from the following remarks written by Major-General Wellesley in a defence of his brother's policy:—"In the consideration of all questions of Indian policy it is necessary to extend our views beyond those powers immediately possessing territory. It is well known that the French have never ceased to look to the re-establishment of their power in India; and although they possess no territory themselves on the continent, they have at all times had some influence in the councils of the different native powers, and sometimes great power by means



The weakness of the Paishwa encouraged the Governor-General to hope that there would be small difficulty in inducing him to accept of English assistance on the same terms as the Nizam of Hyderabad. The Paishwa played with the proposal; he was unwilling to accept it, if he could avoid doing so; he was unwilling to say "No," lest the offer should be altogether withdrawn. The Governor-General proposed a subsidiary alliance between the two governments. These subsidiary alliances were an English invention, and one for which the people of India have very little cause to be grateful, although it would be unjust to suppose the inventors foresaw the evil consequences which have resulted from them. The principle was simple enough. The Nizam of Hyderabad, the Nabob of Oude, the Paishwa of the Mahrattas, or whatever other potentate we selected, consented to cede a certain portion of territory, in exchange for which we supplied him with troops, and undertook to preserve him intact from all aggression from without or revolution within his territory. At first sight it seems as though such an arrangement could not fail to be of service to both parties. As far as we were concerned, there was no doubt of the advantage. In every territory thus subsidized a military force, which could not act against us, was established beyond the frontiers of our possessions. We obtained under all contingencies the command of the military resources of a number of provinces without any increase of expenditure. But there was a reverse side to this picture. Security and permanence, which form the foundation of political progress in the West, act in a directly opposite manner on the despotic governments of the East. A half-educated, irresponsible Eastern despot never is very likely to

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of the European adventurers introduced into native armies. There can be no doubt but that the French Government would avail themselves of an instrument, such as the influence or power of these adventurers would give them, to prosecute their favourite plans in India; and it is equally certain, that whether at peace or at war with Great Britain, the object of every French statesman must be to diminish the influence, the power, and the prosperity of the British Government in India. I therefore conclude that, in the consideration of every question of Indian policy, or in an inquiry into the expediency of any political measure, it is absolutely necessary to view it, not only as it will affect Indian powers, but as it will affect the French."

The author of the *Siyar-ul-Mutakerin* speaks of the French and English as "two nations that had disputes among themselves of five or six hundred years' standing; and which, after proceeding to bloodshed, wars, battles, and massacres for a number of years, would lay down their arms by common agreement, and take breath on both sides, in order to come to blows again, and fight with as much fury as ever."

The same writer is of opinion that "the nation of hat-wearers"—meaning the English—"have no equals in the art of firing their artillery and musketry with both order and rapidity."

govern as a good king: but, left to himself, there is always the chance of a revolution in the palace, a sudden insurrection in the streets, poison or assassination, to deter him from completely neglecting the duties of his position. The same probabilities act in a beneficial manner on the conduct of his ministers. But these subsidiary alliances crushed all such expressions of the popular will,—expressions which, under the conditions of Eastern despotism, may be considered almost as constitutional as pulling down the railings of Hyde Park, or holding mob meetings in Trafalgar-square. They are, in truth, the only way in which the voice of the people can make itself heard. The kings, freed from all such restraints—feeling too, perhaps, the humiliating and dependent nature of their position—sank in almost every instance into indolent voluptuaries; the ministers, secure of their position if only they expressed their devotion to the English alliance, became monsters of extortion and corruption. There are no passages in the history of the English in India more saddening and disgraceful to read than the long series of evils which these alliances brought upon the countries which entered into them. They were, in truth, the “pitted speck in garnered fruit, which rotting inwards slowly moulders all.” An instance nearer home of the utter paralysis with which such an alliance strikes the body politic may be found in the internal condition of the Papal dominions when defended by French bayonets.

It can easily be conceived that this humiliating dependence upon a foreign power must have been hateful to every prince who retained a particle of self-respect, and was not altogether unable to protect himself. It is not therefore surprising that the Paishwa, so long as there was any chance of preserving his independence and authority without submitting to the degradation of a subsidiary alliance, should have rejected “the moderate and salutary propositions” (as the Marquess pathetically terms them) of the English Government.

But the expulsion of the Paishwa from his capital, his arrival at Bassein under British protection, his forlorn and hopeless condition, threw him *volens volens* into the hands of the Governor-General. Colonel Close, the Resident at Poona, followed him to Bassein, and after a short negotiation a definitive treaty of alliance was concluded, and ratified by the Governor-General in Council on the 28th Jan., 1803. By this treaty the English Government engaged to furnish the Paishwa with six battalions of native infantry, and a proper complement of field-guns, manned by European artillerymen; the Paishwa on his part ceded certain territories for the payment of these troops, and undertook to exclude from his employ all Europeans that

belonged to nations hostile to the English. The treaty was no sooner ratified than a force of ten thousand men, under the command of Major-General Arthur Wellesley, advanced from the British frontier for the recovery of Poona. Holkar abandoned the Paishwa's capital as they approached, and on the 13th of May the Paishwa himself reascended the musnud amid the thunders of the English artillery.

The tidings of this event passed like an electric shock from chief to chief of the Mahratta confederacy, and for a moment seemed to unite them by one common feeling of fear and indignation. Though still friendly in their language, rumours were soon afloat that Scindiah and Holkar meditated an accommodation of their disputes; that, at the instigation of Scindiah's minister, Raghoojee Bhonslah, the Raja of Berar had taken the field at the head of a large army, and that the three combined chieftains intended at all hazards to frustrate the provisions of the treaty of Bassein. The Governor-General is very indignant at this design. He declares "that the intricacy, perverse policy, and treachery of such an intrigue, however contrary to every principle of true wisdom and justice, are habitual to the low cunning and captious jealousy of the Mahrattas." The Mahrattas, however, knew perfectly well what they were about. They were not deceived by the apparent moderation of the treaty, or the peaceful professions of the English officials. They understood the future more clearly than we professed to do. Either they must accept the conditions of the treaty of Bassein, and in so doing relinquish henceforth and for ever the crown of Indian supremacy, or set their lives upon the hazard of a battle-field. And it does not seem strange to us that the chieftains whose ancestors had subverted the empire of the Moghuls, and carried the Mahratta standards from the south of India to the banks of the Indus, elected for the nobler if more perilous alternative.

While the events were transacting at Poona which we have just related, Dowlut Rao Scindiah had assembled a large force at Oujein, the capital of his possessions in Malwa, and marching towards Poona, with the professed view of opposing Jeswunt Rao Holkar, he crossed the Nerbudda, and halted at Burhanpore, a town immediately on the frontier of the Nizam's territory. At the same time the Rajah of Berar advanced towards the same place at the head of a second army.

Colonel Collins, the English Resident in the camp of Scindiah, demanded the reason of these hostile demonstrations. He extracted from Scindiah a confession that there was nothing in the treaty of Bassein hostile to his just rights; but to the inquiry whether Scindiah and the Rajah of Berar intended to oppose that treaty, the former declined to give any direct reply. At

the same time he lifted the veil from the future by concluding the conference with the menacing observation, that after he (Scindiah) had seen the Rajah of Berar, the Resident should be informed "whether it would be peace or war." War from that moment was seen to be inevitable. In truth, there never had been but one purpose in the minds of the confederate chieftains, and they only protracted the discussions in the hope of inducing Jeswunt Rao Holkar to enter the alliance. In this hope they were disappointed. He persisted in remaining neutral, and retired to Malwa. On the 3rd of August Colonel Collins left Scindiah's camp, and his departure was considered by both parties as a declaration of war.

Though deeming it his duty to spare no efforts for the preservation of peace, so long as any hope of peace remained, the Marquess Wellesley was too sagacious a politician not to know that war was almost inevitable; and while Scindiah and the Raja of Berar were fondly hoping that they had blinded the eyes of the English Resident, the English preparations were rapidly pushed to completion. The plan of operations comprehended a tract of country extending from Delhi and the Presidencies of Fort William, Fort St. George, and Bombay, to Poona, Hyderabad, Guzerat, and Orissa, and, to quote the Governor-General's own words,

"Embraced, together with the security and defence of the British dominions, the important objects of defeating the confederate chieftains in the field; of establishing our allies, their Highnesses the Paishwa and the Nizam, in their respective legitimate governments; of securing the legitimate succession to the government of the Deccan; of delivering the unfortunate and aged Emperor Shah Alum and the royal house of Timour from misery, degradation, and bondage; and of extirpating the last remnant of French influence in India."

The army under Major-General Wellesley, together with the Nizam's contingent under the command of Colonel Stevenson, was directed to attack the forces under the personal command of Scindiah and the Raja of Berar. A simultaneous attack from Calcutta and Madras was to be made on the valuable province of Kuttack, in the dominions of the Berar Raja. The Government of Bombay was ordered to seize all Scindiah's seaport towns in Guzerat. On the north-west frontiers of Oude the army of Bengal, under General G. Lake, the commander-in-chief, was directed to assail Scindiah's territories in Hindustan, and effect the liberation of the Emperor. The troops collected for these purposes at various points of our dominions amounted to 54,918 men, exclusive of pioneers, gun-lascars, and persons attached to the store and ordnance departments. Added to all this was the genius of the Governor-General, and his wonderful

force of character. As one has well said who served under him, "His great mind pervaded the whole, and a portion of his spirit was infused into every agent whom he employed." From the commander-in-chief downwards to the youngest ensign in the service, the members of both services were animated by a personal zeal and loyalty for "the glorious little man," as he was called, which are almost unique in history. A keen insight into character enabled the Governor-General to discern, with an unerring accuracy, the fittest instruments for his purposes; and once selected, no man in the world ever understood better how to draw forth their utmost energies. He entrusted them freely with authority; he was lavish in his encouragements and praise; he treated them as friends; and no man in return was ever served with greater assiduity and completer disregard of selfish considerations.\*

His administration is perhaps the most dazzling period in the history of British India, both for the brilliancy of the actions performed, and the character of the men who achieved them. Lake and Wellesley commanded in the field. Of the last it is a work of supererogation to speak; and yet it is hardly possible for an Englishman to mention the great Duke without pausing for a moment to pay his tribute of reverential admiration. No portion of his great and glorious career gives clearer evidence of the clear-eyed penetration and sagacity of England's greatest soldier than his actions in the East. Although only a few years in India, and ignorant of the language, his despatches, his influence among the native chiefs, his mode of conducting war, all bear testimony to an understanding of the Mahratta cha-

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\* As a proof of the Governor-General's recognition of talent it may be stated that three of the young assistants in his office rose to the rank of acting governor-general—W. B. Bayley, Esq., Mr. Adam, and Sir Charles (afterwards Lord) Metcalfe. A short note from the last-mentioned is inserted here as indicating the feelings with which his subordinates to their latest days continued to regard the Marquess. The writer was then Governor-General of India.

"My Lord,—Few things in life have given me greater pleasure than the receipt of your lordship's kind letter, delivered by Lieut. Campbell. It is now within a few days of thirty-four years since I had the honour of being presented to you. You were then Governor-General of India, and I was a boy of fifteen, entering on my career. I shall never forget the kindness with which you treated me from first to last during your stay in India; nor the honour and happiness I enjoyed in being for a considerable period a member of your family. So much depends on the first turn given to a man's course, that I have a right to attribute all of good that has since happened to me to the countenance and favour with which you distinguished me at that early period. My public principles were learned in your school, pre-eminently the school of honour, zeal, public spirit, and patriotism; and to my adherence to the principles there acquired I venture to ascribe all the success that has attended me."

racter, and the wily and deceitful politicians with whom he had to deal, which the oldest political agent, after a life spent in native courts, might envy. General George Lake is another name endeared to the British army, like that of Viscount Gough (whom as a soldier he much resembled), for the simple greatness of his character, his brilliant courage, and his untiring care for the soldiers he commanded. Though no great general, he thoroughly understood the true method (according to Lord Napier of Magdala) of dealing with an Asiatic foe—namely, “to go straight at their heads upon every occasion.”

Munro, Malcolm, Elphinstone, Jenkins, Metcalfe, were among the statesmen who learnt their craft in the school of the Marquess Wellesley. It is perhaps worth while to pause in our narrative, and consider for a few moments the principles which guided the conduct of these illustrious men. Before the great mutiny of 1857 they had fallen into considerable disrepute. Under the rule of Lord Dalhousie a race of statesmen had grown up who pronounced them antiquated. These new lights were men of ability, but, like their great leader, totally wanting in that imaginative sympathy which might have enabled them to judge with the judgment and feel with the feelings of those over whom they ruled. They seem to have regarded India, with her variety of races and languages, as a potter might do a piece of clay. She was, for purposes of improvement, to be treated provisionally as a dead thing, having neither interests to destroy, nor feelings to lacerate. Convinced of their own good intentions, they could not understand that every native high or low should not rejoice to be made into a prosperous and contented being by the application of the latest philosophical methods for attaining these ends. If there was any benighted creature who complained of some of the collateral unpleasantnesses involved in the process of renovation, no regard was to be paid to him. Armed with one comprehensive formula, “the greatest happiness for the greatest number,” they entered the field in the spirit of Malvolio, “so crammed as they thought with excellences that it was the ground of their faith that all who looked on them loved them.” In this spirit they acted, ousting the talookdars in the north-western provinces, deposing kings, and annexing provinces, by means of the “appalling doctrine of lapse,” creating heart-burnings, wounding feelings, and disregarding prejudices, until the great mutiny broke out and convinced us that India was inhabited by human beings as well as other countries, and would not be treated as a potter treats his clay. Since then there has been a growing reaction in favour of the principles of the older school; a reaction which we hail with delight, as leading us back to the true path of progress and

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civilization in India. Those principles were briefly these,—that no lasting reformation could be carried out in India except by the active agency of the people themselves; that it was a delusion to suppose a few foreigners could carry on the business of an immense country unassisted by the people of the country. Intimately acquainted with the native character, they knew that we could no more do away with distinctions of rank, and create that dead level which Lord Dalhousie's school attempted to do, without incurring the peril of such a convulsion as the insurrection of 1857, than we could establish a dead level in England. In their reverence for everything old and traditional, in their deference for rank, in their rigid conservatism, the people of India very much resemble the people of England; and the process of change in the one nation must be gradual as it is in the other.

On the 6th of August intelligence arrived in General Wellesley's camp that Colonel Collins had left Scindiah's camp. On the 8th the troops were set in motion. The fortified town of Ahmednuggur was attacked, and carried by escalade. Colonel Stevenson at the same time advanced from the side of Hyderabad, carried the fort of Jalnapore, and on the night of the 9th September beat up the camp of the confederate chieftains. A junction of the two divisions of the British army was effected at Budnapore, when it was agreed to march by separate routes, and assail the Mahratta army, which was said to have taken up a position near the village of Bokerdun. This separation of the army was unavoidable. The route to Bokerdun lay through narrow mountain defiles, which both divisions could not have threaded in a single day; besides which, had one of the passes through the hills been left open, the enemy would have taken advantage of it to escape southward while the English army moved in the opposite direction.

Wellesley timed his march so as to be within thirteen or fourteen miles of Bokerdun on the 23rd of September; but on reaching his camping ground he heard that the whole Mahratta army was only five or six miles distant, and preparing to decamp. The troops were pushed on in pursuit, and on reaching the high ground overlooking the river Kailnah, came in sight of the enemy. On a tongue of land formed by the junction of the rivers Juah and Kailnah, 50,000 horse and foot stretched in one vast line along the opposite bank of the Kailnah. The troops that now moved steadily down to attack this huge host did not number five thousand, but there was only one feeling among them—that of their leader—"They cannot escape us." The English army, as they emerged from the hilly country, had

struck upon the right wing of the enemy, in which he had massed the whole of his cavalry. But deeming the destruction of his infantry and the capture of his guns would cripple him more effectually, the general determined to attack their left. The infantry were wheeled to the right, and passed the river Kailnah at a ford beyond the left of the Mahratta force. To meet the attack the Mahrattas threw back their left wing at right angles to their former position, with its right flank resting on the Kailnah, and its left on the fortified village of Assye. Their infantry were disposed in two lines, and their guns planted along the front.

Wellesley at once perceived that it would be a mere waste of life to attack Assye, where the greatest weight of artillery was masked, and the enemy fought under cover. He sent orders accordingly to the officer in command of his right wing to keep his men out of fire, while he attacked the enemy with the centre and left of his line. Unhappily these orders were misunderstood. The right wing marched steadily on Assye, amid a tremendous storm of grape and canister. The bullocks dragging the guns were killed, the guns had to be abandoned, and the line itself, "struck by the iron tempest, reeled and staggered like a sinking ship." The picquets on the right of the line, and the 74th Highlanders, were almost cut to pieces by the terrible severity of the fire, and a body of the enemy's horse, emboldened by the havoc in their ranks, attempted to charge. This movement compelled Wellesley to bring his cavalry reserves into action. The word was given them to charge. The 19th Dragoons (360 sabres in all), and the 4th Native Cavalry, moved rapidly to the front, the very wounded cheering them as they passed. They cut in upon the mass of Mahratta horse, and sent them flying from the field, and then dashed on against the infantry and guns. The guns fell for a moment into their possession, but the showers of musketry which rained from the mud walls of the village compelled them to relinquish their hardly-won spoil; and it was not till the right of the enemy's line had been driven, after an obstinate struggle, into the Juah, that any impression was made upon him at this point. As soon, however, as the right gave way, the left evacuated Assye, and, abandoning their guns, the whole army retreated across the Juah. The battle, however, was not yet over. A number of Mahrattas who had fallen as if dead when the English advanced, no sooner saw them pressing forward in full confidence of victory, than they rose from the ground and turned the captured guns upon their rear. General Wellesley put himself at the head of a few companies of infantry, and charged this unexpected foe.



A severe hand-to-hand fight took place, the Mahrattas defending their guns to the last with the indomitable pertinacity which distinguishes the Indian artilleryman. The General had one horse shot under him, and a second piked, and every member of his staff was wounded or dismounted before the struggle was over. In the meanwhile Colonel Maxwell, at the head of the cavalry, crossed the Juah in pursuit of the main body of the beaten army. Their cavalry fled from the field in the most dastardly manner, but the infantry were not broken up till after repeated charges of the English cavalry, in which service the gallant Maxwell lost his life.

The Mahrattas left twelve hundred men dead upon the field, and ninety-eight pieces of artillery, and the whole country was covered with their wounded. One third of the English force had fallen. Could Wellesley have followed up the blow with his whole force, the Mahratta army would in a few days have been scattered to the winds; but he had to provide for the defence of the territories of the Paishwa and the Nizam.

"These things called allied governments," he writes in considerable bitterness of spirit, "are in such a state of deplorable weakness, they depend so entirely on us for the defence of their territories, and their power is so feeble over their own servants, who have so much connexion with, and even dependence on, the enemy, that I have not means to move forward at once upon Asseerghur with my whole force, although I know if I could take that step with safety it would put an end to the war. But not one of the Nizam's forts is sufficiently garrisoned. He has not a soldier in the country, excepting those belonging to the Company; and his killidars and amildars would readily pay the money they may have, just to be allowed to sit quietly in their forts and towns. As for the Paishwa, he has possession of his palace and nothing more; and he spends the little money he receives either upon the Brahmins, or upon women, rather than give any to his troops, or even to his menial servants."

Colonel Stevenson's corps, in consequence, was ordered to follow up the retreating enemy alone, Wellesley remaining behind to protect the dominions of our allies. In this operation the troops had to make what the General terms "some terrible marches," and the sufferings of the army would have been very great but for the General's strict discipline, and his humane treatment of the country people.

The march of a Mahratta army was one continued scene of pillage, murder, and conflagration. Every unprotected village was plundered and fired, the crops torn up by the roots; whenever the smallest resistance was attempted, the people were ruthlessly put to the sword. Accustomed to such treatment, the

people of the country beheld with astonishment the order and, in one sense, the harmlessness of a British army. Along the line of march a crowd of orderlies on either flank protected the standing crops from pillage. At the gate of every town or village men were stationed until the troops had passed, with strict orders to prohibit the entrance of any one within. At every village in the neighbourhood of the encamping grounds the same precautions were taken. The army,—which, including camp followers, who are most determined plunderers, must have numbered upwards of 40,000 men,—passed three times over the same route, but not a village was plundered, or even injured; not a single cultivator left his ordinary occupation; the stacked grain stood untouched, and none was even drawn from the village granaries which was not paid for upon the spot. This order was not maintained without the practice of a discipline which would perhaps be shocking to the somewhat effeminate humanitarianism of the present time. The following brief note to Colonel Close is suggestive of many things:—

“In my opinion,” writes the General, “Purneah’s thieves ought to be hanged. There is no other way of putting a stop to these robberies; and I am not quite certain that it would not be best to send six to be hanged at Sangoly, two at Ghoorgherry, and two at the post on the Kistna, and the remainder at Hurryhur. If you agree in opinion on this subject, I will give orders that the thieves may be escorted and executed accordingly.”

Wellesley declared that nothing but the conviction with which he had impressed his Mahratta allies, that a detected plunderer would indubitably be hung forthwith, preserved his army from dying of hunger.\*

Simultaneously with these operations in the Deccan, the possessions of the confederate chieftains in Kuttack, Guzerat,

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\* “One of the camp followers was hanged yesterday for stealing a cow from a village, and this evening two villagers were executed in the same manner for binding a sepoy and carrying him off with an intent to rob, if not to murder him. Two officers who were shooting discovered the transaction, and pursued the fellows, who ran off after robbing their prisoner, but were brought in to the number of fourteen from their village; the other twelve were soundly flogged and dismissed. The proceedings on these occasions are very summary; the fact and person ascertained, punishment follows in a few hours. Many affect to think this a very arbitrary exercise of illegal power, but these are persons who are not daily subject to the deprivations occasioned by camp robbery; yet it cannot be questioned that such a mode of proceeding is in the end the mildest, best adapted to the people of the country and the camp followers, and, as above-mentioned, impartially applied to both.”—Journal of Major-General Sir J. Nicholls, K.C.B., 24th Nov., 1803; *vide* Wellington Despatches.

and the rich Doab, lying between the Ganges and Jumna, had been successfully attacked. Kuttack and Guzerat were overrun by British troops with very little resistance, but the opposition offered to the Commander-in-Chief in the Doab was of a character which demands a more detailed account.

Scindiah's army in this part of India numbered 17,000 regular infantry, disciplined in the European fashion, and plentifully supplied with French and English officers, a well-appointed and numerous train of artillery, and from 15,000 to 20,000 horse. This force, it was expected, would be increased by reinforcements of Sikh cavalry and troops from the petty chiefs along the banks of the Jumna, who regarded M. Perron as almost invincible. That officer had proposed to Scindiah a plan of operations which, if executed, would have rendered the issue of the war extremely doubtful. He foresaw that in the open field native troops, however well disciplined, would be defeated by English infantry, and advised Scindiah to hold the strong passes between the Deccan and Hindustan with his infantry and guns, while the hordes of Mahratta horse, some one hundred and fifty thousand in number, were let loose upon the open country in Bengal, Bahar, and Hyderabad, to burn the open towns and lay waste the fields. Ruthless as such a plan was, it was from a military point of view an eminently good one. Happily for the people of Hindustan, the mutual distrust of the Mahratta chiefs hindered it from being carried into effect. Holkar, as we have seen, held aloof from the confederacy altogether, and just before the commencement of hostilities a cabal against Perron himself was formed in the Court of Scindiah, which compelled him to throw himself on the protection of the British Government at the very crisis of the campaign. With his secession the fate of the Mahratta chieftains was sealed beyond the hope of redemption.

On the 7th August, 1803, the Commander-in-Chief, General G. Lake, broke up his standing camp at Cawnpore and marched in the direction of Allyghur, where M. Perron had established his head-quarters. The army under his immediate command comprised three regiments of European and five of native cavalry, about two hundred European artillery, one regiment of European and eleven battalions of native infantry, amounting in all to ten thousand five hundred men. In addition to this army, a second force, under the directions of the Commander-in-Chief, amounting to three thousand five hundred men, was collected at Allahabad for the purpose of invading the province of Bundelcund.

On the 29th August General Lake first came in sight of the enemy. Their cavalry, numbering fifteen thousand men and horses, occupied a strong position in front of Allyghur. They were smartly attacked, and driven in confusion beyond the town.

Perron, who was in command, threw a body of two thousand men into the fort, and retired towards Agra. A few days afterwards the fort itself was carried by storm, and the army marched towards Delhi.

On the 11th September they encamped within six miles of that city; but hardly had the tents been pitched when the enemy in great force appeared in front. The general ordered the cavalry to turn out, and proceeded at their head to reconnoitre the enemy's position. He found them strongly posted, both flanks being protected by impassable swamps, and their front covered with one hundred pieces of cannon. This formidable artillery was concealed in long grass, and opened with terrible effect on the approach of the reconnoitring party. The general gave the order to the cavalry to retire. As they approached the camp they opened out from the centre to allow the infantry to pass. In spite of a tremendous fire of round shot, grape, and canister, the "thin red line" advanced steadily and in silence until within a hundred yards of the guns. Then the order to charge was given—one ringing volley swept from end to end, the long line of bayonets flashed in the sun, and, with the gallant old chief at their head, the troops rushed impetuously on the guns. The Mahrattas fled without awaiting the shock, and the victorious regiments breaking into open columns of companies, the cavalry charged through the intervals and completed the victory. Three thousand Mahrattas fell in that day's action. Louis Bourquin, the commandant, and four other French officers surrendered themselves a few days after, and the Mahratta ascendancy in the capital of the Moghuls received its final death-blow.

"I really do think," writes the delighted chief, in his quaintly simple fashion, "the business was one of the most gallant possible. Such a fire of cannon has seldom been seen, if ever; against which our men marched up to within one hundred yards, without taking a firelock from off their shoulders, when they gave one volley, charged instantly, and drove the enemy; then they opened ranks and let the cavalry through, who did their duty in the most gallant and judicious manner possible; indeed their conduct was remarkable throughout the day. . . . We were yesterday most considerably outnumbered, but His Majesty's 76th Regiment did set such an example, that could not fail of inspiring every creature with zeal, energy, and spirit. I do not think that there could have been a more glorious day; but as I may be thought partial, I will say no more, but leave it to others to relate the fact; exaggerate I think they cannot."

The inhabitants of Delhi had listened with beating hearts to the tumult of the fight beyond their walls. There was just a faint hope, a flicker of expectation, that if the English were victorious, they might afford them some relief from the hard bondage,

the robbery and spoliation, under which they lived. But the precedents established by former conquerors were not of a nature to cause such hopes to burn very brightly. Men still remembered the horrors of that dreary time when Nadir Shah and his army of Persian murderers filled the streets of Delhi with the dead bodies of the slain; where they were piled together in heaps, without distinction of rank and religion, and burned in the rubbish of the ruined houses.\*

Since that time they had had conquerors many within the walls of the Imperial city—the Abdally monarch, French officers, Mahratta chiefs, but they had been all alike in their insatiable rapacity, and their reckless cruelty and indifference to the sufferings they inflicted. It was difficult to believe that any people having the power to plunder should voluntarily abstain from doing so. Their astonishment became great in proportion as day after day passed and neither murder nor extortion was heard of; no burning villages lighted up the midnight sky, or homeless peasants sought shelter in the city walls. Seven days after the battle, when General Lake, attended by a large body of his troops, entered the city to pay his state visit to the Emperor, the population turned out in a mass to gaze at these extraordinary soldiers who confined themselves to the business of fighting alone.

The aged Emperor Shah Alum, blind, poverty-stricken, robbed of authority, received the English general under a tattered canopy, the solitary remnant of the regal splendour of Aurungzebe. The Marquess Wellesley had humanely directed that the fallen Emperor should receive every mark of respect due to his

\* There is a story connected with Nadir Shah's stay in Delhi which is worth repeating, as an illustration of the manners of the time. After Nadir Shah had slaughtered the inhabitants of Delhi to his heart's content, and wrung an enormous booty from the survivors by means of the most cruel tortures, the Emperor Mahommed Shah, on the eve of his departure, invited him to a sumptuous entertainment. Every lord of the Imperial Court had his particular duties; that of Emir Khan was to present the coffee. The presentation of coffee in the East involves the nicest points of etiquette, and the difficulty in the present case to be overcome was great. If Emir Khan presented the coffee to Nadir Khan first, he was guilty of an act of gross disrespect to his own master, which could hardly fail to ruin him; if to Mohammed Shah, it was almost a matter of mathematical certainty that Nadir Shah would avenge the insult by commanding his immediate execution. Here was a dilemma. The Court stood in breathless expectation, awaiting the result. Emir Khan advanced. "He was," says the native historian, "a man of an elegant deportment, as well as exceedingly ingenious, and full of delicate taste in whatever he did." He had nearly presented the coffee to Nadir Shah, when, stopping suddenly, like one recollecting himself, he gave it to Mohammed Shah, saying, "Let an Emperor do the honours of his house to a King of Kings; I am too inconsiderable for that office." The two sovereigns loaded him with plaudits,

once high position; and these attentions soothed the broken spirits of one of the most unfortunate sovereigns that ever ascended a throne. Contrasting his present situation with what he had endured in the past, the Oriental news-writers declared that in his joy at such a wondrous revolution, his Majesty Shah Alum had recovered his sight.

From Delhi General Lake marched against Agra. Seven battalions of Scindiah's regular infantry were encamped on the glacis. "Finding," as the General writes to the Marquess Wellesley, "there was no chance of bringing these obstinate rebels to reason" by any arguments less convincing than the logic of steel and lead, these seven battalions were attacked and dispersed, after a severe engagement, with the loss of twenty-six guns. Three days afterwards 2500 men came over in a body, and were admitted into the British service; and on the 18th October the whole garrison capitulated. They were allowed to leave the fort with their private property; but the treasury, arsenal, and 162 pieces of cannon, fell into the hands of the victors.\*

The whole of the country between Delhi and Agra had thus, in an incredibly short space of time, been wrested from Scindiah, and a large portion of his fine army utterly destroyed. The campaign, however, was not at an end. Scindiah still had one army in the field, composed of the very flower of his troops, and with this force General Lake, on the 1st November, fought one of the fiercest and best-contested actions in which British troops have ever been engaged in India.

These battalions, which were termed the "Deccan Invincibles," and consisted of 9000 infantry, 4000 or 5000 horse, and a splendidly appointed train of artillery, had been despatched from the Deccan at an early period of the campaign to assist in the protection of the Doab. But the rapid and decisive successes of Lord Lake's troops anticipated the movement. Delhi had been captured by the English before they reached the scene of action,

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\* A considerable sum of prize money was divided among the troops who were present at the above siege, but there appears at one time to have been some doubt whether it was lawful prize or not. The General in his perplexity writes a very characteristic note to the Marquess. "I can see it," he says, "in no other point of view than legal prize money; if I am wrong, or have acted contrary to your wishes, I shall be most miserable. I can only say that whatever may be my share it will not be touched, but left in the hands of the paymaster till your lordship's pleasure is known, and ready to be paid whenever you like. The army certainly expected the money, or I would not have given it them, and I think they had deserved it. I hate all money concerns, and sincerely wish I had nothing to do with this; I have ever held money in most sovereign contempt, and shall I am sure do so to the end of my life. I have only to hope I have done nothing which can displease your lordship, as that would take from me all the satisfaction I have received from our late successes."

and during the siege of Agra they merely assumed a position distant some thirty miles from the British camp. As soon as the place surrendered, they moved rapidly off to find shelter in the hilly and difficult country of Mewat. General Lake perceived the imperative necessity of crushing this formidable enemy, and at the earliest practicable moment after the fall of Agra he hurried off in pursuit by forced marches. Pressing on with his cavalry alone, he came up with the enemy at sunrise on the 1st of November, just on the outskirts of the Mewattie hills. They appeared to be retreating in the utmost confusion, and the General—nothing loth to gratify his natural impetuosity—determined to attack without waiting for his infantry.

The Mahratta commandant, however, was a man of courage and resource. By cutting the embankment of a reservoir, he flooded the road over which the English troops had to advance, and took advantage of the time thus gained to occupy a strong position; his right resting on the village of Laswaree, and partly protected by a swamp; his left on the village of Mohaulpore, and his rear protected by a steep banked rivulet. His front was covered with seventy-five pieces of artillery.

The English cavalry, in the meanwhile, had overcome the obstacles caused by the flooding of the reservoir; but the dry sandy soil over which they advanced raised a dense cloud of dust, which completely concealed the new formation of the enemy. Supposing them still to be in retreat, General Lake launched his brigades, as he imagined, against the rear of a panic-stricken enemy. Thrice did the English cavalry charge the long line of guns lashed and chained together. They penetrated at one time even into the village of Laswaree. But their gallantry and perseverance were wholly unavailing. The enemy reserved their fire until the squadrons were within twenty yards of the muzzles of the guns, which, being concealed by the high grass jungle, became perceptible only when a terrific discharge of grape and double-headed shot shattered the advancing onset, and strewed the plain with men and horses. The native artillerymen fought with rare courage and devotion. As soon as the storm of horse and men had passed through, they crept from under the guns where they had taken shelter, and sent volley after volley against the rear of the hostile squadrons. Neither were the infantry idle. Drawn up behind hastily constructed intrenchments, and further protected by waggons, carts, and other cumbersome baggage, they plied the English cavalry with an unceasing fire of musketry, which told with terrible effect on their crowded ranks. Convinced at length of the uselessness of maintaining such an unequal struggle, General Lake, who had fought throughout like a private soldier in the very hottest of the battle, called

off his shattered troops, and resolved to await the arrival of his infantry. These, consisting of H.M.'s 76th Regiment, and six battalions of native infantry, did not reach the field until mid-day, fatigued with a long march of twenty-five miles. On their arrival, the enemy sent a message to the Commander-in-chief, offering to surrender their guns upon certain conditions. Nothing, however, resulted from this negotiation, although to avoid the further effusion of blood General Lake expressed his willingness to accept the offered terms. In the afternoon of the day the battle was resumed. The Mahratta army were now drawn up in two lines—one in front, and one in rear of the village of Mohaulpore. The rivulet which had formerly covered their rear, now flowed at right angles to their right flank, and their front, as before, was covered by artillery. The General determined to turn the right of this new position, and with this view formed his infantry into two columns, directing them to proceed along the banks of the rivulet until they had out-flanked the enemy's line. For a time the march was concealed by long grass, but the instant the movement was discerned, the Mahratta commandant threw back his right wing, and at the same time concentrated a heavy artillery fire on the British columns. The light galloper guns attached to the English cavalry were soon silenced; the rugged broken nature of the ground disordered the march of the infantry, and the men fell so fast that the General perceived his column would be utterly destroyed before it reached the flank of the enemy. The only chance of retrieving the day was to make a direct attack upon the enemy's position. The 75th Regiment, one battalion, and five companies of native infantry, were wheeled into line, and ordered to advance straight in the face of the enemy's fire. "As soon as this handful of heroes," writes Lord Lake, "were arrived within reach of the enemy's canister shot, a most tremendous fire was opened upon them." A regular advance became impossible, and a large body of Mahratta horse, encouraged by the havoc and disorder, charged the broken line; they were driven back with loss. At this moment the General's horse was shot under him, and his son and aide-de-camp carried off the field severely wounded. The gallant old veteran, notwithstanding, retained his coolness and presence of mind. He sent orders to the 29th Dragoons to charge. The order was obeyed with the utmost alacrity. Forming into line on the right of the 76th, and amid the cheers of that heroic regiment, they pierced the enemy's line, then wheeling to the left attacked the Mahratta horse and drove them from the field. Then once more reforming they fell in one compact body upon the rear of the enemy's second line. The General saw his opportunity. Placing himself at the head of the 76th, he seized



the guns which had just been captured by the Dragoons; the rest of the infantry had in the meantime come into action. The enemy's first line was forced back upon the second, and the whole fell into the utmost confusion. One body of two thousand men, attacked upon every side, broken and disordered, laid down their arms, but the remainder fought with stubborn heroism to the last. Every inch of ground was disputed: every gun was made the centre of a sanguinary conflict. On this, the last of all their fields, De Boigne's hardy veterans well sustained the reputation they had won, and died with arms in their hands. The whole seventeen battalions were totally destroyed; and seventy-two pieces of cannon, together with an immense quantity of camp equipage and baggage, and a large number of elephants, camels, and bullocks, fell into the hands of the victors. The General himself bore emphatic testimony to the courage of his enemy, and the desperate character of the conflict.

"These battalions," he writes, "are most uncommonly well appointed, have a most numerous artillery, as well served as they can possibly be, the gunners standing by their guns until killed by the bayonet; all the sepoy's of the enemy behaved exceedingly well, and if they had been commanded by French officers the event would have been, I fear, extremely doubtful. I never was in so severe a business in my life, or anything like it, and pray to God I never may be in such a situation again. . . . These fellows fought like devils, or rather heroes."

The battles of Assye and Laswaree gave the death-blows to the Mahratta power in India. Fifteen days after the first victory an envoy from Scindiah appeared in Wellesley's camp; and after the usual quantity of intrigue and shuffling, without which the Mahrattas found it impossible to conduct any business whatever, an armistice was concluded with Scindiah alone. Scindiah, however, failing to carry out the conditions agreed upon, and a large portion of his army still keeping the field with the Raja of Berar, Wellesley attacked their united forces at Argaum on the 28th September, and severely defeated them. This blow was followed up by the reduction of the almost inaccessible fortress of Gawilghur—a most laborious operation, the heavy ordnance and stores having to be dragged by hand for thirty miles over mountains and ravines. Its fall convinced the confederates of the uselessness of further resistance. Vakeels arrived in the English camp with full authority to conclude peace on the terms proposed by the victors, and the new year opened with India once more in a state of rest. This war had been one of the shortest as well as most decisive on record. In four months a British army fifty-five thousand strong, operating against two hundred and fifty thousand horse and foot, exclusive of a corps

of forty thousand men disciplined by French officers, had won four pitched battles, besieged and captured eight fortresses, and subdued whole provinces.

The Raja of Berar ceded the rich province of Kuttack, Scindiah, all his territories in the Doab, and all those northward of the Rajpoot, principalities of Jeypoor, Jodpoo, and Gohud, the forts of Ahmednuggur and Baroach, and his possessions between the Adjunta Ghaut and the Godavery. The Governor-General in glowing language painted the results anticipated from the conclusion of these treaties. In answer to a congratulatory address from the people of Calcutta he said :—

“The foundations of our empire in Asia are now laid in the tranquillity of surrounding nations, and in the happiness and welfare of the people of India. In addition to the augmentation of our territories and resources, the peace manifested exemplary faith and equity towards our allies, moderation and lenity towards our enemies, and a sincere desire to promote the general prosperity of this quarter of the globe. The position in which we are now placed is such as suits the character of the British nation, the principles of our laws, the spirit of our constitution, and the liberal policy which becomes the dignity of a great and powerful empire. My public duty is discharged to the satisfaction of my conscience by the prosperous establishment of a system of policy which promises to improve the general condition of the people of India, and to unite the principal native states in the bond of peace under the protection of British power.”

At the very time these words were spoken a dark cloud was gathering, which burst over the British territories with the suddenness and fury of a thunderstorm in the hill country of Maharashtra. The authorities at home, panicstricken, recalled the Marquess, and established once more the old policy of quiescence. Fifteen years of anarchy—“the time of trouble,” as the natives emphatically called it—had to fill India with mourning and blood, before the far-seeing wisdom of the Governor-General ceased to be a subject of condemnation, and his policy was carried to completion. But our space is exhausted, and we must defer to some future occasion the narrative of Jeswunt Rao Holkar’s irruption into the Doab, and the events which followed in its train.

One thought, however, suggests itself. Does our system of rule allow sufficient play for the daring and the military capacity which are evidently parts of the native character? We think not; but that we are striving to keep it cooped up within dangerously narrow limits. The wild notion that a highly intelligent people must be treated like a tribe of ignorant barbarians, and have everything done for them, is, so far as India is concerned, a thing of the past. The tendency at present is to

throw open the doors of the civil services at least for the admission of natives; and—what in our judgment is even more important—there are discernible the beginnings of an attempt to educate the people at large, by means of unpaid duties, such as municipal committees, and the like, to take an intelligent interest in national concerns. All this is well; but having advanced so far, we shall not be able to preserve the army in its present condition. We shall have to grant free ingress to the higher ranks of the military as well as to those of the civil service.

We are not among those who watch with extreme anxiety the progress of Russia in Central Asia. It may be—when she has consolidated her power in Central Asia—when she has made roads and dug wells across the deserts she would have to traverse—when she has compelled the Affghans to relinquish their savage independence, or by lulling their vigilance to sleep has secured her flank from attack, and her communications from interruption—it may be that then, if she has recovered her financial equilibrium, or at least something approaching to it, if her enormous possessions are still insufficient to stay her insatiable earth-hunger, and if her destinies are swayed by a very sanguine and impetuous Czar, that a Russian army may strive to penetrate into Scinde. But what then? A weak army we should assuredly capture, and send prisoners to Calcutta or Bombay, and a strong one would find it impossible to subsist. Even a battle won would not materially lessen the difficulties of the Russian general acting at an enormous distance from his own base, and in the presence of an enemy abundantly supplied; while a battle lost would be the signal for his utter extermination. And it is incredible that we, with our railway system fully developed, our telegraphs branching over all India, should not at the first symptom of the coming storm be able to concentrate on the point threatened a force sufficient to crush an enemy harassed and wearied with a long and difficult march. The perils of an Indian invasion are so infinite, the chances of success so few and doubtful, that for our part we place greater confidence in the peaceful professions of Russia than people generally are willing to do. The hostilities carried on so continually against the kingdoms of Central Asia do not shake this conviction. Our own experience in India has shown us that no permanent peace can be established where some range of mountains or other difficult barrier does not interpose between the confines of barbarism and civilization. There seems to be an instinct which tells the barbarian that sooner or later he must yield to this new power, and drives him on at all hazards to put his destiny to the touch, and gain or lose it all. If we except the conquest of Scinde, and some of Lord Dalhousie's annexations, no

nation could have been more sincerely desirous to maintain the integrity of native states than ourselves in India, but the native sovereigns have compelled us *volens volens* to continually extend the frontiers of our dominions.

The danger which is caused by the approach of the Russians is the encouragement which their propinquity will give to the disaffected among our own subjects. But these will be few, when there are no invidious distinctions between the Englishman and Hindustani, and a honourable career is open to all. This is not the case in the army. Our present system is to trust entirely to our English troops. A large English army is maintained principally to overawe the native army, and keep it in good order. In that native army the native officer, whatever be his military capacity, is immeasurably below the youngest ensign who never saw a shot fired in earnest, and whose ignorance of war is the most profound and exhaustive that the mind can conceive. This system sorely weakens our power at home, is a tremendous drain on the revenues of India, and hateful to the people of the country. Conceive an army of Englishmen officered entirely by Frenchmen, and expected, nevertheless, to be thoroughly loyal and contented. Every one at once perceives the impossibility of its existence, but this is precisely what we have in India; and so long as such an army continues in existence, we have a fearful danger in the very heart of our dominions. The point which in our opinion is established beyond the reach of cavil, by the events narrated in the present paper, is that there is no such want of military spirit or military fidelity among the natives as to justify its continuance. Soldiers more conspicuous for courage and devotion than the artillerymen of Assye, or the infantry who scorned to yield at Laswaree, could not be found in the world. Sivajee, Bajee Rao, Holkar, the officer who commanded the Mahrattas at Laswaree,\* if not generals of the highest order, were at least soldiers of brilliant talent. And these are only a few names out of the number recorded in the military annals of India.

There are two ways in which a subject people can be governed. You can, as it were, pin them down to the ground at the point of the bayonet, much as Russia seems to treat Poland, and so long as you maintain that position, you can be indifferent to their impotent writhings and complaints. But unless you follow the principle of absolute suppression, there is no standing-point between that and perfect equality. In India we have chosen the better part; and it is this very circumstance which renders it unwise and unsafe to hedge the army round with restrictions which are being removed from every other

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\* This officer's name was "Abajee." But nothing more is known of him.

department of the public service. By their removal—a process, we admit, which can be effected only gradually, and with the utmost caution—we should convert a mercenary force into a national army, and diminish the chances of mutiny to a minimum. We do not mean that under this or any other system it would be safe to withdraw our English troops altogether from the country; although in course of time we should be able materially to diminish their number. But every measure which associates the natives more intimately with ourselves in the administration of the country—every measure which makes their duties towards the government and their individual interests more entirely one, does weaken, *pro tanto*, the motives to revolt; and only by a steady persistence in such a policy can we hope to exchange our military grasp of the country for one more in accordance with our own deepest convictions, and the highest interests of the people of India.

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## ART. II.—RICHARDSON'S CLARISSA.

*Clarissa; a Novel.* By SAMUEL RICHARDSON. Edited by E. S. DALLAS, author of "The Gay Science." Three volumes. London: Tinsley Brothers. 1868.

*Clarissa: or the History of a young Lady. Comprehending the most important Concerns of Private Life; and particularly shewing the distresses that may attend the Misconduct both of Parents and Children in Relation to Marriage.* Published by the Editor of "Pamela." London: Printed for S. Richardson, &c. 1748.

THE history of the English novel is yet to be written. It will be hardly practicable, perhaps, to deal justly with the subject, so long as the largest part of contemporary interest attaches to the literature of fiction. It is possible, though scarcely probable, that in the succeeding generation the novel will be brought to a level with other departments of literary art which at present it overshadows and obscures. Then the subject will be viewed in its due proportions, and will become capable of a historical criticism. That such a change in the relation of the novel to modern literature is not to be altogether put aside as a fantastic hypothesis, will be readily acknowledged by all who remember how suddenly that development of imaginative art

ſprang into vigorous life. However amply may be eſtabliſhed the connexion of English literary enterpriſe in other fields with the creations of Italian or French or Spaniſh genius, we may claim the novel, diſtinguiſhing it from the romance, as native-born. The English novel dates from the year 1741, when Samuel Richardson published "Pamela." In half a century it had become one of the great ſocial forces; and now, one hundred and twenty-seven years from its birth, it has almoſt ſwamped all other literary ventures, and divides with the newspaper preſs the empire of the popular taſte. So rapid and wonderful a growth has only twice been paralleled in the records of literature; and in either inſtance the ſudden and ſplendid elevation was followed by as ſwift a declenſion. The Attic drama, from the firſt effort of *Æſchylus* to the death of *Agathon*, enjoyed a dominion of precisely a hundred years. The English drama, from the acceſſion of *Elizabeth* to the Revolution of 1688, was omnipotent, with the brief exception of the Puritan interregnum, for about a century and a half. Can it be held a matter of abſolute certainty that the dominion of the English novel, which begun with "Pamela," will be more enduring?

The romance, deriving its origin from the mediæval fictions that were grouped around the memories of *Arthur* and of *Charlemagne*, was modified at the revival of learning by the adaptation of its forms to ſubjects drawn from claſſical ſources, and from the paſtoral unrealities of the leſſer Italian poets. The romance became fashionable in England as elſewhere. It took a political form, as in *More's Utopia* and *Barclay's Argenis*; a paſtoral form in *Sidney's Arcadia*. In the *Euphuës* of *John Lyly* and *Greene's Philomela* it exaggerated the quaintest features of the chivalric ſpirit. By *Bunyan* it was turned to a religious uſe, and gained an immortality for the *Pilgrim's Progress* which has not been accorded to any of its rivals. Following *Rabelais*, *Cervantes*, *Scarron*, and *Le Sage*, it became a powerful inſtrument of ſatire in the hands of *Swift* and *De Foe*. The faſhion of long-winded heroic romances, made popular in France by *Scudery* and *Calprenede*, took little hold upon England, where the ſcandalous tales of intrigue of the Italian noveliſts were outdone by the writings of *Mrs. Manley* and *Mrs. Aphra Behn*, which were admired by a profligate Court and promiſed immortality by ſycophant poets. *Mrs. Heywood*, who followed in the track of theſe ladies, hovered on the verge of the diſcovery of the true novel. But it was left for a very different perſon, who had not learned in this ſchool, and was very far from deſiring to imitate any of theſe models, to take the great ſtep from the artificial to the actual. In the preface of "Pamela" there is a diſtinct intimation that Richardson ſaw clearly the ſcope of his

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attempt, and that he knew that he was striking upon an unworked vein of literary art. He expressed a hope that his book would have a wholesome moral influence on the minds of young persons, and "turn them into a course of reading different from the pomp and parade of romance writing." From the romances indeed he was careful to borrow nothing either of matter or form. The former he drew from his experience of nature; the latter he adopted for himself from his favourite habit of letter-writing. The event proved that a new art and a new master had arisen. The field was not left to Richardson alone. Fielding, who openly scoffed at the prudery of "Pamela," and wrote "Joseph Andrews,"—the one burlesque which surpasses its prototype in merit other than that of parody, to ridicule it,—yielded a homage, not to be disguised, by following in the steps of the man whom he affected to despise. From Fielding to Thackeray we can lineally trace the descent of the English novel, but we are bound not to forget that Richardson was the founder of the family.

The success of "Pamela" was amazing. It had no merits of style, being loosely written, and composed, it is said, in three months. The story is certainly not a pleasant one, and its proximity exceeds that of either "Clarissa" or "Sir Charles Grandison." Its success, however, was unquestioned and marvellous. In a year, five editions were sold off. It was run after by fashionable ladies, sage statesmen, and brilliant wits. It was commended by the authority of critics, poets, and preachers. Pope and Sherlock united in extolling its merits. The secret of the success is explained by Scott: "It requires a reader to be in some degree acquainted with the huge folios of inanity over which our ancestors yawned themselves to sleep, ere he can estimate the delight they must have experienced from this unexpected return to truth and nature."

A compressed edition of Richardson's second and greatest novel has been published by Mr. Dallas, whose high critical powers could not have found better employment than in redeeming the fame of one of the masterpieces of English literature. This experiment has drawn attention to the claim of Richardson to be ranked among the greatest imaginative writers. That claim was conceded almost without a dissentient voice by the critical judgment of the last century, and by the unanimous suffrage of our French neighbours. This was especially the case with "Clarissa." Mr. Dallas, in his Introduction, has collected some examples of the opinions which have been given of this book. "The finest work of fiction ever written in any language" was the estimate of Sir James Mackintosh; "*le premier roman du monde*" was the estimate of Alfred de Musset. Looking back to a previous generation, we see Rousseau in ecstasies of tears over the sorrows of

the heroine and her glorious triumph. Diderot was still wilder in his enthusiasm. "I remember yet," he wrote in a passage not quoted by Mr. Dallas, "with delight the first time it came into my hands. I was in the country. How deliciously was I affected! At every moment I saw my happiness abridged by a page. I then experienced the same sensation those feel who have long lived with one they love, and are on the point of separation. At the close of the work I seemed to remain deserted." The homage of later critics has hardly been less fervent than this. Perhaps the most interesting instance is the anecdote with which Mr. Dallas introduces his edition.

"Pacing up and down the library of the Athenæum club together, Macaulay and Thackeray came to talk of Richardson's masterpiece. The great novelist asked the great historian whether he had ever read it. 'Not read "Clarissa!"' cried out Macaulay, 'if you have once thoroughly entered on "Clarissa," and are infected by it, you can't leave it. When I was in India I passed one hot season at the hills, and there were the Governor-general and the Secretary of government and the Commander-in-chief, and their wives. I had "Clarissa" with me; and as soon as they began to read it, the whole station was in a passion of excitement about Miss Harlowe and her misfortunes and her scoundrelly Lovelace! The Governor's wife seized the book, and the Secretary waited for it, and the Chief-justice could not read it for tears!'"

Of course this high estimate has been frequently disputed. The faults of Richardson's style and method lie on the surface, and repel at the outset. Byron used to say that he could not get through "Clarissa," and the tacit assent of the nineteenth century has appeared to support this decision. But so much of the literary taste of the public is mere matter of fashion, that it would be unfair to gauge merit by this test of the popular suffrage alone. "Tom Jones" still keeps a place by name among the greatest reputations of our libraries; but is Fielding's masterpiece read by many of the ordinary novel-reading class? Notwithstanding the evidence of cheap reprints innumerable, we are afraid Fielding is a sealed book to this generation of Englishmen.

It is scarcely the fashion of the present age to regulate its literary judgments by those of a bygone generation of critics, and the authority of Johnson in matters of literary taste is lightly valued by the nineteenth century. It is not, however, without interest that we look back to the verdict which Johnson pronounced with so little hesitation upon the respective claims of Richardson and Fielding—a verdict which the final decision of the supreme tribunal of public opinion has reversed, and to which Mr. Dallas probably appeals in vain. Johnson always held that the power of drawing character which Richardson possessed was



distinct from and superior in kind to that of Fielding,—that the characters of the former were “characters of nature,” of the latter “characters of manners.” This specious distinction he supported by a metaphor, which Boswell muddles and misunderstands, “that there was as great a difference between them (Richardson and Fielding) as between a man who knew how a watch was made, and a man who could tell the time by looking on the dial-plate.” Fielding he used to call “a blockhead” and “a barren rascal.” “There is more knowledge of the heart,” he added, “in one letter of Richardson’s than in all ‘Tom Jones.’” He once took special notice, Miss Reynolds informs us, of a lady who said in his presence “that she was inclined to estimate the morality of every person according as they liked or disliked *Clarissa Harlowe*.” The first book in the world, he used to call it, for the knowledge it displays of the human heart. It is easy to see that a great part of Johnson’s dislike of Fielding arose from his opinion of the immoral tendency of “*Tom Jones* ;” he admitted to Boswell that he had never read “*Joseph Andrews* ;” he used to quote with approbation Richardson’s sneer at his rival, “that the virtues of Fielding’s heroes were the vices of a truly good man.” Johnson, however, was not blind to the demerits of Richardson’s style, and especially his prolixity. “Why, sir,” he said to Boswell, “if you were to read Richardson for the story, your impatience would be so much fretted that you would hang yourself. But you must read him for the sentiment, and consider the story as only giving occasion to the sentiment.”

Indeed the charge of prolixity is acknowledged even by those who are most inclined to extol Richardson’s merits. The frequency with which, in his epistolary style, he travels over the same ground, the copious inventory of detail which occupies so large a part of his descriptions, the minute accuracy of his Dutch painting, provoked D’Alembert to say of him very justly—“*La nature est bonne à imiter, mais non pas jusqu’à l’ennui.*” “The prolixity of Richardson,” says Scott, “which to our giddy-paced age is the greatest fault of his writing, was not such a fault to his contemporaries. But a modern reader may be permitted to wish that ‘*Clarissa*’ had been a good deal abridged at the beginning, and ‘*Sir Charles Grandison*’ at the end ; that the last two volumes of ‘*Pamela*’ had been absolutely cancelled, and the second much compressed.” This process of compression has been twice attempted in France, where Richardson’s popularity has always maintained itself ; in the last century by the Abbé Prevost, and in our own time by M. Jules Janin, at the prompting of M. Villemain. It has never been essayed in England until Mr. Dallas, who is a thorough-going worshipper of his author, undertook to bring the masterpiece of Richardson’s genius within

the range of modern readers. Whether he has succeeded in effecting this may be doubted, but the attempt deserved, if it has not attained, success.

The task which Mr. Dallas undertook in his zeal for the fame of Richardson, he has performed with scrupulous care and good taste. The difficulties in his way, however, were all but insuperable; for, as we shall presently have occasion to notice, the prolixity of Richardson "is of the essence of his art," and almost every touch that the critic takes courage to prune away will by the taste of some reader be accounted a loss to the total impression. Thus the picture of the Harlowe family in the First Part suffers greatly in Mr. Dallas's abridgment. It is true that this portion of the book has been found most tedious by general readers, and only a few have noticed the delicacy of the contrasted portraits in the family group. We must admit, however, that some touches could be better spared from these early and somewhat prosaic scenes than from the later ones, in which the tragic interest deepens. Mr. Dallas believes that without condensation "*Clarissa*" will not be read at all, and if that be so he has probably done the necessary work of pruning with the least amount of injury to the characters or the plot. It is gratifying to add that Mr. Dallas has resisted the temptation to Bowdlerize. His retrenchments have been in no instance guided by any desire to trim the noble tragedy of the novel down to the vulgar and morbid prudery of contemporary punctilio.

To understand aright the scope of Richardson's work and the measure of its performance, it is necessary to know something of his personal character. A life singularly uneventful and moderately prosperous, an education of that meagre sort which a tradesman's son was likely to receive more than a hundred and fifty years ago, do not promise at first sight any splendid intellectual achievement. But genius has a habit of breaking bounds, and Samuel Richardson, having a gift to say something to his fellows, waited silent, "chiding the slumber of the seed of song," for more than half his lifetime, till at last the word came, and power with it, "a power transcending all limit and privacy, and by virtue of which a man is the conductor of the whole river of electricity."

His early training and habits combined with the walk of life he had chosen to shape the character of Richardson. A carpenter's son, he was born in Derbyshire in the year following "our Glorious Revolution," and his education, such as it was, trained him to be a ready letter-writer. He tells us himself that at the age of thirteen he was chosen as a confidant by three young women in his neighbourhood to conduct their correspondence with their lovers, and the grave air with which he

dwells on the delicacy of the office shows that it was sufficiently to his taste. At seventeen, according to Mr. Dallas, he came up to London; other authorities say two years earlier. He was bound apprentice to a printer, was sober, diligent, and saving, married his master's daughter after the approved fashion of industrious Whittingtons, and founded a prosperous printing-house. He became printer of the Journals of the House of Commons and Master of the Stationers' Company; and, just before his death, one of the printers to the King. His private life was passed in comfort and peace; he had his place of business in Salisbury Court, Fleet-street, and, beside, his country villa, where he entertained his literary friends. His happiness was broken only by the deaths of some of his children, and to the day of his death, at the age of seventy-two, he experienced nothing of the grim and tragic side of life.

He experienced nothing of it, that is to say directly; but he saw it all with "the inward eye." This is the marvel of Richardson's work,—how this plain, steady-going burgess, with his regular life and his commonplace circle of acquaintance, was able to pierce to that knowledge of the human heart which has been granted to some six or seven men only in the whole range of imaginative creation. "*Pamela*" was undertaken with the most prosaic and unpromising intention, being designed in the first instance for nothing else than a compilation of "familiar letters on the most useful concerns of life." It grew to be a complete and artistic story, though indeed a most repulsive one, coarse in its treatment and low in its moral tone. But it was natural, and nature triumphed. Richardson became the fashion, and though, much to his credit, he did not abandon his business habits and accustomed manner of life, he was soon known and respected in literary society. With women he was an especial favourite: they purred about him, and gratified him with delicate flattery. His appetite for praise became insatiable, and was ridiculed by his friends of the stronger sex. Johnson professed to be able to draw out the exhibition of the novelist's vanity. He said to Langton, whom he brought to see Richardson, "Sir, I can make him *rear*!"\*

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\* "A literary lady," he says, and he means Mrs. Lennox, "has favoured me with a characteristic anecdote of Richardson. One day, at his country house at Northend, where a large company was assembled at dinner, a gentleman who was just returned from Paris, wishing to please Richardson, mentioned to him a flattering circumstance, that he had seen his '*Clarissa*' lying on the king's brother's table. Richardson, observing that part of the company were engaged in talking to each other, affected then not to attend to it; but, by-and-by, when there was a general silence, and he thought that the flattery might be fully heard, he addressed himself to the gentleman: 'I think, sir, you

Mr. Dallas is right when he says, that we should not be too hard on Richardson for his innocent vanities when we recollect the circumstances of his sudden elevation to fame, and the many temptations to which he must have been exposed. Still it is difficult to forbear laughing at the intensity of his confidence in his own workmanship, and the eagerness with which he craved, in this regard, for the sympathy of others. Like Wordsworth, he was afflicted with the detestable practice of reading out his own compositions to any patient listener. But this is trifling compared with the record we have of his foible in the editions which he published himself of his own work. He prefixed to "Pamela" "a preface by the editor," which Isaac D'Israeli justly describes as "one of the most minutely laboured panegyrics that ever the blindest idolater of some ancient classic paid to the object of his phrenetic imagination. To 'Clarissa' he appended an alphabetical arrangement of the 'sentiments' dispersed throughout the work; and such was the fondness that dictated this voluminous arrangement that such trivial aphorisms as 'Habits are not easily changed,' 'Men are known by their companions,' &c., seem alike to be the object of their author's admiration. And in his third and final labour, to each volume of 'Sir Charles Grandison' is not only prefixed a complete index, with as much exactness as if it were a history of England, but there is also appended a list of the similes and allusions in the volume."\*

Richardson's art was of his own invention, and grew, as we have seen, out of his epistolary fame. All his novels are thrown into the same mould—namely, two or more series of letters interchanged concurrently by the principal personages of the action with their intimate friends. Not only did this form of composition flow readily from Richardson's pen; it was also precisely the proper vehicle for his minute Præ-Raphaelitism in descriptive narration. To show the same characters and the same events in several lights, according to the personal quality of the narrator, was one of the leading principles of his method. He was cautious in recording the imaginary conversations of his characters at great length of detail. "If I give speeches and conversations," he wrote, "I ought to give them justly; for the humours and characters of persons cannot be known, unless I repeat what they

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were saying something about——' pausing in a high flutter of expectation. The gentleman, provoked at his inordinate vanity, resolved not to indulge it, and with an exquisitely sly air of indifference, answered, 'A mere trifle, sir; not worth repeating!' The mortification of Richardson was visible, and he did not speak ten words more the whole day. Dr. Johnson was present, and appeared to enjoy it much."

\* D'Israeli's "Curiosities of Literature." Under Richardson's name D'Israeli gives some examples of Diderot's extravagant and impassioned laudations.

say and their manner of saying." All these principles tended to confirm Richardson in his vice of prolixity, especially since he was an inartistic writer, and lacked altogether the power of compression. In literary art the law of parcimony cannot be disregarded, and the writer who desires to make every word impressive must bear in mind the paradoxical Greek proverb, "Half is more than the whole."

Richardson's prolixity, thus interwoven with his whole method, has been frequently defended. Jeffrey, in the *Edinburgh Review*, and Isaac D'Israeli, in the "Curiosities of Literature," have protested against any curtailment of even the most fine-spun narratives and the weariest preachments. The latter critic says:—"The censure which the Shakspeare of novelists has incurred for the tedious procrastination and the minute details of his fable, his slow-unfolding characters, and the slightest gestures of his personages, is extremely unjust; for is it not evident that we could not have his peculiar excellences without their attendant defects? When characters are very fully delineated, the narrative must be suspended. Whenever the narrative is rapid—which so much delights superficial readers—the characters cannot be very minutely featured; and the writer who aims to instruct, as Richardson avowedly did, by the glow and eloquence of his feelings, must often sacrifice to this his local descriptions." This apology, however, applies only to one half, and that the lesser half, of Richardson's prolixity; it offers a valid plea for that minute painting, whether of scenes or characters, which made his works so real and so imposing; it exhibits the reason of those strange testimonies to the fidelity of Richardson's art, of which Mr. Dallas has given some examples:—

"When Pamela, whose history came out by instalments in a distant village, was known to be married, the good folks who were interested in her fate set the church bells ringing, and filled the air with rejoicings. When the first half of 'Clarissa' was published, the author was besieged with letters entreating him to make the heroine happy in a union with her destroyer—and to reform Lovelace. 'Will you not save his soul, sir?' Foreigners went to Hampstead to search out the house in the Flask Walk where Clarissa lodged; and Londoners, as they strolled through King Street into Covent Garden, looked about for the shop of Smith the glover, in whose tenement Clarissa died."

But for the remainder and the more offensive part of Richardson's prolixity, these excuses will not avail. What has permanently injured his fame and condemned his works to undeserved neglect is the length, and the frequency, and the intolerable commonplace of the moral sermons which he has interspersed through his narrative and his analysis of character. By curtailing these, Mr. Dallas has relieved the book of an unwieldy and useless

weight, though unfortunately it has not been possible to excise all of them, so many are the points at which they are inextricably woven into the thread of the story.

Admitting all that has been claimed for Richardson's method, as a means of imposing upon the imagination of the reader a sense of the reality of the representation, we are inclined to think that *le jeu ne vaut pas la chandelle*. Genuine imposition it is beyond the power of any art to produce, except in a mind quite uncultured and inexperienced. The legends of illusion which were invented to glorify the art of Zeuxis will not deceive any true critic. Nor is the end of art illusion, but representation, *μίμησις*, *Darstellung*, "an energy," as Müller calls it, "by means of which a subject becomes an object." Richardson set up a false end of art before him, and has failed perfectly to attain that end. From the form of expression which he selected result not only prolix repetitions, but frequent and inevitable confusion, improbabilities in the plot and incongruities in the character. The repetitions indeed may to some extent engage belief, and consequently interest, as the advocate who hopes to convince a thick-headed juryman will turn over the same commonplace argument and present it in twenty different forms. Yet we cannot judge what Richardson might have made of his art, if he had freed himself from the restrictions of the epistolary form. Only this much we ought to remember, that another great novelist, who attempted to tell a story in letters after Richardson's fashion, confessed himself that he had signally failed. The partial adoption of the epistolary form seriously damaged the interest of "Guy Mannering," and almost destroyed that of "Redgauntlet."

The style of Richardson is not worthy of his merits in other regards. Disraeli defends it, *apropos* of Diderot's transports, but hesitatingly. "It is probable," he says, "that to a Frenchman the style of Richardson is not so objectionable, when translated, as to ourselves. I think myself that it is very idiomatic and energetic; others have thought differently. The misfortune of Richardson was, that he was unskilful in the art of writing, and that he could never lay down the pen while his inkhorn supplied it." Mr. Dallas is very much of the same opinion; and compares his unpolished writing to the rough masculine English of Bunyan, Swift, and Defoe. This comparison is altogether faulty. The essential characteristic of Bunyan's style is its directness and terseness, as far as possible removed from the overflowing garrulity of Richardson; Swift and Defoe are even less like the author of "Clarissa," who lived much with women, and took not a little the impress of the feminine character which he drew so admirably. Bunyan, Swift, and Defoe were

men in whom manliness was almost exaggerated into coarseness ; and Richardson's writing by the side of theirs is "as moonlight unto sunlight, and as water unto wine." We speak only of style now, and in point of style only can the comparison be made at all. In "Pamela" he wrote at his worst,—loosely, nervelessly, not always clearly, and not often wittily. After nearly the nine years' probation commended by Horace, "Clarissa" appeared, and was marked by a considerable improvement in the literary graces. Richardson had gained during those years in power of lucid expression and perspicuous arrangement ; he showed that he could write with vigour when he pleased, and with liveliness when he wrote for his Lovelace. In "Sir Charles Grandison," he fell back upon some of the most offensive vices of his first novel ; and this last effort, with the exception of the grand tragic episode of Clementina's madness, is weakly and coldly written.

The story of "Clarissa" divides itself naturally and evenly into four parts. Of the plot of the novel we cannot profess to give even an outline. It is enough to say that in the First Part, called "Her Home," we are introduced to the family of the Harlowes,—Clarissa's father and mother, her two uncles, her sister and brother, as well as to her intimate and dearest friend Anna Howe, from whom she is separated. Her parents and the rest, except Miss Howe, are pressing her into a marriage with an aged, rich, decrepit profligate named Solmes. Her hand has already been sought by the fascinating Lovelace, whose high breeding, wit, and courage, are contrasted forcibly with his rival. Half in love with him, and loathing Solmes, Clarissa is persecuted in a manner the most cruel by her family, and thus led into a dangerous correspondence with the former. By a stratagem Lovelace compels her to fly with him, as she believes to the house of his cousin Lord M—— ; and so the first part ends. The Second Part, "Her Flight from Home," narrates the wavering of Lovelace in his resolution to marry her, and the infamous plan which he finally adopts. Clarissa is conveyed to a den of iniquity at Hampstead ; where after some time she discovers the designs of Lovelace, and succeeds in escaping from him. In the Third Part, "Her Flight from Lovelace," the tragic interest begins to deepen. By a series of intrigues, Clarissa is enticed back into her betrayer's power once more, and her ruin accomplished by the villanous expedient of a soporific drug. And now the nobility of the heroine shines out in its undimmed splendour. She is not appalled at the ruin that has overtaken her, though she knows that it has dealt her a death-blow, and that it is better "to end an old, stale, weary work, and to commence a newer and a better." She rejects the reparation of marriage which

Lovelace thinks he can proffer as a full expiation of his wickedness. She faces him and his crew of vile instruments, and finally makes her escape from their polluted hands. In the Fourth Part, "The Last Escape of All," we read of her slowly pining under the weight of her sorrow and shame. She will not resort, as a French heroine might have done, to the refuge of self-murder, but she rejoices in her near approaching release, and her only grief is that her hard-hearted parents and brother refuse to be reconciled to her until it is too late for them to see her alive. She dies, and leaves Lovelace to remorse, and to the avenging sword of her cousin Colonel Morden. These are the salient facts of the story, the barest skeleton of a plot which to be estimated justly must be closely followed by the reader.

The scenery is painted very accurately, and yet without excess of mere description. The events in the First Part occur at Harlowe Place, Clarissa's house; those of the succeeding parts in London and the neighbourhood. Beside the Harlowe family, Clarissa herself, and Lovelace, there are introduced several other characters,—Miss Howe, her lover and her mother, Belford the confidant of Lovelace, Mowbray, Tourville and Doleman, his profligate friends, Lord M., his uncle and his family, Mrs. Sinclair, the mistress of the house at Hampstead to which Clarissa was decoyed, and some figures more hastily sketched.

The action lags somewhat up to the period of Clarissa's flight from home, and does not acquire its entire vigour and freedom until her first escape from the hands of Lovelace. From that time forward to the catastrophe the power and grandeur of the action reaches to the height of tragic intensity. It covers up all the ugly horror of the crime; it seizes hold of the reader's passions, and carries him along, breathless and unresting, to the close.

The praise which a modern poet and critic has bestowed on Sophocles, that he

"Saw life steadily, and saw it whole,"

cannot be claimed for Richardson. He saw only what was bounded by the narrow horizon of a London tradesman's life, and that he did not always see clearly. But one thing he could see, which few have seen, and could represent to his fellows, and that is, the worth and meaning of a heroic action. That is the first essential of art, and Richardson felt it; at all events, when he wrote "*Clarissa*." This is his true title to fame, and by virtue of this he takes rank with the highest in the hierarchy of genius. We have not much of the heroic in our literature. "We have a great many flutes and flageolets," says Emerson, very justly and finely, "but not often the sound of any fife." The heroism of



Clarissa has somewhat of "the tart cathartic virtue" which has been claimed for Plutarch.

It is difficult to speak of so noble and touching a character as Richardson's heroine without indulging in the warmth of language which Mr. Dallas has permitted himself. The "total impression" is made more perfect by the certain rigidity of demeanour and coldness of temper which we perceive in Clarissa, so long as she has not faced adversity. It is with the ruin that the glory comes. "Certainly, virtue is like precious odours, most fragrant when they are incensed or crushed," is perhaps the truest and noblest sentence of Bacon, who could see what was heroic, though he had not strength to follow it. As soon as Clarissa feels the stern presence of Fate upon her, she finds a power within her breast to defy it—to confront her enemy, and to confound him with the proud majesty of her abasement. The brief letter to Belford, in which Lovelace announces the success of his unutterable baseness: "And now, Belford, I can go no further. The affair is over. Clarissa lives. And I am your humble servant, R. Lovelace," is followed by a scene of the most exciting power. While Lovelace and his miserable instruments are debating before the barred door of Clarissa's chamber, are insisting on her appearing, with the hope of utterly subjugating her spirit, the wronged lady draws the bolts and presents herself before the foul crew, radiant with a sublime courage and indignation. The story which Lovelace tells of his own humiliation in this interview is the best specimen of narration in the novel. The circumstances of her flight, of her distresses, of patience and resolution in the advancing and darkening shadow of death, combine to place the tragedy of "The Last Escape of All" among the most pathetic creations of modern literature. The religious spirit of Richardson—though he happily kept far away from the barren sands of dogmatic theology—has penetrated his representation of stricken and forsaken, yet self-reliant virtue. A Greek or a Roman heroine would have invoked and sought a refuge from misery in suicide; but Clarissa is not a Lucretia or an Antigone, but a Christian gentlewoman.

It is difficult, notwithstanding this essential difference, to avoid comparing the character of Clarissa with that of the heroine of Sophocles' greatest drama. The high-bred courage of Antigone, the silent contempt with which she puts from her the weak pleadings of Ismene, the resolution with which she dares the worst that the tyranny of Creon can inflict, and rejects the love of Hæmon, which would fetter her higher duty, are not unworthy of Richardson's heroine. There is less of the severe abnegation of human affection in Clarissa than there is in Antigone; yet in both the voice of natural yearning for sympathy is strong, though

stilled by "a stoicism, not of the schools, but of the blood," in the latter. In both, the presence of calamity brings out the heroic features of character. Clarissa is greatest when she is ruined and dying, and Lovelace, like the Roman conqueror in Beaumont and Fletcher's play, is constrained to avow her victory ;—

"She has no flesh, and spirit cannot be gyved :  
Then have we vanquished nothing."

As death creeps slowly on Clarissa, she welcomes the friendly ending. She puts aside with a noble scorn all the petty compensations by which in his petty heart Lovelace thinks he can atone for his treachery. Her love for him is extinguished by the memory of his baseness, and her higher love for purity and virtue is all that is left to comfort her. So she encounters her fate, grim as it seems to the pitying reader, with almost a joyous calm.

The design of Richardson to contrast the nobility of Clarissa's character with the baseness of Lovelace led him to paint the latter in the darkest colours—so dark that he has often "overstepped the modesty of nature." Lovelace is a moral monster. A fine and cultured intellect is fitted to a soul utterly mean, unscrupulous, and self-regarding. His wit, his insight into character, his command of resource, alternately attract admiration and excite anger. In many respects the character of Lovelace on the domestic stage may be compared with that of Napoleon on the political stage. We are dazzled and repelled by turns,—we cannot admire for one moment without loathing and despising in the next. Richardson, it is said, spent more pains upon his Lovelace than on all the rest of his portraits: the work, indeed, is too manifestly an elaborate mosaic of irreconcilable qualities. So powerful and attractive, however, did the author consider his picture of triumphant vice that he produced in Sir Charles Grandison what he deemed an antidote, a perfect and virtuous gentleman, to match his matchless Clarissa. But though Richardson could draw scoundrels and women, he could not draw men. Sir Charles Grandison is simply an unendurable pharisaical prig.

The character of Lovelace, which stands out in as bold a relief among the male personages of the story as that of Clarissa among the women, has been highly praised as a spirited and brilliant portraiture. That there is a certain glitter, an aureola of tinsel magnificence, about the fine gentleman and scoundrel, need not be contested. His letters are by many degrees superior in liveliness and finish to those of any other of the actors in the drama, even to the most elaborate epistles of the incomparable heroine

herself. They sparkle with wit, keen observation, covert satire, shrewd judgment of character, and striking descriptive passages. They are also perhaps more consistent throughout and coherent in themselves than is common in the development of Richardson's art. But the supreme gift of Lovelace which impresses us most with a sense of his reality is his belief in himself, in his own infinite superiority to other men, in his power of fascinating the womanly heart, in his own wit, and beauty, and adroitness. Never for a moment does he waver in this faith, even when he is touched for an instant by a spasm of remorse. He cannot understand the possibility of being baffled, and up to the terrible *dénouement* itself he is confident that Clarissa in rejecting him is but playing a part, that she is only careful to mask her love for him in an extraordinary complication of virginal trifling, and that he must in the end triumph over her scruples. When she continues to reject his proposals of marriage, he shows the pettish selfishness of a spoilt child. He cannot comprehend her motives, as he avows and as may be believed, and writes in an impatient strain to Belford :

"In that of Miss Howe was inclosed one to her from Miss Harlowe, to be transmitted to my cousins, containing a final rejection of me; and that in very vehement and positive terms; yet she pretends, that in this rejection she is governed more by principle than passion—(damn'd lie, as ever was told!) And, as a proof that she is, says, that she can forgive me, and does, on this one condition, that I will never molest her more—the whole letter so written as to make herself more admired, me more detested.

"What we have been told of the agitations and workings, and sighings and sobbings, of the French prophets among us formerly, was nothing at all to the scene exhibited by these maudlin souls, at the reading of these letters; and of some affecting passages extracted from another of my fair implacable's to Miss Howe. 'What the devil,' cried I, 'is all this for?' Can I help her implacable spirit?—Would I not repair the evils I have made her suffer?—Then was I ready to curse them all, herself and Miss Howe for company: and heartily I swore, that she should yet be mine.

"I now swear it over again to thee—Were her death to follow in a week after the knot is tied, by the Lord of Heaven, it shall be tied, and she shall die a Lovelace.—Tell her so, if thou wilt: but, at the same time, tell her, that I have no view to her fortune; and that I will solemnly resign that, and all pretensions to it, in whose favour she pleases, if she resign life issueless. I am not so low-minded a wretch, as to be guilty of any sordid views to her fortune.—Let her judge for herself then, whether it be not for her honour rather to leave this world a Lovelace than a Harlowe.

"But do not think I will entirely rest a cause so near my heart upon an advocate, who so much more admires h's client's adversary than his client. I will go to town in a few days, in order to throw

myself at her feet : and I will carry with me, or have at hand, a resolute, well-prepared parson, and the ceremony shall be performed, let what will be the consequence.

“ But if she will permit me to attend her for this purpose at either of the churches mentioned in the licence (which she has by her, and, thank Heaven! has not returned me with my letters); then will I not disturb her; but meet her at the altar in either church, and will engage to bring my two cousins to attend her, and even Lady Sarah and Lady Betty; and my Lord M. in person shall give her to me.

“ Or, if it will be still more agreeable to her, I will undertake, that either Lady Sarah or Lady Betty, or both, shall go to town, and attend her down; and the marriage shall be celebrated in their presence, and in that of Lord M., either here or elsewhere, at her own choice.

“ Do not play me booty, Belford; but sincerely and warmly use all the eloquence thou art master of, to prevail upon her to choose one of these three methods. One of them she must choose—by my soul, she must.”

It is only now and then, as the catastrophe visibly approaches, that his nerves begin to be shaken. Even then his remorse is evanescent, and his spirits and self-trust recover their elasticity. Of this temporary depression of Lovelace's belief in himself, and of his instant recovery of it, two striking examples will be found which at the same time illustrate Richardson's artistic resort to two rich sources of pathetic interest. The first is an instance of poetic and allegorical description, which the author has rarely attempted. That he could have attained, if he had pleased, a reputation for imaginative writing of this kind as great as that which he justly enjoys for character-painting, will occur to many who read Lovelace's account of his dream:—

“ *Mr. Lovelace to John Belford, Esq.*

“ Tuesday, August 22.

“ I must write on, to divert myself: for I can get no rest; no refreshing rest. I awaked just now in a cursed fright. How a man may be affected by dreams!

“ Methought I had an interview with my beloved. I found her all goodness, condescension, and forgiveness. She suffered herself to be overcome in my favour by the joint intercessions of Lord M., Lady Sarah, Lady Betty, and my two cousins Montague, who waited upon her in deep mourning; the ladies in long trains sweeping after them; Lord M. in a long black mantle trailing after him. They told her, they came in these robes to express their sorrow for my sins against her, and to implore her to forgive me.

“ I myself, I thought, was upon my knees, with a sword in my hand, offering either to put it up in the scabbard, or to thrust it into my heart, as she should command the one or the other.

“ At that moment her cousin Morden, I thought, aill of a sudden,

flashed in through a window, with his drawn sword—die, Lovelace, said he! this instant die, and be damned, if in earnest thou repairst not by marriage my cousin's wrongs!

“I was rising to resent this insult, I thought, when Lord M. ran between us with his great black mantle, and threw it over my face: and instantly, my charmer, with that sweet voice which has so often played upon my ravished ears, wrapped her arms round me, muffled as I was in my lord's mantle: O spare, spare my Lovelace! And spare, O Lovelace, my beloved cousin Morden! Let me not have my distresses augmented by the fall of either or both of those who are so dear to me!

“At this, charmed with her sweet mediation, I thought I would have clasped her in my arms; when immediately the most angelic form I had ever beheld, all clad in transparent white, descended in a cloud, which, opening, discovered a firmament above it, crowded with golden cherubs and glittering seraphs, all addressing her with, Welcome, welcome, welcome! and, encircling my charmer, ascended with her to the region of seraphims; and instantly, the opened cloud closing, I lost sight of her, and of the bright form together, and found wrapt in my arms her azure robe (all stuck thick with stars of embossed silver) which I had caught hold of in hopes of detaining her; but was all that was left me of my beloved Clarissa. And then (horrid to relate!) the floor sinking under me, as the firmament had opened for her, I dropped into a hole more frightful than that of Elden; and, tumbling over and over down it, without view of a bottom, I awaked in a panic; and was as effectually disordered for half an hour, as if my dream had been a reality.

“Wilt thou forgive me troubling thee with such visionary stuff? Thou wilt see by it, only, that, sleeping or waking, my Clarissa is always present with me.”

This frame of mind does not last long with Lovelace. Clarissa, to avoid the persistence of his pursuit, has recourse to a touching artifice, and writes him a letter, the real meaning of which is plain to the reader, but is missed by the confident egoism of Lovelace. He writes exultingly to Belford, and the letter, including Clarissa's innocent deceit, deserves to be read as a whole:—

*“Mr. Lovelace to John Belford, Esq.*

*“Wednesday Morning, August 23.*

“All alive, dear Jack, and in ecstasy!—likely to be once more a happy man! for I have received a letter from my beloved Miss Harlowe; in consequence, I suppose, of that which I mentioned in my last to be left for her from my sister. And I am setting out for Berks directly, to show the contents to my Lord M. and to receive the congratulations of all my kindred upon it.

“I went, last night, as I intended, to Smith's: but the dear creature was not returned at near ten o'clock. And, lighting upon Tourville, I took him home with me, and made him sing me out of my megrims.

I went to bed tolerably easy at two; had bright and pleasant dreams (not such a frightful one as that I gave thee an account of); and at eight this morning, as I was dressing, to be in readiness against the return of my fellow, whom I had sent to inquire after the lady, I had this letter brought me by a chairman.

*“To Robert Lovelace, Esq.”*

“Tuesday Night, 11 o'clock (August 22).

“Sir,—I have good news to tell you. I am setting out with all diligence for my father's house. I am bid to hope that he will receive his poor penitent with a goodness peculiar to himself; for I am overjoyed with the assurance of a thorough reconciliation, through the interposition of a dear blessed friend, whom I always loved and honoured. I am so taken up with my preparation for this joyful and long-wished-for journey, that I cannot spare one moment for any other business, having several matters of the last importance to settle first. So, pray, sir, don't disturb or interrupt me—I beseech you don't. You may possibly in time see me at my father's; at least, if it be not your own fault.

“I will write a letter, which shall be sent you when I am got thither and received: till then, I am, &c.,

“CLARISSA HARLOWE.”

“I dispatched instantly a letter to the dear creature, assuring her, with the most thankful joy, that I would directly set out for Berks, and wait the issue of the happy reconciliation, and the charming hopes she had filled me with. I poured out upon her a thousand blessings. I declared, that it should be the study of my whole life to merit such transcendent goodness: and that there was nothing which her father or friends should require at my hands, that I would not for her sake comply with, in order to promote and complete so desirable a reconciliation.

“I hurried it away without taking a copy of it; and I have ordered the chariot-and-six to be got ready; and hey for M. Hall! let me but know how Belton does. I hope a letter from thee is on the road. And if the poor fellow can spare thee, make haste, I command thee, to attend this truly divine lady. Thou mayest not else see her for months perhaps; at least, not while she is Miss Harlowe. And oblige me, if possible, with one letter before she sets out, confirming to me and accounting for this generous change.

“But what accounting for it is necessary? the dear creature cannot receive consolation herself but she must communicate it to others. How noble! she would not see me in her adversity; but no sooner does the sun of prosperity begin to shine upon her, than she forgives me.

“I know to whose mediation all this is owing. It is to Col. Morden's. She always, as she says, loved and honoured him: and he loved her above all his relations.

“Dear charming creature! what a meeting will there be between her and her father and mother and uncles! what transports, what

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pleasure, will this happy, long-wished-for reconciliation give her dutiful heart! and indeed now methinks I am glad she is so dutiful to them; for her duty to her parents is a conviction to me that she will be as dutiful to her husband: since duty upon principle is an uniform thing.

"Why prythee, now, Jack, I have not been so much to blame, as thou thinkest: for had it not been for me, who had led her into so much distress, she could neither have received or given the joy that will now overwhelm them all. So here rises great and durable good out of temporary evil!

"I knew they loved her (the pride and glory of their family) too well to hold out long!

"I wish I could have seen Arabella's letter. She has always been so much eclipsed by her sister, that I dare say, she has signified this reconciliation to her with intermingled phlegm and wormwood; and her invitation most certainly runs all in the rock-water style.

"I shall long to see the promised letter too when she is got to her father's, which I hope will give an account of the reception she will meet with.

"There is a solemnity, however, I think, in the style of her letter, which pleases and affects me at the same time. But as it is evident she loves me still, and hopes soon to see me at her father's, she could not help being a little solemn, and half-ashamed (dear blushing pretty rogue!) to own her love, after my usage of her.

"And then her subscription: till when, I am Clarissa Harlowe: as much as to say, after that I shall be, if not your own fault, Clarissa Lovelace!

"O my best love! my ever-generous and adorable creature! how much does this thy forgiving goodness exalt us both!—me, for the occasion given thee! thee for turning it so gloriously to thy advantage, and to the honour of both!

"Mowbray is just arrived with thy letters. I therefore close my agreeable subject, to attend to one, which I doubt will be very shocking.

"I have engaged the rough varlet to bear me company in the morning to Berks; where I shall file off the rust he has contracted in his attendance upon the poor fellow.

"He tells me that between the dying Belton, and the preaching Belford, he shan't be his own man these three days: and says, that thou addest to the unhappy fellow's weakness, instead of giving him courage to help him to bear his destiny.

"I am sorry he takes the unavoidable lot so heavily. But he has been long ill; and sickness enervates the mind, as well as the body; as he himself very significantly observed to thee."

In his confident mood he remains until he learns distinctly from Belford of Clarissa's nearly approaching death. Even then he will not believe in his disappointment, for it is as a disappointment of his own that he principally regards it. He alternately doubts and storms and peevishly complains, now of Belford for

his plain-spoken reproaches, now of *Clarissa* for her artifice. At last the truth begins to touch and possess him, though he is not convinced until he gets two lines from *Belford* which plunge him into the remorse depicted by his boon companion *Mowbray*. The letters that tell the story of the catastrophe are among the finest examples of *Richardson's* art:—

*“ Mr. Lovelace to John Belford, Esq.*

“Curse upon the Colonel, and curse upon the writer of the last letter I received, and upon all the world! Thou to pretend to be as much interested in my *Clarissa's* fate as myself! 'Tis well for one of us, that this was not said to me, instead of written—Living or dying, she is mine—and only mine. Have I not earned her dearly?—Is not damnation likely to be the purchase to me, though a happy eternity will be hers?

“An eternal separation! O God! O God!—How can I bear that thought!—But yet there is life!—Yet, therefore, hope—enlarge my hope, and thou shalt be my good genius, and I will forgive thee everything.

“For this last time—but it must not, shall not, be the last—let me hear, the moment thou receivest this—what I am to be—for, at present, I am

“The most miserable of Men.”

“Rose, Knightsbridge, 5 o'clock.

“My fellow tells me, that thou art sending *Mowbray* and *Tourville* to me. I want them not. My soul's sick of them, and of all the world; but most of myself. Yet, as they send me word they will come to me immediately, I will wait for them, and for thy next. O *Belford*! let it not be—but hasten it, hasten it, be what it may!”

*“ Mr. Belford to Robert Lovelace, Esq.*

“Seven o'clock, Thursday Evening, September 7.

“I have only to say at present—thou wilt do well to take a tour to Paris; or wherever else thy destiny shall lead thee!!!—

“JOHN BELFORD.”

*“ Mr. Mowbray to John Belford, Esq.*

“Uxbridge, September 7, between 11 and 12 at Night.

“Dear Jack,—I send by poor *Lovelace's* desire, for particulars of the fatal breviate thou sentest him this night. He cannot bear to set pen to paper; yet wants to know every minute passage of *Miss Hardowe's* departure. Yet, why he should, I cannot see; for if she is gone, she is gone; and who can help it?

“I never heard of such a woman in my life. What great matters has she suffered, that grief should kill her thus?

“I wish the poor fellow had never known her. From first to last, what trouble has she cost him! The charming fellow has been half



lost to us ever since he pursued her. And what is there in one woman more than another, for matter of that?

"It was well we were with him when your note came. You showed your true friendship in your foresight. Why, Jack, the poor fellow was quite beside himself—mad as any man ever was in Bedlam.

"Will brought him the letter just after we had joined him at the Bohemia Head; where he had left word at the Rose at Knightsbridge he should be; for he had been sauntering up and down, backwards and forwards, expecting us, and his fellow. Will, as soon as he delivered it, got out of his way; and when he opened it, never was such a piece of scenery. He trembled like a devil at receiving it; fumbled at the seal, his fingers in a palsy, like Tom Doleman's; his hand shake, shake, shake, that he tore the letter in two, before he could come at the contents: and, when he had read them, off went his hat to one corner of the room, his wig to the other—Damnation seize the world! and a whole volley of such-like execrations wishes; running up and down the room, and throwing up the sash, and pulling it down, and smiting his forehead with his double fist, with such force as would have felled an ox, and stamping and tearing, that the landlord ran in, and faster out again. And this was the distraction-scene for some time.

"But his damn'd addled pate runs upon this lady as much now she's dead, as it did when she was living. For, I suppose, Jack, it is no joke: she is certainly and *bonâ fide* dead: isn't she? If not, thou deservest to be doubly damn'd for thy fooling, I tell thee that. So he will have me write for particulars of her departure.

"He won't bear the word dead on any account. A squeamish puppy! How love unmans and softens! And such a noble fellow as this too! Rot him for an idiot, and an oaf! I have no patience with the foolish duncical dog—upon my soul, I have not!

"So send the account, and let him howl over it, as I suppose he will.

"But he must and shall go abroad: and in a month or two Jemmy, and you, and I, will join him, and he'll soon get the better of this chicken-hearted folly, never fear; and will then be ashamed of himself: and then we'll not spare him; though now, poor fellow, it were pity to lay him on so thick as he deserves. And do thou, till then, spare all reflections upon him; for, it seems, thou hast worked him unmercifully.

"I was willing to give thee some account of the hand we have had with the tearing fellow, who had certainly been a lost man, had we not been with him; or he would have killed somebody or other. I have no doubt of it. And now he is but very middling; sits grinning like a man in straw; curses and swears, and is confounded gloomy; and creeps into holes and corners, like an old hedgehog hunted for his grease.

"And so adieu, Jack. Tourville and all of us wish for thee; for no one has the influence upon him that thou hast.

"R. MOWBRAY."

Though the remorse does not pass away, it quickly changes its form and displays its intrinsic selfishness. Nor does it destroy the indomitable self-confidence of Lovelace. It has been well remarked that from the moment Colonel Morden appears in the story, his stern resentment against the villain who has destroyed the peace of his cousin, controlled and suppressed as it is, marks him out as the instrument by which justice is to be done upon Lovelace. It is then without surprise that we find him engaged, not with the mouthing fury of a Laertes, but with quiet composure, to challenge the wrong-doer, who receives the message with the light-hearted confidence of an assured conqueror. Before the duel he writes airily to Belford:—"So, Jack, you see I take no advantage of him; but my devil must deceive me if he take not his life or his death at my hands before eleven to-morrow morning. . . . A shower of rain has left me nothing else to do, and therefore I write this letter; though I might as well have deferred it till to-morrow at twelve o'clock, when I doubt not to be able to write again." At that hour he was a corpse. "Poor gentleman!" wrote his friend De La Tour, "he had made quite sure of victory."

So he ended, dying in the faith and for the faith in which he had lived, trusting in himself to the last, even after the mischief he had done, and at which he seemed to repine. This faith, we have said, is the main element of the attraction which undoubtedly the character of Lovelace has for the reader. But the selfishness of which it is a manifestation creates from time to time a repulsion quite strong enough to counterbalance the attraction of the witty and confident rake. In the "Fair Penitent" of Rowe, the plot, itself "conveyed" from Massinger, closely resembles that of Richardson's masterpiece, and the characters of Lothario and Calista have been pronounced to be the originals of Lovelace and Clarissa. The leading features of the hero's character may have been taken by the novelist from the drama; but all the finer touches have been added in the later presentment. The judgment of Johnson is sound and discriminating, though expressed in more than his usual pomp of language. "Lothario, with gaiety which cannot be hated, and bravery which cannot be despised, retains too much of the spectator's kindness. It was in the power of Richardson alone to teach us at once esteem and detestation; to make virtuous resentment overpower all the benevolence which art and elegance and courage naturally excite; and to lose at last the hero in the villain." But if the novelist has improved upon the character of Lothario, he has totally transformed the character of Calista. The loving and hesitating heroine of the play bears no resemblance to, and hardly suggests comparison with, the majestic and saintly virtue of Clarissa.

The wit of Lovelace's letters is mixed up with another quality still more attractive to the reader who looks beyond mere amusement and ornament. A power of subtle self-analysis is united with a power of dissecting at least all the evil part of ordinary human nature. Take, for instance, the two letters in which Lovelace lays before Belford his inclinations and disinclinations towards marriage, his opinion of Clarissa's character and its possible developments in different circumstances, his reasonings in favour of one policy and the other. The argument begins in this appeal to Belford:—

*“ Mr. Lovelace to John Belford, Esq.*

*“ April 12:*

“I begin to stagger in my resolutions. Ever averse as I was to the hymenical shackles, how easily will old prejudices recur! Heaven give me the heart to be honest to my Clarissa!—There's a prayer, Jack! If I should not be heard, what a sad thing would that be, for the most admirable of women!—Yet, as I do not often trouble Heaven with my prayers, who knows but this may be granted?

“But there lie before me such charming difficulties, such scenery for intrigue, for stratagem, for enterprise—what a horrible thing, that my talents point all that way!—When I know what is honourable and just; and would almost wish to be honest?—Almost, I say; for such a varlet am I, that I cannot altogether wish it, for the soul of me!—Such a triumph over the whole sex, if I can subdue this lady!—My maiden vow, as I may call it!—For did not the sex begin with me?—And does this lady spare me?—Thinkest thou, Jack, that I should have spared my rosebud, had I been set at defiance thus?—Her grandmother besought me, at first, to spare her rosebud; and when a girl is put, or puts herself, into a man's power, what can he wish for further? While I always considered opposition and resistance as a challenge to do my worst.

“Then she cuts me short in all my ardours. To vow fidelity, is by a cursed turn upon me, to show, that there is reason, in my own opinion, for doubt of it.—The very same reflection upon me once before. In my power, or out of my power, all one to this lady.—So, Belford, my poor vows are crammed down my throat, before they can well rise to my lips. And what can a lover say to his mistress, if she will neither let him lie nor swear?”

We could wish for space to extract the rest of this remarkable correspondence. It has been observed that the most vicious characters in Shakspeare are the most self-reflective, as Iago and Richard the Third; and that this introspective spirit is the symptom of a morbid state within—the will urging to evil acts, the conscience checking the intention, and the understanding, working in obedience to the will, move to silence the voice of conscience with sophistry. So Shelley's Orsino remarks of the Cenci—

“It is a trick of this same family  
To analyse their own and other minds.  
Such self-anatomy shall teach the will  
Dangerous secrets: for it tempts our powers  
Knowing what must be thought, and may be done,  
Into the depth of darkest purposes.”

We can only glance very rapidly at the minor characters which are grouped around *Clarissa* and *Lovelace*. None of these portraits can compare for elaboration and vigour with the heroic figure of the former or the vivid brilliancy of the latter; and this subordination is well carried out. The interest is concentrated on the two figures in the foreground, and not dissipated among a crowd. But though Richardson's lesser characters are rather sketched than painted in, they are Hogarthian sketches,—living, breathing, and moving. The most singular conclusion that one arrives at from a survey of these is, that while Richardson could portray women, good, bad, and indifferent, with marvellous fidelity and liveliness, he could only sketch the rascally side of the characters of the other sex. His good men are, one and all, the most wooden of stage puppets. Jack Belford, *Lovelace's* friend, the converted rake, is a washy, prosy, commonplace lay-figure. Colonel Morden, *Clarissa's* cousin and avenger, is, except in the closing scenes, a poor specimen of the English gentleman and soldier. One is not a little revolted at the coldness which Belford displays at learning how vile has been the conduct of *Lovelace*. His indignation goes no further than words, and those not very fierce words: “I can tell thee it is well either for me or for thee that I am not the brother of the lady.” Colonel Morden is nearly as slow to wrath; and indeed, but for the forwardness of *Lovelace*, it is left doubtful whether or not the duel, which closes the drama, would have come off at all.

The Harlowe family form a group by themselves, very delicately distinguished by particular traits, yet markedly of one stock and one basis of character. This group of figures has suffered much from the process of compression extensively resorted to by Mr. Dallas in his treatment of the First Part of the novel. The stern unbending pride of the father, the plastic weakness of the mother, the sour and envious temper of *Arabella*, the tyrannical ferocity of *James Harlowe*, the stiff, prosperous dogmatism of the two bachelor uncles, so “like in difference,” are blended with a certain element of arrogance in all, which is not wholly absent from *Clarissa* herself in her days of good fortune. The character of *James Harlowe*, *Clarissa's* brother, is peculiarly detestable, and may rank with *Fielding's* *Blifil*. *Arabella* again is a remarkable picture of sisterly jealousy—of a life-long envy

breaking out against superior merit with malignant exultation. The relations between Clarissa's sister and Clarissa's friend, Anna Howe, are finely drawn. Miss Howe herself is not an attractive person; and one is disposed to pity poor Hickman, her lover, whom she satirizes so unmercifully, whom she keeps so long at a distance, and whom she accepts at last, it seems more out of compassion than out of love. The sketch of Hickman himself, so sincere and so awkward in his devotion, is full of amusing touches rather suggested than firmly drawn.

The group of profligates who surround and admire and imitate Lovelace are still less prominent in the story than the Harlowes or Miss Howe; but they have a definite part of their own to play, and are well adapted to their purpose. They are Lovelaces without the culture, the wit, the refinement, of their prototype; and according to the proportions in which their licentiousness, stupidity, and want of education are mixed, they come out in distinct attitudes and actions. No one will mistake Dick Mowbray for Tom Doleman, or Tourville for Belton. The same gradation of character is visible in the portrayal of the wretched women at the pretended Mrs. Sinclair's. The beldam herself, the insolent Sally, the pert Polly, Dorcas, and the rest, almost give reason to doubt whether the steady old printer of Salisbury Court did not at one time in his life sow his wild oats as well as his neighbours did. The death of old Mother Sinclair, which is designed by contrast to heighten the effect of Clarissa's happy ending, is an appalling picture.

Another character, the pedantic censorious curate Brand, is introduced but for a moment; his features, however, are photographed with wonderful clearness in the single letter which he writes to James Harlowe. The sneaking flattery, the pedantry and vanity of the man, the arrogance of the priest—as where he mentions “Mr. Daniel Defoe (an ingenious man though a Dissenter)” —his frequent parentheses and quotations, are to the life.

*“Mr. Brand to James Harlowe, Esq.”*

“Worthy Sir, my very good friend and patron,—I arrived in town yesterday, after a tolerable pleasant journey (considering the hot weather, and dusty roads). I put up at the Bull and Gate in Holborn, and hastened to Covent Garden. I soon found the house where the unhappy lady lodgeth. And, in the back shop, had a good deal of discourse with Mrs. Smith (her landlady), whom I found to be so highly prepossessed in her favour, that I saw it would not answer your desires to take my informations altogether from her: and being obliged to attend my patron (who, to my sorrow,

*Miserum est aliena vivere quadra,*

I find wanteth much waiting upon, and is another sort of man than

he was at college: for sir, inter nos, honours change manners. For the aforesaid causes), I thought it would best answer all the ends of the commission with which you honoured me, to engage, in the desired scrutiny, the wife of a particular friend, who liveth almost over-against the house where she lodgeth, and who is a gentlewoman of character and sobriety, a mother of children, and one who knoweth the world well.

"Accordingly, sir, I waited upon the gentlewoman aforesaid, this day; and, to my very great trouble (because I know it will be to yours, and likewise to all your worthy family's) I must say, that I do find things look a little more darkly, than I hoped they would. For, alas! sir, the gentlewoman's report turneth not out so favourable for Miss's reputation, as I wished, as you wished, and as every one of her friends wished. But so it is throughout the world, that one false step generally brings on another; and peradventure a worse, and a still worse; till the poor lined soul (a very fit epithet of the divine Quarles's!) is quite entangled, and (without infinite mercy) lost for ever.

"It seemeth, sir, she is, notwithstanding, in a very ill state of health. In this, both gentlewomen (that is to say, Mrs. Smith her landlady, and my friend's wife) agree. Yet she goeth often out in a chair, to prayers (as it is said). But my friend's wife told me, that nothing is more common in London, than that the frequenting of the church at morning prayers is made the pretence and cover for private assignations. What a sad thing is this! that what was designed for wholesome nourishment to the poor soul, should be turned into rank poison! But as Mr. Daniel Defoe (an ingenious man, though a Dissenter) observeth (but indeed it is an old proverb; only I think he was the first that put it into verse)

God never had a house of prayer  
But Satan had a chapel there.

"Yet to do the lady justice, nobody cometh home with her: nor indeed can they, because she goeth forward and backward in a sedan chair (as they call it). But then there is a gentleman of no good character (an intimidator of Mr. Lovelace) who is a constant visitor of her, and of the people of the house, whom he regaleth and treateth, and hath (of consequence) their high good words.

"I have thereupon taken the trouble (for I love to be exact in any commission I undertake) to inquire particularly about this gentleman, as he is called (albeit I hold no man so but by his actions: for, as Juvenal saith,

—Nobilitas sola est, atque unica virtus).

And this I did before I would sit down to write to you.

"Forgive me, sir, for what I am going to write: but if you could prevail upon the rest of your family, to join in the scheme which you, and her virtuous sister, Miss Arabella, and the Archdeacon, and I, once talked of (which is to persuade the unhappy young lady to go, in some creditable manner, to some one of the foreign colonies) it might save not only her own credit and reputation, but the reputation and

credit of all her family, and a great deal of vexation moreover. For it is my humble opinion, that you will hardly (any of you) enjoy yourselves while this (once innocent) young lady is in the way of being so frequently heard of by you.

"You will forgive me, sir, for this my plainness. Ovid pleadeth for me.

—Adulator nullus amicus erit.

"And I have no view but that of approving myself a zealous well-wisher to all your worthy family (whereto I owe a great number of obligations) and very particularly, sir,

"Your obliged and humble servant,

"ELIAS BRAND.

"Wednesday, August 9

What is the moral of "Clarissa?" The question has been often asked and variously answered. Like Richardson's other novels, it was intended to carry a direct lesson with it, as he tells us himself in his preface. He sets forth his aim rather quaintly and formally:—

"What will be found to be more particularly aimed at in the following work, is—to warn the inconsiderate and thoughtless of the one sex, against the base arts and designs of specious contrivers of the other—to caution parents against the undue exercise of their natural authority over their children in the great article of marriage—to warn children against preferring a man of pleasure to a man of probity, upon that dangerous but too commonly received notion, that a reformed rake makes the best husband—but above all, to investigate the highest and most important doctrines not only of morality, but of Christianity, by showing them thrown into action in the conduct of the worthy characters; while the unworthy, who set those doctrines at defiance, are condignly, and, as may be said, consequentially, punished."

Is this all that Richardson meant to teach, or is there not something much more striking to be read between the lines? We believe there is; and we repudiate altogether the notion that Richardson in his heart had any desire or design to bolster up the old unhealthy doctrine that prudery is the only salvation for woman. Some critics have professed to understand the lesson of "Clarissa" to be that happiness can only follow obedience to parents; the very words of the author that we have cited repel this absurd interpretation. On the contrary, the entire drift of the action seems, if we rightly understand it, directly counter to the preservation of the prudish and prurient moral swaddling-clothes for which all the respectable personages in the book affect a profound veneration. Richardson, surrounded with old ladies, could not openly initiate a revolt against these mischievous trammels, and to the narrow view of his contemporary admirers he

appeared perhaps to fence them about with fresh securities of monition. But in real truth his esoteric teaching, for those that had ears to hear, was as nearly as possible the reverse of what it seemed to be to the female coterie of his "æsthetic teas." He struck boldly at a gigantic abuse, and perhaps it was in no small degree due to the power which he exerted that in the course of a generation a great change was accomplished, and what had been possible and frequent under George II., became impossible under George III. The process by which the will of young women has been emancipated from the coercion of parents has gone on slowly but steadily down to our own time. Was nothing of this emancipation due to the lesson of "Clarissa"?

The central pivot of the action is, as we have seen, a crime so horrible and repugnant to the feelings as to bear treatment only at the hands of the greatest masters. Our modern novelists of the school of sensation dabble boldly enough in tales of adultery and murder; but they have avoided for the most part the repulsive aspect of the wickedness to which Richardson has elected to tempt his brilliant and self-trustful hero. It would have been easy to pass the line which separates the tragic from the painful and morbid; but Richardson has kept on the right side of it. He has raised his theme above the least touch of impurity, and glorified it with true art, so that, as Mr. Arnold has observed of the classical school of poetry, "the more tragic the situation, the deeper becomes the enjoyment." The book is free from the faintest suggestion of any impure thought. It is not indeed a story to be commended to school-girls in their teens. It stands on the same moral level with the legends of Lucretia and Virginia, with many of the great Elizabethan dramas, with "Measure for Measure," "The Maid's Tragedy," and "The Fatal Dowry."

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### ART. III.—OUR CRIMINAL PROCEDURE, ESPECIALLY IN CASES OF MURDER.

1. *Reports of Cases in the Crown Courts, for Ten Years, 1854—1864.* In Four Volumes. By W. F. FINLASON, Esq., and T. CAMPBELL FOSTER, Esq., Barristers-at-Law. London: Stevens, Maxwell, and Sweet.
2. *Return of Committals and Convictions in Cases in the Metropolis.* By Sir RICHARD MAYNE. Nov. 1868.

IT is impossible for any one closely to attend to the cases in our Crown Courts, especially cases of murder, without often feeling great dissatisfaction, and a grave degree of doubt and suspicion, as to our system of administration of criminal justice. That is to say, a doubt as to whether it is sufficiently effective in procuring the conviction of the guilty, and a suspicion that it may sometimes, though rarely, result in the conviction of the innocent; and that not through any want of care, but simply through its own inherent awkwardness and clumsiness. Happily, by reason of the reaction which took place in the public mind at the early part of this century, partly through the horror caused by the occurrence of cases of conviction of innocent persons, such as Eliza Fenning; and partly through the increased sense of the sacred value of human life arising from the benevolent labours of Bentham and Beccaria, of Romilly and of Peel; happily, we say, convictions of the innocent are now, it is to be hoped, extremely rare; and though it is to be feared—and is indeed certain,—that they do sometimes occur, it is probable that it hardly ever happens in a capital case. Except in cases where popular feeling has been aroused against the accused—as in the case of Müller—there is no risk of the benevolent maxim of the law, to give the accused the benefit of a doubt, being disregarded, at all events in any case involving the last dread sentence of the law. The danger is now rather in the other direction: and is a danger of the escape of the guilty through the appearance of doubt caused by the clumsy mode in which our criminal justice is administered, and in which cases are prepared for trial. Those who have watched the system in operation at the assizes often wonder that criminals are convicted at all; that is, in the graver cases, and, above all, in capital cases. For in such cases of course, for the reason just alluded to, the case must be *clear*, and beyond any reasonable doubt; and whether it be so or not depends almost entirely upon the mode in which it is “got up,” or prepared for trial. And by *whom* are

cases thus prepared and presented? Who makes the preliminary investigations? Who determines whether this or that person shall be prosecuted? Who prepares the evidence, and marshals the witnesses, and presents the case in court? Practically the police; that is to say, the policeman who happens to have the case; in London, perhaps, a superintendent; in the country, the local inspector; a man of the average intelligence of a small tradesman or farmer: he manages it all. Let us look a little into the system, and its practical working.

There are two modes in which a person may be brought into court for trial on a criminal charge: the one may be called the ancient, the other the modern mode. The former is by means of the coroner; the latter by means of the magistrate. The first is the older system, and it applies only now in cases of homicide; for, as we all know, coroners' inquests are upon the *dead*. The ancient Saxon system, indeed, allows any one to present any one else for any offence before a grand jury; but practically this is rarely done—never, in serious cases, without a preliminary inquiry before the coroner or the magistrate. The coroner's inquest applies only in cases of homicide or suicide. The jurisdiction of justices of the peace is general: and no one would venture, in a case which has not been before the coroner, to indict another for a serious crime without first having an inquiry before a magistrate. And practically, indeed, private parties rarely proceed in the matter at all. Even if they *move* in the matter, it is usually through the medium of the police. Necessarily this is so—for of course they cannot take any step, even to secure the person of the supposed criminal, without the aid of the police or the authority of the magistrate. The police must be communicated with, and the moment the police have information in the matter, they take it up as a matter of course; and are in no degree under the control of any one except the magistrate—whose ear they are sure to have; who has no inquisitorial functions; who cannot, like the coroner, inquire; who can only hear and determine (*i.e.* whether to commit or not commit for trial), and can only do this upon a *charge* against some person and upon evidence submitted to him,—almost always by the police.

It is desirable here to notice the difference between the functions of the coroner and the magistrate; for the distinction will throw a light upon our whole subject. The coroner is an officer not judicial but inquisitorial; that is to *inquire*,—not to decide. On the other hand the magistrate is a judge; and although in cases of serious crime only a preliminary judge, still his functions are judicial, *not* inquisitorial. He awaits a charge, and an accusation; he cannot originate an inquiry as the coroner does. The coroner does not sit to hear a charge against any one, he

merely sits to inquire into the cause of death. It is in its nature a general inquiry. It is not necessarily directed at any one; it involves no charge or accusation. It is simply an inquiry. It may or may not result in the crimination of any one; but until it does, it is quite general, and pointed at no one. It follows that as no one is accused, *anybody may be examined*. This is the most important point to be observed. It is quite otherwise with the magistrate. He can only proceed upon a sworn charge, and against an accused party, *and that party cannot be examined*. He may be the party who knows most of the matter, and he may be quite innocent; but *as* he is accused, he cannot be asked a question. We waive for the present the question whether or not an accused person *ought* to be examined; for the present it is sufficient to notice that he is *not*. Now who determines that a particular person shall or shall not *be* accused? Practically, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, the police; in other words,—out of the metropolis at all events—a half-intelligent, uneducated police inspector; in the rural districts, probably a rather dull and perhaps somewhat stupid sort of man. What we want to point out is that on this first step all the rest of the proceedings depends. For of course the moment a person is *accused*, that person's mouth is closed; at all events that person can be asked no question, and that avenue to information is stopped up. And if a mistake is made there, it is probably fatal to justice, though not probably to the accused. For by the time the mistake is discovered—as it will no doubt be at the trial—the real criminal will have escaped, or it will be too late, after swearing a case against one man, to set up a new case against another. Justice will be defeated. What we want to impress upon our readers, and that as soon as possible, is that the *earliest stage in our criminal procedure is the most important*, and is, under the present system, left in the rudest and clumsiest hands. It is so, certainly, under the magisterial system; it is so, practically, even under the coroner, although, as already mentioned, he is nominally an inquisitorial officer, holds an inquest and makes an "inquisition." For in the first place he does so only with a popular tribunal—a jury of twelve tradesmen got together by the beadle or the constable, and he has no judicial functions, nor any direct connexion with the administration of criminal justice. He merely makes a general inquiry. He inquires into the cause of death.

If, indeed, it appears that a particular person has committed a murder, why the jury return their inquisition accordingly, and the coroner can commit him to take his trial. And no doubt it may be deemed the duty of the coroner to inquire first whether there has been a murder; and next, who was the murderer—

and his functions are of the right nature—*i.e.*, inquisitorial ; but even if he be an intelligent man, disposed to use his functions to the utmost, he is sadly encumbered by the clumsy popular tribunal to which he is attached—the coroner's jury—the jury of tradesmen. He can only meet them, and must sit with them ; and if he desires to prosecute further inquiries, must adjourn to some other day to meet *them*, and sit with them. And again, he can secure or imprison no one until there has been evidence given upon which the jury have returned an inquisition against the party as guilty. So that whether or not he may discover the guilty party depends mainly upon the evidence brought before him ; and that depends upon the *police*. As already mentioned, the moment a case of crime, or possible crime, transpires, they take charge of it ; they prosecute their inquiries ; they have powers of their own independent of coroners, and even of magistrates. Without waiting for a warrant, they may arrest any one upon suspicion of the crime ; and, as already mentioned, the moment a person is accused and arrested, he is at once protected, and can be asked no questions ; he cannot even be examined before the coroner as a witness, although of course he may say what he pleases. The result is, that if a mistake is committed here, if the party who knows most about the matter *except* the real criminal is prematurely arrested and accused, in all probability the real criminal will escape, and justice will be baffled and defeated ; and as every instance in which impunity is given to crime is a direct encouragement to crime—and the first victim of a murderer is, if he be undetected, rarely his *last*—it follows that by such failures *crime is largely increased*. Practically, it depends upon the police whether a case comes before the coroner or the magistrate ; what course the case shall take ; whether a particular person shall be *accused* or be *witness*—which, it will be seen, makes all the difference in the world as to the future course and ultimate issue of the case. Before the coroner can arrive, and get his jury together, and hold his inquest, the mischief may have been done, and justice baffled by a blunder.

Those who know anything of criminal justice are aware, that in cases which turn on circumstantial evidence, (as cases of murder almost always do,) it requires great intelligence and some experience to avoid a blunder. It requires an intellect to construct rapidly in the mind theories of guilt upon certain facts, and test the theories rapidly, so as to arrive at conclusions as to what course to adopt, what further inquiries to pursue, whom to suspect, whom to examine, and then, upon any fresh facts being elicited, quickly to perceive their bearing ; and to test the theories already formed, perhaps discard them, and form another, in like manner to

be tried and tested by further inquiries. What likelihood is there of an average police inspector having intellect enough for all this? And yet upon the course he may take in *the first day or two*, the whole issue of the case may depend. He may take a step which the coroner cannot undo, and which may close the door to all further inquiry with any chance of discovering the truth. After the first day or two, even if no false step is taken, it may be too late to take the right step. The search, the inquiry, which, if made, would have discovered the dread secret of crime, would be now useless. The criminal has had the start of justice, and has defeated it,—because justice had not an acute and intelligent agent *at once* at work to discover the criminal; but instead of such an agent, a dullard, a blockhead, or a blunderer. Let us tell a story to illustrate our argument.

A Queen's Counsel, of large practice on the Western Circuit as defender of prisoners, told the writer this story: A murder had been committed, the circumstances of which plainly showed that either A or B and C must have committed it. The police, misled by some superficial circumstances of suspicion, suspected A; and although they altered their course just in time to avoid a fatal mistake, the suspicion preyed so much upon him that he attempted to hang himself, and was scarcely saved. This was taken as an additional proof of guilt, and he was now more grievously suspected than before; and, indeed, believed to be the criminal. In the meantime, however, the other two men had been committed for trial; and from the nature of the case he could be the only or the principal witness against them, as *they* would have been the only witnesses of importance against *him*. Thus it will be observed it entirely depended upon the police whether *they* should be the accused or *he*; *i.e.*, whether they should prove the murder against *him*, or *he* prove it against them. And as there were *two* on one side, had the police arrested *him*, and sent *him* for trial, there is little doubt that their testimony would have convicted him, and innocent blood would have been shed. As it was, when the trial came on the unhappy man, by reason of suspicious circumstances and his unfortunate attempt at suicide, presented such an appearance in the witness-box that his testimony was not believed, and the men were acquitted; that is, in other words, the jury found that *he* was the murderer. Yet the *two prisoners were guilty, for they had confessed their crime to their counsel*, who told the writer the story. It is obvious that the unfortunate man escaped the gallows by a mere accident. The police were on the point of committing the fatal mistake of charging him with the murder; and if they *had* done so, the murderers being witnesses against him, the chances would have been terribly against him.

It often happens in cases of murder that the alternative of guilt lies between one of two men, one of whom is witness against the other; and whether the one or the other shall be the *witness* depends practically upon the police. Some years ago a Spaniard named Manzano was executed for murder. He was tried before Baron Martin, and his case is reported in Foster and Finlason's Reports, upon a point of procedure of enormous importance. The case against him on record was, that he was found not far from the spot with the clothes of the murdered man. His defence, in a word, was that he was wandering about destitute, and that a man met him, and offered him a shilling to change clothes with him, and that he did so, glad enough to get a shilling. Now this story might have been true, for the real murderer would be eager to adopt any means of disguise and escape; and the wanderer would be glad to get a shilling, to save himself from starvation. And *if* the story was *true*, it would be hopeless to *prove* it, for of course the real murderer would never come forward. If he had been caught, of course he would have denied it, and then the difficulty would have been which of the two men to believe, and which should be prisoner, and which of them witness. But he was *not* caught. Assuming that there was any such person—as there *might* have been—then arose the difficulty as to proving the defence. The prisoner, if he had had no counsel, could have told his story in addressing the jury; and though it would not have been evidence, it might have had its effect. The prisoner *had* counsel; and the question was whether his story could be *put* to the jury, there being no *proof* of it, merely as his account of the matter. The judge thought it *might* be so put; but as there was no evidence in confirmation of it, and the judge thought there was evidence of *one* fact against it, he was convicted and executed, not without some painful doubts upon the minds of some persons who had attended to the case. In the course which the case took, as the supposed other party was not captured, the question did not arise *which* of them should be accused and put upon his trial, and which of them should be the *witness* against the other. In a more recent case, on the same circuit—the Western—that question *did* arise. Two women, Harris and Winsor, were implicated in a child-murder; *both* were indicted, and the case failed for want of evidence. The prosecutor, at the next assizes, called Harris as a witness against Winsor; and, of course, Harris swore that Winsor did the deed, and the latter was convicted. It may safely be taken as certain, that had Winsor been called as the witness she would have sworn the deed against Harris, and probably Harris would have been convicted. And had the police, in the first instance, considered the evidence against *both* as insufficient,

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as it afterwards appeared to be, they would have had to elect which woman should be the culprit, which the witness; that is, in all probability, which should be convicted and executed. In numerous cases it happens that there are alternative theories implicating one of two persons, and in which the police have to make such an election.

Take the case of Gardner, for instance, who was tried some years ago before the late Lord Chief Baron (Sir F. Pollock) for the murder of his wife. It was a murder *either* committed by the husband or a woman who, it was said, wanted to marry him. The police charged both, and both were indicted; but the Chief Baron thought there was no case against the woman, and she was ordered to be discharged. The man was convicted, partly on her evidence. But there was an expression of public opinion that the evidence was inconclusive, and he was reprieved. Probably, had he been indicted *alone* in the first instance, and the woman called as a witness, his conviction would not have been regarded with distrust. On the other hand, had *she* been indicted in the first instance alone, and he called as a witness against her, *she* might have been convicted. Take the case of Müller, again, tried before the same judge. At the hearing before the magistrate, Müller pursued a line of cross-examination against the principal witness which suggested the idea that the *witness* was the guilty party. And suppose the police had adopted that theory, and called Müller as a witness to prove that the other handed to him the watch and hat, what might have been the result? Nobody can tell. The police, however, had taken up the theory that as Müller *had* the watch and hat, and had gone to America, he must be the man; and after having gone all the way to America to catch him, they shaped the case against him and called the *other* man as witness. But Müller, as a witness, might have shaped the case very differently—that is, supposing he had *not* told the story as to his having got the watch from a pedlar; and supposing that from the first he had said he had it from the witness, the police would then have had to elect between the two men, which of them should be prisoner and which witness; and no one can tell what an influence that might have had upon the result one way or the other—either as to the conviction of the innocent or the escape of the guilty. It is impossible to exaggerate the importance of the first steps taken in a case, or the importance of *prompt* and *intelligent* investigation.

Take the case of the Frome child-murder, for instance. No one doubts that, had an intelligent and educated magistrate taken the case in hand, upon the spot, at the very time—immediately upon the murder being discovered—the murderer might have been detected in a few hours; nay, *must* have been infal-

libly detected. And by the simple expedient of shutting up each inmate in a separate room, without opportunity for communication or collusion, and examining them each separately and apart, and then comparing their answers and keeping them still apart—examining any of them again and again, until the finger of suspicion pointed without mistake at a particular person. It was said again and again in the journals that by the foreign system the mystery would have been infallibly solved in a short time. As it was, we know what long and lingering anguish it caused, and how unsatisfactorily it was settled at last. This is the proper point at which to pause, and to explain how far and in what respects the foreign system differs from our own.

When we say the foreign system, we may say at once the *Scotch* system; for the Scotch system rather resembles the foreign system than our own, and is indeed foreign to ourselves. Under that system the Procurator-Fiscal—a functionary who answers to the Crown Solicitor in Ireland—at once takes cognizance of a case on the spot, and examines anybody he chooses, as in the case of Madeleine Smith was shown in a striking way. Let us see whether, and in what respects, our system differs from this. As already seen, our system does not exclude the *inquisitorial* process; on the contrary, the coroner's inquest, the most ancient mode of procedure, is, as its name imports, essentially inquisitorial. And anybody may be examined *until accused*, or until proof so plainly points at the party as to constitute in itself a manifest accusation. From that moment no question can be asked of that party. On the other hand, under the Scotch system we are not aware that a person once accused and arrested on a charge can be interrogated. In that respect and at that point the Scotch system resembles ours, and departs from the French or other foreign systems, under which, as we know, the *accused* is interrogated. There does not appear, therefore, to be any radical difference of principle between the Scotch system and ours, although there is an important difference in point of procedure.

Both systems recognise the principle of inquisition or inquiry, but the Scotch system carries it out far more efficiently. Instead of its being left to a clumsy old popular tribunal, under an antiquated officer, who may not be a lawyer, and may be a very stupid person—elected by a majority of the freeholders, under an election carried by all the arts and artifices of popular elections—it is carried out by an acute and experienced lawyer, accustomed to such investigations, and left free and unfettered to pursue his inquiries as he pleases, immediately, without let or hindrance or embarrassment, and *aided* by the police, so far as may be necessary in making inquiries, or keeping suspected



persons under *surveillance*. But, again, the police under the Scotch system are *only* assistants—they are not the *promoters* of the prosecution. They are mere executive agents of justice, not its managers or prosecutors. They are subordinates, not principals, in the administration of criminal justice. They *assist*, they do not *conduct*. It is impossible not to perceive that in the Scotch system there are some features very superior to our own in point of efficiency, at least in the detection of the guilty. It is difficult to imagine a case of guilt escaping the prompt and acute investigation of a competent “procurator,” or public prosecutor.

There is, however, another side of the subject. The administration of criminal justice has two different aspects, according as it affects the detection of the guilty or the protection of the innocent. The Scotch and all other foreign systems give the prominence to the former, *not* to the latter. The Saxon spirit of freedom which was so largely infused into our institutions has been embodied above all in our system of criminal justice, which bears more than any other part of our institutions the mark of a Saxon origin. And that spirit of freedom has looked more to the protection of the innocent than the detection of the guilty, and has concerned itself less with the possibility of failure than of oppression. To the extent to which authority is centralized and concentrated, efficiency is gained, but the guarantees against oppression or conspiracy supposed to be acquired by the introduction of the popular element are lost. But it may be questioned whether nowadays they are not more than counterbalanced by the responsibility of functionaries to Government, the responsibility of Government to Parliament, and the all-controlling influence of public opinion. Scotland is not less free than England, although the nature of its criminal procedure gives so much more force to public prosecutors, appointed we believe by the Lord Advocate. And there can be no question that the Scotch system is far more effective than ours. With regard, again, to the danger of false charges or conspiracy, it is shown that the higher the character of the functionary, and the more direct his responsibility, the less considerable such a danger seems to be. And as to the danger of false charges being pressed upon *false theories*—not only is our present system no guarantee against it, but on the contrary, it is one of its main evils that it tends so dangerously to it. For, as already seen, the preliminary stages in our criminal prosecutions are practically in the hands of the police, who are often ignorant, rarely intelligent, and never are so gifted with intellect as to be competent to the task of taking a clear view, and forming an acute and correct theory upon a case of any difficulty. Hence

the probability is that they form a false theory, and that sooner or later they come to rest upon it, and then, having once acted upon it, their pride and obstinacy are deeply interested in adhering to it; and then one of two things follows: either that an innocent person is in danger of conviction, or justice is baffled, and the guilty party escapes.

And here it is proper to notice that one of the main evils of the present system of leaving criminal prosecutions in the hands of the *police*, is that they are stimulated to over eager and precipitate conclusions, from a desire to promote their own advancement. Indeed, many years ago, when (on the motion, we believe, of Mr. Phillimore) a select committee sat on the subject of the appointment of public prosecutors, it was elicited that the promotion of the police *depended upon the number of convictions they procured*. We remember that Sir Alexander Cockburn, who was then Attorney-General, declared that he had never heard of the system before, and that he was very much scandalized by it. Every one must see its resemblance to the shocking system of "blood-money," as it was called, under which informers got rewards for the conviction of criminals; a system which led to the abominable atrocities of the wretch Jonathan Wild, and was ultimately abolished by statute. Under that system, a case occurred some fifty years ago, in which it appeared that a gang of wretches made a horrid business of either entrapping persons into crimes in order to convict them, or of convicting them on false evidence. And a case having been discovered in which the wretches had actually caused an innocent man to be condemned and executed, they were indicted for murder, but in point of law the conviction was not maintainable, though morally it was the worst species of murder; and it is stated that the Attorney-General feared to press the case further, on account of the horrible disclosures which would have been elicited, as to the number of innocent persons who had thus been executed. There was an Act of Parliament passed to repress the system, and the matter was hushed up. But it remains, in legal history, an awful warning as to the danger of any system of criminal procedure which gives men an *interest* in convicting their fellow-men of crime. And this is one necessary evil of connecting the police so closely with criminal prosecutions; for, whatever may be said, it is undoubtedly a fact that indirectly, if not directly, their promotion *does* depend a good deal on the convictions they obtain. And this ought not to be. The effects of it are very observable in criminal prosecutions. The evidence of the police is dangerous to those who are *not* suspicious of it; and the class who *are* acquainted with its character regard it with great distrust. It may

be safely taken as certain, that if in a case of any difficulty it depends at all upon the evidence of the police, there will be an acquittal. There is generally a prejudice against it, which often operates greatly to the disadvantage of justice; while on the other hand, cases constantly occur which justify the prejudice, and show that police evidence is to be regarded with great suspicion. It is sometimes actually said that the evidence of police, like that of an accomplice, is worthless without confirmation. And beyond all doubt, if a case *rests* on the evidence of police, there is pretty sure to be an acquittal. Cases are of constant occurrence in which it is made manifest how little reliance can be placed on the evidence of police. An instance may be mentioned as an illustration. Once, at an assize trial, it was very material whether a prisoner had mentioned one day or another in a statement he had made to a policeman. The policeman swore positively to the day which would convict him. Fortunately an inspector happened to be present, and contradicted the policeman, and thus saved the prisoner. This illustrates an observation already thrown out, that the higher we go in the social scale for our officers of justice, the less likely are we to have falsehood, or false theories, or conspiracy.

But the case just mentioned reminds us of and naturally leads us to another branch of our subject, of great importance; the question whether the prisoner should be liable to interrogation. The rule that he is *not* liable to it, is the great distinctive feature of our system of criminal procedure, and the great distinction between it and the *foreign* systems. At the same time, as already indicated, the point at which it came into practical operation is in our system very indefinite or uncertain, and dependent a great deal upon the police. As already mentioned, *until* a person is accused, he may be interrogated; but it generally rests with the police to say when he shall be accused or charged with the offence. And though no one but a coroner or a magistrate has a right to put questions to a person, or rather to put questions with a right to require an answer: and even a magistrate can only do this *on a charge against some one*; and it is only the coroner, in the presence of a jury, who can interrogate any one with a view to inquiry *without* reference to any specific charge,—the police *do* put questions to persons they suspect, and not an assize passes at which judges do not remonstrate against the practice as improper. The reason is, that as although an accused person cannot be interrogated, yet as anything he has said is evidence against him,—evidence by the police of statements made by persons who are accused is the most *dangerous species of evidence*; because by reason of a rule that the prisoner cannot give evidence, there is often *no one to contradict the*

*policeman.* And this our law, which does not allow the prisoner to be asked a question on his trial, though his answer one way or the other might clear up the case, allows a policeman to come and prove a supposed statement by the prisoner to him, perhaps enough to haug him, and then closes the prisoner's mouth, and will not permit him to give evidence to contradict or explain the statement. Every one knows how little reliable are accounts of statements by other persons in conversation; especially when the witness has any interest or inclination tending to bias or prejudice him, as the police always have. And so far as the arguments against the interrogation of the prisoner rest upon possible risk to *him* from the practice, they appear to be greatly neutralized by the undoubted danger and prejudice to the prisoner arising from his not being allowed to be examined, in order to explain or account for or contradict anything proved against him, especially in the way of statements supposed to have been made by him; on the other hand every one who has attended our criminal courts, knows that the cases—especially of murder—are numerous, in which one or two questions to the prisoner would at once disclose the truth one way or the other. Such cases,—that is, cases of murder—are almost always cases of circumstantial evidence; and as witness after witness is called to prove a number of circumstances tending to make up a case of guilt against the prisoner, and one sees clearly that he knows far more about it than the whole of them, and that a single question to *him* would settle it all; it is often impossible not to long to put that question, and there seems an absurdity to be thus painfully groping about for the truth instead of taking the direct course to it. In so far as *innocent* parties are concerned, as already seen, they suffer as much if not more danger from the present system as they would under the other. But as regards parties who are *guilty*, the change would be a *pure gain*, and an immense advantage to justice. The number of undoubted murderers who escape justice through defects of evidence is something awful. The author can truly say that he has hardly ever attended assizes without seeing one or more cases of undoubted murderers thus escaping with impunity. That is to say, murderers so far proved to be such, that every one in court (including probably their own counsel) has been convinced of it; and it has only been the scruples of those who would be *responsible* for their conviction which have saved them. Instance after instance of this in the course of twenty years' experience of the assizes, occurs to the author's recollection as he writes these lines. Nor does he hesitate to assert that his observation satisfies him that as a rule the *worst murderers* escape conviction. The reasons for this are, indeed, obvious

enough. The worst and most atrocious murders are as a rule the most secret, because the most malignantly and diabolically deliberate. Hence of course they rest entirely on circumstantial evidence, which is always a matter of difficulty in management, requiring a correct *theory*, carefully constructed, clearly explained, and satisfactorily supported; and this, under a system in which the *police* have the management, is hardly ever realized. There is pretty certain to be some blundering on the part of the police to spoil it all, or some flaw just enough to let in a slight defect, just enough to justify a scruple; and such a scruple in the mind of a single juror is, and properly, enough to save a man from a capital conviction. Yet in *none* of these cases would the murderer have a chance if he were interrogated. And it is difficult to see why he should *not* be interrogated, nor why there should be any scruple about convicting a murderer out of his own mouth. The prejudice against such a practice no doubt arises from what we see of the way in which it is carried out in foreign courts. But it need not be supposed that it would ever in this country come to *that*. It need not be supposed that our judges would ever put, or allow to be put, unfair questions to the prisoner, or press him improperly. However, assuming that the practice is *not* to be permitted, and that the accused is not to be interrogated, then it only makes it more important that the preliminary inquiry and the whole conduct of the case should be in the hands of a competent and intelligent public functionary.

Interrogation of the prisoner may be either before or at the trial; and it is obvious that objections to the former are far weaker than to the latter, for in the former case any unguarded answer may be explained or qualified, and the prisoner should be afforded an opportunity for consideration. Under the Scotch system, though we believe the accused may be interrogated before trial, he cannot be interrogated at the trial. The great advantage of interrogation before trial, both to the prosecution and the prisoner, is that it affords opportunity for consideration. And to the extent to which the prosecution is deprived of the advantage of interrogation of the accused, the more important is it that it should have the advantage derived from consideration of the evidence; but of this, under the present system, the prosecution is practically deprived, and the prisoner has all the advantage of it; for it works thus.

To have the advantage of the *consideration* of evidence, it is obvious that two things are necessary—the power to institute an inquiry for the purpose of taking evidence, and the reducing it into writing, for the purpose of preservation and consideration. By an inquiry we mean a general and a preparatory inquiry for the purpose only of eliciting the truth, without reference to any

specific charge, and so with power to interrogate anybody and everybody. But this power, we have seen, only the coroner possesses; the magistrate can only take evidence of a specific charge against a particular party, and *then* the case is already shaped, and the course to be taken already determined; and when either the coroner or magistrate has concluded his inquiry it cannot be reopened. If the coroner's jury have returned their inquisition, or the magistrate has committed the party for trial, there is an end of the power of either. The case is virtually closed, for it is very rarely that any further evidence is adduced at the trial, as it is considered fair that the prisoner should have the evidence against him all before him at the trial; and he *has* it on the written depositions. It is always made a matter of hardship if fresh evidence is added. Yet the *consideration* of the evidence might suggest to a competent prosecutor further inquiries, which might elicit a vast deal more evidence. So soon as the coroner and his jury are content, they find their verdict; so soon as the magistrate is satisfied that there is a *prima facie* case, he will commit the accused for trial. But the amount of evidence sufficient to satisfy them may not be sufficient to satisfy the jury, who on the trial are asked to return the ultimate verdict, on which must be pronounced the dread sentence—DEATH. And there is no reason why the prosecutor should not be allowed, on *consideration* of the evidence thus adduced, to *enter into fresh* inquiries, and elicit *further* evidence. The objection to it is, that the prisoner would not have the advantage of consideration of the evidence, because there is no procedure by which it can be taken before any magistrate, in his presence, and reduced into writing, and accessible to him for such consideration before his trial. The result is, that the advantage of fresh evidence is either lost or is greatly endangered, because even if obtained and adduced at the trial its effect is much diminished by its being urged that it was not adduced before the magistrate; and this although the *prisoner* can adduce evidence to any extent at the trial without any previous examination; so that justice is at a great disadvantage. The case is considered virtually closed when the prisoner is committed for trial; although a little study of the depositions might suggest inquiries which would elicit additional evidence vastly strengthening it, and perhaps making it conclusive.

This will appear more forcibly when it is considered that the depositions of witnesses are sent to the judge at the trial, and are accessible to the prisoner's counsel; and the *latter*, at all events, if not the former, has the advantage of carefully studying them before the trial. What an immense advantage it is, no one can doubt, who has ever been at a criminal trial. If there is a flaw

in the case, as sent up by the magistrate, it is sure to be detected ; if there is a plausible theory for the defence consistent with the depositions, it is sure to be suggested ; and though it is true that the counsel for the prosecution has the same opportunity of studying the depositions, it is in most cases just before the trial, too late for the discovery and addition of further evidence. As to the judge, he will probably have read the depositions before the trial—if he happen to be the judge who charged the Grand Jury, he must have seen them, for they are sent up to him for the very purpose of enabling him to make his observations on the case, so far as it is necessary to do so in charging a grand jury. Judges differ a good deal, indeed, as to their opinions and practice upon the point. One judge told the writer that he made a rule not to read the depositions, “lest they should prejudice him against the accused ;” though as they only tell the same story as the witnesses will prove at the trial, it is hard to see how any prejudice can arise which can do the prisoner harm. Other judges read them carefully ; and there can be no doubt that there is a great advantage in this practice, and that one of the great benefits of having the evidence put in a written form, is that it affords an opportunity of such a preliminary study of the case as may preserve from rash judgment, and throw great light upon it. When the witnesses are *giving* their evidence, and the mind is occupied with their manner and demeanour, and watching the particular facts as they are stated, it is hardly possible to form a correct and comprehensive view of the case *as a whole*. And yet circumstantial evidence can never be duly appreciated *except* as a whole ; hence most judges peruse the depositions carefully before the trial—at all events, in cases of murder. And the result of such consideration is by no means likely to be prejudicial to the prisoner. On the contrary, in the great majority of cases it is quite the reverse. Our judges are all humane enough to wish to avoid passing sentence of death if they possibly can. It is a painful duty, which will certainly be evaded when it honestly can be ; and the inclination of the judge is rather in *favour* of the prisoner than against him. His disposition is, if it be possible, to pick a hole in the case, to find out a flaw in it, and to make up his mind, as it is called, to “throw out the bill ;” or, at all events, to “sum up in favour of the accused.” In other words, to save his life.

It must be a very clear case in which a judge, in a capital case, goes into court after reading the depositions, prepared to try the case with a stern impartial severity. It often happens that the judge on reading the depositions thinks the case not strong enough even to warrant a trial, that is, not enough to warrant a

conviction ; in which case, as of course he would sum up for an acquittal—a direction never disregarded by a jury—the result would be the final deliverance of the prisoner, since no one can be tried twice. In such a case, therefore, especially if the judge has a strong suspicion that the party accused is or may be guilty, he will advise the grand jury to throw out the bill in order to afford an opportunity for the discovery of fresh evidence. That was the course taken some years ago by the late Baron Watson in the Andover case ; a very remarkable case of a charge of murder. But no one has ever heard of an instance in which, where such a course has been followed, further evidence has been discovered. The obvious reason is, that if the parties are guilty, the moment they are liberated, they will fly the country ; added to which, even if they do not, the time which will have elapsed will have deadened inquiry and destroyed all chance of discovery. But in such cases it is manifest that what a judge could see on reading the depositions, a skilful and competent lawyer, with his wits sharpened by some experience in such inquiries, would most probably have perceived upon reading them ; and that the perusal would at once have suggested the necessity for further evidence, and for further inquiries with a view to obtaining it. And if such inquiries were made *immediately*, there are few cases, it is believed, in which they would not lead to the discovery of the guilty parties. If it be said that this might be done by the magistrate or the coroner, the answer is that they neither of them fulfil the functions of prosecutor. The one is called upon to make a general inquiry as to the cause of death ; and if it appear that there is a *primâ facie* case against a particular party he is committed for trial, and there the coroner's duty and function end. So of the magistrate ; so soon as a sufficient *primâ facie* case is made, he commits the accused, and there is an end to his power and function. It is not the duty of either coroner or magistrate to pursue the case ; to press it home to the accused ; to render it conclusive. They are satisfied with a *primâ facie* case, for that warrants them in committing the accused ; and then their powers are at an end. They give the accused into the custody of justice, and then the *inquiries* of justice are at an end. The private prosecutor may pursue private inquiries, but without any authority, and with small likelihood of much practical result. The case is considered at the trial as it appears on the depositions, and the court and the prisoner's counsel are apt to fancy that there is unfairness in springing upon the accused at the trial fresh and further evidence. What is wanted is some public prosecutor with power from the first to the last to pursue inquiries, and to *keep on* pursuing his inquiries ; making each examination, after care-



ful consideration, the basis for fresh inquiries and further examinations, with power to question everybody until he elicited enough to charge somebody; and then after the committal of the accused as before, with power to bring him up from time to time to hear fresh evidence against him, until the public prosecutor is satisfied that the case is complete and conclusive.

Nor is this all. The prisoner should be required to produce for examination before the trial, any witnesses he proposes to examine at the trial; and this to afford the public prosecutor the opportunity of considering their evidence—of sifting it, and of examining into its truthfulness or credibility, just as the prisoner has the opportunity of doing with the evidence for the prosecution. At present, the prisoner's counsel can spring upon the prosecution at the trial a whole host of witnesses, to prove a case perfectly false; an *alibi*, for instance, without any opportunity to the prosecution of sifting and testing the evidence. In this way justice is often defeated, either by hasty credit given to an *alibi*, or by hasty prejudice *against* it. For the knowledge that a false *alibi* is so easy to prove, and is so often falsely proved, tends to prejudice juries very strongly *against* such evidence, and as often as otherwise it is not believed, even when it ought to be, except in capital cases, where an *alibi* is usually believed unless *apparently* false. If, however, it stands the test of cross-examination tolerably well, it will generally save a prisoner from a capital conviction. And this may easily enough happen even although the *alibi* is perfectly false, while at the same time it may not be *wilfully* false. The very reason, indeed, why an *alibi* is so easily proved, is that it is generally true, in all but one point, the vital point of *date* or *time*, in which of all others witnesses may be so easily led into honest error; and in which a misstatement or mistake is so difficult of proof. The whole of the evidence may be true, except that it happened on the Tuesday instead of the Wednesday (the murder being on the Wednesday), or on the first Tuesday of the month instead of the second; and who on earth is to prove which it *was*? Or even if the witness is swearing falsely, how can it be proved that he has been guilty of *wilful* falsehood? How easily a man or woman, anxious to save a friend from death, may be brought to fancy that something which happened on one day happened on another! How few persons are accurate in dates; how very few are accurate as to time! It is obvious that the only possible chance of discovering the truth in such cases is to afford an opportunity for consideration, for examination, for investigation, which will probably elicit some circumstance conclusive and decisive,—a date in a memorandum, an entry in a book, an undoubted fact or an independent witness whose testimony may

settle the point. This, however, requires time ; and when the case is *sprung* all of a sudden upon the prosecutor, the jurors, and the judge, in all probability, in a capital case, they will yield to it ; and justice may easily be defeated.

A remarkable instance of this occurred not many years ago, before a very acute and able judge. It was a case of murder, and the evidence appeared almost conclusive. All of a sudden half-a-dozen witnesses came forward for the prisoner, and swore that at the time of the murder he was with them, in their company, at a town twenty miles off. They described how they spent the evening, walking about for two or three hours, playing cards in a public-house, &c. All this was perfectly true, no doubt, in all but the precise date. There was no question that they and the prisoner were intimate associates ; which of itself, indeed, might suggest a suspicion as to the reliability of their testimony ; but there was no question that they had been in the habit thus of passing their evenings together : though this again might suggest a suspicion that they might easily be mistaken in conceiving that what had happened so many evenings, had happened upon the one in question. On the other hand, it was proved conclusively by *independent* witnesses for the prosecution, that it could not have happened on *every* evening about the time in question, because the prisoner was seen on one evening, which they stated was the evening in question, going towards the town, the scene of the murder. All turned, therefore, upon the accuracy of the witnesses for the *alibi* as to the *particular* evening in question. As to which, even if they had been independent and unconnected, their evidence would not have been very reliable, seeing that it was mere recollection as to a particular evening some weeks ago, which at the time they had no reason for particularly remembering. But they were *not* independent and unconnected ; they were closely connected with each other and the prisoner ; and they had been, they admitted, *talking together* on the subject, and *trying to recollect* whether he was not with them on the evening in question. Of course they *did* recollect it perfectly, positively ; his life depended upon it, and they knew it ; and they *did* recollect it, and swore positively to it. Well, as the judge said, "What were the jury to do?" What, indeed ! They might shrewdly suspect the *alibi*. They might even in their own minds feel strongly convinced it was false. But how could they, in the face of the positive oaths of half-a-dozen witnesses, convict a man of murder ? They shrank from doing so. The judge himself durst not advise them to do so, so they were forced to acquit the accused. There was no alternative. Justice allowed no time for consideration. There was no power to adjourn the case for further inquiry ; the

jury must convict or acquit. They acquitted. It may be rightly, but it may be also wrongly; and if so, a murderer escaped, and laughed at justice.

It may be that when the judge and the jury came to read the evidence for the *alibi* carefully next day, some circumstances may have struck them in it which may have deepened their distrust of it, and produced the impression that, if they had been able to take time for further consideration and investigation, the *alibi* would have been disproved. For example, on the evening when the witnesses swore they were walking for two or three hours about the place, *it was* (as it came out) *raining hard*. It was not likely that, in any part of the country, men would spend a whole evening in walking about in the rain. This was only one of several circumstances which may not have been observed when the evidence was being given, but which would be observed when it came to be carefully considered and pondered over. Nothing is more difficult than to keep in one's mind, during a long trial, the bearing and relation of a vast number of independent facts and circumstances. And no one will doubt that in all probability, if opportunity were afforded for careful consideration of the evidence, and for *further inquiries* to test it, much would be discovered which under the present system escapes detection. Guilt would be oftener disclosed, and justice would be less often defeated. At present, Justice allows herself to be both shackled and surprised; she cannot pursue her inquiries effectually *before* the trial; she is liable to sudden surprises at the trial; she has no opportunity allowed her of further consideration or investigation.

Justice is virtually represented by the police—that is to say, by a half-intelligent, half-ignorant policeman. For it is the police inspector “in charge of the case” who conducts the case before the magistrate; and as it is shaped and framed there, it comes for trial, before an acute and experienced judge, and clever and able counsel. It is no part of the duty of the *magistrate* to see that the case is clear or conclusive. All he has to do is to decide judicially that there is a *primâ facie* case, enough to warrant the committal of the prisoner. But what seems a sufficient *primâ facie* case to one man, who has only to *commit*, may not seem so to twelve men who have to *convict*, especially when sifted, analysed, dissected, and distorted, by a clever advocate: met by ingenious theories, or contradicted by a bold and positive *alibi*. It is evident that the acumen which is brought to bear upon the case *adversely* to justice at the trial, ought to be brought to bear upon it *in aid* of justice *before* the trial; and that some functionary, fully as acute as any prisoner's counsel is likely to be, should have charge of the case from the

*first*, and be in charge of it to the *last*—that is, should have power from time to time, up to the time of trial, to pursue inquiries, procure fresh evidence, and have it given in the presence of the prisoner, before the trial comes on; so as to make the case as perfect as possible, and perhaps be prepared to meet and anticipate false defences, which an acute prosecutor might often foresee would be set up, and be able by anticipation to destroy.

For example, in the case above alluded to, the case being so strong against the prisoner, but the place of his residence being at a distance from the scene of the murder, it would have been obvious to an acute criminal lawyer that an *alibi* was the only possible defence, and equally obvious that its essence was precise date; and he would have set himself about inquiries as to independent facts and proofs, to fix the prisoner with *absence* from the place of his usual resort on the fatal evening. These facts and proofs he could easily have ascertained.

It happened that there were two persons who would have been independent witnesses, and the testimony of *one* of whom would have been *decisive*. One was the landlord of the public-house where the prisoner and his companions usually spent their evenings, and where they swore they were on the evening in question. Most likely, from some circumstance or other, he would have been able to fix the date of the evening when the prisoner was *absent*; and that he was so on one evening was clearly proved. The other was a relative, or visitor, who *left* his house that night to return home, and who, therefore, could speak to the evening in question with perfect certainty,—an *event* having happened to her which she knew had occurred on a night of a certain date, which date was the date of the murder. Neither of these persons were called for the prisoner; whose witnesses, with a single exception, were his own companions. Yet these persons were evidently, either for or against him, most important witnesses. From the fact that his counsel durst not call either of them, it may be supposed that he had good reason to believe that neither of them would help his case. That the prisoner's counsel had made inquiries as to their probable testimony no one can doubt. He did not venture to call either of them. The judge had no power to call them. The policeman who had the conduct of the case had not thought of them, or found them out. His intelligence was not equal to the conception and the anticipation of a false defence. It was just barely equal to a *prima facie* case for the *defence*; he could go no further. Hence, when the witnesses for the *alibi* were called, there was a complete surprise. The judge could not adjourn the trial to summon these witnesses; though perhaps he might have called them if they were *present*. And the case was decided in the absence of

the two persons whose evidence would have been most important, and perhaps *decisive*. Is it possible to conceive of a more unsatisfactory system? And is it wonderful that there is every reason to believe that *nine out of ten* murderers escape? Yet that *it is* so there undoubtedly *is* every reason to believe. In the first place, from police returns lately presented, it appears that nine out of ten robbers or burglars escape conviction; and no one need be told that in cases of murder detection and conviction are more difficult; the evidence being usually circumstantial, and juries being naturally more hard to convince by such evidence when *life* is at stake. There is no reason, therefore, to wonder that the proportion of murderers who escape is larger than that of robbers, especially as murder is in its nature a more *secret* crime; and especially cases of *poisoning*—the most secret crime of all—and the one which, in the belief of many eminent and competent authorities (such as Dr. Taylor) is far more frequent than is supposed. For one murderer discovered, detected, and *convicted*, there are many cases not *discovered*, or not *detected*, or not *convicted*; and even if *convicted*, as we often see, some scruples, arising out of a supposed insufficiency of evidence, even at the last stage, procures the murderer escape. There is every reason to believe, therefore, that for one murderer *executed*, nine escape. This conclusion is certainly in accordance with the impressions derived by the author from many years' close attendance on the criminal courts. He can safely say that in cases of really atrocious murder, it is the exception, and the rare exception, to witness a *conviction*. In cases of the more venial class,—murder arising from provocation, and more or less verging towards manslaughter; or under the influence of some great impulse or passion, as there is less deliberation and secrecy,—conviction is pretty certain, the evidence being in some degree *direct*. But in cases of really deliberate and atrocious murder, where the evidence, by reason of the secrecy in which the murderer has shrouded his crime, is entirely circumstantial, the chances are nine out of ten in favour of the escape of the murderer; and it would, indeed, be strange if it were otherwise, when one considers that the case is got up and conducted by a policeman, under a system of procedure in the last degree rude and awkward, and unlike that of any other civilized country. In Scotland there are public prosecutors; so in Ireland, we believe, there are similar functionaries, under the name of Crown Solicitors; though the general system there seems like ours. In this country alone is justice represented in the most delicate stage of the inquiry by the police; and in every possible way moreover, is crippled, fettered, and put at a disadvantage.

Bad as the system is, the result is, that the manner in which

it is worked is still worse, for it is the nature of a bad system to work badly. As already seen, the case virtually is contained in the depositions; and the result, in cases of murder, greatly depends upon the view which is taken by the judge who reads them, and which is certain in capital cases to be, if there be any doubt, in favour of the prisoner. Now the depositions are written by the magistrates' clerks—a respectable and *tolerably* intelligent class, but not *particularly* acute or intelligent, and quite capable, in the discharge of their duty, of a great amount of carelessness, blundering, and awkwardness. They put or suggest to the magistrate such questions as at the moment happen to occur to them, and in such a form as happens to occur to them; or such questions are put by the attorney—if there be one—who conducts the case, and they write down the effect of the answer in the form which at the moment appears to them to embody the substance of the result of question and answer. Now no one who has ever heard an examination need be told that often the effect of the answer greatly depends on the *precise form of the question*; added to which, it is not the habit of witnesses to *volunteer* statements, and they very naturally answer such questions as are asked according to the form in which they are asked, so that the depositions by no means necessarily embody the whole of the witness's knowledge on the subject, but so much of it as the examiner had the acuteness or carefulness enough to elicit, and that not in the form in which the witness gave it, but rather the form in which the clerk put it. And when the witness hears the deposition read over, recognising the substance of what was stated, it is not likely that the witness will presume to be very critical as to the precise terms in which the magistrate's clerk has put it, still less to suggest little matters of degree or of detail, or other minor circumstances, which he, the clerk, did not appear to have considered material.

Finally, the depositions are often written illegibly and obscurely, and in a form and manner extremely difficult to read, and thus they are sent up to the assizes, and come before the judge. Then what takes place is this: the judge, generally an elderly man, with a humane repugnance to sentence fellow-creatures to death when it can be avoided, reads the depositions as well as he can; with a predisposition not to see more in them against the prisoner than he can *help* seeing, and rather to scrutinize what he *does* see very severely in favour of the prisoner. To begin with, he is disgusted and put out of temper with the prosecution, by finding that he can with difficulty read the depositions; perhaps he misses some material points in the case. Even assuming, however, that they are perfectly *legible*, they are

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generally far from being easily *intelligible*. They are not in the form of a connected statement of facts proved, in the order of time, and with some natural sequence of narration; they are on the contrary a bundle of examinations of a number of witnesses, called just as the police get them, examined just as it occurred to them or to the magistrate's clerk at the hearing; when perhaps justice was first slowly groping its way, and stating a variety of facts without any order or apparent relation, some material, some immaterial, relevant or irrelevant, all put down at the moment and jumbled together in confusion; nor is this even the worst, for the police and the clerk may have failed to see the real point of the case, and may have omitted one or two matters necessary to render the whole intelligible. And in this form and manner the case comes before a judge, predisposed, for sake of humanity, in favour of the prisoner, quick to see flaws in the case or gaps in the evidence, and perhaps put out of humour with the prosecution by the most manifest marks of blundering and incompetency. It is not wonderful that under such circumstances he should fail to realize the full strength even of the case as *it is* disclosed in the depositions; and even if he does, the chances are ten to one that there is *some* defect in it, which if not sufficient to warrant the judge in directing the grand jury to throw out the bill, is pretty certain to induce him to sum up in favour of the prisoner, which is tantamount to an acquittal. And this, at all events, may be taken for certain, that the depositions do not contain by any means the real or full strength of the case.

What happens at the trial is this. The judges, as already mentioned, vary a good deal in their practice as to the degree in which they resort to the depositions *before* the trial: in this they all, or nearly all, agree, in that they make careful use of them *at the trial*. The only exception seems to be, the judge who tried Pelizzioni, who was very near being hanged, on evidence which a careful perusal of the depositions would have shown to be untrustworthy. They have the depositions placed by them, ready to refer to, in order to check the witnesses, and see how far their evidence tallies with the depositions, (if it be at all challenged or questioned), and some, as Mr. Justice Byles, go further, and keep the depositions of each witness under their eye as he gives his evidence, and watch almost every word he utters to see if it exactly accords with the terms of his deposition; and that, not merely as to inconsistencies, or even variations, but even as to anything in the evidence of the witness not *contained* in the depositions, and which is at once set down as a variation from the former testimony of the witness. This is carrying it too far; and it is astonishing judges do not perceive

the fallacy of assuming that because the deposition does not happen to *contain* a statement, or a circumstance or incident or detail, therefore it was *not stated* by the witness; or even, that supposing it was not stated by the witness, it was in the least degree owing to *him*. If indeed there were a downright inconsistency or contradiction, it would be very material; or even if there was an *entire* omission of some material matter which must have been pointed at by the question, and might naturally be expected to be included in the answer. But if it be quite otherwise,—if it be a mere matter of doubt,—if, for anything that appears, it was not stated, even assuming it was not stated, simply because the question was not *asked*—still more, if it be quite open to conjecture that the matter may have been stated and was omitted by the clerk, (which of course the witness cannot undertake to state), what on earth is the value of the observation that “It is not in the depositions?” and how strange it is that the judges so often make, or allow to be made an observation so entirely and obviously fallacious! But the truth is that they know far better than any one else its fallaciousness; and they only use it, or allow it to be used, when they want to defeat a prosecution, especially in a capital case, from some doubt as to the sufficiency of the evidence. Then indeed they are lynx-eyed to detect the absence in the depositions of anything stated by the witness, and are most severe in pointing it out, with an air and tone quite calculated to infuse a suspicion into the minds of the jury, although it is obvious to the mind of the judge himself, that the witness is speaking the entire truth; and at *other* times the same judge will make with some indignation the observation, “What does it matter that it is not in the deposition? How do we know that the witness did not state it, and it was omitted by the clerk? And how can the witness at this time tell how it was?” There is no blame to the judges in all this; they do the best they can. The fault is in the system which leaves justice so much in the dark, and so fetters it in its inquiries, that it can only get at half the truth; and this compels the judges to grope their way—cautiously, timorously, anxiously—afraid almost to act upon the evidence lest they should do irreparable mischief, knowing well, as they do, the clumsy and awkward system under which justice is administered, and how powerless *they are* to do anything to aid the investigation and discover the truth. Without the power of adjourning the case to aid the prosecution,\* or enable the prosecutors or

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\* This was what Mr. Justice Wightman decided in a case lately cited from Finlason's Reports before Mr. Justice Byles, who professed to think it untenable, as deciding that a criminal trial could never be adjourned; whereas it is notorious that it can be adjourned on account of necessity,—that is, actual



prisoner to procure further witnesses, so that the dread issue of life and death must be decided then and there, finally and for ever, even although it turns out that the most important witness of all is not present, or that some person who knows more about the matter than anybody else has not been summoned or examined as a witness! Justice has in truth to determine in the dark or in doubt, and of course in criminal cases leaning to the accused, the prisoner in a vast number of cases escapes, though really guilty.

All this will appear more forcible when it is borne in mind that in most criminal cases—at all events, in almost all capital cases—the evidence is circumstantial, and involves a *theory*, without attention to which and the inferences suggested in support of it, as derived from a concurrence of circumstances, the case cannot possibly be appreciated or understood. And as these inferences and this theory are not in terms conveyed or stated in the depositions, or in the examinations of the witnesses, they can only be deduced by the judge from the evidence as it appears in the depositions, and they are for the first time expressly stated or suggested in the speech of the counsel for the prosecution. Now it may be that to the judge the evidence appears to suggest one theory, or obvious inferences; whereas to the counsel it may appear to suggest another, which to the judge may appear erroneous, and he may have great difficulty in allowing the prisoner to be convicted and condemned upon a theory of which he does not approve, and inferences he does not adopt. And there are two ways in which there may be this difference or divergence of view between the judge and the counsel for the prosecution. The depositions may disclose some circumstances—as to motive, for instance—of immense importance as to the effect to be produced upon the mind by the rest of the evidence, and which may be the key or clue to the whole case; but as to which the counsel for the prosecution may doubt whether it is admissible, or whether the suggestion of the theory it involves may be approved of, or may imperil the success of the prosecution, and therefore he does not mention it, and ignores it. The judge observing this, perhaps thinks it is because the counsel has some reason to doubt its truth, and then, being unable to find in the depositions any other evidence of motive, he distrusts the whole case, and goes in favour of the prisoner. Or again, the counsel for the prosecution bases the case on a theory which information he is in possession of, but which

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physical necessity, as the lateness of the hour at night, physical exhaustion, and the like. But we never heard of adjourning a criminal trial to *enable the prosecution to procure the attendance of a witness*, until Mr. Justice Byles ventured to set the precedent. Mr. Justice Wightman held otherwise.

he cannot produce in evidence, convinces him is the true one, and the judge does not think supported by the evidence; and then, again, the case for the prosecution being based on a theory of which he disapproves, he regards it as self-condemned, treats it with disfavour, and sums up for the prisoner. Or again, the counsel for the prosecution may be a man wanting in intellectual power to perceive, or in intellectual vigour to grasp and hold fast to a theory which, upon the facts, would insure conviction, but for want of which they lose half their value, and fall powerlessly on the minds of the jury. Thus we remember a case of arson, in which it was proved (1) that the wind was at the back of the house on the night of the fire; (2) that the prisoner was seen at two o'clock in the morning walking up and down at the back; (3) that the smoke of the fire was observed about three, and so must have been kindled between two and three; (4) that the windows in front of the house were closely screened with carpeting or thick tapestry; (5) that the back of the house was so far from the road, and so veiled and concealed by trees, that the fire would gain a head before being observed, while at the *front* the house was within twenty or thirty yards of the footpath, which was paced by police every quarter of an hour, and where the least appearance of fire would speedily be observed, and the smell or the smoke must soon be perceived, *if the wind blew that way*. The force and effect of these facts, when thus put together, nobody can fail to see. But they were *not* thus put together by the counsel for the prosecution, who simply proved the separate facts, without in any way connecting them together on any theory, and thus they totally lost their effect. The judge, a remarkably acute man, saw this quite plainly, and he kept asking the counsel for the prosecution, when he proved this or that fact, "How do you *point* that? What inference do you draw? *What is your theory?*" For instance, we recollect him particularly asking, when it was proved that the man was out at the back of the house at two o'clock in the morning, "What is your theory about that?" The counsel for the prosecution had none. He merely said it was a suspicious circumstance. But that came to little or nothing, for men are not to be convicted of crime upon *suspicion*. The fact was never, throughout the trial, coupled by the counsel for the prosecution with the other facts above stated,—especially as to the direction of the *wind*; the inevitable effect of the wind being towards the *front*; the *certainty* of detection; and the absolute necessity of ascertaining, before taking the fatal step, that the *wind blew towards the back*, where the smoke and smell would be absorbed in trees and obstructed by distance before reaching the road. The judge saw it, no doubt, but it was not for him, to press a criminal case. The counsel for

the prosecution failed to see it ; and so, notwithstanding an immense body of evidence, the case broke down.

So again, in a case of murder, perhaps the most atrocious that ever come into a court of justice. A woman had been ravished and murdered, that is, strangled by her shawl being fastened round her neck to prevent outcry. This was clearly proved, and that the perpetrator of such a horrible crime should escape justice must be regarded as a shocking scandal. Yet, whoever he was, he *did* escape justice. It was proved that the prisoner had, on the fatal evening, followed the woman into the wood with the avowed intention of having intercourse with her. It was proved that she was ravished and murdered in that wood at the spot towards which he was seen hastening, for her body was found there stiff and stark, with her shawl tied tightly round her neck. It appeared from the evidence of the prisoner's own witnesses that he had next day a scratch on his face which he said he had got from a woman last night in the wood. It was proved by respectable neighbours that he came in late that night to bed. This for the indirect evidence. But there was the positive evidence of a woman, who being in the wood in the course of the night, saw, as she said, the prisoner in the act. To impeach her evidence a woman with whom the prisoner had intimate relations was called, to prove that the witness had said that others beside the prisoner had to do with the deceased ; and the theory for the defence was, that in asserting it was the prisoner, she was mistaken, or was misstating the fact. The counsel for the prosecution, however, were met with another difficulty, the absence of a theory to account for the interval—three or four hours—between the time when the prisoner was seen going towards the woman at the fatal spot, and the time when, as the woman said, she saw him doing the act, not long before midnight. And it was urged that the presumptive evidence and the positive evidence were at variance, and destroyed each other ; for if the act was done in the evening it could not have been done at midnight ; and if the presumptive evidence against the prisoner was worth anything it tended to show the act was done in the evening ; whereas, if the positive evidence was to be relied on, it was done by some one at midnight. And there was, as it appeared, nothing in the case either to connect together and harmonize the two heads of evidence, or to account for the interval between the two widely different points of time at which the prisoner was implicated. This view, in the absence of any satisfactory answer from the counsel for the prosecution, was adopted by the judge and insured an acquittal. If, as he put it, the woman was to be relied upon, the other evidence was fallacious, and it turned entirely on her

evidence, which he thought not reliable enough, unsupported, to sustain a capital conviction. If it was not wholly false and perjured, the deed was done at midnight, and there was no apparent reason to connect the prisoner's act in the evening with the subsequent act of murder. And if the presumptive evidence was to be relied on, as the judge thought, the murder was done earlier in the evening, and if so her evidence was perjured. But this impression on the judge's mind as to the woman's evidence arose from some supposed obscurities or discrepancies which had originated in the confusion incident to the clumsy manner in which the preliminary examinations had been conducted, and which had led to some confusion in the case. It also failed to occur to his mind that it by no means followed that the presumptive evidence necessarily pointed to the completion of the crime in the earlier part of the evening. There was a fallacy, however, in the view of the judge, on which he based the difficulty. He *assumed* a fact of which there was no evidence,—that the presumptive evidence proved the murder to have been in the evening, and not at night. It was quite consistent with it that it was at night. Then the presumptive evidence and the positive harmonized, and lent each other a mutual support. But the chief difficulty it is evident might have been saved by a more careful investigation and consideration of all the circumstances of the case, instead of the clumsy, blundering mismanagement of the police. For want of this, under the impression of inconsistency in the evidence, the prisoner was acquitted.

Thus, from the want of proper investigation, a miscarriage of justice may be caused by a fallacy so flagrant that it would disappear upon close and calm consideration. But for this, in the course and progress of the case, there is not time. Absorbed in the actual *taking* of the evidence, there is no leisure, in our system of criminal procedure, for a calm and careful consideration of the case as a whole, such as would suffice to discover fallacies or to detect flaws. The judge and jury are forced to a conclusion at the moment, with the exhortation to give the prisoner the benefit of the doubt; very sound advice if *there be a doubt*. But then there ought to be such a system of criminal procedure as would, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, preclude the possibility of doubt; for such a system might without any difficulty be devised, and indeed the improvements already suggested would of themselves almost effect it.

Take another case, also a case of murder, and of singular atrocity; this also was the murder of a woman. She was found drowned in a well at the bottom of a garden, which lay open at the rear of some houses. She had been, late at night, turned out of a public-house at which she had lodged, and (as it

appeared from the depositions) in consequence of a quarrel with some one; and the landlord, with his man, were arraigned as her murderers. It was proved that from the time they turned her out, they followed her about all night, she being unable to find a lodging at that late hour of the night. As it drew near to one in the morning, when people would be asleep, several neighbours, being close to the well, were roused by the sounds of scuffling and struggling and shrieking, such as would be caused by a woman being pushed or dragged along; and shortly after, cries of "murder" were heard. And a few minutes before one o'clock one of the prisoners, and a man who looked like the other, were seen standing together *not many yards from the well*. Finally, the account the prisoners gave of their doings that night was not consistent; and it was proved that a pair of common earrings, of no value, which the police got hold of at the house, had been worn by the unhappy woman on the fatal night. The defence was that the woman had fallen into the well; and this view the learned judge took up, and pressed the jury strongly to acquit the prisoners. It may be of interest to notice how the judge came to take the view he did. There had been some lapse of time; the body was not discovered for a week or two; and then there had been the usual clumsy, bungling inquiry by a coroner's jury, under the auspices of the police, which proved abortive. But the suspicions of the neighbours caused another inquiry; and the witnesses on this second occasion being more fully questioned, gave out more evidence; and this appearance of adding to the evidence made the judge distrustful of the case, whereas it was the result of a vicious system. Somehow or other, the counsel for the prosecution did not give any evidence as to the quarrel on the fatal night; and this seems to have given the judge an impression, either of suspicion that it was not reliable, or of dissatisfaction at the absence of any assignable motive for a murder. If the prosecutor had given evidence of all that had occurred that night, there might have been no difficulty about motive. But for want of evidence as to the previous circumstances, which a proper inquiry would have elicited, the judge did not see his way to a conviction; and gave the prisoners the benefit of the doubt.

In the case just noticed no one can doubt that the history of all that had happened on the fatal evening between the parties was most material. For some reason it was all shut out; the judge was dissatisfied, and looking at the case as it was presented on the facts proved before him, he directed an acquittal. It need hardly be added that no one else has been accused, and that in this, as in the other case, the murderer, whoever he was, has escaped.

These cases surely illustrate two things, both of which show the importance of intelligent officers to conduct prosecutions, viz. the importance of a sound theory, and the necessity for a sufficient breadth of proof to sustain it. From the want of one or other of these requisites most prosecutions for murder break down, and most murderers are unconvicted.

Now a system of criminal procedure must be bad which drives judges and juries to try men for capital crimes on evidence which leaves them so much in the dark that they cannot help being in doubt.

And there is the more necessity for the employment of some skilled and acute officer to conduct the preliminary stages of a prosecution because, when it comes into court, our system of procedure affords no assistance to justice, but throws the case, so to speak, at the judge and jury in the most crude and confused form. As already stated, the case comes before the judge in a confused mass of depositions, perhaps of twenty, thirty, or forty witnesses, each proving some fact in the case—all these facts jumbled together in hopeless confusion, so as to take hours of close and careful study to master the effect of the facts as a whole.

We have here given a few illustrations from cases in our criminal courts; from which the reader can scarcely fail to see what are the defects of our system of criminal justice. Nor can there be any doubt as to the remedy; the conclusions are clear, simple, and few. First, that there ought to be a public prosecutor in every county, and large city or town, whose business it shall be to take up each case and conduct it from first to last; from the time the crime is discovered until the time the criminal is arraigned for trial; having, during the whole of that time, power at discretion to prosecute inquiries and examine witnesses. Next, that the accused should be liable to be examined, whether before the trial at the instance of the public prosecutor, or at the trial at the discretion of the judge. Lastly, that there should be a power of adjourning a criminal trial whenever it appears necessary for justice,—as, to prosecute further inquiries, or secure the attendance of witnesses.

It is believed that these simple provisions would, if they did not render our administration of criminal justice practically perfect, at all events prevent any of those gross and grievous miscarriages of justice which now so constantly occur.

After the above had been put into type, a case occurred at the assizes, which, with the comments made upon it by the press, has afforded the most remarkable confirmation of our view. Two men were tried for murder, and *both were convicted*, and within twenty-four hours afterwards it was believed that *one of*

them was entirely innocent. The case is thus stated by the *Telegraph*, and is thus commented upon :—

“ Meanwhile, for the public, the vital question is, how came an innocent man to be convicted on testimony of a character so far from satisfactory? If the mouths of the prisoners had not been closed—if each had told his own story, and been subjected to a judicial cross-examination—the relative truth of the two statements would have been ascertained without difficulty. As it was, the jury had to make a guess; they guessed wrong; and, had it not been for the compunction of Bisgrove, the prisoner Sweet might have been hanged for a crime of which he was altogether guiltless.”

And that this is not an isolated case our readers will be satisfied, when they are reminded of the case of Pelizzioni, tried a year or two ago before Baron Martin, and sentenced to be hanged for a murder he did not commit, and who was only saved by the earnest and persevering exertions of Mr. Negretti, a fellow countryman of the prisoner.

Under the present system therefore, beyond a doubt, innocent men are convicted of murder; while, on the other hand, not more than one in ten murderers are convicted, and the worst murderers escape. Can anything be more condemnatory of the system?

On the other hand, can any one be surprised at it who has watched its working? One more fact about it is, that there is *no appeal*. That is, upon the *facts*. There is upon the *law*. But points of law rarely arise in criminal cases. Upon the *verdict* there is no appeal. There is on a question of the sale of a horse, or a dog, or a cow, but *not* upon a case which concerns the life of a man. It is merely by accident that there is some informal re-investigation of the case by the Home Secretary. It depends upon whether local or public interest happens to be excited about it. If not, the man or woman is executed, and there is an end of it; or the murderer escapes and triumphs over justice, and there also is an end of it, for a prisoner can never be tried again after once he is *acquitted*. We are quite aware of the difficulties incident to appeals in criminal cases; and perhaps all those who advocate such appeals are *not* aware of the difficulties. But the fact is that there *is* no appeal, and that a verdict is final. And what we say is, that this makes it more important that the trial, thus final and conclusive, should be satisfactory; and that a system, the results of which are in law irreversible, should be made as effective as possible, instead of as awkward and ineffective as it could well be. One word more. If *the accused were examinable* there would rarely be any occasion for appeal. The truth would infallibly come out.

## ART. IV.—MR. BRIGHT'S SPEECHES.

*Speeches on Questions of Public Policy, by the Right Hon. John Bright, M.P. Edited by JAMES L. THOROLD ROGERS. 2 vols. 2nd Edition. London. 1868.*

“**B**E just and fear not” is the chosen motto of Mr. Bright. It is a more Christian version of the *Fiat justitia ruat cælum* of the Roman world; and both ancient and modern times may be searched in vain for a character who has more fearlessly lived and acted up to the truth of this admirable maxim than the Englishman, a selection of whose speeches now appear so opportunely before the public, and challenge the admiration of politicians of every shade who are capable of doing homage to a great intelligence, to surpassing oratorical power, to untiring energy, to invincible courage, and to a high-minded disinterestedness, devoted without stint for now more than a quarter of a century, to sincere convictions and a passionate desire for the welfare of the English people.

Mr. Bright himself, as he has stated again and again, would be the last to deny that there are among his political opponents men of unblemished character, whose advocacy of opinions directly opposed to his own deserves respect and honourable consideration from their countrymen. Loyalty to principle, disinterested, though mistaken fidelity and self-sacrifice, are not qualities which the world can afford to despise. True nobility, both in victor and vanquished, feels honoured by mutual recognition; the champions of the triumphant and the champions of the waning right—the Falklands and the Hampdens—receive equally their award of civic honour from the hands of impartial history; and the most inveterate of Mr. Bright's adversaries would scorn to impute to him any meanness of aim or insincerity of conviction from which they themselves feel wholly free.

At this new crisis of England's political existence, in which our representative system comes, new-born as it were, in greater proportions from the co-operating energies of hitherto unenfranchised millions, when myriads of minds hitherto excluded from the arena of political power are summoned to contribute a fresh tribute of untried thought and activity to the support of the traditionary place and renown of England among the family of nations, it is well that all, both young and old politicians, should be able to reflect upon the career and manner of thought of a statesman who, without ever having sat in a cabinet, has done more for changing the fashion of our domestic and foreign policy



than any cabinet which ever existed ; for if Mr. Disraeli can lay claim to having educated his party, Mr. Bright can lay claim to having educated, not only Mr. Disraeli himself, but bench after bench of ministerial and opposition leaders, and in a measure the whole aristocracy, middle classes, and democracy of England.

Professor Rogers therefore followed the instincts of a true patriotism, for which the public are his debtors, in making, from the immense abundance of Mr. Bright's oratorical labours, a selection of the speeches contained in these two volumes, and in rendering accessible, in a convenient form, the results of a life of thought and industry applied to the decision of questions with whose true solution the future welfare of England has been, and is, indissolubly connected. These two volumes ought to become as much the manual of all inquiring politicians, as "Owen and Tudor," or any other selection of "leading cases," has become in the library of the legal student.

But the speeches of Mr. Bright are not more remarkable as studies of political truth and lessons of high national morality than they are as examples of finished oratory of the rarest merit. For lucid order, for clear and logical exposition of facts, they will well repay the careful study of all who would turn their attention to public speaking ; and in company with these by no means ordinary excellences, will be found others seldom found in their society—the passionate enthusiasms of the patriot and the lover of humanity ; the ardour of a genius of large, quick, and fine poetic sympathies, poured forth in passages of glowing splendour, whose grand imagery is as remarkable as their refined taste. Mr. Bright has acquired the art of satisfying all the imperious exigencies of reason, and of delighting at the same time the imagination with flights of eloquence of picturesque, yet chastened sublimity. The "style" was declared by Buffon "to be the man ;" and the style of Mr. Bright is a perfect representation of his career ; there are no shadows of turning, no vague circuitous labyrinthine phrases with dimly intelligible or double-faced meanings ; no sophistical and evasive intricacies of nebulous expression ; his style is simple, grand, and straightforward, always in the direction of progress. The style of oratory then, as we have stated, perfectly represents the mind and political genius of the orator ; for the political opinions of Mr. Bright have ever been the same, such as they were twenty-five or thirty years ago, such they remain, now ripened and enriched by experience. He began a life of political combat with a full armoury of weapons, not one of which has he had reason to change—not one of which has been put out of date by the march of events or the advance of

public opinion, and no man ever stood more remote from the odious cynicism of brazen-faced apostasy, or was less in danger of suffering from the expediency of a convenient conversion.

The attempt to give any account of Mr. Bright's public life would be an attempt to retrace our political history for the last thirty years—the main facts of it are sufficiently in the memory of all readers. It is impossible, however, to cast back even a fleeting glance upon the early years of his career without recalling the name of Cobden, and expressing regret that a premature end should have deprived the newly-reformed House of Commons of the sanction which his nobly won reputation, his splendid integrity, his clear intelligence, and his enlightened patriotism would have given it. To Mr. Bright above all such a regret must have occurred as he entered for the first time the walls of the new Parliament; he must necessarily have yielded to a vain but human longing that the comrade who had sustained with him, side by side, the worst shock and storm of battle in days when success seemed almost hopeless, should now be present to share an equal meed of triumph.

For Professor Rogers has not given way to any exaggeration when he has affirmed in his preface that “since the days of those men of renown who lived through the first half of the seventeenth century, when the liveliest religious feeling was joined to the loftiest patriotism, and men laboured for their conscience and their country, England has witnessed no political career like that of Cobden and Bright.” The achievements of Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright, and their unsullied reputations, may be regarded as the best and finest of the fruits whose harvest was rendered possible by the Reform Bill of 1832, and if the Reform Bill of 1868 shall end in bringing out of the mass of those hitherto deprived of political action, two such illustrious champions of unrecognised and suppressed right—two such courageous advocates of the cause of the heirs of unfulfilled freedom—two lives so fertile in beneficence—two patriots so active in redressing the wrongs of unjust legislation, so resolute and so fearless in demanding from the remorseless hand of privilege and pride some of the inviolable blessings of peace, some remission of the pitiless assumptions of power in dealing with the painfully acquired earnings of defenceless, dumb, and destitute labour,—we may be assured that England, at the end of another period of thirty-six years, will wear quite another aspect to that which she now presents to the world—that the activity of Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright, the results of which are by no means yet gathered in and harvested, will have prepared the way for a new development of national life—and that much of what is now a

reproach and a scandal to civilization will be effaced from our legislation and the annals of our industry, which still in too many respects are but registers of wrong.

The change has indeed been vast enough since the commencement of Mr. Bright's career, to warrant such a forecast of the future.

When Mr. Bright appeared on the platform of public affairs, labour was starving over the ploughshare, the spade, and the loom, and doing its hard task of daily toil in the fetters and chains of protection. Territorial magnates had bound the whole of the workers of England down to a sort of national "tally-shop" system—and only the dearest markets were declared open for the purchase of the necessities of life.

No poll-tax, no hearth-tax was ever invented so iniquitous as the tax upon labour levied by the Corn-Laws, and the iniquity of the Corn Laws was supplemented by that of the Navigation Laws, which increased the freight on all articles of imported merchandize, and contrived to place the capital and industry of England in a state of ruinous isolation. Nor had the insatiable folly of legislation stopped here; the manufacture of various important products of native industry, such as paper, leather, glass, and even soap and candles, was crippled with excise duties, while the tariff of duties levied in the Custom House was so excessive and vexatious as to stint, not only the poorer classes, but also families of moderate incomes in the use of the commonest products of Europe and other continents, and to amount on some commodities to absolute prohibition.

It is impossible to divine, of course, through what precise stage of revolution and decay the country would have passed had Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright not succeeded in their advocacy of the cause of free trade before the people, and in securing the adoption of its principles in legislation.

But the country, immediately before the repeal of the Corn Laws, had reached starvation-point, dukes were recommending hot water and curry powder, and deans mangel-wurzel, to stay the hunger of their fellow countrymen, and that heroic power of silent endurance which distinguishes the Anglo-Saxon race beyond all people in the world, was well nigh exhausted; discontent and a confused but vehement sense of wrong was working in the national heart, and together with the stagnation and unproductiveness of capital, were ominous of a future of calamity.

Let us turn back in thought and listen to some of the premonitory words of power spoken in those days by a voice which has been accepted as the voice of a whole nation—a voice which as

the expositor of the grievances of down-trodden Saxon race has abashed the front of privilege and made triumphant national yearning for redress.

The speech from which the following extracts are given, is the only one to be found in these volumes of those famous utterances of Mr. Bright, delivered at the great meetings of the Anti-Corn-Law League in the Covent Garden Theatre—its date was December 19, 1845, immediately after the resignation of Sir Robert Peel.

The terms are perhaps somewhat more harsh, the finish of the speech a little more crude, than in Mr. Bright's subsequent orations; but there is the same lucidity of exposition, the same force of expression, the same directness and strength of purpose, and fully the same reverberant power.

“Within the last fifty years trade has done much for the people of England. Our population has greatly increased; our villages have become towns, and our small towns large cities. The contemned class of manufacturers and traders has assumed another and a very different position, and the great proprietors of the soil now find that there are other men and interests to be consulted in this kingdom besides those of whom they have taken such great care through the legislation which they have controlled.”

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“We have had landlord rule longer, far longer than the life of the oldest man in this vast assembly, and I would ask you to look at the results of that rule, and then decide whether it be not necessary to interpose some check to the extravagance of such legislation. The landowners have had unlimited sway in Parliament and in the provinces. Abroad, the history of our country is the history of war and rapine: at home, of debt, taxes, and rapine too. In all the great contests in which we have been engaged we have found that this ruling class have taken all the honours, while the people have taken all the scars. No sooner was the country freed from the horrible contest which was so long carried on with the powers of Europe, than this law, by their partial legislation, was enacted—far more hostile to British interests than any combination of foreign powers has ever proved. We find them legislating corruptly: they pray daily that in their legislation they may discard all private ends and partial affections, and after prayers they sit down to make a law for the purpose of extorting from all the consumers of food a higher price than it is worth, that the extra price may find its way into the pockets of the proprietors of land, these proprietors being the very men by whom this infamous law is sustained.

“In their other legislation we find great inequality. For example, they deal very leniently with high gaming on the turf, and very severely with chuck-farthing and pitch and toss. We find them enacting a merciless code for the preservation of wild animals and

vermin kept for their own sport; and as if to make this law still more odious, we find them entrusting its administration, for the most part, to sporting gentlemen and game preservers. We find throughout England and Wales, that the proportion of one in eleven of our whole population consists of paupers; and that in the south and south-western counties of England, where squiredom has never been much interfered with, the pauperism is as one to seven of the whole population. We find, moreover, that in Scotland there is an amount of suffering no less, perhaps, though not so accurately set down in figures. We find the cottages of the peasantry pulled down in thousands of cases, that the population on the landed estates may be thinned, and the unfortunate wretches driven into the towns to procure a precarious support, or beyond the ocean, to find a refuge in a foreign land. But in that country across the Channel, whence we now hear the wail of lamentation, where trade is almost unknown, where landowners are predominant and omnipotent, we find, not one in seven, but at least half the population reduced to a state which may be termed a condition of pauperism."

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"This law is the parent of many of those grievous fluctuations in trade under which so much suffering is created in this commercial kingdom. There is a period coming—it may be as bad or worse than the last—when many a man, now feeling himself independent and comfortable in his circumstances, will find himself swept away by the torrent, and his goodly ship made a complete wreck. Capital avails almost nothing; fluctuations in trade we have, such as no prudence can guard against. We are in despair one year, and in a state of great excitement in the next. At one time ruin stares us in the face, at another we fancy that we are getting rich in a moment. Not only is trade sacrificed, but the moral character of the country is injured by the violent fluctuations created by this law. And now have we a scarcity coming or not? They say that to be forewarned is to be forearmed, and that a famine foretold never comes. And so this famine could not have come if the moment we saw it to be coming we had had power to relieve ourselves by supplies of food from abroad. The reason why a famine foretold never comes, is because when it is foreseen and foretold, men prepare for it, and thus it never comes. But here, though it has been both foreseen and foretold, there is a law passed by a paternal legislature, remaining on the statute-book, which says to twenty-seven millions of people, 'Scramble for what there is, and if the poorest and the weakest starve, foreign supplies shall not come in for fear some injury should be done to the mortgaged landowners.'"

The peroration of this speech has all the sinewy strength of Demosthenes, conjoined with the grand and fulminating passion of Mirabeau.

"Two centuries ago the people of this country were engaged in a fearful conflict with the Crown. A despotic and treacherous monarch

assumed to himself the right to levy taxes without the consent of Parliament and the people. That assumption was resisted. This fair island became a battle-field, the kingdom was convulsed, and an ancient throne overturned. And, if our fathers two hundred years ago resisted that attempt—if they refused to be the bondmen of a king, shall we be the born thralls of an aristocracy like ours? Shall we, who struck the lion down, shall we pay the wolf homage? or shall we not, by a manly and united expression of public opinion, at once, and for ever, put an end to this giant wrong?

“Our cause is at least as good as theirs. We stand on higher vantage-ground; we have large numbers at our back; we have more of wealth, intelligence, union, and knowledge of the political rights and the true interests of the country; and, what is more than all this—we have a weapon, a power, and machinery, which is a thousand times better than that of force, were it employed—I refer to the registration, and especially to the 40s. freehold, for that is the great constitutional weapon which we intend to wield, and by means of which we are sure to conquer, our laurels being gained, not in bloody fields, but upon the hustings and in the registration courts. Now, I do hope, that if this law be repealed within the next six months, and if it should then be necessary that this League should disperse, I do trust that the people of England will bear in mind how great a panic has been created among the monopolist rulers by this small weapon, which we have discovered hid in the Reform Act, and in the constitution of the country. I would implore the middle and working classes to regard it as the portal of their deliverance, as the strong and irresistible weapon before which the domination of this hereditary peerage must at length be laid in the dust.”

The quondam defenders of the Corn Laws should read and meditate on these words with thanksgiving—the revolutionary fires of 1848 swept over Europe, and died away in the channel. Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright had wrung redress from the governing classes—had removed, in spite of them, and buried in the gulf of the past the materials of conflagration, and saved their country from inevitable insurrection.

In the face of such flagrant domestic evils as were engendered by an unnatural system of protection—backed as they were by the menacing aspect of an aggrieved and resolute people—it was not so difficult for Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright to establish the principles of a more enlightened policy as in Foreign Affairs. The English public took small interest in foreign politics; knowledge at that time was even more wanting than it is now to enable them to deal with the question, and the chiefs of the great families who had held the uncontrolled direction of England's foreign policy since 1688, cherished the disdainful satisfaction that it was impossible for any beyond their own ranks to enlighten the public mind on the subject, or make it matter for

agitation. Yet it may be doubted whether the system of foreign policy of this country for the last two hundred years has not been quite as baneful to the interests of England as any system of Corn Laws would have been, maintained for the same period. The intrigues of diplomacy and the manœuvres of war have been for the most part cunning inventions, by which traditional chicane and rapacity have drained England of her best blood, despoiled her of her substance, and loaded her working power, in Atlantæan fashion, with an immovable mountain of debt. Crafty expressions had been invented which some statesmen had believed in by force of routine, and in which others affected belief for convenience; but all were ready to bleed and grind the nation alike under the shadow of their pretentious obscurity. The stock phrases, "the balance of power," "the liberties of Europe," "the prestige of England," were, in the early days of Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright, still words of conjuration and maleficent might, and by their aid it was easy at any time to excite in this country the unreflecting passion for war—still too easily aroused among us—and to stimulate the nation to a frantic and foolish complicity in all the perils, extravagance, and crimes of unjustifiable naval and military enterprise.

The courage which is born of the beating of drums and the clangours of trumpets, the display of standards and the magnificence of war, has never yet been at a loss for admirers among civilized or uncivilized men from the beginning of the history of the world. Common as the virtue is, and participated in equally by men of culture and by savages, by animals, by the virtuous and by the vicious, it is worthy of all the honour it receives when exerted in a just cause; but a higher ideal of humanity, a more intelligent estimate of the ends of civilization, are required for a due appreciation of the grandeur and the purity of moral courage; of the much-suffering, long-enduring fortitude of the originators and advocates of great ideas, whether of the reason or of the imagination, and of the designers of more humane schemes of economy; of the heroes and martyrs of beneficent prophetic instincts and intuitions, who do their work mostly in uncheered isolation, and generally with a disregard of all or much of what is considered dearer perhaps even than life itself by their fellows—a disregard a thousand times more admirable than the transitory disregard and defiance of danger displayed on the battle-field by the soldier, borne on by the conspiring fury of myriads, in the presence of countless eyes and applauding voices, supported by all the pomp and circumstance and thunder of war, and intoxicated with the contagious frenzy of carnage.

No nation has, however, as a mass, yet reached that point of refinement which would enable it to estimate aright the greater nobility of moral, as compared with physical courage, although the labours of Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright have done much to prepare the way for such a consummation. Nevertheless the policy of peace and conciliation which they have unceasingly advocated, as being not only the most in accordance with a national profession of Christianity, but also as being the most in accordance with the interests of England, served for many years as a target at which interested politicians aimed all the arrows of their scorn. It formed so distinguishing and uncommon a feature of the obnoxious advocates of new ideas, that it seemed as easy then to most of those designated as statesmen, as it does now to some writers in newspapers, to bring by this means discredit and ridicule on the general aptitude for politics, and on the patriotism of the leaders of the peace party.

The chief swordsman in the arena of the Spanish bull-ring, when he is about to despatch the bull, entices him to rush with closed eyes at a red cloak which he carries in one hand, while he finishes him with a weapon which he carries in the other. A war policy has too often been the red flag of the governing classes of the country, with which they have enticed a mass of Englishmen to rush upon their destruction; and not a little of the pomp and finery in which privilege has arrayed itself has been obtained, like the *clinquant* of the *matador*, by the dexterous use of the red flag.

If one would give assent to the words of such politicians and their followers, there is something essentially un-English about Mr. Bright, because he has always, since his first entry on the stage of public life, advocated a peace policy; but as Mr. Bright has himself shown, he must share this reproach with Walpole, with Charles James Fox, and with Lord Grey, whose motto was "Peace, retrenchment, reform;" and also with Sir Robert Peel, whose last speech was a grand protest on behalf of a peaceful policy, delivered with a solemnity which may be termed prophetic, and as though inspired with the conviction that it was the best legacy he could leave the country he had served so well.

The perseverance, however, of Mr. Bright has not been unrewarded; and if the foreign policy of England has ceased to have that meddling and mischievous nature which characterized it up to the advent of Lord Stanley at the Foreign Office, the chief share of national obligation is due to the courage and energy of the unswerving advocates of non-intervention principles.

Mr. Bright has ever fearlessly advocated the principle that nations should recognise in their intercourse with each other the same code of morality which is established as the rule of



conduct for individuals. Had any approximation to this view been entertained during the last thirty years only, Englishmen would be spared an immense deal of pain and humiliation in looking back on the foreign policy of the country during that period, and the nation itself would have been now richer by very many millions of money and by many thousands of living men. But unfortunately for the honour of England, our foreign policy during great part of this period has been the reverse of that of Rome, as set forth in that line of the gentlest and perhaps the best of ancient poets—*Parcere subjectis, et debellare superbos*. It has been insolent and overbearing to the weak and humble, and subservient to the strong; it has been defiant and insulting to nations like France and America in their hour of difficulty and trial, and just as supple and pliant to the same powers in the season of their triumph and on the return of their prosperity; it has inflamed from time to time the combative spirit of England up to a pitch of ridiculous demonstration, and then at its convenience held up the scarecrow of invasion and frightened it into convulsions. But let us hope these things are of the past—that no more fleets of England will be sent to bombard a small village like the Piræus to recover the bad debt of a fraudulent Jew; that our ambassadors will not be again intriguing in every court in Europe in favour of effete monarchies, in secret and treacherous defiance of the leading aspirations of the country they are engaged to represent,—and to cast a larger view over our external relations, that we shall not again be involved in the disgrace of Affghan and other Indian wars, but that our supremacy in India and over our colonies will be justified more by that spirit of equity and conciliation which animate the Indian and colonial speeches now before us.

No general account, however, of the political action of Mr. Bright would give any due notion of the worth of these volumes; and the occasion of this publication is too imperious for us to omit to take advantage of the prerogative of a review, and to enforce anew upon the attention of our readers, and as far as possible in the very language of the orator, what appears to us to have been the chiefest manifestations of his political genius. It were pretentious in any living man to attempt to speak for Mr. Bright, when his words can be made use of, and the passages of sustained power, of moral and political excellence, which we shall reproduce in our pages, can, although doubtless fresh in the minds of many, hardly be perused and meditated upon too frequently.

The speeches are ranged under the heads of India, Canada, Ireland, Russia, Reform, and Speeches on various subjects. We

will begin with Ireland, as being the subject the nearest to the English heart at this moment, and one which demands from us the earliest justice, and the immediate inauguration of a policy of atonement. On the condition of Ireland, as well as on that of the vast continent of India, Mr. Bright has bestowed an immense amount of patient investigation, and lavished upon it all the solicitude of his great and penetrating intelligence.

For the sympathies of Mr. Bright with the wrong and misery which some centuries of English dominion has brought upon Ireland has ever been intense, and they are not a whit more passionately expressed in the days of his early manhood in 1845, in his speech in opposition to the Maynooth grant, than in his speech in April last in the House of Commons on Mr. Gladstone's motion for the disestablishment of the Irish Church. The lapse of nearly twenty years has not chilled the warmth of his generous indignation, or made less impetuous the gushing force of his patriotic sympathies.

The first four speeches of Mr. Bright on the subject of Ireland were spoken during those terrible years of famine, which first awoke some commiseration even in Tory hearts for a country which had refused to thrive under Tory principles of domination, and which the mass of country gentlemen would at any time since the Union have sunk, if possible, to the bottom of the Atlantic as a reward for its ingratitude. What was the condition of the people in 1849 we learn from Mr. Bright's own speech on the Rate-in-Aid for the relief of Ireland in that year.

“On looking over the reports of the Poor-law Inspectors, I find them teeming with statements of the wretchedness which prevails in the distressed districts of Ireland. The general character of the reports is, that starvation is, literally speaking, gradually driving the population into their graves. The people cannot quit their hovels for want of clothing, whilst others cannot be discharged from the workhouses owing to the same cause. Men are seen wearing women's apparel, not being able to procure proper clothing; whilst, in other instances, men, women, and children are all huddled together under bundles of rags, unable to rise for lack of covering; workhouses and prisons are crowded beyond their capacity to contain, the mortality being very great in them. Persons of honest character commit thefts in order to be sent to prison, and some ask, as a favour, to be transported.

“I know of nothing like this in the history of modern times. The only parallel I can find to it is in the work of the great German author (Mosheim), who, in his ‘*Institutes of the Christian Religion*,’ speaking of the inroads of the barbarians into the Roman empire in the fifth century, says that in Gaul, the calamities of the times drove many to such madness, that they wholly excluded God from the government of the world, and denied His providence over human affairs. It would almost appear that this state of things is now to be

seen in Ireland. The prisons are crowded, the chapels deserted, society is disorganised and ruined; labour is useless, for capital is not to be had for its employment. The reports of the Inspectors say that this catastrophe has only been hastened, and not originated, by the failure of the potato crop during the last four years, and that all men possessed of any intelligence must have foreseen what would ultimately happen."

The peroration of this speech of Mr. Bright's on this rate deserves especial attention. It is an admirable specimen of finely-tempered energy, passion, and eloquence.

"Sir, I am ashamed, I must say, of the course which we have taken upon this question. Look at that great subscription that was raised three years ago for Ireland. There was scarcely a part of the globe from which subscriptions did not come. The Pope, as was very natural, subscribed—the head of the great Mahometan empire, the Grand Seignior, sent his thousand pounds—the uttermost parts of the earth sent in their donations. A tribe of Red Indians on the American continent sent their subscription; and I have it on good authority that even the slaves on a plantation in one of the Carolinas subscribed their sorrowful mite that the miseries of Ireland might be relieved. The whole world looked upon the condition of Ireland, and helped to mitigate her miseries. What can we say to all those contributors, who, now that they have paid, must be anxious to know if anything is done to prevent a recurrence of these calamities? We must tell them with blushes that nothing has been done, but that we are still going on with the poor-rates, and that, having exhausted the patience of the people of England in Parliamentary grants, we are coming now with rates in aid, restricted altogether to the property of Ireland. That is what we have to tell them; whilst we have to acknowledge that our constitution, boasted of as it has been for generations past, utterly fails to grapple with this great question.

"Hon. gentlemen turn with triumph to neighbouring countries, and speak in glowing terms of our glorious Constitution. It is true, that abroad thrones and dynasties have been overturned, whilst in England peace has reigned undisturbed. But take all the lives that have been lost in the last twelve months in Europe amidst the convulsions that have occurred—take all the cessation of trade, the destruction of industry, all the crushing of hopes and hearts, and they will not compare for an instant with the agonies which have been endured by the population of Ireland under your glorious Constitution. And there are those who now say that this is the ordering of Providence. I met an Irish gentleman the other night, and, speaking upon the subject, he said that he saw no remedy, but that it seemed as if the present state of things were the mode by which Providence intended to solve the question of Irish difficulties. But let us not lay these calamities at the door of Providence; it were sinful in us, of all men, to do so. God has blessed Ireland—and does still bless her—in position, in soil, in climate; he has not withdrawn His promises, nor are they unfulfilled; there is still the sunshine and the shower; still the seed-time and the harvest; and the affluent bosom of the earth yet offers sustenance for

man. But man must do his part—we must do our part—we must retrace our steps—we must shun the blunders, and, I would even say, the crimes of our past legislation. We must free the land, and then we shall discover, and not till then, that industry, hopeful and remunerated—industry, free and inviolate, is the only sure foundation on which can be reared the enduring edifice of union and of peace.”

Indeed, Mr. Bright is as fully able to appreciate as any man living the generous warmth of heart of the Irish people, their passionate fervour of character, their rich sensibility of nature, and their capability of responding with rapid devotion to the appeal of any noble impulse. Mr. Bright feels as bitterly as any the reproach to the English nation—the scandal which we have brought upon civilization in having estranged from us—not for ever, it is to be hoped—this highly gifted race, so capable of forming a new and grand, though hitherto despised element, in the glory and prosperity of the English empire.

In a speech delivered before the House upon one of those motions for suspending the Habeas Corpus Act which have become the chronic and inevitable nostrums for application in Irish difficulties, in the face of the Fenian movement, on February 17, 1868, Mr. Bright made use of these words—

“An hon. Member from Ireland a few nights ago referred to the character of the Irish people. He said, and I believe it is true, that there is no Christian nation with which we are acquainted, amongst the people of which crime of the ordinary character, as we reckon it in this country, is so rare as it is amongst his countrymen. He might have said also that there is no people—whatever they may be at home—more industrious than his countrymen in every other country but their own. He might have said more; that they are a people of a cheerful and joyous temperament. He might have said more than this—that they are singularly grateful for kindnesses shown to them, and that of all the people of our race they are filled with the strongest sentiment of veneration.

“And yet, with such materials and with such a people, after centuries of government—after sixty-five years of government by this House—you have them embittered against your rule, and anxious only to throw off the authority of the Crown and Queen of these realms.”

Mr. Bright sums up with his usual vigour and conciseness the policy of England towards Ireland for the last sixty-five years.

“Sixty-five years ago this country and this Parliament undertook to govern Ireland. I will say nothing of the manner in which that duty was brought upon us—except this—that it was by proceedings disgraceful and corrupt to the last degree. I will say nothing of the pretences under which it was brought about but this—that the English Parliament and people, and the Irish people too, were told, that if they once got rid of the Irish Parliament they would dethrone for ever Irish factions, and that with a united Parliament we should become a united,

and stronger, and happier people. During these sixty-five years—and on this point I ask for the attention of the right hon. gentleman (Mr. Disraeli) who has just spoken—there are only three considerable measures which Parliament has passed in the interests of Ireland. One of them was the measure of 1829, for the emancipation of the Catholics, and to permit them to have seats in this House. But that measure, so just, so essential, and which, of course, is not ever to be recalled, was a measure which the chief Minister of the day, a great soldier, and a great judge of military matters, admitted was passed under the menace of, and only because of, the danger of civil war. The other two measures to which I have referred are that for the relief of the poor, and that for the sale of the encumbered estates; and those measures were introduced to the House and passed through the House in the emergency of a famine more severe than any that has desolated any Christian country of the world within the last four hundred years.

“Except on these two emergencies I appeal to every Irish Member, and to every English Member who has paid any attention to the matter, whether the statement is not true that this Parliament has done nothing for the people of Ireland. And, more than that, their complaints have been met—complaints of their sufferings have been met—often by denial, often by insult, often by contempt. And within the last few years we have heard from this very Treasury bench observations with regard to Ireland which no friend of Ireland or of England, and no Minister of the Crown, ought to have uttered with regard to that country. Twice in my Parliamentary life this thing has been done—at least by the close of this day will have been done—and measures of repression—measures for the suspension of the civil rights of the Irish people—have been brought into Parliament and passed with extreme and unusual rapidity.

“I have not risen to blame the Secretary of State or to blame his colleagues for the act of to-day. There may be circumstances to justify a proposition of this kind, and I am not here to deny that these circumstances now exist; but what I complain of is this: there is no statesmanship merely in acts of force and acts of repression.”

The picture which Mr. Bright draws of the state of Ireland in his own time is one which deserves frequent meditation, and long as it is, we do not hesitate to give the entire passage.

“In Ireland the landowner is the creature of conquest, not of conquest of eight hundred years ago, but of conquest completed only two hundred years ago; and it may be well for us to remember, and for all Englishmen to remember, that succeeding that transfer of the land to the new-comers from Great Britain, there followed a system of law, known by the name of the Penal Code, of the most ingenious cruelty, and such as, I believe, has never in modern times been inflicted on any Christian people. Unhappily, on this account, the wound which was opened by the conquest has never been permitted to be closed, and thus we have had landowners in Ireland of a different race, of a different religion, and of different ideas from the great bulk of the people, and there has been a constant and bitter war between the

owners and occupiers of the soil. Now, up to this point I suppose that even the gentlemen who were dining together the other evening in Belfast would probably agree with me, because what I have stated is mere matter of notorious history, and to be found in every book which has treated of the course of Irish affairs during the last two hundred years. But I think they would agree with me even further than this. They would say that Ireland is a land which has been torn by religious factions, and torn by these factions at least in the North as much as in the South; and I think they would be doing less than justice to the inhabitants of the North if they said that they had in any degree come short of the people of the South in the intensity of their passionate feelings with regard to their Church.

"But Ireland has been more than this—it has been a land of evictions—a word which, I suspect, is scarcely known in any other civilized country. It is a country from which thousands of families have been driven by the will of the landowners and the power of the law. It is a country where have existed, to a great extent, those dread tribunals known by the common name of secret societies, by which, in pursuit of what some men have thought to be justice, there have been committed crimes of appalling guilt in the eye of the whole world. It is a country, too, in which—and it is the only Christian country of which it may be said for some centuries past—it is a country in which a famine of the most desolating character has prevailed even during our own time. I think I was told in 1849, as I stood in the burial-ground at Skibbereen, that at least 400 people who had died of famine were buried within the quarter of an acre of ground on which I was then looking. It is a country, too, from which there has been a greater emigration by sea within a given time than has been known at any time from any other country in the world. It is a country where there has been, for generations past, a general sense of wrong, out of which has grown a state of chronic insurrection; and at this very moment when I speak, the general safeguard of constitutional liberty is withdrawn, and we meet in this hall, and I speak here to-night, rather by the forbearance and permission of the Irish executive than under the protection of the common safeguards of the rights and liberties of the people of the United Kingdom.

"I venture to say that this is a miserable and a humiliating picture to draw of this country. Bear in mind that I am not speaking of Poland suffering under the conquest of Russia. There is a gentleman, now a candidate for an Irish county, who is very great upon the wrongs of Poland; but I have found him always in the House of Commons taking sides with that great party which has systematically supported the wrongs of Ireland. I am not speaking about Hungary, or of Venice as she was under the rule of Austria, or of the Greeks under the dominion of the Turk, but I am speaking of Ireland—part of the United Kingdom—part of that which boasts itself to be the most civilized and the most Christian nation in the world."

What are the remedies for this appalling state of things? for, as Mr. Bright says, there is no statesmanship in acts of force and

repression. "Men the most clumsy and brutal can do these things. We want men of higher temper—men of higher genius—men of higher patriotism, to deal with the affairs of Ireland."

To Mr. Bright must be ascribed the credit of having been the most instrumental in directing public attention to two points—the necessity for the removal of the Irish Established Church, and the miserable condition of the tenure of land. "The Church," to use his own language, "may be said to affect the soul and sentiment of the country, and the land question may be said to affect the means of life and the comforts of the people." The worst evils of Ireland have been summed up in the phrase "an absentee aristocracy and an alien church."

As for the question of the Church, that has been decided by the votes of the English people, through a larger and more triumphant majority than has ever yet been returned to Parliament; and it is a happy augury for the future progress of Reform, that the newly-enfranchised electors of England and Scotland have commenced political life by a grand act of justice—by a vote which redeems a kindred oppressed and gallant nation from a grievous and galling state of spiritual thralldom; and this they have done by participating in the faith of their leader that the removal of the Established Church would create "a new political and social atmosphere in Ireland—that it would make the people (of that country) feel old things had passed away, that all things had become new—that an Irishman and his faith were no longer to be condemned in his own country—and that from the present time the English people and the English Parliament intended to do full justice to Ireland."

Let us leave the question of the Established Church, which may be considered as settled in principle, and listen to Mr. Bright's views on the subject of the tenure of land in Ireland, which have brought down upon his head so much obloquy, and the groundless charge of being an agitator for spoliation.

"I have said that the ownership of land in Ireland came originally from conquest and from confiscation, and, as a matter of course, there was created a great gulf between the owner and the occupier, and from that time to this doubtless there has been wanting that sympathy which exists to a large extent in Great Britain, and that ought to exist in every country. I am told—you can answer it if I am wrong—that it is not common in Ireland now to give leases to tenants, especially to Catholic tenants. If that be so, then the security for the property of the tenant rests only upon the good feeling and favour of the owner of the land, for the laws, as we know, have been made by the landowners, and many propositions for the advantage of the tenants have unfortunately been too little considered by Parliament. The result is that you have bad farming, bad dwelling-houses, bad temper, and everything bad connected with the occupation and cultivation of land in Ireland. One of the results

—a result the most appalling—is this, that your population are fleeing from your country and seeking a refuge in a distant land. On this point I wish to refer to a letter which I received a few days ago from a most esteemed citizen of Dublin. He told me that he believed that a very large portion of what he called the poor, amongst Irishmen, sympathized with any scheme or any proposition that was adverse to the Imperial Government. He said further, that the people here are rather in the country than of it, and that they are looking more to America than they are looking to England. I think there is a good deal in that. When we consider how many Irishmen have found a refuge in America, I do not know how we can wonder at that statement.

“You will recollect that when the ancient Hebrew prophet prayed in his captivity he prayed with his window opened towards Jerusalem. You know that the followers of Mahommed, when they pray, turn their faces towards Mecca. When the Irish peasant asks for food, and freedom, and blessing, his eye follows the setting sun; the aspirations of his heart reach beyond the wide Atlantic, and in spirit he grasps hands with the great Republic of the West. If this be so, I say then, that the disease is not only serious, but it is even desperate; but desperate as it is, I believe there is a certain remedy for it, if the people and the Parliament of the United Kingdom are willing to apply it.”

An incident occurred to Mr. Bright while travelling in Ireland early in his political career, which made upon him an indelible impression, and which is too significant to be omitted.

“I recollect in the year 1849 being down in the county of Wexford. I called at the house of an old farmer of the name of Stafford, who lived in a very good house, the best farm-house, I think, that I had seen since leaving Dublin. He lived on his own farm, which he had bought fifteen years before. The house was a house which he had himself built. He was a venerable old man, and we had some very interesting conversation with him. I asked how it was he had so good a house? He said the farm was his own, and the house was his own, and, as no man could disturb him, he had made it a much better house than was common for the farmers of Ireland. I said to him, ‘If all the farmers of Ireland had the same security for the capital they laid out on their farms, what would be the result?’ The old man almost sprang out of his chair, and said, ‘Sir, if you will give us that encouragement, we will *bate* the hunger out of Ireland.’”

What then are the changes in the land by which Mr. Bright fearlessly hopes to “*bate* the hunger out of Ireland”? In the first place that tenants should have security by law for all improvements and investments in their farms—a proposition so eminently just and natural that no words need here be thrown away in defence of it; it is certain that it is for the benefit of the commonwealth that land should be well cultivated, and it is just as certain that it cannot be well cultivated unless the cultivator can see a fair prospect before him of reaping the profits of his labour and expenditure. The injurious consequence of a possession of



nothing but an unprotected dependence on the caprice or despotism of human authority is infinitely greater over the cultivator than that produced by daily encounter with and subjection to the terrors of natural catastrophes.

People are found to be industrious on the slopes of Etna and Vesuvius, where their vineyards may be overwhelmed in a day by a lava stream ; but no nation upon earth ever yet produced men who were frugal, cautious, energetic and enterprising, when subject to be dispossessed of all they cling to in the world at the mere caprice of a proprietor. If proprietors do not know their own interests as landowners, the law should at least insist that in the matter of leases they should not obstinately defeat the ends of public policy. One of the ends of public policy being the proper cultivation of land, public policy requires also that sufficient security should be given to the tenant to render such cultivation possible. The law as established admits of no such thing as absolute property in land, and has frequently abridged the rights of proprietors for ends of national interest. One of such abridgments consists in a rule of common law which declares that all conditions attached in bar of marriage to a gift are void, and it were a bitter irony of justice, which interferes with one of the most sacred rights of property in order to facilitate increase of population, to declare that it can do nothing to interfere with abuses of rights of property which prevent that population from being fed.

The great evil of Ireland is, as Mr. Bright says, "that the Irish people, the Irish nation, are dispossessed of the soil, and what we ought to do, is to provide for and aid in their restoration to it by all measures of justice. Why should we tolerate in Ireland the law of primogeniture ? Why should we tolerate the system of entail ? Why should the object of the law be to accumulate land in great masses in few hands, and to make it almost impossible for persons of small means and tenant farmers to become possessors of land ? If you go to other countries, for example, to Norway, to Denmark, to Holland, to Belgium, to France, to Germany, to Italy, or to the United States, you will find in all these countries those laws of which I complain have been abolished, and the land is just as free to buy and sell and hold and cultivate as any other description of property in the kingdom. No doubt your Landed Estates Court and your Record of Titles Act were good measures, but they were good because they were in the direction I want to travel further in."

Indeed, the Irish Court for the sale of Encumbered Estates which has answered so well in Ireland, seems to have owed its origin to a suggestion of Mr. Bright's made in the House of Commons in 1845, and repeated in 1849. He proposed in 1845

“that a new court should be established in Ireland for the adjudication of cases connected with the land, and for no other purpose, and that it should thus relieve the present courts from much of the business with which they are now encumbered;” and in the speech of 1849 he goes on to treat generally the question of intestate estates, which formed for so many years the subject of a yearly motion by that genuine and generous advocate of liberal principles, Mr. Locke King, who by his *Real Estates Charges Act* has already provided a remedy against an ancient and cruel abuse of the principle of primogeniture in the case of mortgaged estates. The hon. member for East Surrey is about again to attack the rule of primogeniture in the coming session. We trust this time with success.

“I feel how tenderly one must speak, in this House, upon a question like this. Even the right hon. Member for Tamworth, with all his authority, appeared, when touching on this delicate question of the land, as if he were walking upon eggs which he was very much afraid of breaking. I certainly never heard the right hon. gentleman steer through so many sinuosities in a case; and hardly, at last, dared he come to the question, because he was talking about land—this sacred land! I believe land to have nothing peculiar in its nature which does not belong to other property; and everything that we have done with the view of treating land differently from other property has been a blunder—a false course which we must retrace—an error which lies at the foundation of very much of the pauperism and want of employment which so generally prevail. Now, with regard to intestate estates, I am told that the House of Lords will never repeal the law of primogeniture; but I do not want them to repeal the law of primogeniture in the sense entertained by some people. I do not want them to enact the system of France, by which a division of property is compelled. I think that to force the division of property by law is just as contrary to sound principles and natural rights as to prevent its division, as is done by our law. If a man choose to act the unnatural and absurd part of leaving the whole of his property to one child, I should not, certainly, look with respect upon his memory; but I would not interfere to prevent the free exercise of his will. I think, however, if a man die by chance without a will, that it is the duty of the Government to set a high moral example, and to divide the property equally among the children of the former owner, or among those who may be said to be his heirs—among those, in fact, who would fairly participate in his personal estate. If that system of leaving all to the eldest were followed out in the case of personalty, it would lead to immediate confusion, and, by destroying the whole social system, to a perfect anarchy of property. Why, then, should that course be followed with regard to land? The repeal of the law would not of necessity destroy the custom; but this House would no longer give its sanction to a practice which is bad; and I believe that gradually there would be a more just appreciation of their duties in this respect by the great body of testators.”

This question of the distribution of intestates' estates is indeed one of the most vital in the whole programme of future reform. Without it all reform, all education—secular and religious,—all investiture of the agricultural classes with political rights, will be utterly incompetent to save them from their present state of pauperism and animal degradation, both in England and Ireland. Mr. Bright has handled this topic at large in his admirable speech on the Distribution of Land, delivered at Birmingham on January 26th, 1864. This speech, which is too liberal and free-spoken for the ear of the House of Commons, or at least of the last House of Commons, was, as our readers will remember, delivered mainly as a comment on the conduct of Mr. Delane, and in defence of certain opinions expressed by Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright on the subject of the English Laws affecting Land and Labourers—opinions which had been grossly misrepresented in the *Times* newspaper.

This discourse, together with the previous one at Rochdale, cast a thick shadow of horror over most of the manors and castles of England, and the vituperation with which Mr. Bright was assailed was without limit of extent or quality. It is easier, however, to vituperate than to comprehend, and Mr. Bright's assailants were unable to imagine that the great entailed estates, which, year by year, swallow up England and Ireland, and which have reduced the bulk of the agricultural population of these countries to perhaps a more barbarous, and certainly a more hopeless and ill-fed condition than they were in the days of Gurth the Swineherd, could be disintegrated by any other process than that of revolution and violence.

"You have no idea," said a liberal and thoughtful gentleman to Mr. Bright, "of the terror which your speeches create amongst landed gentlemen." Mr. Bright says, in all the *naïveté* of a clear intelligence and profound convictions:—

"I do not know why I should be so alarming to those gentlemen who live in their great houses and castles. But the fact is, the landed gentlemen are not a wise class. There are brilliant exceptions. There are men amongst them, many of whom cannot be surpassed by any of their own class, or of any other class in the world. But as a class, and, perhaps, one might say it of nearly every class—I believe it is true of that to which I belong in Lancashire—they are not a wise class. They know something of agriculture—county Members have to get it up for agricultural dinners—and they know something of horses—and they know all that can be known on the subject of game. But on the principles of law and of government, speaking of them as a whole, and judging of them by their past course, they are dark as night itself. Would you believe it—young men here do not recollect it—that the landed proprietors could never find out, till Mr. Cobden and a few others told them, that the Corn-law was a great injury to

them. They did not know that it actually lowered the value of their land, and diminished the security of their rents, and that it loaded them with an inconceivable amount of public odium; whilst, at the same time, it beggared hundreds and thousands of the people, and it menaced this nation with rebellion.

"Mr. Cobden and I, and others who acted with us, but we chiefly, because perhaps we were the most prominent, were slandered then by the gentlemen in the *Mask*, just as we have been now. The *Times* was as foul-mouthed upon us twenty years ago as it is at this moment. It said that we went about the country setting class against class. It said that our views led to the confiscation of landed property. It said everything that was spiteful and untrue, as it says now. And yet, is there any man in this country who will not admit that property is more secure in consequence of the abolition of that law, which landowners believed to be the anchor of their safety, and that animosities between class and class have been allayed? And who shall tell how much it is owing to this reform that our Queen at this moment wields an unchallenged sceptre over a tranquil realm? A landowner in the House of Commons, an old Member of the House, a representative of a south-western county, a man of excellent character, for whom I have always had the greatest respect, even when he was most in the wrong,—he told me not long ago, speaking about the Corn-law, that they did not then know the good we were doing to his class. I smiled and said to him, 'If you would only have faith I could tell you one or two other things that would do you just as much good if you would let us try them.' But he had no faith."

It would be well indeed if not only the landed gentlemen, but all thinking men in England, would take this speech of Mr. Bright and carefully weigh its immense purport; he has been a true prophet in many things, and he may be also in this,—that this immense agglomeration of landed property in single hands—an agglomeration which is increasing year by year, since year by year the large landowners are eating up the smaller ones,—will, unless the evil is guarded against by legislation, end in national disaster. The smaller in number these landed proprietors become, the more the labourers will learn to become discontented with their pittance of ten or twelve shillings a week, and their hopeless prospect of amelioration.

"There may arise some political accident, and political accidents are almost as unlooked for as other accidents. *You do not hear the tread of the earthquake which topples down your firmest architecture, and you do not see, the country gentlemen do not see, the tread of that danger, it may be that catastrophe, which inevitably follows upon prolonged unjust legislation.*"

All images of terror ought, however, to be unnecessary to induce people to dispassionately probe to the bottom, and weigh every point

connected with the immense question of the distribution of land. Is it not sufficient that our own English peasantry are confessedly in a condition, relatively to the proprietors of the soil and to the tenant farmers, more degraded and more hopeless than ever? All English travellers who go the round of Europe, and have any sense not only of patriotism but of humanity, feel themselves shocked and scandalized, nay, humiliated and disgraced, when they return home to our country, and go to a rural district. Nowhere on the Continent will they meet with such "wretched, uncared for, untaught serf-like creatures," to modify the language of the *Saturday Review*; nowhere else in Europe will they encounter that dumb "bovine gaze," and find so rude a form animated with so dull, crushed, and overwhelmed a spirit as is to be found in the ranks of those who slave to provide for the tables of Englishmen from year's end to year's end in the unvarying round of a gin-horse, without a hope of amelioration.

Surely it is England's duty to make less hopelessly inhuman the lives of the millions who toil and slave for her subsistence. Universal experience, and all history, proves that immense unsaleable properties are the causes of the degradation of the tillers of the soil, and of the decline and ruin of nations. *Latifundia perdidere Romam*, and the strict system of entails called *mayorazgos*, had no small share in the terrible decline of Spain.

From Mr. Bright's speeches on the condition of Ireland we pass to those on America, in whose mighty and hospitable bosom so many millions of the outcast sons of Ireland have found shelter and a home, and the means of honourable independence; in the story of whose prosperity all the lovers of freedom throughout Europe have found consolation and hope in the darkest hours of oppression and wrong, and from whose immense, inevitably increasing greatness, none can now divine how much of the future history of mankind will be developed. The speeches which Mr. Bright delivered during the long-continued and painful suspense in which all lovers of justice and humanity were kept during the time that the battle of slavery and freedom was being fought out in America with dreadful but unavoidable carnage, must be regarded as the most magnificent and powerful in these volumes. Admirable as are his other efforts of oratory here garnered up, these speeches surpass them, and are equal to the majesty of the subject, and still thrilling with all the authority of that stupendous conflict. The grandeur of the United States—the cruel agonies of that unrivalled Commonwealth, of that willing foster-mother of the hunger-driven fugitives of Europe, and now of the slave of Africa—were in them—

selves sufficient topics for eloquence, but the pain and grief with which Mr. Bright witnessed the daily apostacy of most of the cultivated classes from the principles of Christianity, and the general and ignoble renunciation of all further care for the stainless legacy of the Wilberforces and the Clarksons—the suppressed indignation with which he was compelled daily to endure the expression of hopes and sympathies with that monstrous power which dared in the face of heaven and the nineteenth century to declare slavery to be a divine institution, for the white as well as for the black—which aimed at establishing a new empire, with slavery as its foundation, and blood for its baptism—gave additional pathos and sublimity to his emotions, and armed all the might of the vehement soul of the orator, and called forth the noblest impulses of a great and justice-loving heart.

We have always thought that a great test for finding out men's natural aptitude for true liberalism was provided by that ghastly Planters' war. Men of true hearts feel in such cases upon which side the truth lies by inspiration; they have no need to think or to study deeply in such matters. The heart in such cases sees farther than the head. No grandly liberal heart, no great patriot, was deceived. On which side, as Mr. Bright asked, was Cavour? On which Kossuth? On which Victor Hugo? On which Garibaldi? Nevertheless, we cannot help looking back with amazement and horror to the dark months which succeeded in England after the news of that first fatal onslaught of the planters on Fort Sumter.

The death of the Prince Consort had cast an air of mourning upon society; part of which was sincere, though much, no doubt, arose from genteel, and some from interested, affectation. With some, however, at that fatal period, there was a sorrow and a mourning of a deeper kind, caused by the malignant or silly avidity with which nearly all who did not affect to belong to the unprivileged classes seized upon the opportunity to display their hatred and contempt of the Great Republic, their satisfaction and joy at its difficulties, and their desire to side at once with the insurgent slave-owners. Who that has passed through these times can forget the daily sarcasms, insults, and misrepresentations provided for the taste of a willing public by the daily papers? the poor and borrowed arguments, to be heard in social intercourse, in defence of the insurrectionary planters? A young lord ventured in the House of Commons to style the United States "the bubble republic." Lord John Russell, it is true, rebuked the speaker; yet even he declared the "North to be fighting for empire." Other Cabinet Ministers considered the cause of the North to be "*hopeless*;" members of the House of Commons

were fitting up piratical vessels for the depredation of the commerce of the United States; and men of wealth and position were subscribing to the Confederate Loans, in order to rivet the chains of bondage eternally on four millions of men and their descendants, and deliver them over to the slave-driver, his whip, and the branding-iron for ever. And finally, Mr. Roebuck proposed in the House of Commons that England should play the apostate to one of the most immaculate pages in her history, and should be the first to recognise the birth into the family of nations of a new slave power.

One of the chief necessities for good oratory is sympathy in the audience; therefore it is intelligible enough that the best speeches of Mr. Bright on the American war were not made in the House of Commons, but delivered before popular assemblies. For the great heart of the English people never went wrong on this question—and our artisans of the north, whose means of livelihood were annihilated by this lamentable contest, who hungered on from year's end to year's end without putting forth a protest or a claim unworthy of the sons of a free soil, sustained alone in their long trial by the intense desire for human freedom; who with famine by the side of them and before them, scorned to entertain any thought of becoming partners in the profits and the crimes of slavery, set a noble example to people who, with better education, should also have shown higher wisdom and a finer taste, and entirely redeemed their country from the meanness and turpitude of those more fortunate than themselves in everything but a love of justice and devotion to principle.

It was, then, to these latter classes, and to large audiences of their brother workmen in London, that Mr. Bright addressed his finest orations on the American civil war.

There was no more common argument in the mouths of all ill-wishers to the North at that time, than that it would be better for England if the States of America were divided. To this argument Mr. Bright addressed himself in a speech at Rochdale:—

“There cannot be a meaner motive than this I am speaking of, in forming a judgment on this question,—that it is ‘better for us’—for whom? the people of England, or the Government of England?—that the United States should be severed, and that the North American continent should be as the continent of Europe is, in many States, and subject to all the contentions and disasters which have accompanied the history of the States of Europe. I should say that, if a man had a great heart within him, he would rather look forward to the day when, from that point of land which is habitable nearest to the Pole,

to the shores of the Great Gulf, the whole of that vast continent might become one great confederation of States,—without a great army, and without a great navy,—not mixing itself up with the entanglements of European politics,—without a custom-house inside, through the whole length and breadth of its territory,—and with freedom everywhere,—such a confederation would afford at least some hope that man is not forsaken of Heaven, and that the future of our race may be better than the past.”

Mr. Bright nobly kept the promise contained in the grand peroration of this speech; his voice again and again thundered on the side of those who did battle for the slave, and terrified in the end the friends of the planter in this country. If we have preserved peace with America, and been saved a page of foul disgrace in our annals, much of the credit must be given to those powerful bursts of oratory which swelled again and again in the ear of England during the continuance of the conflict.

“Now, whether the Union will be restored or not, or the South achieve an unhonoured independence or not, I know not, and I predict not. But this I think I know—that in a few years, a very few years, the twenty millions of freemen in the North will be thirty millions, or even fifty millions—a population equal to or exceeding that of this kingdom. When that time comes, I pray that it may not be said amongst them, that, in the darkest hour of their country’s trials, England, the land of their fathers, looked on with icy coldness and saw unmoved the perils and calamities of their children. As for me, I have but this to say: I am but one in this audience, and but one in the citizenship of this country; but if all other tongues are silent, mine shall speak for that policy which gives hope to the bondsmen of the South, and which tends to generous thoughts, and generous words, and generous deeds, between the two great nations who speak the English language, and from their origin are alike entitled to the English name.”

“My countrymen,” says Mr. Bright in another speech with a reminiscence of Campbell, “who work for your living, remember this; there will be one wild shriek of freedom to startle all mankind if that American Republic be overthrown.”

It was necessary never to lose sight of the main issue of the question, and its continual reiteration gave inspiring consolation to the starving myriads of Yorkshire and Lancashire.

“The leaders of this revolt propose this monstrous thing—that over a territory forty times as large as England, the blight and curse of slavery shall be for ever perpetrated.

“I cannot believe, for my part, that such a fate will befall that fair land, stricken though it now is with the ravages of war. I cannot believe that civilization, in its journey with the sun, will sink into



endless night in order to gratify the ambition of the leaders of this revolt, who seek to

‘Wade through slaughter to a throne,  
And shut the gates of mercy on mankind.’

I have another and a far brighter vision before my gaze. It may be but a vision, but I will cherish it. I see one vast confederation stretching from the frozen North in unbroken line to the glowing South, and from the wild billows of the Atlantic westward to the calmer waters of the Pacific main,—and I see one people, and one language, and one law, and one faith, and over all that wide continent, the home of freedom, and a refuge for the oppressed of every race and of every clime.”

Each one of these American orations is a model of generous and grand eloquence. It was in the fine address to the workmen at St. James’s Hall that Mr. Bright made use of this grand image illustrative of the inevitable character of the conflict. “At the birth of that great Republic, there was sown the seed if not of its dissolution, at least of its extreme peril; and the infant giant in its cradle may be said to have been rocked under the shadow of the cypress, which is the symbol of mortality and of the tomb.”

Have you—said Mr. Bright, addressing that assembly—any special interest in this contest?

“Privilege thinks it has a great interest in it, and every morning, with blatant voice, it comes into your streets and curses the American Republic. Privilege has beheld an afflicting spectacle for many years past. It has beheld thirty millions of men, happy and prosperous, without emperor, without king, without the surroundings of a court, without nobles, except such as are made by eminence in intellect and virtue, without State bishops and State priests,—

‘Sole vendors of the lore which works salvation,’—

without great armies and great navies, without great debt and without great taxes. Privilege has shuddered at what might happen to old Europe if this grand experiment should succeed. But you, the workers—you, striving after a better time—you, struggling upwards towards the light, with slow and painful steps—you have no cause to look with jealousy upon a country which, amongst all the great nations of the globe, is that one where labour has met with the highest honour, and where it has reaped its greatest reward. Are you aware of the fact, that in fifteen years, which is but as yesterday when it is past, two and a half millions of your countrymen have found a home in the United States—that a population equal nearly, if not quite, to the population of this great city—itsself equal to no mean kingdom—has emigrated from these shores? In the United States there has

been, as you know, an open door for every man,—and millions have entered into it, and have found rest.”

The difference of the two following perorations in tone is remarkable ; the first was spoken in St. James's Hall, the second in the House of Commons.

“ I should hope that this question is now so plain that most Englishmen must understand it ; and least of all do I expect that the six millions of men in the United Kingdom who are not enfranchised can have any doubt upon it. Their instincts are always right in the main, and if they get the facts and information, I can rely on their influence being thrown into the right scale. I wish I could state what would be as satisfactory to myself with regard to some others. There may be men outside, there are men sitting amongst your legislators, who will build and equip corsair ships to prey upon the commerce of a friendly power,—who will disregard the laws and the honour of their country,—who will trample on the Proclamation of their sovereign,—and who, for the sake of the glittering profit which sometimes waits on crime, are content to cover themselves with everlasting infamy. There may be men, too—rich men—in this city of London, who will buy in the slave-owners' loan, and who, for the chance of more gain than honest dealing will afford them, will help a conspiracy whose fundamental institution, whose corner-stone, is declared to be felony, and infamous by the statutes of their country.

“ I speak not to these men—I leave them to their conscience in that hour which comes to all of us, when conscience speaks and the soul is no longer deaf to her voice. I speak rather to you, the working men of London, the representatives, as you are here to-night, of the feelings and the interests of the millions who cannot hear my voice. I wish you to be true to yourselves. Dynasties may fall, aristocracies may perish, privilege will vanish into the dim past ; but you, your children, and your children's children will remain, and from you the English people will be continued to succeeding generations

“ You wish the freedom of your country. You wish it for yourselves. You strive for it in many ways. Do not then give the hand of fellowship to the worst foes of freedom that the world has ever seen, and do not, I beseech you, bring down a curse upon your cause which no after-penitence can ever lift from it. You will not do this. I have faith in you. Impartial history will tell that, when your statesmen were hostile or coldly neutral, when many of your rich men were corrupt, when your press—which ought to have instructed and defended—was mainly written to betray, the fate of a continent and of its vast population being in peril, you clung to freedom with an unfaltering trust that God in His infinite mercy will yet make it the heritage of all His children.”

The conclusion of Mr. Bright's speech in opposition to Mr. Roebuck's motion for recognising the Southern Confederacy was as follows.

“We know the cause of this revolt, its purposes, and its aims. Those who made it have not left us in darkness respecting their intentions, but what they are to accomplish is still hidden from our sight; and I will abstain now, as I have always abstained with regard to it, from predicting what is to come. I know what I hope for,—and what I shall rejoice in,—but I know nothing of future facts that will enable me to express a confident opinion. Whether it will give freedom to the race which white men have trampled in the dust, and whether the issue will purify a nation steeped in crimes committed against that race, is known only to the Supreme. In His hands are alike the breath of Man and the life of States. I am willing to commit to Him the issue of this dreaded contest; but I implore of Him, and I beseech this House, that my country may lift nor hand nor voice in aid of the most stupendous act of guilt that history has recorded in the annals of mankind.”

The finest speech of the whole series—one which may be called the English psalm of victory—is the speech made at the public breakfast given at St. James’s Hall to William Lloyd Garrison, the veteran chief of the heroic band who fought for the cause of the negro when it was utterly desperate. At this breakfast Mr. Bright occupied the chair. The biographical interest of the passage, its extreme beauty, rising as it does in conclusion to the height of poetry of epic grandeur; and moreover, its relation to this journal and one of its most esteemed contributors, form sufficient apologies for the length of the following quotation.

“We have in this country a very noble woman, who taught the English people much upon this question about thirty years ago; I allude to Harriet Martineau. I recollect well the impression with which I read a most powerful and touching paper which she had written, and which was published in the number of the *Westminster Review* for December 1838. It was entitled ‘The Martyr Age of the United States.’ The paper introduced to the English public the great names which were appearing on the scene in connexion with this cause in America. There was, of course I need hardly say, our eminent guest of to-day; there was Arthur Tappan, and Lewis Tappan, and James G. Birney of Alabama, a planter and slave-owner, who liberated his slaves and came North, and became, I believe, the first Presidential candidate upon Abolition principles in the United States. There were besides them, Dr. Channing, John Quincy Adams, a statesman and President of the United States, and father of the eminent man who is now Minister from that people amongst us. Then there was Wendell Phillips, admitted to be by all who know him perhaps the most powerful orator who speaks the English language. I might refer to others, to Charles Sumner, the scholar and statesman, and Horace Greeley, the first of journalists in the United States, if not the first of journalists in the world. But, besides these, there were of noble women not a few. There was Lydia Maria Child; there were the two sisters,

Sarah and Angelina Grimke, ladies who came from South Carolina, who liberated their slaves, and devoted all they had to the service of this just cause; and Maria Weston Chapman, of whom Miss Martineau speaks in terms which, though I do not exactly recollect them, yet I know describe her as noble-minded, beautiful, and good. It may be that there are some of her family who are now within the sound of my voice. If it be so, all I have to say is, that I hope they will feel, in addition to all they have felt heretofore as to the character of their mother, that we who are here can appreciate her services, and the services of all who were united with her as co-operators in this great and worthy cause. But there was another whose name must not be forgotten, a man whose name must live for ever in history, Elijah P. Lovejoy, who in the free State of Illinois laid down his life for the cause. When I read that article by Harriet Martineau, and the description of those men and women there given, I was led, I know not how, to think of a very striking passage which I am sure must be familiar to most here, because it is to be found in the Epistle to the Hebrews. After the writer of that Epistle has described the great men and fathers of the nation, he says:—‘Time would fail me to tell of Gideon, of Barak, of Samson, of Jephtha, of David, of Samuel, and the Prophets, who through faith subdued kingdoms, wrought righteousness, obtained promises, stopped the mouths of lions, quenched the violence of fire, escaped the edge of the sword, out of weakness were made strong, waxed valiant in fight, turned to flight the armies of the aliens.’ I ask if this grand passage of the inspired writer may not be applied to that heroic band who have made America the perpetual home of freedom?

“Thus, in spite of all that persecutions could do, opinion grew in the North in favour of freedom; but in the South, alas! in favour of that most devilish delusion that slavery was a Divine institution. The moment that idea took possession of the South war was inevitable. Neither fact, nor argument, nor counsel, nor philosophy, nor religion, could by any possibility affect the discussion of the question when once the Church leaders of the South had taught their people that slavery was a Divine institution; for then they took their stand on other and different, and what they in their blindness thought higher grounds, and they said, ‘Evil! be thou my good;’ and so they exchanged light for darkness, and freedom for bondage, and good for evil, and, if you like, heaven for hell. Of course, unless there was some stupendous miracle, greater than any that is on record even in the inspired writings, it was impossible that war should not spring out of that state of things; and the political slaveholders, that ‘dreadful brotherhood, in whom all turbulent passions were let loose,’ the moment they found that the presidential election of 1860 was adverse to the cause of slavery, took up arms to sustain their cherished and endangered system. Then came the outbreak which had been so often foretold, so often menaced; and the ground reeled under the nation during four years of agony, until at last, after the smoke of the battle-field had cleared away, the horrid shape which had cast its

shadow over a whole continent had vanished, and was gone for ever. An ancient and renowned poet has said—

‘Unholy is the voice  
Of loud thanksgiving over slaughtered men.’

It becomes us not to rejoice, but to be humbled, that a chastisement so terrible should have fallen upon any of our race; but we may be thankful for this—that this chastisement was at least not sent in vain. The great triumph in the field was not all; there came after it another great triumph, a triumph over passion, and there came up before the world the spectacle, not of armies and military commanders, but of the magnanimity and mercy of a powerful and victorious nation. The vanquished were treated as the vanquished, in the history of the world, have never before been treated.”

An entire article might be profitably devoted to Mr. Bright's speeches on India; but led away by the attraction of language as powerful as ever for purposes of fascination, as well as by the more domestic interest of the subjects, we have given such copious extracts from the speeches on Ireland and America, that our limits will not allow us to do justice to this portion of these two volumes. The affairs of India have occupied much of the attention of Mr. Bright; he has devoted himself with immense zeal to the study of the condition of the various populations of India, to the character of its resources, and to the nature and efficiency of the past and present government of India; and much of the results of these conscientious investigations are to be found gathered up in the speeches before us; characterised mainly by a passionate earnestness which recalls the most vivid appeals of Burke to the generosity of a great nation in behalf of the conquered races of India, and by a yet deeper and truer Christian philanthropy.

Mr. Bright had shown in one of his speeches on the American war, how the interests of commerce led him in 1847 to move for a select Committee in the House of Commons to consider the reasons for the deficient supply of Cotton from India; for Mr. Bright, with that astonishing sagacity which he has displayed in every political question, foresaw even at that early period that the supply of Cotton from America, being wholly the result of slave-labour, must inevitably receive a check, and that this check, unless provision were made for obtaining supplies from other quarters, would bring temporary ruin and disaster on the English manufactures. A Committee was appointed, and a report was made, condemnatory of the whole system of the Indian Government, with regard to the land and agricultural produce. After which, in 1850, as nothing more was done, Mr. Bright gave notice of a motion for the appointment of a Royal Com-

mission to go to India for the purpose of making investigations respecting the growth of Cotton.

The Royal Commission was refused, and Mr. Bright, in conjunction with some members of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, determined to have a commission of their own; the history of this is not important here except to show that from his first entry into parliament, Mr. Bright has taken a lively interest in the affairs of India.

The first speech, then, in these volumes was delivered by Mr. Bright in opposition to the renewal of the East India Company's charter in 1853. Nevertheless, Sir Charles Wood made a speech of five hours' duration, by which the house was convinced of the excellence of the old form of Indian double, or rather treble, government, and the charter was renewed. In 1857 the Mutiny broke out; and in 1858 the government, convinced by the logic of that terrible insurrection, did as Mr. Bright advised them in 1853, abolished the Company and placed all their possessions under the direct authority of the Crown. In Mr. Bright's India speech of 1858 will be found his new programme of government for India, which will probably be adopted by some future governments, should emergencies arise sufficiently cogent to call attention to the soundness of its principles. The first financial statement on India, of Sir Charles Wood, was made on the 1st of August, 1859, on which occasion Mr. Bright criticized, in a powerful and comprehensive manner, the general conduct of Indian affairs, and concluded with this magnificent exhortation.

"I beg the Committee to consider this matter, notwithstanding that the right hon. Gentleman is not disposed to take a gloomy view of the state of India. Look at your responsibilities. India is ruled by Englishmen, but remember that in that unfortunate country you have destroyed every form of government but your own; that you have cast the thrones of the natives to the ground. Princely families, once the rulers of India, are now either houseless wanderers in the land they once called their own, or are pensioners on the bounty of those strangers by whom their fortunes have been overthrown. They who were noble and gentle for ages are now merged in the common mass of the people. All over those vast regions there are countless millions, helpless and defenceless, deprived of their natural leaders and their ancient chiefs, looking with only some small ray of hope to that omnipresent and irresistible Power by which they have been subjected. I appeal to you on behalf of that people. I have besought your mercy and your justice for many a year past; and if I speak to you earnestly now, it is because the object for which I plead is dear to my heart. Is it not possible to touch a chord in the hearts of Englishmen, to raise them to a sense of the miseries inflicted on that unhappy country by

the crimes and the blunders of our rulers here? If you have steeled your hearts against the Natives, if nothing can stir you to sympathy with their miseries, at least have pity upon your own countrymen. Rely upon it the state of things which now exists in India, must, before long, become most serious. I hope that you will not show to the world that, although your fathers conquered the country, you have not the ability to govern it. You had better disencumber yourselves of the fatal gift of empire than that the present generation should be punished for the sins of the past. I speak in condemnatory language, because I believe it to be deserved. I hope that no future historian will have to say that the arms of England in India were irresistible, and that an ancient empire fell before their victorious progress,—yet that finally India was avenged, because the power of her conqueror was broken by the intolerable burdens and evils which she cast upon her victim, and that this wrong was accomplished by a waste of human life and a waste of wealth which England, with all her power was unable to bear.”

From India we pass to matters of foreign policy. Four speeches on the Russian War preserve for posterity the grand argumentation which Mr. Bright brought to bear upon that question in favour of our non-interference in the squabble between Russia and Turkey. We believe public opinion has undergone a great change since the wild frenzy for war carried away all classes of society and all parties in politics. All England was then enthusiastic with the ambition of curbing the aggression of Russia at any cost of treasure and of men, the flower of their country. But not long afterwards some of the very leaders of the war party—Sir James Graham especially—the orator of the Reform Banquet, repented, declared the war should never have taken place, and fully justified the opposition of Mr. Bright.

We shall not discuss the question whether the sacrifices then endured, and the permanent burden imposed upon the country by the Crimean war, were necessary or not, neither shall we set forth the traditional duplicity and overbearing diplomacy of our Foreign Office in the East. If posterity accepts Mr. Bright's view of the justice and necessity of the Russian war, his efforts to stay a hideous waste of blood and treasure, and to bring his countrymen to a sane view of their interests and their duties in this great matter, will be regarded as forming another and one of his best claims to the possession of a high-minded statesmanship and patriotism.

On the other hand, even allowing the war to be what Mr. Disraeli termed it, a “just and unnecessary war,” or even “a just and necessary war,” all who admire Mr. Bright's political career may find regret for a single failure in political sagacity tempered

with the satisfaction of having proof that the great champion of the Peace Party regarded himself as the servant of truth, and not of popularity, and that he was as earnest and impassioned in the advocacy of views in which his followers might be counted by dozens, as when his words could command, on the platform, the applause of consentient thousands, and found an echo on the morrow in the hearts of millions.

Although, however, we are prevented from discussing the merits of Mr. Bright's policy on Russian affairs, we entirely coincide with the belief expressed by Professor Rogers, that Mr. Bright has done more to depose that Moloch, "the balance of power," than any other man living.

The concluding paragraphs of his opposition speech (the first in the series) on the Government announcement of the declaration of war, will be found not unequal to the occasion:—

"The past events of our history have taught me that the intervention of this country in European wars is not only unnecessary, but calamitous; that we have rarely come out of such intervention having succeeded in the objects we fought for: that a debt of 800,000,000*l.* sterling has been incurred by the policy which the noble Lord approves, apparently for no other reason than that it dates from the time of William III; and that, not debt alone has been incurred, but that we have left Europe at least as much in chains as before a single effort was made by us to rescue her from tyranny. I believe, if this country, seventy years ago, had adopted the principle of non-intervention in every case where her interests were not directly and obviously assailed, that she would have been saved from much of the pauperism and brutal crimes by which our Government and people have alike been disgraced. This country might have been a garden, every dwelling might have been of marble, and every person who treads its soil might have been sufficiently educated. We should indeed have had less of military glory. We might have had neither Trafalgar nor Waterloo; but we should have set the high example of a Christian nation, free in its institutions, courteous and just in its conduct towards all foreign States, and resting its policy on the unchangeable foundation of Christian morality."

Mr. Bright, as is natural, was more outspoken on the general results of our foreign policy at a banquet given to him at Birmingham in 1858, than he has ever been in the House of Commons; and as the war passion of the Crimean period had then long since died away, and was most probably succeeded by repentance with many of those present, his speech was received with all the enthusiasm which the sight of his broad brow and the sound of his manly voice is wont to move the listening multitudes:—

"We all know and deplore that at the present moment a larger number of the grown men of Europe are employed, and a larger portion



of the industry of Europe is absorbed, to provide for, and maintain, the enormous armaments which are now on foot in every considerable Continental State. Assuming, then, that Europe is not much better in consequence of the sacrifices we have made, let us inquire what has been the result in England, because, after all, that is the question which it becomes us most to consider. I believe that I understate the sum when I say that, in pursuit of this Will-o'-the-wisp, (the liberties of Europe and the balance of power,) there has been extracted from the industry of the people of this small island no less an amount than 2,000,000,000*l.* sterling. I cannot imagine how much 2,000,000,000*l.* is, and therefore I shall not attempt to make you comprehend it. I presume it is something like those vast and incomprehensible astronomical distances with which we have been lately made familiar; but, however familiar, we feel that we do not know one bit more about them than we did before. When I try to think of that sum of 2,000,000,000*l.*, there is a sort of vision passes before my mind's eye. I see your peasant labourer delve and plough, sow and reap, sweat beneath the summer's sun, or grow prematurely old before the winter's blast. I see your noble mechanic, with his manly countenance and his matchless skill, toiling at his bench or his forge. I see one of the workers in our factories in the north, a woman—a girl, it may be—gentle and good, as many of them are, as your sisters and daughters are—I see her intent upon the spindle, whose revolutions are so rapid that the eye fails altogether to detect them, or watching the alternating flight of the unresting shuttle. I turn again to another portion of your population, 'which plunged in mines, forgets a sun was made,' and I see the man who brings up from the secret chambers of the earth the elements of the riches and greatness of his country. When I see all this I have before me a mass of produce and of wealth which I am no more able to comprehend than I am that 2,000,000,000*l.* of which I have spoken, but I behold in its full proportions the hideous error of your Governments, whose fatal policy consumes in some cases a half, never less than a third, of all the results of that industry which God intended should fertilise and bless every home in England, but the fruits of which are squandered in every part of the surface of the globe, without producing the smallest good to the people of England.

"The more you examine this matter the more you will come to the conclusion which I have arrived at, that this foreign policy, this regard for 'the liberties of Europe,' this care at one time for 'the Protestant interests,' this excessive love for 'the balance of power,' is neither more nor less than a gigantic system of out-door relief for the aristocracy of Great Britain."

Mr. Bright deals well with the action of the Foreign Office in two admirable passages, to be found in one of his Reform speeches:—

"I have often compared, in my own mind, the people of England

with the people of ancient Egypt, and the Foreign Office of this country with the temples of the Egyptians. We are told by those who pass up and down the Nile, that on its banks are grand temples with stately statues and massive and lofty columns, statues each one of which would have appeared almost to have exhausted a quarry in its production. You have, further, vast chambers, and gloomy passages; and some innermost recess, some holy of holies, in which, when you arrive at it, you find some loathsome reptile which a nation revered and revered, and bowed itself down to worship. In our Foreign Office we have no massive columns; we have no statues; but we have a mystery as profound; and in the innermost recesses of it we find some miserable intrigue, in defence of which your fleets are traversing every ocean, your armies are perishing in every clime, and the precious blood of our country's children is squandered as though it had no price.

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“There is much in this country, notwithstanding, of which we may be proud. We can write freely, we can meet as we are met now, and we can speak freely of our political wishes and our grievances. The ruling classes, with a wise sagacity, have yielded these points without further struggle; but we are so delighted with our personal freedom, we are so pleased that we can move about without passports, and speak, write, and act as freely as a free man requires to do, we are so delighted with all this, that we are unconscious of the fact that our rulers extract from our industry a far larger amount than any other Government does, or ever did, from an equal number of people. Dr. Livingstone, the African traveller, if I am not mistaken, is a native of this neighbourhood, and you no doubt identify his reputation in some degree with your own. He gives in his interesting and charming book many anecdotes of the various creatures which he saw and heard of during his travels. He describes in one place, I remember, a bird, which he calls a dull, stupid bird, a kind of pelican, which occupies itself with its own affairs on the river side. This pelican catches fish, and when it has secured them it puts them into a pouch or purse under its bill, instead of the ordinary accommodation which anglers have in Scotland for their prizes. Dr. Livingstone tells of another bird which is neither dull nor stupid, which he calls the fish-hawk. This hawk hovers over the pelican, and waiting patiently until the latter has secured the fish, he comes down upon him with a swoop and takes the fish from the purse, leaving the pelican delighted that the hawk has not taken him bodily away, and setting to work at once to catch another fish. I ask of you whether you can apply this anecdote to your own case?”

All the subjects on which we have hitherto considered Mr. Bright's labours belong to that series of “unfinished questions which have no pity for the repose of nations.” Some solution must be found for them, and we believe that the labours of Mr. Bright will be found largely to have contributed to such solution. Not so the question of Reform; this, on the basis of household

suffrage, may be considered as settled for awhile. Some improvements are doubtless necessary to give the last Reform Bill its full efficiency—but ungrateful as it seems so to say, each new adjustment of the basis of representation deprives past Reform speeches of much of their interest. In these days we move on quickly: the locomotive of a few years back has now but an historical interest; nevertheless, the speeches of Mr. Bright on the Reform question deserve the serious study of all who have earnestly at heart the further improvement of our representative system, and of all who fully appreciate the energetic patriotism of one of the noblest intelligences which have ever devoted themselves to English politics. In lucid arrangement, in force of argument, in diversity of the way of representing facts and adaptation to the temper and nature of the audience, these specimens of Mr. Bright's oratory equal any models which might be proposed for political study. And the public of England well understand that, though Mr. Disraeli and his party may be the publishers of the recent Reform Bill, Mr. Bright is the incontestable author; and that such disfigurements as Conservative censorship have superimposed on the broad and general principles will be speedily removed by the newly-reformed Parliament.

Thirteen speeches in these volumes represent Mr. Bright's gigantic labours during the ten years in the cause of Reform; and never we believe may the Virgilian distich of the *tulit alter honore*, and the *sic vos non vobis*, be applied with such propriety as in this instance. All the more need then for any rightly thinking Englishman to call to mind that but for Mr. Bright the reform question might have remained unsettled for an indefinite period, and have performed for perhaps many years to come, the part of one of those unfinished sphinx-like questions "which have no pity on the repose of nations," but which must be solved under pain of destruction in case of failure.

Not that Mr. Bright believes, nor do we believe, that the Reform question is permanently settled. *Deus nobis hæc otia fecit*. We are at rest for a time. The principle of the present bill is the most liberal which the cautious and perhaps timorous spirit of the general political prudence of England is yet capable of admitting to trial, and in this respect we recite Mr. Bright's own words.

"I do not want to introduce any new principle or theoretical opinion which it may be found difficult to adopt. There are many men probably among those whom I see before me who are of opinion that every man should have a vote. They are for what is called 'universal suffrage,' or 'manhood suffrage'—something which means that every man of twenty-one years of age who has not forfeited his right by

any misconduct, should have a vote. Let me say that, personally, I have not the smallest objection to the widest possible suffrage that the ingenuity of man can devise. At the same time, if I were now a member of a Government, and had to arrange a Reform Bill for next session, I should not act upon that principle."

Of the various speeches on other and diverse subjects which conclude this splendid collection, we will attempt no general criticism. Among these are speeches on the "Game Laws," on "Financial Policy," on the "Abolition of Punishment," on the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill," on "Education," on the "Abolition of Church Rates," and a speech on the "Tax Bill," delivered in 1860 when the House of Lords attempted to reject the repeal of the "Paper Duties," an admirable sample of constitutional argument, in which Mr. Bright shows himself the true heir of the free spirit of Selden and Pym, and a worthy peer of the worthiest defenders of the ancient safeguards of English liberty. All these speeches, although on disconnected subjects, possess, nevertheless, both a unity, and a harmony of character, as flowing from the same grand source of intelligence, of devotion to the principles of justice and mercy, of faith in their ultimate triumph, and of reliance on the progressive wisdom of the English people.

And if we have failed here to give unity to our endeavour to select some of the leading qualities of Mr. Bright's political genius, and some of the choicest excellences of his grand utterances and achievements in English speech, and comprise them within the limits of an article, the blame must rest with ourselves, for there is no discordance in the man, or in his system; every lesser part has its fixed value in the solid structure of the whole, which stands rock-bound and four angled to the winds—*tetragono ai venti*, like the tower in the verse of the Florentine Poet.

We have thus gone through these volumes, which not only are political documents of the deepest significance, but take at once a place in the foremost ranks of English literature: which contain not only luminous investigations into the darkest problems of our social life, but are at the same time noble galleries of works of art, of treasures of that rare combination of genius, talent, and skill, which forms the best oratory. For really good orators are as rare, perhaps rarer than poets, for to take rank as such are required qualities of intelligence and morality of the rarest possible concurrence—a sense of living truth, a wide sympathy with human nature, inspiration akin to that of the poet, and a faith in the supremacy of moral law in the direction of human affairs—such qualities an orator of the highest merit must possess; and moreover, these qualities, alone, are insufficient unless kept in due harmony and subserviency by

the discipline of an inviolable logic, and unless fertilized by immense industry and patience. In no orator of ancient or modern times is this discipline of logic, the *imperatoria virtus*, so strikingly pre-eminent as in Mr. Bright. His facts and arguments are marshalled with such logical sequence and precision, that whether in reading or in hearing, the attention takes them in as easily as we breathe the air, and when to this—the foremost of excellences for the utterance of political truth—we add that Mr. Bright comprehends in his style at one time the piercing vehemence of Demosthenes, at another the fiery passion of Mirabeau, at another something like the grandeur of Bossuet, conjoined with the tenderness, and the grace, and the humanity of Fenelon, we do not hesitate to give him one of the very foremost places among the English orators of whom any record remains among us. We remember but one speech in our own time which can be compared with the best speeches of Mr. Bright—the marvellous address of Kossuth on the presentation of the copy of Shakespeare by Douglas Jerrold.

Yet the quality which to us forms the chiefest excellence—that which predominates throughout the volumes, is the deep, grand, and genial humanity of the speaker. Mr. Bright is not merely a politician—he is a philanthropist of the heroic type, and of the noblest proportions; no politician before himself has dared to speak in such earnest and tender tones of compassion and commiseration for the sufferings of the millions of homeless and destitute, whose very existence is a reproach and a scandal to civilization. No words have ever found utterance in public so expressive of an immense desire to be a helper and a healer for the terrible ills of pauperism, which like a foul lining of rags underlies the silk and ermine of the outward array of civilization. Mr. Bright cannot reconcile himself to the belief that it is in accordance with the designs of Providence, that civilization in England should be a mere mask, like that of Ariosto's Alcina, to conceal the foulness and hideousness of features removed from sight. From the beginning to the end of his career, he has believed, and ardently believed in the possibility of redeeming England from the shameful accusation that her greatness and her wealth is wrung from the rags, and the toil, and the hunger of pauperized millions. Nowhere perhaps in the wide world, since the Pyramids of Egypt were raised stone by stone by the onion-fed slaves of the Pharaohs, under the lash of the inspector, has any nation effected such marvels as our own and at so horrible a cost. Mr. Bright, though born among the affluent classes, has from the beginning of his career persistently called attention to this hideous feature in the distribution of the profits of the soil and of commerce. From his earliest years it has seemed to him that

the noblest and the most imperative demand upon all statesmanship, was the amelioration of the condition of hopeless toil, starving from day to day on its miserable pittance, with the workhouse shell in prospect, and the "little bell tolled hastily for a pauper's funeral" at the end. This "little bell of the pauper's funeral" has ever been audible to him above the rush and clamour of cities, above the vociferations of party triumphs, and above the roar of cannon for ruinous victories.

More than once, Mr. Bright has treated the question of Reform as a means of accelerating the solution of this vast problem; and his efforts and his arguments here also have been the objects of the usual vituperation in the public press. We therefore quote anew one or two of the most striking passages on this deep matter. The columns of abuse of which they were the occasion, were read on one day, and were forgotten the next; but Mr. Bright's words will afford subject for meditation for many future years:—

"I am of opinion that the rich people of a country, invested with power, and speaking generally for rich people alone, cannot sufficiently care for the multitude and the poor. They are personally kind enough, but they do not care for the people in the bulk. They have read a passage in Holy Writ that 'The poor ye have always with you'—and therefore they imagine that it is a providential arrangement that a small section of the people should be rich and powerful, and that the great mass of the people should be hard-working and poor. It is a long distance from castles, and mansions, and great houses, and abounding luxuries, to the condition of the great mass of the people who have no property, and too many of whom are always on the verge of poverty. We know very well all of us how much we are influenced by the immediate circumstance by which we are surrounded. The rich find everything just as they like. The country needs no reform. There is no other country in the world so pleasant for rich people as this country. But I deny altogether that the rich alone are qualified to legislate for the poor, any more than the poor alone would be qualified to legislate for the rich. My honest belief is, that if we could be all called upon to legislate for all, that all would be more justly treated, and would be more happy than we are now. We should have then an average; *we should have the influence of wealth and of high culture, and of those qualities that come from leisure, and the influence of those more robust qualities that come from industry and from labour.*"

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"May I ask if there are any ministers of religion in this audience? Now, if my words should reach the ears and reach the heart of any man who is interested in the advancement of religion in this country, I ask him to consider whether there are not great political obstacles to the extension of civilization and morality and religion within the bounds of the United Kingdom. We believe—these ministers, you

and I—we believe in a Supreme Ruler of the Universe. We believe in His omnipotence; we believe and we humbly trust in His mercy. We know that the strongest argument which is used against that belief, by those who reject it, is an argument drawn from the misery, and the helplessness, and the darkness of so many of our race, even in countries which call themselves civilized and Christian. Is not that the fact? If I believed that this misery, and this helplessness, and this darkness could not be touched or transformed, I myself should be driven to admit the almost overwhelming force of that argument; but I am convinced that just laws, and an enlightened administration of them, would change the face of the country. I believe that ignorance and suffering might be lessened to an incalculable extent, and that many an Eden, beautiful in flowers and rich in fruits, might be raised up in the waste wilderness which spreads before us. But no class can do that. The class which has hitherto ruled in this country has failed miserably. It revels in power and wealth, whilst at its feet, a terrible peril for its future, lies the multitude which it has neglected. If a class has failed, let us try the nation. That is our faith, that is our purpose, that is our cry—Let us try the nation. This it is which has called together these countless numbers of the people to demand a change; and, as I think of it, and of these gatherings, sublime in their vastness and in their resolution, I think I see, as it were, above the hill-tops of time, the glimmerings of the dawn of a better and a nobler day for the country and for the people that I love so well."

"I live among the people," said Mr. Bright in 1859. "I know their trials and their sorrows, and I see their pauperism—for little better than pauperism is the lot of vast numbers of our countrymen from their cradles to their graves. It is for them that I speak, for them that I give my time in this assembly; and in this heartfelt sorrow for their sufferings I pray that some statesman may take the steps I have indicated."

Let us quote yet one last passage from the noble speech we have already made use of, on the Distribution of Land—a passage which speaks of the deepest conviction of the orator's soul, and which sums up in a few grand words, the whole purport of his public activity:—

"I plead only for what I believe to be just. I wish to do wrong to no man. For twenty-five years I have stood before audiences—great meetings of my countrymen—pleading only for justice. During that time, as you know, I have endured measureless insult, and have passed through hurricanes of abuse. I need not tell you that my clients have not been generally the rich and the great, but rather the poor and the lowly. They cannot give me place and dignities and wealth; but honourable service in their cause yields me that which is of far higher and more lasting value—the consciousness that I have laboured to expound and uphold laws, which, though they were not given amid the thunders of Sinai, are not less the commandments of

God, and not less intended to promote and secure the happiness of men."

In this passage is discernable the innermost and strongest aspiration of Mr. Bright's ambition—an aspiration which no statesman has ever yet dared to realize or even to profess, viz., that of being an active instrument in the hands of Providence, in bringing about a new epoch of justice and a new revelation of mercy among his countrymen; of emulating in a political career the reputation of a Howard or a Saint Vincent de Paul, and of sweeping away with new rivers of freshness some of the Augean impurities of cumulative injustice; and with this ambition no passage or action of his life can, we believe, be found at variance. When, however, we reflect on the violence and the misrepresentation with which every one of his projects has been opposed, on the calumny which has assailed him at every step, and on the universal spirit of depreciation with which in past years he has been regarded by the favourite sons of fortune and by many well-meaning people, one is induced to ask—as he himself asked during the American war—"Is our Christianity a pretence?" for no politician ever yet has endeavoured to import so much of the principles of Christianity into politics as Mr. Bright, and we believe it was Franklin who said that "the first nation who made use of the principles of Christianity as a lever in politics would move the world."

But it has ever been so; the ablest advocates of the doctrine of "loving your neighbour as yourself" lived by no means pleasant lives; and if society has given up burning, and hacking and hewing, and sawing asunder men's bodies, it may be doubted whether there are not long martyrdoms of the conscience, whose sum of pain is not much less in the end. Is it nothing for a warm-hearted, high-souled man, to feel conscious of detestation where he would wish, as he feels he deserves, to be loved, and to hear around him one universal hiss of slander, which slips by like a snake in the dark, and whose habitation is nowhere to be found?

But Mr. Bright's reputation is now built up so firmly that all future detraction must be as impotent against it as the cry of kites to disturb the repose of Helvellyn; and all that those who have followed and admired his career in past years can desire for the welfare and grandeur of England is, that his country may continue long to profit by his active participation in her affairs, and that his acceptance of office will inaugurate a new order of statesmanship. No imagination can divine the changes through which society will have to pass, or what form it will ultimately assume, mobilized and revolutionized as it becomes year by year with increasing rapidity by new modes of locomotion, and by



the increasing vicissitudes and saliency of industry and commerce; but whatever may be the nature of the transformation, the maxim of this life we have been considering, "Be just and fear not," can never become antiquated; and for such as work in its spirit the perils may be great, but the field will ever be boundless; and the reward will be infinite, for their triumph is the triumph of humanity.



#### ART. V.—ART AND MORALITY.

1. *Le Sentiment de la Nature avant le Christianisme.* Par VICTOR DE LAPRADE. Paris: Didier.
2. *Le Sentiment de la Nature chez les Modernes.* Paris: Didier.

NO branch of philosophical or semi-philosophical literature has in our day occupied so many writers or interested so large a public as the literature of the fine arts. *Æsthetics*, if, by the word we understand, not any set of critical judgments or empirical rules for judging, but a general theory explaining the place in human nature of the emotions of art, and in the objects of art their character and causes, may be said to be of little more than a century's growth among modern nations. It was not until the art of the ancient Greeks had, towards the middle of the last century, become the subject of a new interest and of a more scientific knowledge, thanks to the researches of savants such as Caylus in France, Spence in England, Winkelmann in Germany, that theories of this kind began to take a distinct place in modern philosophy. Since then, the subject has been turned over by a multitude of minds in a multitude of senses; the science of *Æsthetics*, if science it has even yet any claim to be called, has received continual additions. That the arts which furnish its data have made equivalent progress can by no means be maintained. It may rather be contended that so much theory has thwarted practice, so much criticism interfered with creation. It may be argued, and the argument will not fail for want of evidence, that the productive impulse has languished in proportion as the speculative impulse has had full play; that art has suffered in fluctuating this way and that with the currents of conflicting doctrine; that what we have lost in poems and pictures we have ill made up for in reflections, and those often sterile and contradictory, as to what a poem ought to be and what a picture,—on beauty, the ideal, and the absolute.

Those who see the essence of art in spontaneousness, and her strength in independence of external influences, may well grow impatient with the intellectual movement which in Germany has encumbered her with the subtleties of self-conscious analysis, and involved her in the meshes of transcendental *Aesthetik*; in France has thrown her for a prize to the rival factions of classicist and romanticist, or has let her be dealt with as she might by the arbitrary dogmas of the eclectic, by rhetorical spiritualism or rhapsodical hedonism; in England has yoked her side by side with morals, in the sober estimation of common-sense not less than in the fervid convictions of genius, in the judgment of Reid and Stewart not less than in that of Mr. Ruskin. And here we touch that part of the subject with which we propose at present to occupy ourselves. Of all questions raised in æsthetical debate few are more important, and none more hotly contested, than that of the relations of art to morals, or of æsthetics, the science of the former, to ethics, the science of the latter. At the head of the remarks which, in spite of our preference for artistic produce over artistic theory, we are here desirous of offering on this subject, we have placed the name of a recent work, in which a particular view of those relations is set forth in the strongest possible light.

Its author, M. Victor de Laprade, (a name not well known on this side of the Channel,) has long been a writer of standing in his own country, though until lately more distinguished as a poet than as a critic. As a poet he first came before the public, and as a poet was elected ten years ago to fill the vacancy caused in the Academy of France by the death of Alfred de Musset. Some of his volumes of verse, that headed "Psyché," and "Les Symphonies," have had a considerable success among a certain class of readers. As an orthodox thinker and severe writer, he is strongly at variance with the tendencies uppermost for the hour in the imaginative literature of his countrymen. Probably no living Frenchman affords a more complete instance than M. de Laprade of the convergence of two particular currents of recent thought. The influence of the catholic reaction and the influence of the eclectic, or as its master to the last preferred to call it, the spiritualistic philosophy, seem to have had about equal shares in forming his intellectual temper. In religion, he may be regarded as a representative of the movement headed by de Maistre and de Bonald; and if his Christianity is more vague, more tinged with mysticism than theirs, if to his arguments he brings neither the learned cogency and apostolic heat of the one, nor the austere precision of the other, there is a third writer of the same school with whose modes of thought he is altogether at one, and whose work he

has reviewed with the warmest sympathy. This is Ballanche, an ardent religionist and Christian mystic, the friend and younger contemporary of Chateaubriand, who in an unfinished epos, half verse, half prose, called the *Palingénésie Sociale*, has given to the world his version of the scheme of Providence. In philosophy M. de Laprade adheres, though not with entire consistency, to the school of Royer-Collard and Cousin ; the school which takes its stand on the arbitrary separation and contrast of soul and body, the reason and the senses, spirit and matter ; which confounds truth with beauty, and takes conjecture for inspiration ; which measures beliefs by the standard of certain ready-made ideas of human dignity, and proclaims as true whatever doctrines gratify its taste ; which mends the gaps in its reasoning with rhetoric, and on its mental confusions rests a claim to moral superiority. These acquired habits of thought in M. de Laprade have overlaid, and to our thinking spoiled, a strong sympathy with nature and a true feeling for art. Through theories about beauty, which we shall try to prove erroneous, a sincere sense of beauty seems to break, and to show itself in strokes of vigorous insight and tender sentiment that give to his efforts, both in poetry and prose, the greater part of their value. In his poems there is perhaps more to esteem than to enjoy. They possess eloquence, fluency tempered with correctness, and a distinguished sense of form ; but of fire or divine intoxication they show little trace. Similarly, his prose style has dignity rather than charm ; it is classical, masculine, and firm, but without the subtlety and adroit grace of the most finished French masters. In the more ambitious poems, of which "*Psyché*" is the chief, the sentimental ecstasies of mysticism are clothed in a somewhat cold, somewhat artificial and even pedestrian language that seems ill-suited to their utterance. What he has done best is certainly the lyrical expression of the emotions awakened by natural scenery ; his pieces in this kind have all a marked artistic unity, and some of them a meditative depth and grave simplicity, such as almost give their author a right to be named in connexion with Wordsworth. He has expressed his sympathies with the external world with such feeling and so much expansion, and has so freely personified the forces and phenomena of Nature, using as interlocutors the woods, the waters, the fields, and all that therein is, as to have earned from some critics the charge of pantheism. From this reproach, to his mind a grave one, he makes haste to vindicate himself, averring that in all this he does but assert the supremacy of spirit over matter, that for him the forces and phenomena of Nature are nothing if not a commentary on mind, "an organ through which passion, sentiment, the human soul in a word, makes itself heard." True

it certainly is that he never confesses the charm of nature pure and simple, the pleasure that beautiful things, merely as such, can give: to please him, every concrete thing must be referred to certain abstract ideas which wholly possess his mind; the grasshopper must chirp to him of the Infinite, and the riverside whisper of Immortality. Immortality, the Infinite, Free-will, the Invisible, the Ideal,—these and still vaguer fictions of the mind are for him the real existences. The soul, regarded as a self-acting, independent, and dignified entity set in a relation of hostility to surrounding matter,—this is the true object of study. Intuition and inspiration are the true avenues of knowledge. Such is the fervour, at the moments when he most forgets the teaching of Cousin, of M. de Laprade's anti-inductive zeal, that in his essay on Ballanche, he delivers himself as follows:—

“Certain it is, notwithstanding prejudices to the contrary, that the greatest discoveries, the fundamental conquests of man over matter, date from the times when religious and metaphysical inspiration had the upper hand of experience. It is precisely since the exclusive reign of the Baconian method that men have ceased to make fundamental discoveries. The alchemist and the astrologer were in possession of a scientific inspiration deeper, stronger, more creative, than the modern *savant*. If there are more methods than one for application, there is only one for discovery, and that is the same for science as for art and poetry, namely, Inspiration.”

Of the success of the inspired method in dealing with matters of fact, the above remarks may themselves stand as a specimen.

In the work now before us, M. de Laprade sets before him an ambitious scheme. He proposes to trace the “sentiment of nature,” or sum of the emotions aroused in mankind by the aspects of the external world, in its development and modifications, as evidenced in works of art, from the earliest down to the present age. This involves a review of all the poetry, music, painting, sculpture, and architecture of the world. He has to treat of the Vedas and the Zendavesta, of the colossal epics of India, of the Persian Shah-Nameh and the Arabian Antar; to criticise the admired Chinese poets Li-tai-pé and Thou-fow; to expound the hieratic symbolism of Egypt, to review the plastic and decorative arts of Greece, of Rome, of the Middle Age, and to conclude with the discussion of the works of Hugo and Sand in his own country, of Tennyson (a reading to be modified, let us hope, in a future edition), Shelley, and Wordsworth in ours. This scheme, of which he himself acknowledges and regrets the amplitude, he deserves credit for having found means to carry out within the compass of two moderate volumes. Into the details of the work, which the reader will find learned, ingenious, and in great part new, we have neither space nor power to follow him.

We must limit ourselves to the consideration of its main ideas, from which, and from some of the conclusions that flow from them, we shall have to express our dissent.

Starting then, from three primitive existences—God, Man, and Nature—he makes God, as manifest in nature, an object of instinctive knowledge to man, in possession from the first of free personality and a moral sense. He regards Nature, unless referred directly and constantly to its indwelling divinity, as inert and worthless matter, “not, perhaps, impure and corrupting of itself, but becoming so by its revolt against Spirit, by the ascendant which man suffers it to gain over his liberty.” Poetry, of the effusive involuntary kind, is mankind’s first expression of the sentiment of nature. The sensibility to nature of the early seer or singer, this combined with his intuition of the divinity, results in the hymn, the spontaneous compendium of primitive art, science, philosophy, and religion. “Feeling, knowledge, action; these three are one in the primitive man as in the child.” This state of mind, in which all the powers of the primitive man find naturally their unpremeditated play, is the germ out of which, by a process of gradual *morcellement*, by continual separation and subdivision, all later phases of thought, knowledge, sentiment, are developed. In the beginning matter has somewhat the best of it. In these early hymns—the utterances of Oriental pantheism—we find that the luxuriance of external nature is somewhat too much for the spiritual freedom of mankind. Pagan Greece first, afterwards the Christian Middle Age, fulfil the great task of expelling the material element from art and supplying its place with the moral and spiritual element. “Christianity,” writes our author, “comes to extend and complete the victory gained by the Greek genius over Oriental pantheism. Christianity assures the triumph of human liberty over the external world, strips nature of her last vestige of godhead, and guides the whole soul towards the God that is pure Spirit.” The art of a race or of an epoch is worth more or less according as matter plays a greater or less part in it. The differences in the arts that prevail at this or that stage of history correspond to differences in the attitude of man towards matter. Architecture is the art that prevails with the prevalence of the religious idea—the idea of God; sculpture and painting with the heroic or half-religious idea of man as a moral being; music with the prevalence of the irreligious idea of matter, or the external world. Music is the art of modern materialism, as architecture was the art of Egyptian or Indian pantheism, sculpture of Greek polytheism, painting of European Christianity. The sign of the daily encroachment of matter—“seductive nature, invading matter”—of the daily weakening of the moral and spiritual fibre

of humanity, is the growth and development of music among us. "Music is the most sensual of the arts \* \* \* By just as much as the perfection of statuary implies the predominance of manly energy and the feeling of personality, by just so much music supposes a sort of abdication of the soul, and its submission to the simple laws of the organism and the vague fluctuations of sensibility."

Again :—

"Now, music, although it lays hold on us by the most intellectual of our senses, the sense of hearing, is none the less the most material of the arts, that which most securely of all establishes and confirms the power of the senses over pure reason and moral activity. Music cannot serve, like statuary or painting, for the expression of a free and rational soul; it is the organ of a world at once fatal and mysterious, at once cramped and vague, upon which our will has no hold and which has nothing to say to practical reason; in a word, the organ of a world outside of us and hostile to our liberty. When the arts, instead of speaking to the soul, instead of telling us great religious and social truths, instead of painting man in the exercise of his will and intelligence, devote themselves exclusively to represent passion, when feeling prevails in them absolutely over reason, then they are on their way to their naturalistic or musical stage. . . . Say what men may, music has to do with the sensibility alone; and hence it comes that music is the most complete, the most despotic expression of the sentiment of nature. Now, the predominance of the sentiment of nature is the dissolution of the moral man. . . . It is from nature, and not from the soul, not from the ideal, that man in these days seeks everything: nature has become for him the source of a multitude of wonderful sciences, the object of an ardent worship; she is studied, loved, adored for her own sake, and without any regard for the Spirit which she holds within her; she must have among the arts one that shall be all her own, one able to combine for purely sensual pleasure the relations of tones and harmonies without awakening a single idea, without soliciting a single determination in the conscience. This so persuasive art is withal the only one that has no didactic efficacy, that engenders no emotions save such as are without issue on the side of moral truth, that expresses nothing of God, nothing of reason, nothing of human liberty. This interpreter *par excellence* of the mere organic life, of the rhythmic palpitations of the flesh, of the cadences of material motion, this art, the echo of blind, unconscious, involuntary nature, is music."

Thus, M. de Laprade's theoretical hostility to music (although he writes of a sonata of Beethoven, or the like, as though he were able practically to enjoy it) comes forward as one of his leading doctrines. That it should be so argues in him a certain independence, perhaps even a certain perversity of mind, when we consider the relations which have usually been supposed to subsist between music and the class of ideas and feelings with

which he is most in sympathy. He has boldly thrust down music from the place which it has held in every theological and spiritualistic system except his own. We should have expected an ardent admirer of Hellenic culture and a lover of the mystical philosophies to hold in especial honour an art which was the chief moral agent in the practical education of the Greeks, and of which the occult laws and mysteries were for the Platonist and Pythagorean the inmost kernel of wisdom. We should have expected a pious Catholic to hold in especial honour an art which had its second birth in the cloister, and strengthened its infant modulations in giving utterance to the devout yearnings, the adoration too intense for words, of the most unfleshly, the most spiritual of religions. Does not M. de Laprade remember that psalmody is to be the chief, nay, the only recreation of beatified souls above? Or has he forgotten all that has been done by religious painting and religious poetry to extol their sister art? Has he forgotten so many chanting angels about the Virgin's throne or above the heads of worshippers in Tuscan altar-pieces, or Raphael's St. Cecilia with her upturned face and the attentive raptures of her companion saints? Does he not remember the strains which Dante heard at the unfolding of the mystical rose; nor Shakspeare's "soft power of music" and stars "still quiring to the young-eyed cherubim;" nor how for Milton the blest pair of sirens, voice and verse, were nothing if not "pledges of heaven's joy," echoes feeble and earthly to carry our thoughts upward,

"And to our high-raised phantasy present  
That undisturbed song of pure concert,  
Aye sung before the sapphire-coloured throne  
To him that sits thereon!"

True, that which he condemns, as the despotic expression of the material sentiment of nature, is not music as applied in the choral uses of worship to the expression of the religious passion, but music as an independent art, music for music's sake, as it exists in the modern symphony or concerto. This is for him an invention of latter-day materialism, earthly, sensual, devilish. And yet in those stirrings of the innermost fibre, those divine emotions so complicated and so intense, those ecstasies of dreamy bliss and high suggestions of unknown felicity, how many lovers of modern music have read revelations of an unseen Infinite and of delights hereafter to be realized?

Paradoxical, however, as our author's estimate of music seems at first sight, it will be found on reflection to admit a twofold explanation. In the first place, M. de Laprade's mode of thought is one that allows him to ignore whatever facts refuse to square

with his general theories, and it must be confessed that the testimony of all ages as to the spiritual charms of music is such as to tax ignoring powers the most robust; in the second place, the estimate in question flows naturally and logically out of his general theories. The opinion that music is the lowest and least valuable among the arts, is a corollary of the opinion, which is the key-stone of our author's creed, that the business of art is to give expression, and that clearly, definitely, and of set purpose, to thoughts and feelings connected with religion and morality. To speak to the soul, and tell us great religious and social truths; to solicit a determination in the conscience; to possess didactic efficacy and an issue on the side of moral truth; to express thoughts, and depict moral sentiments; these are the tasks (we use his own words) which he demands of the fine arts. And his quarrel with music is that it does not expressly and definitely do any of these things. But is it so certain that a similar charge will not lie against other arts,—for instance, against the art of painting in its best days? To ourselves, studying the noblest pictures with admiration the most homefelt and engrossing, it seems anything rather than certain. Painting, of course, differs from music in this, that it presents to the mind images of definite things; the aggregate of forms and colours reproduced in a picture, like any such aggregate in the actual world, constitutes a whole of a determinate character recognised by the sensuous intellect. We recognise in a picture a man, a horse, the parts of a landscape, as we recognise nothing in music; so far the intellectual character of painting is undisputed. Painting necessarily calls for that spontaneous mental operation involved in the recognition of an object or set of objects; ulterior, more deliberate, more fatiguing mental operations, it does not necessarily call for. The external and visible attributes of objects—their relations of form and colour, and such intellectual marks as are for us permanently and inseparably stamped upon their aspect,—with these painting is bound to deal: but not with their invisible attributes, their mental and moral relations among each other, and the lessons on life and conduct which may be attached to them. The former class of attributes are those that give pleasure; the latter, those that tend to edification. And we find it difficult to stand before any of the great works of Titian or Veronese, absorbed in enjoying, with that intense enjoyment which they afford or rather exact, their luxury of gorgeous invention, their splendours of colouring riant or sombre—their enchanting subtleties or suavities of design—the glorious limbs and faces, the golden hair, the shining flesh, the sumptuous apparel—all that ordered opulence and harmonious riot of lovely things, and to suppose that any other end has been uppermost in



the painter's mind but that of combining all these elements for the production of the highest pleasure. We find it difficult to believe that his purpose in all this has been to instruct rather than to delight us; difficult to discern, in this irresistible appeal to one set of feelings, a paramount intention of exciting another and distinct set. But it will be objected that it is unfair, instead of the more intellectual painters, to take for examples Titian and Veronese, painters who confessedly address themselves more than others to the senses; and further, that even in these comparatively sensual Venetian works, some have been able to read high lessons on life and conduct. Now it is unquestionable that by a bold application of the principles of analogy and symbolism, by finding for every common thing an ulterior meaning, by attaching facts in the physical order to the mental or moral order through the links of association and resemblance (and these are the daily practices of active and moralizing minds) high lessons on life and conduct may be drawn from every assemblage of visible objects. The questions for the critic are, first, how far this subjective and moralizing attitude is characteristic generally of the artistic temperament; next, how far in this or that particular case the artist is likely to have had moral motives in view. On the general question we can only note that the extreme susceptibility to external influences proper to the artistic temperament, its predilection for what has been called the "concrete surface of the world," is likely to leave little room for the tendencies of abstraction and reflection. With regard to the particular question:—in reading Mr. Ruskin's pregnant commentaries, the most delightful things ever written in their kind, on the works of Tintoret or Turner, the first question that occurs is, how much of all this was intended by the painter, and how much has been read into his work by the commentator? Several reasons concur in leading us to give the lion's share to the commentator. In the first place, let the ingenious reader try for himself whether it is not possible, by proceeding on the same principles, to discover in a work of art any number of such meanings, all equally plausible. In the next place such meanings find a far more direct and efficient expression in the commentary than in the original work. Transferred into words, the didactic motive of the moralizing artist gains so much in point and perspicuity that we wonder why he should have chosen any other medium; and we feel that his work cannot answer its end without a written or spoken explanation. But strike out the didactic motive altogether, and all the excellences of the picture, as a picture, will remain. Edification and mental light, and all the subjective bearings of the things represented, can be better conveyed by another means; their objective aspect,

and the delights of form and colour can be conveyed by no other means. Hence, if this or that feature in a work of art has to be accounted for, it will be safer to account for it on the motive peculiar to the artist, the desire of beauty, than on any motive peculiar to the moralist or thinker.

It must be observed that we are not arguing for the suppression of all intellectual interest whatever in works of art, but only urging caution as to a particular kind of interest. Critics whose predilections have led them to seek in art for an expression of the ideas of reason, have divided works of art into two parts, have spoken of their "material side" and their "intellectual side." Instead, however, of these words, to the latter of which there have attached themselves associations of dignity, to the former associations of reproach, there are good reasons for using the words "artistic" and "literary:" only by the literary interest of a picture we should not quite cover all that is included in its intellectual interest. We should indeed cover all the ulterior mental and moral relations among each other of the objects depicted; all the lessons on life and conduct which may be attached to them; all that is susceptible of "translation into spoken language, or comment in the region of the real;" all those elements, in short, by which M. de Laprade sets so much store, but which we regard not without suspicion. But there would remain excluded an intellectual element which is properly artistic, and which does not call for any abstract mental process in the spectator; those intellectual attributes which are permanently and inseparably stamped upon the aspect of the objects depicted, which are therefore spontaneously recognised in the act of perception, and the reproduction of which constitutes the expression and a great part of the power of a work of art. Attributes of this kind, which attach to certain works of painting or statuary an impression, sometimes an overwhelming impression, of intellectual power, are such as may in some sort be catalogued in words, but cannot be expounded, interpreted, or moralized upon. What words can help us to comprehend the subtle melancholy and majestic languors that lurk in the smile of a Greek Muse or goddess? What speech can illustrate the holy ardours that beam from the eyes of the Madonna di San Sisto, or the burden of fatal presage and unchildly wisdom that rests upon the brows of her child? These are things to be looked at and felt, not commented on and explained. Again, when the question is of intellect in art, the name of Michael Angelo perforce rises first to mind. Let any one, lying on the floor of the Sistine chapel, examine those marvellous paintings of its roof: in the weird sublimity of prophets and sibyls, in the subtle and lovely doings of Eve in Paradise, in the grand creative exploits

of the Eternal Father, and the strained unquiet majesty of superhuman men, he will feel, without being able to interpret or expound them, the workings of a mighty intellect. He will come away judging, and judging rightly, that he has been in presence of one of the master minds of the world; yet from the things he has seen he will not be able to deduce a moral lesson; they will not have told him great religious and social truths, nor solicited a determination in his conscience. The name of Beethoven is commonly coupled with that of Michael Angelo as of a kindred master in another art; and if we are right the impressions that convey the idea of such prodigious mental superiority are little more translatable and definite in the case of the painter than in the case of the musician. The wailing passages of the violins in Rossini's "Stabat Mater" resemble more than any words the sort of sentiment which Francia puts into the face of a mourning Madonna. We are thus led to the conclusion that while such mental impressions of the abstract, didactic, translatable kind as are conveyed by painting, may be much better conveyed by literature, there are other mental impressions beyond the reach of literature and proper to painting as an art, which are nearly analogous to the mental impressions produced by music. So that the stigma disappears which was to have rested on music as the one art not dealing with precise ideas and moral emotions; it even appears that such indefinite ideas, and emotions not moral, as music is acknowledged to awaken with the utmost success, are the ideas and emotions essentially and distinctively characteristic of fine art. It would lead us out of our present province to show, in opposition to M. de Laprade and in accordance with common belief, that music is in its practical outcome the most moral, instead of the least moral of the fine arts, because the "rhythmic palpitations of the flesh and cadences of material motion" which it expresses, are intimately although involuntarily connected with the temper and the passions.

That view of the moral functions of art which, merely as matter of feeling and criticism, we have thus seen reason to distrust, coexists in strict alliance with a certain metaphysical doctrine, which as matter of philosophy we are here compelled to notice, concerning the nature of beauty and the ideal. This doctrine is substantially one with that first thrown out by Winkelmann, and erected into a formula by Quatremère de Quincy on the occasion of his controversial attack upon the essay of M. Emeric David, which gained the prize of the French Academy in the year 1805. By Victor Cousin it is adopted, with further amplifications, as a substantive part of the spiritualistic system. Its point lies in the forcible disjunction of the beautiful from the agreeable, and of the ideal from the real. The beautiful is not that which gives pleasure in the contemplation; the ideal is not a mental com-

bination made up from many reals by the processes of comparison and abstraction. Beauty is an object not of perception, but only of conception; the beauty recognised by the senses is not true beauty, but merely a symbol of the true beauty that is cognizable by reason alone. The ideal which art has to reproduce is something to which observation of the real can afford no clue—something positively opposed to the real and incompatible with it. The reader will note the contrast between this doctrine and the doctrine at present popular in England, which in insisting above all things on the moral virtues of art, makes fidelity to the real the foremost of such virtues, and calls incorrect drawing sinful, as a misrepresentation of the works of God. Beauty and the Ideal, according to the theory under discussion, are a pair of real substantial existences in the supersensual sphere. Moral Beauty, the true beauty cognizable by reason, and of which the physical beauty cognizable by the senses is the mere sign or emblem, has its permanent existence in the mind of God. So have ideal forms, which are the *raison d'être* of material things, and which constitute the true ideal of art. Thus Beauty and the Ideal run together in God; and it is as parts or attributes of God, of the Infinite, that they have to be contemplated by the artist. "In God alone all creatures have their *raison d'être* and the type of their perfection: they have been conceived in the Eternal mind before being produced in perishable nature; their supreme beauty, their ideal form, resides for ever in the mind of the Creator. To every artist he reveals their essential qualities and ideal forms in that marvellous fact called inspiration or genius."

The philosophical parentage of the doctrine, as thus developed by the eclectic school, belongs in about equal shares to Plato, Descartes, and Reid. The leading positive theory of Platonism was the theory of Ideas or Essential Forms, perfect and permanent existences self-subsisting in the sphere of the Intelligible, each one of which was at once the prototype and the cause of a number of transitory existences in the sphere of the Sensible. To these Ideas, as to higher realities, phænomena were referred, and their explanation found in these, by Platonism. Cartesianism comes in to enable these Ideas to be brought into near relations with God.\*

The mode in which Descartes arrived at the idea of God, by deduction from his fundamental principle of *Cogito, ergo sum*, was roughly as follows. Consciousness tells him that he thinks; hence

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\* The method by which the Alexandrine mystics arrived at a result practically the same in attaching the ideas of Plato to the Divine Mind or Logos, is inadmissible for the eclectic who does not acknowledge *ἐκστασις* as an avenue of knowledge. A logical process was required, deducing the nature of God from first principles; and such had been effected by Descartes.

he concludes that he exists. Consciousness again tells him that he is imperfect, full of flaws and limitations, and tells him at the same time that in recognising his own imperfection he is able to conceive something infinite and perfect, without flaw or limitation. This conception cannot be the work of his own imperfect nature; it must have been put into him by the infinite and perfect being himself; and this being must be God. The notion of this Perfect and Infinite Being having thus become for the Cartesian what the notion of Absolute Ideas was for the Platonist, it was not difficult to combine the two notions by lodging the Ideas of Plato in the mind of Descartes' God. Finally, when Reid and Stewart, following Alison, had attempted to show by a systematic application of the principles of association, that all physical beauty in objects was the sign or image of certain moral beauties and amiabilities, it cost the eclectic no great effort to transfer these moral beauties and amiabilities to the transcendental sphere, and to enthrone them beside the Ideal Forms in the mind of the Infinite Being, as "the foundation, the principle, the unity of the beautiful."

This theory of beauty is one little likely to recommend itself to English students; indeed it is long since it has been losing credit in its own country. Even a writer like M. Felix Ravaisson, whose preferences are all on the side of spiritualism, feels the want of a link between the supra-sensible beauty revealed to us by reason and the sensible beauty revealed to us by our organs, and fails to see what community of nature can exist between the object of perception and the object of pure conception. "How apprehend the absolute in the relative, the supra-sensible in the sensible?" How indeed?—and if the ideal revealed to the artist is the negation of the real testified to by the senses, whence the resemblance between the two? or is the relation of a portrait to its original one of fortuitous similarity? Beauty is only cognizable by the reason: hence, though we see a picture with our eyes, we must see the beauty of it with something else. Or if there is one kind of beauty which we see with our eyes, and a different kind which we know with our reason, why do we call them by the same name? Or to put the doctrine to a practical test, let any artist be asked to which process he is accustomed to have recourse—to commerce with the Infinite, or to observation of the Finite?

But it is easy to dispose of theories like these. What is not so easy is to substitute for them another, such as will bear examination. If we have satisfied ourselves that it is idle to identify that which we call beauty with a real transcendental perfection cognizable by reason, this is the place to indicate, or attempt to indicate, what we in fact mean by the word. No attempt of the

experiential school has been more brusquely set aside by its opponents than its attempt to explain the nature and growth of the sentiment of beauty on a basis of sensation. M. Victor Cousin thinks that he refutes such explanation by saying that if beauty is recognised by the senses, beauty must then be something unstable, relative, and fluctuating. The sensibility, argues he, varies with the organism; what is agreeable to one will be painful to another; the word beauty will have no fixed meaning, and laws of taste there will be none. In the infinite diversity of our dispositions there will be no object, however ugly, that will not be beautiful to some one. But, we might ask, does or does not a certain sense—the sense of taste—recognise the difference between salt and sweet? And are salt and sweet attributes so relative and fluctuating that the words have no fixed meaning? or in the infinite diversity of our dispositions is there no savour, however salt, that is not sweet for some one? M. Cousin would not have maintained that beauty, spurious and terrene beauty as we see it in the works of different nations or different artists of the same nation, was something fixed, unchanging, and uniform; but he would have accounted for its variations by calling them attempts of finite minds to realize the infinite Ideal, translations by different hands of the same divine original. Let us see what account of the matter can be given by those who fear to tread in these high regions beyond the pale of experience, and who, seeing the difference between the ideal of one age and race and the ideal of another, between the beauty of the Parthenon and the beauty of the Taj Mahâl, are willing to admit relativity, and a certain degree of fluctuation, into beauty and the ideal themselves.

According to these, the germ, and nucleus of beauty is to be found in two of the sensible properties of things—agreeableness to sight and agreeableness to hearing. Of the various definitions of the beautiful proposed and rejected by Sokrates in the *Hippias Major*, there is one which they would accept. Ὡ γενναῖε, τὸ καλὸν ἐστὶ τὸ δι' ὀψείως τε καὶ ἀκοῆς ἡδύ. "The beautiful is that which gives pleasure in the seeing or the hearing." That such objects are part, at any rate, of the class beautiful will not be denied: but it remains to be seen in virtue of what attributes they are chosen as typical and primitive specimens of the class, why objects agreeable to the other senses are excluded, and in what way the numerous other objects included in the class are associated with them. Under the name sensations or sense-impressions are included, in common parlance, two distinct classes of experiences. The first of these is the class of simple sensations, such as begin and end with a certain passive change or affection of consciousness that does not carry with it any intellectual association, any idea as to the nature of the object causing the sensation. Such may be

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supposed to be the affection produced in us in childhood by a colour, a sound, a smell, a resisting body, as each separately affects its peculiar sense, and before the concurrent experience of the various senses has elevated the cause of any one sensation into an object endowed with a group of well understood attributes, or capabilities of producing in us other sensations. The second class consists of compound or cognitive sense-impressions, those with which an intellectual element is mixed up, those in which the sensation of a particular sense recalls the associated experience of other senses, and presents to the mind the group of attributes which constitute our idea of this or that object. Of this class are most of the sense-impressions of our maturer age; as, when a certain sensation of sight suggests to us a man or a tree; a certain sound a bird or a waterfall; a certain smell a rose or a cesspool; a certain touch iron or dough. Sensations, both of the simple and the compound kind, may be accompanied by a feeling of pleasure. That certain simple sensations—sensations of sight, hearing, taste, and smell, in the unintellectual stage—are attended by an organic pleasure, must be accepted as a primitive part of our nature, in spite of the emphatic assertion to the contrary (in the cases of sight and hearing) of Alison, and afterwards of Jeffrey. A coloured surface, a curved line, a musical note, any of these is by itself sufficient to excite the feeling. That the pleasure depends in the first instance on associations, moral or other, cannot be maintained. A child evinces pleasure on seeing a bright colour, or hearing a musical sound, long before any ideas of the kind can have been formed in connexion with them. This organic pleasure is recognised by Stewart, and finds with Reid a precarious place in what he calls our Instinctive as opposed to our Rational Sense of Beauty. But in exerting himself, in common with so many thinkers of his time, to ascribe the beauty and sublimity which are felt in the various appearances of matter to their Expression of Mind, to their being the signs of those qualities of Mind which are fitted to affect us with pleasing or interesting Emotions,\* he seems to begin at the wrong end. At any rate, he seems to leave far too little for this organic or instinctive part of our æsthetic faculty to do. When he says, "The colours of natural objects are commonly signs of some good or bad quality in the object, or they may suggest to the imagination something agreeable or disagreeable," surely this is an infringement by his Rational sense of beauty on the province of his Instinctive sense. So far from impressions of beauty in colour being necessarily associated with impressions of beneficence, the organic enjoyment of certain colours and their arrangements is

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\* The words are Alison's.

able, as could be shown by numberless instances, to resist the most noxious associations.

If by the Instinctive sense of beauty is meant strictly the organic susceptibility, and that alone, in virtue of which we take pleasure in certain lines and colours, and if impressions with which any kind of intellectual association is mixed up belong to the Rational sense, the confines between the two will be found hard to fix.

That spontaneous mental process by which we co-ordinate the experience of our various senses into the idea of a concrete object has a parallel in another spontaneous process, by which we associate with the aspect of an object this or that quality the existence of which in a similar object we have learned by experience. An instance of Fitness, of Utility, of Beneficence, of Power being experienced in the case of anything, we instantly associate the Fitness, the Utility, the Beneficence, the Power with the aspect of that thing, and then transfer it to every similar thing. To the organic pleasure belonging to the simple sense-impression there is thus superadded in the compound impression the mental pleasure belonging to the associations of experience. The unconscious reminiscence of foregone satisfaction stirs the fibres with a glow of delight that is mixed up and confounded with the delight attending the actual sensation. This is the intellectual quality of which we have spoken as inseparably stamped or ingrained upon the aspect of a thing. How much of the emotion is due to the reminiscence, and how much to the sensation, it is often impossible for analysis to decide. Thus in the beauty of an outline, either in a building or in the human body, it is impossible accurately to assign their respective shares to the muscular sensibility, gratified in following a curve, and to the mental associations of stability, lightness, or support. In the beauty of Proportion it is impossible to tell what part is due to the pleasure of the eye in moving over spaces that increase or diminish in some regular succession, how much to mental associations of balance, right distribution, and the like. The characteristic of the twofold impression is a particular and homogeneous kind of pleasure, in virtue of which, and not in virtue, as Reid would have it, of intellectual approval consciously bestowed, the object causing it is called beautiful.

Admitting the fact that a certain instinctive and primitive pleasure attends seeing and hearing, we are bound to admit the same thing of tasting and smelling. Why then are pleasant tastes and smells by common consent excluded from the class beautiful? This was the difficulty that caused Sokrates to reject his proposed definition; but it is one that seems capable of solution. Those senses called sight and hearing have peculiar



differences which give them a right to be called the higher senses. The first of these differences (and it is equally true of the sensation either in its simple or compound stage), is that a sight or a sound cannot be engrossed, as a smell can and a taste must be engrossed, for the benefit of a single percipient. Sights and sounds are of their nature common, expansive, far-reaching; so that the senses of seeing and hearing can give us no pleasure but what others may share with us at the same time. This common, liberal, unexclusive character is what Mr. Bain, in his account of the matter, especially insists on as characteristic of the æsthetic pleasures.

Secondly, in the compound stage, the stage when sensation acquires an intellectual character, and is mixed up with the experience of the other senses, sight and hearing possess virtues which do not belong in so high a degree to the other senses. As the mature human being is constituted, sight and hearing are his two most intellectual senses. No doubt in forming his primitive experiences, in assisting him to judge of the qualities and configuration of the things round about him, the sense of touch was in the first place his most useful guide; but by the time that his faculties are developed he is no longer obliged to have recourse to this. The sense of sight, which can embrace a distant field without an effort, is enabled, profiting by the lessons taught in infancy by the sense of touch, to enlighten him on the shape, distance, magnitude, and character of objects which could not be made subject to touch, except at the expense of the effort involved in approaching them.

From analogous causes, hearing ranks high as an intellectual sense, even if we leave out of account the specially intellectual character which attaches to it from the fact that we have made modifications of sound, as the only set of sensible effects sufficiently under our command, the vehicle for the expression of our thoughts.

In the third place, the pleasures of seeing and hearing are disinterested, are independent of all direct utility in the object of those senses. A cognitive impression of sight, such an one as implies the spontaneous mental operation involved in the recognition of an object, presents to my consciousness some external thing, which considered in its direct relation to myself and my interests may be a thing useful and desirable, as a loaf if I am hungry, or weapons in the presence of my enemy; a thing hurtful and undesirable, as a dangerous torrent in my path, or a wild beast ready to devour me; or a thing naturally indifferent; and the indifferent will include that which though attainable I cannot use, as a painted sunset or a painted ship of war, or that which being to me unattainable I have never learnt to desire, as a real sunset or a real ship of war. Now it is evident that in all of

these, the useful, the hurtful, and the indifferent alike, the attribute of charming my sight may exist, and that by no means in proportion to their utility. The torrent or the wild beast, if I can sufficiently master the emotions of irritation or fear which they excite, will be better able to gratify my visual sense than the food or the weapons; while by far the greater number of the things which my eye delights in, the sunset and the ship, and the pageantry of the world at large, are of themselves indifferent to me. The elevated and disinterested character of the pleasures of sight, their independence of desirability in the thing seen, and therefore of desire in the spectator, is thus established. Since Hearing, so far as concerned with music and sounds other than language, does not present definite and recognisable images to my consciousness, and since I cannot be hurt or helped except by definite and recognisable objects, it follows equally that the pleasures of hearing cannot in this case be connected with self-interest.

Thus the characteristic virtues of the senses of Sight and Hearing are three. These senses are unexclusive: they are intellectual; they are unselfish or disinterested; and hence the character of elevation or refinement rightly attributed to them. The sense of Taste obviously occupies the lowest place, the place farthest removed from Sight and Hearing in these particulars. Taste is exclusive; only one person can enjoy the savour of the same thing at the same time. Taste is unintellectual; it at most only enables us to discriminate the varieties in kind, and perhaps in wholesomeness, among our aliments. Taste is self-interested; its pleasures are intimately connected with the alimentation of the body; tasting and eating, the sensation and the utility, are inseparable. We need not stop to point out how the sense of smell holds a kind of intermediate place, as being somewhat less exclusive and less inseparably connected with bodily utility than taste, but yet without the elevation of a properly artistic sense.

To be such as many persons can enjoy at once, to be independent of utility, and therefore dissociated from desire, such are the characters of the pleasures of the two higher senses; and these are precisely the typical characters, and the only common characters that can be found for them, of the whole circle of artistic pleasures. Let us see in what way other pleasures besides those of seeing and hearing assimilate themselves to these and acquire the artistic character. Suppose the case of persons reclining in some shady place, where are trees, and song-birds, and running water, and all the elements of an enjoyable repose. Here the object, of sight and hearing, the sky, the colours, outlines, and motions of the trees and flowers, together with the sounds of birds and breeze, will combine to give legiti-

mate pleasure of the artistic kind. The other pleasurable conditions, the smell of the flowers, the softness of the grass, the cool moisture of the earth and freshness of the air, and the sense of space, will greatly enhance the situation, but belong to that bodily, exclusive, inferior class to which we do not allow the name of artistic. Now let a picture of the scene be painted, the visible elements remain visible, only reduced in scale, removed to a remote plane, and otherwise modified according to the skill or selection of the artist. And here two other important elements of pleasure come in; the pleasure due, if the work is good, to Unity of Effect, and that due to Successful Imitation. Meanwhile the audible and tangible elements, and all physical gratifications of the scene, are no longer there as presentations of sense; they are only faintly recalled or suggested in imagination. In this second-hand or ideal state they lose their bodily or "monopolist" character, and combine to form a whole, what is called the sentiment of the scene, that can be enjoyed in contemplation by any number of spectators. Again, a poetical description removes the thing a stage farther off, gives us the visual impression itself in a second-hand or ideal state, and by impartially naming them all combines all the elements, the colour, movement, space, life, odour, freshness of the scene in a purely imaginative or ideal representation such as this of Keats:

"In deepest grass, beneath the whispering roof  
Of leaves and trembled flowers, where there ran  
A brooklet, scarce espied;  
'Mid hush'd, cool-rooted flowers fragrant-eyed,  
Blue, silver-white, and budded Tyrian,  
They lay soft-breathing on the bedded grass."

In this example (which, for the sake of greater simplicity, we have been careful to draw from the purely physical order), we see that the more remote or ideal a scene becomes, the greater the number of its elements that acquire the artistic quality. To the small part of it that was originally beautiful, there have been added by gradual accretions the parts that were originally only pleasurable, the pleasurable passing into the beautiful as the presentations of sense passed into the representations of imagination. In this process we have the type, and from this we can gather the formula, of the assimilation to sights and sounds in virtue of which all other things called beautiful acquire their right to the name. What is true of the primary presentations of sense is also true of all the other experiences of life. Every fact not of sense that gives pleasure, of whatever kind, in actual experience, is capable of giving pleasure of the artistic kind when recalled in imagination, and removed from the sphere of our self-interest. Leaving the class of purely physical facts, what are the kinds of facts which in actual experience are capable of giving us

pleasure of the moral or intellectual kind? Harmony, or the consentaneous working of several agencies towards the same end; Utility; Beneficence; Fitness, or the adaptation of means to the end; Power; Completeness, or the free and full development of characteristics; these are some of the most important of such facts. Every exhibition of these facts in our own person or in those with whom we sympathize gratifies us in experience, and therefore in reminiscence. Facts such as these are important ingredients of the Beautiful. They become parts of the Beautiful in two distinct degrees—either as contemplated by a disinterested spectator in the practical relations of men to one another and the world in their lives and actions, or as suggested by unconscious association in the aspect of visible things. In the former degree they constitute the beauty of events, of deeds, of characters; in the latter the beauty, or rather, a part of the beauty, of visible objects. In the former state they are peculiarly the materials of the poet; in the latter peculiarly the subject of the painter. The artistic sense of beauty, however, consists of more than the mere power of appreciating these. The delight in Novelty, in Variety, in successful Imitation, in Unity, and the power of insight or intellectual sympathy, all conspire to constitute the sense. The delight in good Imitation and the power of sympathy are indeed sufficient to dispense, in certain cases, with the presence of any delightful quality in the thing imitated; nay, to reconcile us, especially in the remote stage of poetry, to things in the highest degree distasteful in experience. Thus the characters of Clytemnestra, of Lady Macbeth, or of Iago, are objects of not less artistic gratification than those of Antigone, of Pylades, or of Desdemona.

From an account of beauty such as the foregoing it is easy to deduce consequences subversive of M. de Laprade's theories on the ethical duties and capabilities of fine art; indeed, of all theories that would make moral improvement the end of fine art. If the differential character of fine art is its power to produce a certain kind of pleasure, it will be guilty of foregoing this character if it aims at producing something else. On the great principle of the separation of functions, let moral and intellectual agencies be applied to further the ends of virtue, artistic agencies to further the ends of beauty. The relations of beauty to virtue are these: virtue is beautiful because it pleases; not, beauty pleases because it is virtuous. The objects of ethical emotion only pass into objects of æsthetic emotion by removal to a distance, where they can do no good; the virtues of monk and soldier, patriot and martyr, the lives of saints, nay, the dealings of God himself, come into the same class with the colour or the fold of a garment by no other right than because they are pleasant to think upon in exactly the same way as the colour or the fold is pleasant to look

upon. Qualities and actions the reverse of virtuous may become beautiful if they can be so handled (as under certain circumstances they can) as to give the same sort of pleasure as virtue gives. Those arts can be no very devoted or efficient agents of morality which can introduce, without detriment to their character, elements the reverse of moral ; while the artist who, for the sake of virtue, refuses these elements, will impoverish the resources of his art.

From our point of view, the above conclusions are such as cannot be impugned. We are not yet, however, justified in advancing them as a sufficient answer to M. de Laprade's speculations. They belong to a habit of thought the opposite of his own, and are drawn from premises which he could hardly conceive to be tenable, much less admit to be true. Before our views can with confidence be confronted with his, they must be fortified by a reference to the history of the fine arts, and to the part which the ethical or didactic element has actually played in them. Two epochs naturally present themselves for consideration as the most prolific and the most brilliant—the artistic epoch of pagan Greece, whose characteristic art was sculpture, and the artistic epoch of Christian Italy, whose characteristic art was painting.

What then are the results to be gathered for our purpose if we trace the development of Greek art from its primitive stage ? The motives that prompted the first carving and building were by no means the love of beauty, nor their result such as could satisfy the love of beauty. Art was art, says Goethe, long before it began to be beautiful. That depends on the meaning of the word art. The maxim is of course true if we give the name to the productions of early handicraft, to the unadorned structures which men raised to commemorate their lives or to shelter their as yet shapeless gods ; but some prefer to withhold it until decoration, prompted by the sense of beauty, comes to be added to these primitive productions. In its primitive stage, then, art, or the handicraft which afterwards became art, concerned itself in Greece and elsewhere almost exclusively with religion. Something to represent the god, and something to house the representation, these and no more are required. The instinct of mimicry in mankind allies itself with the acquired processes of handicraft, and the two together come into play at the bidding of that order of ideas, engrossing for the early world, which Xenophanes has described in words that strike the key-note of religious history. "For mortals conclude that gods are born in their own likeness, and have the same senses and voice and eyes as they. And surely if oxen or lions had hands, or could carve with their hands and fashion such works as men fashion, they too would

make the forms of gods in their own likeness, horses in the likeness of horses, oxen in the likeness of oxen, and would fashion for them such bodies as they had themselves." With these naïf inventions, the result of their earliest experience of natural forces, all the hopes and fears and moral sentiments of primitive mankind were bound up. All-important for them were these possessors of a power absolute and capricious, a power shown all around them in the sunshine and darkness, storms and wind, drought and rain, and the changes of night and day; in the sounds of the sea and the silence of the forest; in the tides of human life, the revolutions of fortune, or the madness and doom of kings. Worship therefore, and simple awe, the need of succour and the desire to propitiate, these and not any gratification of the taste, are the feelings uppermost in the minds of the primitive temple-builders.

Readers of the *Westminster Review* are likely to be familiar with the chapter in Mr. Herbert Spencer's "First Principles" in which that writer, illustrating his law of Evolution, derives all the multifarious later varieties of plastic and decorative art from the primitive temple or palace wall with its coloured reliefs. Wall, carved figures, chromatic decoration, cuneiform or hieroglyphic legend, in these we have the elements, forming as yet a single whole, which will by-and-by disengage themselves into all the divisions and subdivisions of architecture, statuary, painting, and writing. Now this gives a true account of the matter as it stood at the farthest period which research has reached, so far as Assyria and Egypt are concerned. To this account the earliest remains of the Euphrates valley answer just as much as the monuments of the latest Sargonid: and of the dynasties that succeeded each other for some four thousand years on the banks of the Nile, the latest, just as the earliest, commemorated itself in no other way. But in the case of the Greeks we are able to trace the steps by which, after proceeding from the first in quite another way, they reached this stage. In considering the progress of Greek art we are entitled, or indeed bound, to exclude what are known as the Cyclopean monuments, such as the Lion-gate of Mycenæ, or the so-called Treasury of Atreus, since these are probably præ-Hellenic works, the last of an old era and not the first of a new; monuments of that obscure earlier race which occupied the peninsulas of the Mediterranean before the Dorians had come down from their mountains or the Ionians drawn inland from their harbours. With the Greeks proper the building and the statue seem to have been separated from the beginning. A hollow tree, the first temple, is said to have enclosed a stick or log, the first god. Then we come to rough wooden edifices, the dwelling-places of rough wooden

divinities. Next the edifice is of stone, identical in design with the shed or hut which it has superseded. It is only as a crowning decoration over and above its elaborate design and painting that the fully developed temple receives statues into its pediment and reliefs upon its metopes.\* For artistic motives, in subordination to religious motives, early begin to work upon the temple, upon the god's house earlier than upon the god himself. The contrasts of light and shade, and probably those of applied local colour, form an artistic element even in the original timber shed. The question of the chromatic decoration of Greek architecture is a vexed one; but its latest discussion has left the following results as to the system of colouring probably employed for buildings of the usual Doric order. For the shafts a pale yellow, applied at first upon a thick coat of stucco, afterwards, when marble came into general use, upon the unprepared marble itself, in order that its surface and texture might be preserved. For the walls of the cella, red; for the face of the pediment, blue; for the triglyphs, blue; for the metopes or slabs intervening between the triglyphs, red. The mouldings and chief architectural lines would be marked in black, white, or gold. Thus we find the charms of colour, the purely organic, or as M. de Laprade would say, musical elements of beauty, in all likelihood belonging to the temple at a very early stage of its development. Not, however, to insist too strongly on what is not altogether out of question, let us see what other decorative elements, elements chosen wholly for their beauty and not at all for their significance, added themselves one after another to the religious architecture of the Greeks. Sights of beauty surrounded the daily life of the Greek, vineyards and flowery groves, stately forms of men and women, brilliant armour and fair apparel, youths and maidens moving in procession with the victim and his sacrificial wreaths, the timbrel and the thyrsus, and the dancing of garlanded choirs. All these elements he in time adopted for the adornment of his temple, and first the inanimate elements. While sculpture was not yet permitted to carve the forms of common men, but directed to the representation of the gods alone, the shield, the arrow and the lance-head, the fillet and the victim's wreath, the vine, the ivy, and the honeysuckle had all been turned to decorative use. These the Greek had early learnt to translate into stone, not literally, but seizing on their leading lines and boldly adapting them to his ideal of

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\* Some of the earliest instances that have been preserved of sculptured work upon the upper members of a temple are the reliefs from Assos, now in the Louvre, in which the traces of Asiatic influence are strong; and those discovered by Messrs. Harris and Angel at Selinus, at present belonging to the museum of Palermo.

beauty and symmetry, until they were often disguised past recognition.\* Starting from the religious desire of making the shrine worthy of its deity, he had in his temple, as thus completed and adorned, achieved a work of art which, even had it had no connexion with religion and no deity to enshrine, would have been worthy of perpetual admiration as a thing of beauty. What changes did actually take place in the relation of art and religion may be more clearly traced in the case of sculpture.

The development of beauty, we have said, was later in the statue than in the temple. The primitive log or post lingers on into historic times as a relic of earlier worship. Whether this, as some think, was merely a symbol of the god's presence, or, as seems more probable, a relic of the fetishistic stage of thought with which, until artificers had found a way to embody the creations of polytheism, polytheism was forced to content itself, it was not until late that the developed statue finally replaced it. The stone that stood for Eros at Thespizæ, the pillar and the plank which represented Zeus at Argos and Samos respectively, the pillar-shaped bronze Apollo at Amyclæ, the two posts, joined by a cross-bar in the shape of the letter H, that were worshipped as the Dioscuri at Sparta, were all examples of these uncouth divinities. In the next stage the god was either of wood, bearing a roughly carved indication of the human character (such were the ξόανα) or of stone, with the head only carved into human likeness (έρμαῖ), or again of wood, with the head and extremities of stone (ἀκρόλιθοι). The increasing freedom and skill of subsequent artificers is marked by the tradition which ascribes to the mythic name of Dædalus the opening of the eyes of the statue, the parting of its legs, and the separation of the arms from the body. Gradually schools such as those of Sicyon and Argos acquire the power of casting in bronze, carving in marble, and laying on plates of gold and ivory. Gradually too art condescends from Olympus to earth. The artist found that the way to make beautiful Immortals was by the study of mortal models; and by-and-by it occurred to him that for his special purpose a man was much the same thing as a god. First heroes are admitted into sculpture (with the introduction of whom the names of the Cretan Scyllis and Dipœnus are associated), and lastly, everyday men and women—their features, however, treated always in the same abstract manner as the vegetable forms we have spoken of. There are two ways of interpreting the course of development by which

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\* The origin, for example, of the Ionic volute, a form common also to the architecture of Assyria and Persia, has been variously traced to the bands of a woman's hair, the tendrils of a vine, and the rolled end of a sheet of asbestos.



sculpture passed from the stiff, traditional types of its infancy to the unshackled perfection of its maturity. The account usually given of the matter is that the stiff, traditional type was that handed down and adhered to by the priests; that the priests insisted on the repetition of this type wherever they could, and that the final perfecting of the art was carried through by the irrepressible Greek genius in spite of sacerdotal influences. This view is sustained by a comparison with the art of Egypt, which the prevalence of sacerdotal influences kept undeveloped and unchanged for forty centuries; by the archaic appearance of many of the distinctively religious statues, especially of such as stood in the cellæ of the temples; and by the stiffness sometimes apparent in figures of the gods when those of men have already acquired freedom and vivacity. Works like the Apollo of Tenea, and the erect Athene from the western pediment of Ægina, are quoted as examples of this character. On the other hand, M. Beulé, the latest authority and at the same time one of the best, maintains that any such archaic character, so far from being due to priestly influence, was merely due to technical tradition; that the priests, in their zeal for the honour and glory each of his own shrine and his own god, stimulated the sculptor to redoubled efforts in the cause of beauty. The priests, he says, knew that if in Greece they would have worshippers, they must make their worship and its shrine beautiful, and hence gave the strongest impulse to art. Be this as it may, what is certain is that the archaic xoanon or acrolith, wherever such a relic was preserved, was regarded as an object of not less reverence and religious sanctity than the Zeus of Olympia or the Athene of the Parthenon. The difference between the two productions is not due, according to either account, to the religious motive exclusively; it is due, according to the one, to the artistic motive working in antagonism with the religious motive; according to the other, to the artistic motive acknowledged as the stronger and called to its aid by religion. In either case the artistic motive, the love of beauty for beauty's sake, has become paramount. By the time that men and women have been raised into the same artistic rank with gods and demigods, there is no longer any question of art subserving the ends of religion. The artist has laid hold of the subjects suggested by religion, has put beside them other subjects suggested by the beauty of the visible, and has made them both subserve his own specific end. For him at least the worship of beauty has supplanted all other worship.

Meanwhile, how fares it with religion? Are these deities in human shape so closely bound up as they once were with the moral sentiments and moral conduct of men? On the contrary;

while the artist has been clothing the god with beauty, the philosopher has been stripping him of divinity. When Apollo was only worshipped in the form of a pillar, and the Dioscuri in the form of the letter H, no man doubted; when every god was worshipped in forms of immortal majesty in every city of Greece, few but the ignorant believed. The daring constructive dreams of the cosmogonist, the trenchant scepticism of the Eleate, the practical negation of the gods by the sophist, had all played their parts in breaking up the bases of traditional belief.

Traditional beliefs had become, as at other times of intellectual ferment, a matter of grave question for the thoughtful, of polite acquiescence for the careless, of self-seeking intrigue for the politician, and of blind, occasionally furious zeal for the vulgar. It was not for their *θεοσίβεια* but for their *φιλοκαλία*, for their love of beauty and not for their piety, that Perikles congratulated his countrymen. Perikles, Anaxagoras, Pheidias, the statesman, the philosopher, and the artist, were arraigned for irreligion. The cause of the gods was in the hands of such men as Lampon and Diopieithes, soothsaying sycophants and charlatans. During the Peloponnesian War, religion, so far from nobly animating or nobly restraining, only interfered to inspire the disastrous scruples of Nikias or the degrading terrors of the Athenian mob.

The same story repeats itself in the history of Christian art in Italy. The origin and starting-place of the modern art of painting may be placed in the choirs of the Italian churches of the eleventh century—in the religious and symbolic works, for the most part in mosaic, with which they were decorated.\*

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\* The reasons for choosing this rather than an earlier date are these. The works of this period are distinctly the initial works of a new artistic era; the earlier Christian works, though they belonged to a new religious era, were marked with the artistic stamp of the old. In the mosaics of the fifth and following centuries, whether at Rome, Ravenna, or Byzantium—even in the earliest paintings of the catacombs—the artist effected a kind of compromise between the austere traditions of Christianity and the kindly spirit of paganism. Christian ideas present themselves to him in pagan form. He eschews the stern and threatening aspects of his religion. He dares not yet depict the First Person of his Trinity. Christ is his central figure. Silenced between an invisible Creator and a world condemned, he finds in the person of Christ a model at once real and ideal. But with his ideal of Christ are mingled reminiscences of Apollo or of Zeus. Christ is even represented as Orpheus, moving with his music the brutes and stones. All the gracious and tender symbolism of Christian art, and none of its darker symbolism, belongs to this period. Scenes such as the Crucifixion or the Last Judgment are unknown. Art, in short, does little more than play with religion. In style, these works are marked with the fast-fading impress of pagan technical traditions; their design, in the earliest works flowing and skilful, relapses gradually into stiffness and incompetence, until the final extinction of art towards the end of the ninth century. After an interval of utter darkness, art reappears in the eleventh century prepared to grapple in its helpless way

After the convulsions which the papacy had passed through in the preceding century, after the fluctuations of the power of the Saxon and Franconian emperors in Italy, the Italians, about the time of the papacy of Hildebrand, began to decorate their churches with works which combined the maximum of religious purpose with the minimum of artistic power. For many generations their art, first in mosaic and afterwards in painting, stammered under the burden of the messages it had to tell. Rigid figures on the Byzantine model—staring eyes, shapeless hands, and crude colouring, all intended to express majesty and religious awe—were produced by one nameless artificer upon another. Gradually, in exerting himself to give worthier expression to his idea, the artificer loosens the trammels of asceticism, and approaches towards beauty of form and truth of imitation. What need to repeat the roll of those who laboured against ignorance and difficulty with a single eye to the glory of God, from Margaritone of Arezzo down to the disciples of Giotto? Striving to exalt their saints and angels, to add grace to the deity or force to their symbols of him, they gradually put a little more majesty in the brow, a little more meaning in the eyes or suppleness in the limbs, a little more line in the garment or loveliness in the flower. But by-and-by there comes a time when the pleasure which such things are found to give becomes a motive of itself, and supplants the glory of God. The transition, the advance in the direction of naturalism, the immense stride in drawing and colour that marks the middle of the fifteenth century, is in fact the consequence of such a change of motives. The names of Masaccio and Fra Lippo Lippi are two of the most prominent at this turning-point of artistic history. Whatever may have been the case in Greece, it is certain that the departure of such men as these from the antiquated types was at first distasteful to the Italian priests. The reader will remember how Fra Lippo Lippi, in Mr. Browning's poem, defends his practice from the criticism of the priests, and refers to the young Masaccio.

“—— he'll not mind the monks,  
They call him Hulking Tom; he lets them talk.”

It is recorded how the monks for whom it was painted were nearly rejecting Titian's Assumption of the Virgin on the grounds of its over-worldly splendour of design and colouring. What were the sentiments towards art of sincere and reforming religionists, may be gathered from the holocaust preached by

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with the majesty of the Father, or the terrors of Death and Hell. The Crucifixion in the church of S. Urbano alla Caffarella, the Last Judgment at S. Angelo in Formis at Capua, are examples of this new epoch, when the traditions of pagan beauty are wholly lost, and the infant art of Christianity has to grope its own way.

Savonarola. Meanwhile the revival of ancient learning had intervened to sap the strength of religion, and to further the emancipation of art. When Greek scholars carried across the Adriatic the learning of their country, they had in store for the artist a source of future strength,—multitudes of imaginary figures destined to enrich the sources of his art, and to take their place beside the figures of his own worship. He had long been endeavouring to endow with whatever beauty they would receive the creations of his own faith, when a multitude of other creations already radiant with beauty were offered to his hand. What could he do but accept as kindred figures with the Christian gods, those gods whom early Christianity had denounced as demons? The great Mantegna is one of the earliest painters into whose work the pagan element is admitted without cavil or hesitation; the same element appears in Florentine art with Sandro Botticelli and some of his contemporaries; and from that time downwards it maintains an undisputed place. Hence the wonderful and exuberant richness of the art of the succeeding century; besides all the figures of the Old and New Testaments, besides all the Christian personifications and the symbols of the most symbolical of creeds, besides angels and cherubim at discretion, besides all the saints of the canon and all the records of martyrology, painters had at their disposal the entire history and the entire mythology of Greece and Rome. All these materials indifferently they used for the ends of beauty. The exclusive devotion of art to religion died away. For Veronese, the Persian Queen before Alexander was as good a subject as the Judgment of Solomon or the Marriage of Cana. The Rape of Europa or the Desertion of Ariadne would do just as well as the Deposition from the Cross or the Marriage of S. Catherine. The Mother of Christ with her Child, or the Paphian Aphrodite with hers, what mattered it? If the patron were a priest he might probably order a Mary with the Dove; if a prince, he would prefer a Leda with the Swan; for the artist it was much the same thing. Michael Angelo no longer painted the Last Judgment as Orcagna had painted it, with a paramount moral and religious intention, with the purpose of encouraging the virtuous and warning the wicked by a fearful exhibition of the wages of sin; he painted it with a view of bringing to bear his prodigious artistic power and artistic knowledge on the spectacle of human attitudes and expressions, under circumstances of overwhelming grandeur and terror.

Thus in the history of Christian art, of that art which struggled through the Middle Age, precariously at first, but with ever-increasing strength, to attain its splendid culmination at the Renaissance, we can trace a progressive evolution entirely analogous to

that traceable in the case of Greek art. In both cases, religion, a pressing sense of the power and proximity of gods, supplies the occasion and the motive for the early efforts of art. In both cases these early efforts appeal, almost by accident, to emotions other than the religious emotions; casual beauties react upon the mind of the artist; the pleasure caused by them breeds in him the desire for more; and this desire for more, in other words, this love of beauty takes its place as a separate motive alongside of the religious motive. For a time, the two work together on equal terms: the artist is glad, for his god's sake, to endow him with all the beauty and attractiveness that he can; and the new conceptions due to art give in their turn greater dignity, grace, and clearness to his worship. But the tendency of the artistic motive is continually to encroach upon the religious motive. The artist finds that by his art he is enabled to create a certain set of delightful effects of a distinctive and homogeneous kind, and such as can be produced by no other agency. These effects come to be the important thing for him: he pursues them for their own sake, and no longer for the sake of that which first gave rise to them, of the divine beings to whom his feelings of reverence and his ideas of moral government were attached. With the progress of thought these beings become less and less the engrossing and exclusive centres of moral sentiment; at the same time he finds that the same artistic effects may attach to the representation of other beings not divine. Further, the feelings and ideas connected with the divine beings can come home to him in mental contemplation as well as in the visible shape of picture or statue; but the delights of form and colour, the splendour of limbs or brows, which they share with other beings not divine, come home to him in the visible shape alone. Religion, if the religious sentiment maintains its vitality, occupies itself more and more exclusively with the idea, art with the separable shell or embodiment of the idea. To make this as beautiful as possible, and that not for the idea's sake, but for the beauty's sake, is finally the object of the artist. The characteristic of the stage of preparation is that the art is used merely to express the idea; of the stage of consummation that the idea is used merely to carry and sustain the art. "Paint the soul, never mind the legs and arms!" this is the principle with which at its infancy art sets out, but which it reverses at its maturity. That which is depicted by mature art is not "man as a moral being—man in possession of spiritual liberty," so much as man as a physical being—man in possession of bodily perfection. Nobility or sweetness of expression is no doubt an indispensable part of this bodily perfection, because it is an indispensable part of beauty in the human face, because it is a thing stamped and ingrained upon a beautiful face, as strength or

agility upon beautiful limbs: but it is as a physical or visible, not as a moral or invisible, grace that art has to do with it. The progress of art, in short, consists in its passage from the representation of spirit to the representation of body—from a subjective to an objective mode of treatment. The passage from the subjective to the objective manner in general is stigmatized by M. de Laprade as the encroachment of matter upon mind; yet in that very perfecting of art which he calls a triumph of mind over matter we seem to see a signal instance of such passage. Either we or M. de Laprade have turned the matter upside down: it must remain for the reader to decide between us.

There is still another argument, one of the negative kind, to be brought forward in support of the position that good art and good morals have no mutual interdependence. Were it so, it would follow that great artists should be good men, and that great artistic epochs should be epochs of public virtue. The former implication M. de Laprade acknowledges. A beautiful work of art, he writes, supposes in its author a beautiful character. But a reference to the biographies of artists seems to belie the supposition. In their lives we assuredly do not find evidence of greater moral excellence than in those of any other class of distinguished men. Without giving credit to all the scandals of Vasari, there are assuredly enough obvious and undoubted instances of moral infirmity,—as the avarice and suspicion of Perugino, the dishonesty of Marc Antonio, the outrageous malignity of Primaticcio, the concurrence in Benvenuto Cellini of nearly every vice,—to deprive them of any claim to such especial excellence. The other implication, that which would attribute to the best epochs of art a character of superior public morality, has been much insisted on by Mr. Ruskin; but again inexorable history says No. There are two excellent things which the republics of ancient Greece and mediæval Italy compassed for themselves, and in virtue of which they deserve, as they have gained, the gratitude and passionate admiration of posterity—Beauty and Liberty. But they did not find a way to reconcile liberty with peace, neither was their beauty the beauty of holiness. In the history of Greece we have a spectacle of a multitude of small states seething with activity commercial, political, intellectual, divided by a difference of race, and a difference of political institutions consequent upon this, into two hostile parties; and again subdivided into a thousand relations of mutual hostility by commercial and other rivalries. Neither the worship of common gods nor any feeling of political solidarity was able, except on a single memorable occasion, to unite them for a national purpose. Their sentiments of moral restraint or social compliance were not strong enough to teach

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them patiently to bear, or amicably to settle, the clash of interests which their restless activity engendered. They could not put up with one another. They lived in a state of perpetual warfare, and had their full share of the vices proper to such a state—cruelty, treachery, recklessness of human life. Of their other national immoralities, consequent in great part on the degrading position of their honourable women, it is not necessary to speak. The figure of Aphrodite is a gracious one for art and poetry, but her worship as carried on at Paphos, Amathus, or Corinth, was not one to strengthen the moral fibre of the people; nor was hers the only demoralizing worship known to Greece.

In the Italy of the Renaissance all the vices of Greece reappear in an exaggerated form. The struggle between democracy and oligarchy is repeated in a hundred cities with an increased ferocity and with bloodier vicissitudes. The divisions of Guelf and Ghibelin take the place of the divisions of Dorian and Ionian, and the sovereigns of France or Spain become for the Italian intriguer and malcontent what the Great King had been for those of Greece. In the feuds of party against party, or city against city, that raged during the flowery periods of Italian art and literature, we read of ten instances of self-seeking perfidy against one of patriotic devotion or civic virtue. The private villany of the great was unexampled. The lives of the feudal princes of Lombardy were a tale of mere rapine, licentiousness, and bloodshed. Revenge by poison or the dagger was a daily event in every family. Even at the great centres of art and learning, at the brilliant courts of Lorenzo de' Medici or Leo X., where the refinements of culture had to some extent discountenanced the coarser crimes of violence,—profligacy, jealousy, and hypocrisy were the order of the day. Pagan learning had driven religion out of fashion, and supplied a precedent, little needed indeed in Christian Italy, for every kind of sensual indulgence. The morals of Lesbos were not unknown in Venice, and the cult of Lampsakus flourished under the shadow of the Papacy.

We have thus far endeavoured, approaching the question from several different sides, to come to a candid conclusion as to the relations that subsist between art and good morals, and the extent of their reciprocal influence. And from every point of approach we have been led to the same result. First the unaided taste, or critical sense, seemed disposed to warn us, whatever the warning might be worth, to withhold a too hasty credence from the didactic or symbolic interpretation of works of art. Next we convinced ourselves that the philosophical theory with which, in the teaching of a certain school, this interpretation is closely bound up, was a shallow and futile one: while from an

opposite, and according to our ways of thinking a better theory, it followed implicitly that the artistic emotions were different and separable from the moral emotions, and that between art and morality there need be no cohesion. This deduction was verified by a reference to the actual artistic history of two great epochs, in each of which we traced a gradual separation regularly effected between the artistic motive and the religious motive, and found that the moment of art's culmination was precisely also the moment of its divorce from morality. Finally, from the moral character of the epochs in question, we drew the negative conclusion that fine art, whatever else might be true of it, had at these times had little to do with virtue, and small efficacy as a moral agent.

From a concurrence of so many considerations,—any one of which, to be adequately worked out, would require more space than we have been able to give to them all,—the mutual independence of the functions of the artist and the moralist may surely be regarded as established; from the duties of preaching and teaching, the poet, painter, or musician may surely be held exempt. Let us be preached to and taught, let our moral sense be stimulated and our moral energies fortified by the philosopher, the minister of religion, or any other competent agent whatever; but not by the artist, whose one business it is to gladden and gratify us without an afterthought. Certain it is that a union of the two functions will, at the stage of development which we have reached, impair the performance of both. The painter, the poet, the musician, will the better fulfil each his own peculiar task for suffering no consideration of its moral issue to cross him in the pursuit of beauty. The moralist and philosopher will ply their parts with more satisfactory consequences (let the eclectic school of France be a warning in this matter) if they refuse to let the predilections of taste divert them from the single search of truth.

In maintaining, however, and that with the most assured conviction, the necessity of this reciprocal independence as between fine art and ethics, we must not be understood as committing ourselves to another theory now current, the reverse, indeed, of these which we have been combating, but one which seems to involve some of the same fallacies. Impatient of the shackles with which some would tie art to the heels of virtue, and possibly themselves addicted less to virtue than to art, a certain school of writers have in our day attempted to force the two into a relation of mere oppugnancy. They have extolled vice, and the display of the ungoverned impulses of human nature, as the finest material for art, and have scoffed at all current moralities and social restraints as something mawkish, Philistine, and dull.



They have found more to gratify their æsthetic sensibilities in the spectacle of selfishness, cruelty, and lust, than in the spectacle of temperance, fortitude, or magnanimity. They have at times even seemed to wish that the place held to-day by the latter passions in public esteem, if not in public practice, should be transferred to the former. Meanwhile they have done what they could to make up for the shortcomings of their contemporaries by making selfishness, cruelty, and lust the chief, if not the exclusive topics of their art. The beauty of wickedness, erected into a dogma by only a few writers, of whom Baudelaire, and Gautier in his earlier days, may be taken as examples—has in practice been recognised with singular uniformity by French writers of the realist and romanticist school. By the most distinguished among our own younger poets, one who in some particulars of his art is a match for any the greatest of poets, it has been recognised both in theory and in practice. Mr. Swinburne would be more startled than gratified to find himself coupled with one so thoroughly representative as M. de Laprade of academic virtues and academic foibles—with so true a child of her whom he has not scrupled to stigmatize as a “hoarse and haggard temptress,” a Dalilah hoary and infirm. But in placing Mr. Swinburne’s name near that of M. de Laprade, we merely wish to point to him, as an able and well-known supporter of certain opinions which should not be left unnoticed in any estimate of the reciprocal relations of art and morality.

The discussion of these opinions leads us, it is true, over slippery places; but as the natural complement of those we have hitherto been combating, and as held or acted on by some of the most brilliant talents of the age, they demand their share of attention. On that extreme form of them, according to which some would have the moral restraint of conduct in practical life destructive of beauty, and in their love of beauty cry out upon moral restraint, we are not, indeed, called upon to dwell. The same arguments which prove that it is not the business of art to promote morality, prove also that its business is not to promote the want of morality. Relations of hostility between the two are as little compatible with their mutual independence as relations of alliance. Neither does this view receive much real support from the fact, to which we have ourselves drawn attention, that the great artistic epochs were also immoral epochs. It is easy to say that the same keen sensibility and vitality, the same ardent and susceptible temperament, that made men great artists, also made them great sinners, that the vices of Corinth or Venice were correlative products with their art of this temperament; but this we shall not feel called upon to believe until we have seen whether all this ardent vitality and

artistic sensibility cannot co-exist with political circumstances less calculated to make men hate each other, and with a social code more firmly based both in reason and tradition.

The question, then, for us is not the social one, how far virtue and the love of virtue may co-exist in a state with beauty and the love of beauty, nor whether art is justified in discountenancing practical morality, but the critical one, how far a certain kind of immorality is a fit subject for art—to what extent those qualities are legitimate which have made so large and brilliant a class of French literature distasteful to Englishmen, and forbidden to Englishwomen. These qualities have by some been set down as due simply to that desire of arousing excitement, which has been one of the chief features of the imaginative literature of France since the revival of 1830. To awaken an acute and breathless sympathy—an interest more high-strung than that usually attaching to works of art—has been a leading aim of this literature. The greatest master of the school, Victor Hugo, has proved himself also the greatest master of that which we have taught ourselves to call Sensation. The agonies of the dying archdeacon in “*Notre Dame de Paris* ;” the shipwreck of Clubin ; Gilliatt’s fight with the cuttle-fish ; these, and many other instances, will occur to the reader. The incident generally in the romances of either Dumas, of Eugene Sue, of Flaubert, of Feuillet, and many more, is of the same character. The question of the artistic legitimacy of such effects is too large a one to be broached here ; neither, in truth, can that which is immediately under consideration, the unveiled exhibition of passion, be rightly regarded as nothing more than a phase of sensation. It finds its place also in the work of artists whose forte lies in analysis and tranquil description—of Balzac, and again of Georges Sand, to take two illustrious examples—and in that of an enthusiastic and rich describer of natural beauty like Gautier. The punctiliousness of English critics on such matters has no doubt been excessive, yet nothing seems to us clearer than that the verdict of cool reason, no less than that of good taste, will be on the side of English criticism, rather than of French practice. Considerations of the moral issue of such work, of its effects on practical life, we renounce any right to admit ; we must judge of the matter by a purely æsthetic standard.

We have seen, then, that the æsthetic pleasures possess certain common characters, in virtue of which they fall into a class by themselves. The æsthetic pleasures are those that attend the contemplation either immediate or ideal of certain objects ; they are such as can be enjoyed by a plurality of percipients, and they are dissociated from personal utility, and therefore from desire. To find a common character in the objects capable of

affording such pleasure is no easy task. Of objects of sensible perception, those only can afford it which address themselves to the senses of sight and hearing; and the pleasure they give will either be purely physical and organic, or dependent on early and inseparable association, and such that in contemplation we do not pause to separate its physical from its intellectual part. The diversity on the other hand is infinite of the objects that can give pleasure in ideal contemplation. Besides most of the pleasures of the lower senses, and all the intellectual and emotional pleasures, many things unpleasant and some even disastrous may become delightful when contemplated in idea. Intellectual sympathy, and the admiration of successful imitation, we have traced as the main principles reconciling us in idea, and as soon as it is too far out of our way to hurt us, to that which was distasteful in experience. The sole restriction which we have as yet seen reason to allow, is that which forbids each kind of artistic product to admit anything destructive of pleasure in its own proper kind. Inharmonious colour or ungraceful line, or the representation of anything hideous, is thus forbidden to the painter; over-violent discords and all painful sounds to the musician. For the literary artist, whose representations reach us in a remoter, more ideal form, the list of *prohibita* is far smaller; but we shall not agree with those who deny that there exists any class of representations that cannot be introduced with artistic effect into literature. To us there seems to be a class of facts and feelings naturally destructive of artistic effect in literature, naturally debarred from giving artistic pleasure in whatever degree of remoteness they are contemplated,—the class of extreme and exclusive bodily pains and bodily pleasures. In actual life there is a sentiment, a strong emotional restraint both inherited and acquired, which disposes the individual (if he is civilized) to conceal and not to display such pleasures and pains. In his neighbour's mind there is a corresponding sentiment which leads him to look upon a breach of such restraint with aversion and annoyance, but with aversion and annoyance of a different kind from that proper to such offences as falsehood, cruelty, or theft. He regards falsehood, cruelty, or theft with moral indignation; a breach of the restraint in question with æsthetic disgust. What is an object of æsthetic disgust in life can never, as that which is an object of moral indignation can, become the cause of æsthetic pleasure in literature. The exhibition of animal paroxysms of whatever kind is something *ugly*; the displeasure that it causes is akin to the displeasure caused by bad colour in a picture or by harsh chords in music. Indecency, in a word, is inadmissible in fine art, and that from purely artistic reasons. The polished effronteries of Made-

moiselle de Maupin or Antonine, or the cruder animalisms of "Leaves of Grass," we shall condemn as inartistic, and put in the same category with other animal exhibitions that move disgust; with the grotesque obscenities of Callot, with the truncations and mutilations in which Doré sometimes delights; with the highly-finished jets and spurts of blood that issue from the trunks of beheaded saints in the works of the elder Holbein.

There are, however, only a few writers who have proceeded to this extreme degree of daring in the representation of the animal nature, while a multitude have handled the mental passions most nearly connected with it. Passionate subjects are no doubt perfectly legitimate in art up to a certain point: but then everything will depend upon their treatment. We have seen how important an element in all art is the treatment, that is, the mental temper of the artist as revealed in his manner of execution. The true artist will approach a passionate subject as he approaches any other, with insight but without passion; he will seize on and reproduce whatever is salient, whatever is ideal, whatever is intense without being unseemly, in the emotions he has to do with. This is not the way in which passionate subjects are usually approached by the modern fiction-writer in France. On the contrary, he too often treats them in a feverish manner, with a prurient and provocative touch that is essentially inartistic. In short, we are disposed to give our voices to the Philistines in finding this brilliant literature, this literature which has engaged more men of genius than any other in our day, tainted and in part spoiled by one of two artistic faults, by indecency of subject or indecency of treatment. For fear of likening ourselves still further to the Philistines, we hesitate to add that these faults seem in some degree to be native and national to France, and characteristic of the French mind in general. And yet there is certainly something to be said in support of such a view. From the days of Rabelais and Brantôme, chastity has never been a favourite virtue of the French muse. Even in the commerce of daily life, the minor observances of social intercourse, we islanders (whose ideas on the matter are, however, certainly exaggerated), seem to find in our neighbours a certain want of decorum and drapery, a certain deficiency on the side of *respect humain*. Had our common ancestor, instead of Adam, been a Jules or an Alphonse, the race would surely have been spared the encumbrance of the fig-leaf and its developments. There is a shamelessness which is not that of innocence; and this some have thought more characteristic of the French than of other civilized races. This quality is found, at perhaps its highest point, in the "Confessions of Rousseau." That this opinion may not be set down as merely prejudiced, gross, and insular, let us fortify

it by the words of one of the most illustrious of living Frenchmen. M. Rénan writes thus: "Le vice égrillard, la coquetterie de l'immoralité, la gentillesse du mal, voilà le péché français par excellence, voilà la petitesse, voilà le ridicule dont le Français croit se laver par son air dégagé et son éternel sourire."

Enough, however, of a thorny and uninviting subject. We have only said thus much, because when art is warned not to attempt achievements above her reach in the moral and intellectual order, she should also be warned not to disfigure herself with errors in the artistic order. The former warning is however the one most needed at present. Among ourselves, literature has been too long in the habit of dictating to bewildered art what she should do and from what she should abstain. Eager moralists, whose genius and enthusiasm none admire more than ourselves, in their desire that all things should work together for the glory of God and the advancement of mankind, have demanded from her wisdom and counsel and high lessons on nature and destiny. Frivolous critics, without genius, enthusiasm, or any other claim to admiration, have demanded from her vapid excitement, story-telling, epigram, and amusement. She cannot give either of these their demand. Her part is neither that of prophet or jester. Doubtless the aims of those who would make a prophet of her are noble: but the burden is too heavy for her to bear. We do not believe that art is in any way able, directly, either to make or to mar in the momentous work of moral instruction and moral advancement. Indirectly, she may perhaps contribute something, by filling men's lives with innocent and refined enjoyment, and attuning their minds to gentleness and content; or by the exhibition of perfection sought after and attained in one kind, she may stimulate them to the pursuit of perfection in another kind. Even thus much she cannot do until she is allowed to go her natural way in the unswerving search for beauty.

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## ART. VI.—THE ADULTERATION OF FOOD AND DRUGS.

1. *Food and its Adulterations: comprising the Reports of the Analytical Sanitary Commission of "The Lancet" for the years 1851 to 1854 inclusive, revised and extended.* By ARTHUR HILL HASSALL, M.D., Chief Analyst of the Commission, &c. London, 1855.
2. *First Report from the Select Committee on Adulteration of Food, &c., with the Minutes of Evidence and Appendix.* Ordered by the House of Commons to be Printed. 27th July, 1855.
3. *Second Report from the Select Committee on Adulteration of Food, &c., together with the Proceedings of the Committee and Minutes of Evidence.* Ordered by the House of Commons to be Printed. 8th August, 1855.
4. *Report from the Select Committee on Adulteration of Food, &c., together with the Proceedings of the Committee, Minutes of Evidence, Appendix, and Index.* Ordered by the House of Commons to be Printed. 22nd July, 1856.
5. *An Act for preventing the Adulteration of Articles of Food or Drink.* 23 & 24 Vic., cap. 84. 6th August, 1860.
6. *A Bill to amend the "Act for preventing the Adulteration of Articles of Food or Drink, 1860," and to extend its provisions to Drugs.* Prepared and brought in by Mr. DIXON, Mr. KENNARD, and Mr. GOLDNEY. Ordered by the House of Commons to be Printed. 10th June, 1868.
7. *The Reports of the Commissioners of her Majesty's Inland Revenue, on the Inland Revenue, from the year 1858 to the year 1867, both inclusive.* London: Printed for her Majesty's Stationery Office.

**A**DULTERATION is the act of debasing, by an improper mixture, something that before was pure and genuine. The term is sometimes applied to the crime of corrupting the coinage, but is commonly used only to designate the offence of sophisticating any of the various solids and fluids which are employed as food and drugs. Of these, the adulterations ordinarily practised are of three kinds: namely, those which are intended to increase their bulk or weight; those which are intended to improve their appearance; and those which are intended to impart to them fictitious strength or other quality. The first kind may be illustrated by the addition of potatoes or plaster of Paris to bread; of chicory to coffee; of wheat flour to

mustard ; of dripping to butter ; and of water, to milk, vinegar, tobacco, and malt liquors. The second kind may be illustrated by the addition of alum or sulphate of copper to bread ; of Prussian blue or black lead to tea ; of ferruginous earths to cocoa and preserved meats ; of verdigris to pickled vegetables ; and of mineral pigments to confectionery. The third kind may be illustrated by the addition of cocculus indicus or grains of paradise to beer and porter ; of sulphuric acid to vinegar ; of turpentine to gin ; of burnt sugar or "black jack" to coffee and chicory ; and of catechu or *terra japonica* to tea.

The adulteration of food and drugs has been brought under the notice of the public every now and then during the whole of the last half century. As early as 1820 Mr. Frederick Accum wrote his well-known treatise, taking for his motto, the startling words from the Book of Kings, "there is death in the pot," and since then attention has been intermittently directed to it in the works of Mitchell, Normandy, Chevalier, Garnier, Harel, and others. But the first systematic inquiry of real importance made into the subject in this country, was that undertaken by an "Analytical Sanitary Commission," employed by the late Mr. Wakley, "the Coroner," and superintended by Dr. Arthur Hill Hassall. The reports made by this Commission appeared in the *Lancet*, of which Mr. Wakley was Editor, during the years 1851-1854, and as collected in the volume which we have named first at the head of this paper, they form a most valuable contribution to the literature of adulteration. Mr. Wakley determined to publish in his journal, not only the analyses of the samples of different commodities which should be examined by the Commission, but also the names and addresses of the several dealers from whom they should be obtained, and this equally whether they should turn out to be adulterated or genuine. Of his determination he publicly advertised three months' notice, so that the guilty might have full opportunity for repentance and the reformation of their evil ways. At the end of that time of grace, the joint work of investigation and exposure was commenced, and was vigorously prosecuted for about four years. Week after week, throughout that period, rows of adulterators were seen gibbeted in columns of print, like so many rats or stoats nailed up against a farmer's barn doors. Of course a great outcry was raised among them ; they willingly "did good (to themselves) by stealth," but they "blushed to find it fame." The Editor's box was crammed with remonstrances and threats ; but one only of the multitude of complainers was bold enough to resort to legal proceedings against Mr. Wakley, and he prudently retired from the action before it came on for trial. The great tribe of puffing tradesmen

especially found themselves in a pitiful case. Their pretentious advertisements, in all the meretricious glory of capital letters and italics, were faithfully reproduced, and the real nature of their "villanous compounds" was as faithfully recorded beneath them. We find, for example, that "The Chinese Botanical Powder, or Chinese Economist," was "a mixture of catechu and wheat flour, the latter ingredient being added to reduce the strength of the catechu;" "La Veno Beno, the Chinese Tea Improver," was twenty-four per cent. sumach leaves, and seventy-six per cent. catechu; "Hawthorn's Extraordinary Coffees" were "nearly all chicory, with but *little coffee* to be detected;" "Rogers & Co.'s Pure Parisian Coffee" was "more than half chicory, mangel-worzel, and a third vegetable substance;" "Stratton's Improved Soluble Cocoa, a delicious preparation of the Genuine Nut," was in a hundred parts, about thirteen sugar, and forty-five potato flour and sago meal, the rest being cocoa; "Fry and Sons' (of Bristol) Homœopathic Cocoa" was in a hundred parts, twenty sugar, the remaining eighty being "a combination of cocoa and starch, in the proportion of about twenty of the latter to a hundred of the former, the starch being a mixture of Maranta arrowroot, sago meal, and Canna arrowroot, or *tous les mois*;" "Du Barry's Revalenta Arabica," or "Du Barry's Health Restoring Food," was, in the three samples analysed, nothing but the red lentil pounded, barley-meal or flour, and a little sugar, salt, or celery seed to flavour it; and so on *usque ad nauseam*.

We may here observe that few, if any, of these discoveries could have been made without the assistance of the microscope. The power of the chemist is much weaker in the organic than in the inorganic world, and the resources upon which he may unerringly rely while he is travelling through the latter, yield to him but an uncertain aid when once he has passed within the mysterious confines of the former. The vast majority of organized substances are in composition so complex and so similar that they frequently baffle the utmost efforts of analytical skill. They are for the most part made up of the four organogens, *oxygen*, *hydrogen*, *carbon*, and *nitrogen*, and their variation is generally due either to the presence or absence of the last named element, or to the number and arrangement of their constituent atoms, to which latter circumstances, for instance, must be attributed the difference between starch and sugar, which are identical in chemical composition. If we add to these considerations the facts that their elements are always present in large equivalents, mingled with substances for which there are no decisive tests, and that they invariably manifest a great tendency to decompose and enter into new combinations under the influence



of re-agents, we may readily understand why organic chemistry, mighty as its acquisitions have been, is still in certain directions in a condition far from determinate and complete. It requires but little reflection to enable us to perceive how much easier must be the task of eliminating a simple metal, such as mercury or lead, than that of eliminating a highly complex body like chicory, which is formed of the four organogens in large equivalents, combined with many other substances, extractive, colouring, saline, or resinoid. Let us suppose that a morsel of bread were presented to a chemist for analysis. He could ascertain with facility if it contained any alum or sulphate of copper, and he could also recognise the presence of starch in it by the iodine test. But he could not tell us what kind of starch it was, whether that of wheat, barley, oats, rye, maize, arrowroot, or the potato. In this case the familiar lines of Wordsworth might well be parodied and applied to him:—

“The starch within the crusty rim  
Is but a grain of starch to him,  
And it is nothing more.”

But to the microscopist it is something more; to him each grain of starch has a well-defined individuality of its own, bearing upon it the legible impress of its history, and announcing in no dubious terms, by its size, shape, and superficial tracings, the particular source whence it was derived. Through the microscope we may be said to become acquainted with the trade-marks of Dame Nature herself; and the forging of them is a feat which defies the cunning of the most crafty adulterator. When these are once learned, the puny efforts of human fraud are rendered powerless to deceive. We may with certainty distinguish tea by the microscopic venation of its leaves; coffee and chicory by their cells and spiral vessels; cocoa and potato, or sago starch, by the granular state of the one cell, and the concentric markings of the others; spices by their woody fibre and cellular structure; the acorn by its stellate granules; and even minerals by their special crystalline forms. Nor are they merely transient images which are thus revealed to us; by means of the *camera lucida* they may be projected on paper while they are still under examination, so that engravings of them may be obtained second only to photographs in accuracy and fidelity. The work on “Food and its Adulterations” is adorned with many illustrations procured in this way, and armed with them and a small microscope it is possible for any who are so inclined to assure themselves of the purity or impurity of most of the articles of their ordinary consumption. As Dr. Hassall remarks:—

“All that is required for this purpose is a knowledge of the structures by which the different substances are characterized. Thus, the structure of coffee is very different from that of chicory, of wheat-flour from that of oats, and so on. It was by means of the microscope that I succeeded the other day in detecting in a sample of a vegetable powder, termed pheasant powder, used to feed pheasants, sent to me by Dr. Rawson, of Lichfield, no less than eleven distinct vegetable substances—as linseed, aniseed, cayenne, black and white mustard, wheat-flour, the seed of a cytusus, and at least four other substances. Now this could never have been effected by chemistry; the most accomplished chemist would hardly have succeeded in detecting more than one of these substances, and hence the great value of the microscope as a means of discovering adulteration. Until recently the power of the microscope in this particular application was nearly unknown. So recently as 1850, the then Chancellor of the Exchequer was enabled to quote in the House of Commons the opinions of three of the most distinguished chemists of the day, who had been employed by the Government specially to report upon the subject, ‘that neither by chemistry nor by any other means was the admixture of chicory with coffee to be detected.’ At the very time this statement was made, I had shown that the detection of this and other similar admixtures was most easy and certain. Until the microscope was brought to bear upon the subject however, no means existed whereby the great majority of adulterations could be discovered; and the parties practising them little dreamt that an instrument existed capable of bringing to light even these secret and guilty proceedings. Adulteration was then practised in security and with comparative immunity; now this feeling of security has been destroyed, and the adulterator knows that at any time he is liable to discovery. Up to the period of the general application of the microscope to the discovery of adulteration, the officers of the Excise were driven for the most part to seek for evidence of adulteration by forcible entry and the seizure of articles upon the suspected premises. The objections to this method of proceeding are obvious; now in most cases the fact of adulteration can be proved without forcible entry by the simple purchase of the suspected article, and subsequent application to its analysis of the extended resources of science which exist in the present day.”\*

While the “Reports of the Analytical Sanitary Commission” were in course of publication, Mr. John Postgate, a surgeon at Birmingham, and Chemical Lecturer at Sydenham College, attended several cases of illness among his patients, which he had no difficulty in tracing to adulterated food which they had taken. This induced him in the year 1853 to write to the late Mr. Scholefield, M.P., of whom he was one of the constituents, urging upon him the propriety of prompt legislative action for the suppression of adulteration, and pointing out certain provisions which he considered might with advantage be embodied in a statute. Mr.

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\* “First Report from the Select Committee,” pp. 27, 28.

Scholefield coincided in the views expressed by Mr. Postgate, but, upon sounding the temper of the House of Commons, he became of opinion that it would be impracticable to pass any specific measure before a Parliamentary inquiry should have been made into the matter. He therefore moved for, and obtained, the nomination of a Select Committee, which, under his chairmanship, sat during the Sessions of 1855 and 1856, and reported three times to the House, their final report being presented in July of the latter year. In the process of their investigations they examined some sixty witnesses, who gave answers to near eight thousand questions, all of them tending more or less distinctly and directly to prove that the practice of adulteration was very prevalent, and most injurious in its effects upon the health, morality, and prosperity of the country. Upwards of thirty of the witnesses were physicians, surgeons, analytical chemists, and druggists, and the remainder were gentlemen occupying responsible positions in the fiscal and sanitary departments of Government, or persons acquainted with the manufacture and sale of the larger proportion of such commodities as are in most general use. Among those who appeared before the Committee, some of them on more than one occasion, were Dr. Hassall, Mr. Postgate, and Mr. Wakley, Mr. Simon, and Dr. Letheby, the late and present Medical Officers of Health in the City of London; Dr. Thompson, Professor of Chemistry at St. Thomas's Hospital; Dr. Carpenter, Professor of Medical Jurisprudence at University College; Mr. Redwood, Professor of Chemistry to the Pharmaceutical Society; Mr. Phillips, Chief Officer of the Chemical Department of the Board of Inland Revenue; Dr. Taylor, Professor of Medical Jurisprudence at Guy's Hospital; Mr. Quekett, Professor in the Royal College of Surgeons; Mr. Blyth, Lecturer on Natural Philosophy at St. Mary's Hospital; Mr. Simmonds, author of a work on the "Commercial Products of the Vegetable Kingdom," and Dr. Normandy, author of "The Commercial Handbook of Chemical Analysis." The Committee say—

"Though the witnesses differed both as to the extent to which adulteration is carried on and as to its nature and effects, your Committee cannot avoid the conclusion that adulteration widely prevails, though under circumstances of very various character. As regards foreign products some arrive in this country in an adulterated condition, while others are adulterated by the English dealer. Other commodities again, the produce of this country, are shown to be in an adulterated state when passing into the hands of the dealers, while others undergo adulteration by the dealers themselves. Not only is the public health thus exposed to danger, and pecuniary fraud committed on the whole community, but the public morality is tainted, and the high commercial

character of this country seriously lowered both at home and in the eyes of foreign countries. Though happily very many refuse, under every temptation, to falsify the quality of their wares, there are unfortunately large numbers who, though reluctantly practising deception, yield to the pernicious contagion of example, or to the hard pressure of competition forced upon them by their less scrupulous neighbours."

And then they proceed to give the following summary:—

"Without entering into voluminous details of the evidence taken, your Committee would enumerate the leading articles which have been proved to be more or less commonly adulterated. These are, arrowroot, adulterated with potato and other starches; bread, with potatoes, plaster of Paris, alum, and sulphate of copper; bottled fruits and vegetables, with certain salts of copper; coffee, with chicory, roasted wheat, beans, and mangel wurzel; chicory, with roasted wheat, carrots, sawdust, and Venetian red; cocoa, with arrowroot, potato flour, sugar, chicory, and some ferruginous red earth; cayenne, with ground rice, mustard husk, &c., coloured with red lead; lard, with potato flour, mutton suet, carbonate of soda, and caustic lime; mustard, with wheat flour and turmeric; marmalade, with apples and turnips; porter and stout (though sent out in a pure state from the brewers), with water, sugar, treacle, salt, alum, cocculus indicus, grains of paradise, nux vomica, and sulphuric acid; pickles and preserves, with salts of copper; snuff, with various chromates, red lead, lime and powdered glass; tobacco, with water, sugar, rhubarb, and treacle; vinegar, with water, sugar, and sulphuric acid; jalap, with powdered wood; opium, with poppy capsules, wheat flour, powdered wood, and sand; scammony, with wheat flour, chalk, resin, and sand; confectionery, with plaster of Paris and other similar ingredients, coloured with various pigments of a highly poisonous nature; and acid drops, purporting to be compounded of Jargonelle pear, Ribston pippin, lemon, &c., with essential oils, containing prussic acid or other dangerous ingredients."\*

The Committee could not do otherwise than report in favour of legislation. At that time the law afforded redress to the public in certain cases of adulteration; when the character of the injury was personal, by civil action; when it was general, by criminal indictment; and, in some other cases, by summary charge before a magistrate, or by proceedings instituted at the instance of the Board of Inland Revenue. Of these processes, the two first were both at once too troublesome and too expensive to be at all generally adopted, and the two last were available only with respect to a few articles named in particular Acts of Parliament, or subjected to official supervision for purposes of taxation. The Committee, therefore, recommended that a change should be made in the law, with the object of placing within the reach of every one a cheap and expeditious legal remedy. They especi-

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\* "Third Report," pp. iii. iv.

ally called attention to the Bread Act (6 & 7 Will. IV. c. 37) the provisions of which they set forth in some detail, "because," say they, "it seems to comprise much that may be useful in framing a measure applicable to adulteration generally." As exemplifying the practical operation of this statute, we may refer to the evidence of Dr. Normandy. He says that—

"The adulterations of bread and flour are very much the same, and they consist principally in the introduction of alum. Alum seems to be almost the exclusive adulteration of bread and flour; the introduction of alum is sometimes considerable. I have actually seen in bread alum which has been so badly and carelessly mixed as to be found in crystals of the size of a large pea. In the bread of a baker in the Church Road I found alum actually in the state of large crystals of alum. I went to him and showed him his bread, and he said, 'I cannot help it.' I said, 'Are you not afraid of being prosecuted?' and he used a very offensive expression about my eyes, and I, of course, at once left his shop. The object of using alum in bread is this: it has the curious property of imparting to bread made of flour of second or third rate quality a whiteness which otherwise you could not obtain except in bread of the first quality; besides this, and it is much more important to the baker, it enables him to force into his bread a larger quantity of water than he could otherwise do; the alum imparts to the bread the property of retaining that water after it is taken from the oven. I find that the amount of alum varies from 500 grains, which I had found in the case of which I was speaking, to 250 grains in the 4lb. loaf of bread, frequently 25 to 30 grains in the 1lb., and more frequently still smaller quantities than that; these, except the last, are rather extreme cases, and generally it does not amount to more than two or three grains per 1000 grains. *I may say that so far as I know there is not a single baker in London who makes bread without alum.* I once thought I had found that phoenix of a baker, one who did not use alum. He was an old gentleman who, however, died lately, and, as I went to reside in the neighbourhood about four years ago, I re-examined the bread sold at the same shop and I found alum in it; I thought it was due to him to inform him that his bread, which I had formerly analysed and in which I had not found alum, now contained it, and his answer was, 'If Dr. Normandy does not like my bread, why does he purchase it?'"\*

Under the Bread Act, all bakers mixing with bread any ingredients not the genuine produce of the corn or grain of which it professes to be made (except salt, water, milk, yeast, &c., are liable for each offence to penalties ranging from 5*l.* to 20*l.*; or in default to imprisonment, with or without hard labour, for a term not exceeding six months; and if the court before which they are convicted shall think fit, to have their convictions published by means of advertisements. But it is no

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\* "First Report," p. 54.

one's business to put this Act in force, or rather it is every one's business to do so, which comes practically to the same thing. The bakers themselves know this full well, and hence the insolent security with which they perpetrate their iniquities. We are at a loss to discover why this statute should have excited the admiration of the Committee, since it is notorious that no article is more largely and generally adulterated, than that of which it is intended to secure the purity.

In conformity with the recommendations of the Committee, a Bill was prepared, and brought into the House of Commons by Mr. Scholefield in 1857. It met, however, with so much opposition that it was withdrawn before even it had been read a second time. After this no further step was taken until the Session of 1859. Mr. Scholefield then introduced another Bill, which after having been referred to a Committee, amended, and reprinted, shared the fate of its predecessor. But in the ensuing Session it was brought in again, in its improved form, when it passed the House of Commons and was sent up to the Lords. In the House of Lords, it was once more referred to a Committee, amended and reprinted, and sent back to the Commons, and ultimately it became law as the 23 & 24 Vict. c. 84. There is no doubt that all this delay tended greatly to aggravate the mischief which the Act was designed to arrest. The evidence collected by the Committee three years before, proved in the interval quite a mine of useful information to adulterators, whose fraudulent resources had hitherto been unequal to their wishes. They derived from it hints similar in their number and variety, to those which are conveyed to curious housewives, in such ingenious publications, as "Dainty Dishes," or "How to Cook Apples in One Hundred Different Ways." This consequence had been foreseen by Mr. Wakley.

"I believe," he said to the Committee, "that if you (if I may be pardoned for saying so), were to close your inquiry and no legislation should follow, the evil would be increased to a magnitude which would be absolutely frightful, because you will show to every dishonest tradesman, without imposing any check, the tricks that can be resorted to in order to make a profit by deceiving his customers. I can assure the Committee that out of doors, as coroner, I am in the habit of seeing an immense number of tradesmen, and that the result of the Committee's labours is looked forward to with great anxiety."\*

Nor did the prolonged gestation of the British Legislature terminate in the production of an offspring at all worthy the time and trouble which had been expended in forming it and bringing it forth. The new Act was speedily seen to be almost

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\* "Third Report," p. 149.

totally useless, and further experience has only made its uselessness the more abundantly apparent. The means which it establishes for the detection of adulteration, and the punishments it denounces against those who are guilty of it, are quite inadequate both for its discovery and prevention. It leaves the appointment of analysts wholly to the discretion of Courts of Quarter Sessions, Town Councils, Vestries, District Boards, &c., and the severest penalty which can be inflicted under it, is a fine of 5*l.* and the costs of proceedings, and for repeated offences the publication of them at the offender's expense, in a newspaper or in any other manner the magistrates may please. Without needlessly multiplying witnesses to its general weakness, we may refer to the recently published opinions of Mr. Postgate and Dr. Letheby, who were personally connected with working it, the former in Birmingham and the latter in London. Mr. Postgate, writing in the earlier part of 1868, says, that immediately the Act came into operation—

“No time was lost in leaving a copy of it with the Mayor (who agreed to bring the subject before the Town Council), and calling his attention to the evidence given before the Parliamentary inquiry into the cases of injurious and poisonous adulteration which had occurred in the neighbourhood, mentioning also the result\* of the public testing of commodities in daily use by me at the Town Hall meeting. Mr. Lloyd soon brought the matter before the Corporation, and the appointment of a public analyser made the fact known to the public. No further action has, however, been taken by the Corporation. Analysts were also appointed for the city of London, the Metropolitan Districts, for Dublin, Sheffield, and other places. It was thought, and soon said, the existence of those officials would deter persons from practising adulterations, though the prosecutions were few in number and penalties inflicted extremely small. Knowing the Act had produced little effect in this direction, I recommended that local authorities should initiate the proceedings before the magistrates, by directing the inspector of nuisances, or meat, or markets, to purchase articles of food or drink, and submit them to the analyst. Other proposals, whereby the Act could be made, I thought, more efficient, were also proposed by me, but the Act did not give the power; and voluntary action, even in a matter like this, corporations are indisposed to take. At a meeting which followed shortly after, I entered fully into the details of the question, and the following resolution was put—‘That it is the opinion of this meeting the Corporation should appoint inspectors to procure samples of food and drugs to submit to the analyst appointed by the borough, and to initiate proceedings before the magistrates.’ No action, however, was taken on the reso-

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\* Namely, that *two-thirds* of various articles of food and drugs procured at haphazard from tradesmen in Birmingham, were discovered by Mr. Postgate to be “largely adulterated.”

lution by the Town Council; and beyond the exposure of the adulterations which I detected in the articles of food and drugs tested, nothing resulted from the meeting. The fact is, the Act is permissive; and until it is made compulsory, and further powers are given to local authorities, no steps will be taken by them in the matter. Similar meetings have been held in other places, with the like results.”\*

Dr. Letheby, whose official position affords him every opportunity for arriving at a correct conclusion, says, in referring to adulterations of food in one of the “Cantor Lectures,” delivered before the Society of Arts, in the month of February last:—

“Parliament has attempted to deal with the matter by legislation, as in the Act for Preventing the Adulteration of Articles of Food or Drink of 1860, the 23 & 24 Vict. c. 84; but as the Act is only permissive, little or no effect has been given to it. Even in those places, as in the City of London, where it has been put into operation, and public analysts have been appointed, no good has resulted from it; *in fact, it stands upon the Statute Book as a dead letter.* Speaking for the City of London, I may say that every inducement has been offered for the effective working of the Act, but nothing has come of it.”†

By section 14, “Medical drugs, or articles usually taken or sold as medicines,” are excluded from the operation of the Act, and this in utter disregard of the weight of evidence given before the Parliamentary Committee in 1855 and 1856, to the effect that such articles were very extensively, and even alarmingly adulterated. There was hardly one of the physicians or surgeons examined who did not loudly complain of this nefarious practice; and the Report from the Committee themselves contains the remark, that—

“When it is borne in mind that the correctness of a medical prescription rests on an assumed standard of strength and purity in the drugs and compounds employed, and how frequently life itself depends upon the efficacy of the medicines prescribed, *it is difficult to exaggerate the evils arising from this prevalent fraud.*”‡

As long ago as 1863, Mr. Postgate, impressed by the obvious deficiencies of the Act of 1860, drew up a Bill for its amendment, “and to prevent the adulteration of drugs.” Mr. Scholefield consented to introduce it into the House of Commons; but from one cause or another its introduction was delayed until, in 1867, Mr. Scholefield died. He was succeeded in the representation of Birmingham by Mr. Dixon, and to him the care of Mr.

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\* On the “Adulteration of Food, Drink, and Drugs, and its Remedy.” By John Postgate, F.R.C.S., in the “Public Health,” May, 1868.

† “Journal of the Society of Arts,” vol. xvi. p. 769.

‡ “Third Report,” p. iv.



Postgate's Bill was committed. It was at last brought into the House in the course of the Session of 1868 ; but it fell to the ground, after having been read a second time, amidst the pressure of more exciting business. In the Reformed Parliament, since the present constituencies do not comprise so large a proportion of voters interested in obstructing measures for the prevention of adulteration, when the question is raised again there will be a fairer prospect of its receiving a satisfactory solution than has hitherto been the case. It is probable that Mr. Postgate's Bill will be introduced into the House next Session ; and it is to be hoped that it will then pass into a statute. The following are its leading provisions : it applies equally to articles used as food or drugs ; it makes the act of adulterating, or of procuring the adulteration of them, an offence punishable, upon a first conviction, by a fine of not more than 50*l.*, and costs, and, upon any further conviction, by imprisonment as for a misdemeanour for six calendar months with hard labour ; it augments the penalty for selling with a guilty knowledge any adulterated article used as food or drugs, from a *maximum* of 5*l.*, to a *maximum* of 20*l.*, with costs, upon a first conviction, and, upon any further conviction, that besides the infliction of a fine, notice of the same shall be published by order of the court before which such conviction shall have been had ; it renders the appointment of public analysts, by the local authorities in counties, districts, cities, and boroughs, compulsory instead of optional ; it directs the nomination of Commissioners by the Home Secretary in Great Britain, and by the Lord Lieutenant in Ireland, to confer with and assist the local authorities in carrying out and enforcing the provisions of the Act ; it orders that the inspectors of weights and measures, of nuisances, and of markets, shall, such of them as are selected for the duty by the local authorities, from time to time collect samples of food and drugs suspected to be adulterated, and submit them for examination to the public analysts, and if they shall prove to be adulterated, shall institute proceedings against the parties who shall have exposed them for sale ; it provides for the making of quarterly reports by the public analysts of the analyses performed by them, and the nature and kind of the adulterations which they shall have detected ; it reduces the fees to be paid to the inspectors before named, by private persons requiring samples of food or drugs to be examined by the public analysts to one shilling, and not more than five shillings for each analysis, and it settles the mode of procedure before the magistrates, of appeal to Quarter Sessions, of having a case stated for the opinion of one of the Superior Courts, of defraying the expenses of executing the Act, and of applying the funds arising

from the penalties which may be inflicted under it. On the whole this Bill appears to us to be calculated to reach the end which it is designed to attain, effectually, simply, and cheaply. While it avoids on the one hand the excessive severity of some of the old special acts, notably those against the adulteration of beer, 56 Geo. III., c. 58, *et seq.*, and of tobacco, 5 & 6 Vict., c. 93, which deters the public in great measure from taking any proceedings in virtue of them; it avoids on the other the no less extreme leniency of the new general Act, 23 & 24 Vict., c. 84, which in truth supplies no adequate motive to the dishonest tradesman to refrain from the practice of even a very moderately remunerative fraud. It draws, we think, a proper distinction between the offences of actually adulterating any food with "injurious or poisonous ingredients," any drug with foreign materials of whatever description, and merely selling them, knowing them to be adulterated. The ringleaders in adulteration are the manufacturers, who have hitherto been afforded every facility to escape punishment, the retail dealers being frequently as much victimized as their customers, and so by levelling the heaviest of its ordnance against the former, this Bill threatens the stronghold of the enemy instead of wasting the main force of its artillery on the outworks only of the hostile position. The additional sum which the working of the Act would charge upon taxation, either national or local, is quite insignificant, for it would make use almost entirely of the existing official staff. Its operation also would be under the superintendence of authorities already constituted in the various rural and urban divisions of the country, and thus it could not give rise to the jealousies which might otherwise be excited to impede the efficiency of its action. Added to which it seems, as far as its intrinsic nature will allow, to steer clear of the evil of invoking an unnecessary amount of governmental interference with the free conduct of trade. In some or all of these particulars it has the advantage over such other plans for the prevention of adulteration as we have met with. The more important of these have been suggested by Dr. Hassall in his work on "Food, and its Adulterations," and by the late Mr. Wakley, and Mr. Wallington (a solicitor and Chairman of the Local Board of Health, at Leamington), to the Select Committee of 1855. Dr. Hassall proposes that a Central Board of scientific analysts should be established in London, whose permanent duty it should be to collect and examine samples of all kinds of food and drugs, and publish periodical reports of the condition they shall have been found to be in. That inspectors should be settled in all the larger seaport and inland towns; that in the seaports they should

be empowered to prohibit both the exportation and importation of adulterated commodities, and that everywhere they should be employed to obtain samples of food and drugs on sale, and should forward them for examination to the Central Board. That adulteration, when brought home to the person actually guilty of it, should be punished by fine and imprisonment, but that the seller only of adulterated goods should be simply fined. That in all cases the names and addresses of the tradesmen whose goods shall have been examined should be advertised, and that the public should be invited to send to the Central Board for analysis, any articles in their possession the purity of which they may have reason to doubt. Mr. Wakley suggested that the Board of Health should nominate a Committee of examiners, under whose control a number of emissaries should be despatched to purchase at random, in every part of the country, samples of food and drugs from the various dealers in them, whether wholesale or retail. That these samples should be examined by the Committee, and that the analyses of them, with the names and addresses of the vendors, should be posted up in the most public situations in the localities where they resided, as, on the doors of parish churches, chapels, town halls, vestries, and police stations; if the goods should be genuine, as an encouragement to virtue, and if they should be adulterated, as a warning to vice. That these emissaries should be entitled to enter at any hour between sunrise and sunset, every place where they shall suspect adulterations to be carried on, and that the offences of adulterating commodities, and selling them when adulterated, should both be punished with small fines, to be followed up, only after repeated convictions, by imprisonment. This we need hardly say, would be just the "Analytical Sanitary Commission" over again, with the State as principal instead of Mr. Wakley. Mr. Wallington recommended that under the sanction of an Act of Parliament, a Treasury Minute should be issued stating what articles should not be dealt in, whether pure or mixed with others, and that any person accused thereafter of dealing in them should have interrogatories filed against him which he should be compelled to answer on oath, either admitting or denying the accusation. That these interrogatories should be succeeded by an inspection of his books and premises, and the examination of witnesses; and that if the charge should be acknowledged or proved, he should be committed to custody until he had given satisfaction to the Court against a repetition of the offence.

The primary objection to the schemes propounded by Dr. Hassall and Mr. Wakley, is that the machinery required to

carry them into execution would certainly be costly, and would more than probably prove inefficient. The scientific and detective department of the Board of Inland Revenue is an institution, on a somewhat smaller scale, similar to that which they would establish. The Laboratory of the Board has been in existence for more than a quarter of a century, and an average of upwards of 10,000 analyses have been annually made in it. In the service of the department there are retained between four and five thousand officials, analysts, and inspectors, of different ranks and grades. Yet the estimated yearly loss to the Excise, arising from the adulteration of taxed articles of commerce, which so much labour is expended to prevent, exceeds 3,000,000*l.* This experiment is quite sufficient to shake our faith in Central Scientific Boards or Committees, branching out into elaborate local detective ramifications. Another objection may be taken to the proposition common to both schemes, that the names and addresses of those tradesmen whose goods shall have been examined, whether they have been found to be genuine or adulterated, should be published, with a notice of the ascertained qualities of such goods. Unless all the articles of the same sort in the possession of the whole of the dealers within any given area could be reported upon at the same time, the publication in question would be manifestly unfair. If the goods of a few dealers only were examined, and the result were advertised, whatever that result might be, an injustice would be committed. If the goods were adulterated, they would, for no valid reason, be made to suffer alone for an offence of which their neighbours were most likely as guilty as they were; and if the goods were genuine an undue accession of custom would be secured to them at the expense of others, who were very probably equally honest as themselves. The rejection of Mr. Wallington's plan may be rested on the consideration that it would compel an offender to criminate or perjure himself; the offer of an alternative which is irreconcilable with the principles of our law, and repugnant to the dictates of common justice and common sense. The views developed by this gentleman before the Select Committee on the subject of adulteration generally, are, to say the least of them, so singular that we cannot abstain from citing a portion of his evidence. After saying that the substitution of one article for another is "the very incentive to competition," the following questions and answers were put to, and made by him:—

"Q. Do you mean that the substituted article is to be sold under the name of the original article? A. Yes, decidedly, unless you would destroy the main ground of public competition. Q. Does your opinion go to this extent: that supposing a man having purchased a pound

of coffee, goes into another shop, asking for the same article, and gets 75 per cent. of chicory, that is one of the innocent adulterations of which you speak, as being the result of competition? *A.* Certainly; and for this reason, there is no standard of value of any article; there is nothing to represent the fact, that any article shall be sold for a certain price. *Q.* Is there not an understanding between the public and a seller that the seller shall give to you what you ask for? *A.* I think not; neither do I think it beneficial that it should be so. The same machinery which fixes the price of the one article fixes the price of the other, and you cannot draw a distinction, nor show any reason why competition should not regulate the price of a mixture of coffee and chicory, just as it does the price of coffee alone, or any other article. *Q.* A man purchases a pound of coffee for 1s., he goes to the next shop and purchases a pound of what purports to be coffee, but which is adulterated with 75 per cent. of chicory, and he pays 1s. for it; do you think there is any injustice in this? *A.* I believe it should be left to regulate itself. If A adulterates with 75 per cent of chicory, there is no reason why B should not adulterate with the same extent of chicory; and therefore they would be perfectly in competition with each other. If the article were sold at an improper price, it would regulate itself, and that is the only means by which it can do so; otherwise you would take from coffee every substance which has operated to bring down its price. You would leave the article of coffee almost a monopoly, and it might have the effect of taking chicory—which is certainly admitted to be liked by many people—out of the market altogether; for I suppose chicory could not be sold alone. *Q.* I need not ask you if you are opposed to the Treasury Minute with respect to chicory? *A.* I think that the Treasury Minute is very good; I think it works beneficially. *Q.* I understand you to say, that though your argument relates to coffee and chicory, you do not limit it to those articles? *A.* No, it applies to every article.”\*

The Treasury Minute here referred to was dated 25th February, 1853, and rescinding a former one, dated 27th July, 1852, permits dealers

“to keep and sell chicory prepared and mixed with coffee, provided the packages in which such mixture is delivered to purchasers have printed distinctly thereon, according to directions which will be given by the Board of Inland Revenue, the whole of the following words:— ‘Mixture of Coffee and Chicory.’”

Mr. Wallington’s theory of competition is fairly illustrated in the story of the two broom hawkers. One stole all the materials of which his brooms were made, and yet found himself undersold by the other; the mystery, however, was at last cleared up for him when his rival confidentially confessed that he stole his brooms ready made. It is obvious that the reasoning Mr.

Wallington employs, would, if valid, justify among other things the passing of bad money. If it be no moral offence to exchange a pound of counterfeit coffee for a good shilling, how can it be a moral offence to exchange a counterfeit shilling for a pound of good coffee? The essential element in both cases is the fraudulent imitation, and from an ethical point of view it can make no difference whether the substance imitated be mineral, vegetable, or we may add, with special reference to Mr. Wallington, animal. He is possessed it seems of a share in a patent for the preparation of *gelatine* for sale as "Refined Isinglass." His faith and his works are therefore agreeable to each other, except in so far as the former relates to the advantages of competition, of which he has deprived himself by means of a legal monopoly.\*

Mr. Wallington is by no means the only manufacturer of spurious products protected by a patent. We need not mention the innumerable quack medicines, by the duties on which our Government is not ashamed to raise a revenue; but we may notice that a patent was in existence not many years ago for the preparation of "British Tea," a mixture of the leaves of the sloe, elm, apple, rose, willow, poplar, &c., which was largely sold to tea dealers as an adulterant, and that even now a patent is enjoyed for the moulding of chicory root into the form of coffee berries. Mr. Burton, a witness examined by the Select Committee in 1855, who had seen the patent in the Enrolment Office, said—

"Messrs. Duckworth of Liverpool, it appears, took out a patent for certain improvements in the manufacture of chicory, and for compressing chicory into the form of berries or any other arbitrary forms. I had occasion about the year 1851, to take a sample of those berries, and when mixed with coffee, although to any one well acquainted with the nature of roasted coffee, the difference might be observable, to the general public I do not think it would. They were in the form of coffee berries. I never saw them in any other form; whether they were compressed into other forms I am not aware."†

These facts speak for themselves. We may hear some day that patents have been granted for loading dice or forging five-pound notes.

In France, Belgium, Holland, Prussia, Austria, Sweden, Denmark, Spain—we may say in every continental nation, measures more or less stringent are in force for the suppression

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\* "Second Report," pp. 76—85. Dr. Letheby in the "Cantor Lecture," from which we have already quoted, says:—"Gelatine never agrees with the delicate stomach of an invalid like isinglass, and therefore it is important to discover the difference." The substitution of the former for the latter is a peculiarly cruel and reprehensible fraud.

† "Second Report," p. 49.

of adulteration, and as far as we can learn, they are very successful in suppressing it. The law of France may be taken as the type of all of them. It applies, first, to any person who shall adulterate alimentary or medicinal substances intended for sale; and secondly, to any one who shall sell or expose for sale such substances, knowing them to be adulterated. If the adulteration be effected with materials which are injurious to health, a fine is imposed ranging from 50 to 500 francs, with a term of imprisonment varying from three months to two years. A fine of from 16 to 25 francs, and an imprisonment of from six to ten days, or either of these penalties separately, is inflicted upon those who, "without legitimate cause," shall have in their warehouses or shops any adulterated commodity, and if this is of such a nature as to be injurious to health, the fine may be increased to 50 francs, and the imprisonment to fifteen days. All these punishments may be doubled upon any further conviction within five years of the first. In every case the particulars of the offence are publicly announced by the authorities, by placards and advertisements. In Paris, the "Conseil de Salubrité," and similar bodies in the departments, composed of eminent physicians, chemists, and engineers, are appointed to watch over the sanitary interests of the community, and they superintend the scientific operations subsidiary to the carrying out of the police regulations. In the United States an Act of Congress was passed in 1848, to prevent the importation of adulterated and spurious drugs and medicines, which had been theretofore very extensively practised. By this Act, it is provided that all such articles, before passing the custom house, shall be examined and appraised, as well as to their quality and purity as to their value, and that those which are found to be adulterated and unsound shall not be permitted to enter the country. All foreign medicinal preparations must have the name of the manufacturers of them affixed to each parcel, and the owner or consignee may have them re-examined in the event of his being dissatisfied with the examination already made. An extension of this system to articles of food, and its adoption in this country, appears to us to be very desirable. As an example of the necessity for it, we may take the notorious importation in large quantities, of what the Chinese call "Lie Tea," that is, fictitious tea. Of the trade in "Lie Tea," Mr. Warrington, the Chemical Operator to the Apothecaries Company, gave the following account to the Select Committee:—

"The lie teas," said he, "are glazed; they contain very little tea indeed. Q. What are lie teas? A. They contain about 50 per cent. of earthy matter. Q. Have they anything to do with the tea-plant at all? A. Nothing; those are sold by the Chinese to the English.

merchants. *Q.* Is this tea imported into this country as lie tea? *A.* By the merchant it is, not beyond the merchant. These samples were put into my hand for examination by a merchant in London, in order to stop the introduction of those teas here. He sent back a report of the examination to Canton, and had it published in the papers there. *Q.* Is it known to be lie tea by secret marks, or by any public marks? *A.* It is known in the trade very well as lie tea. The brokers know them as lie teas. *Q.* Is a great deal of it imported? *A.* There was an immense quantity imported, and they endeavoured to import it as manufactured goods, so as not to pay the tea duties; but the Customs would not allow that. They said, 'What do you mean to do with it after it has passed?' *Q.* Is there any such thing as lie gunpowder? *A.* Yes. *Q.* What does that consist of? *A.* I think it contains 37 or 40 per cent. of earthy matter. *Q.* What is the earthy matter? *A.* Merely inorganic matter in the tea, which will not burn away; so that by taking 100 grains of tea and calcining it in an open vessel, you obtain 40 or 50 grains of matter unburnt. *Q.* There is no virtue in that, is there? *A.* None at all. *Q.* What is the rest of the lie tea? *A.* The rest consists of colouring matter, rice and tea dust, the sweepings of the floors on which the tea has been cured."\*

In a speech recently delivered in the Chamber of Commerce, in Edinburgh, Mr. Bright (not as yet a Cabinet Minister) advised that the cry should be raised of "A Free Breakfast-table;" "that as the bread was no longer taxed, some effort should be made to untax the tea, the coffee, and the sugar." Another cry, which might be raised with almost equal advantage by the other member for Birmingham, Mr. Dixon, is, "A Pure Breakfast-table," for the sums in which the British people, particularly the poorer sort, are mulcted by the State in duties on their tea, coffee, and sugar, are by no means equal to the sums of which they are robbed by the fraudulent adulteration of them by their fellow-citizens. There is, however, no doubt that the heavy taxes imposed upon these articles are incentives to their sophistication; and it may be reasonably anticipated that a reduction in the former would be accompanied by a diminution in the latter. The constituency of Birmingham will have further cause to congratulate itself upon the choice of representatives it has made, when their joint efforts shall succeed in obtaining for us "A Free and Pure Breakfast-table."

It may perhaps be thought that the sources whence we have been compelled to draw the greater part of our information are somewhat out of date. The work of Dr. Hassall was published in 1855, and besides refers to investigations prosecuted by him in the four previous years, and the Reports of the Select Com-

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\* "First Report," pp. 46, 47.



mittee were presented to the House of Commons in 1855 and 1856. It may be argued, that evidence of a state of things which existed fourteen or fifteen years ago can hardly be accepted as evidence of a state of things now existing. We have before us, however, a series of the annual Reports of the Commissioners of Inland Revenue addressed to the Lords of the Treasury, extending over the period 1858-1867, both years inclusive. To each of these there is added an appendix on the Laboratory of the Board, prepared by their Chief Chemical Officer, Mr. George Phillips. In none of these is there any indication of a decrease in the amount of the adulteration of the various articles which are under the supervision of that officer's department. In the last Report which has been published (that for the year ending March 31st, 1867,) Mr. Phillips says :

“ A duty which imposes considerable labour upon the laboratory is that of keeping pace with the ever increasing ingenuity of those traders who resort to the sophistication of their dutyable commodities, as a means of meeting the keen competition in trade, and who hope to escape detection by the use of new methods of adulteration. It occasionally happens that adulterants are employed which, from their fine state of comminution or from other causes, baffle identification, both by myself and by my most experienced assistants, for a considerable time. An instance of this kind, which occurred during the past year, may serve as an illustration. A quantity of leaves, not those of tobacco, were seized on the premises of a tobacco manufacturer in Dublin, a sample of which was sent to the laboratory for examination. The leaves were much decayed and broken up, and were submitted to close scrutiny by the microscope, without, however, the name of the plant to which they belonged being discovered. I then referred them to several experienced botanists ; but they, like myself and my assistants, could not tell what they were. Not unfrequently samples have to be analysed by my assistants, to which the attention of chemists had not previously been directed, and the special researches consequent thereupon constitute an important part of the work of my department, and require, often for a considerable time, the closest attention of my senior assistants.”\*

In the same Report we are told—

“ There is probably no article of general consumption on which a duty is levied, by means of which the purchasers are so imposed upon as by coffee when supplied in the ground state, the low priced descriptions lately examined in the laboratory having been found to consist almost entirely of chicory. The extensive sophistication of coffee with chicory appears to be due to a custom among coffee-dealers of continuing the sale of mixtures of chicory and coffee, at the price fixed

\* “Eleventh Report of the Commissioners of Her Majesty's Inland Revenue.” Appendix, p. xiv.

before the duty on chicory was increased ; and in order to realize the same amount of profit as formerly, a larger proportion of the cheaper commodity, chicory, is added. To neutralize the objectionable and earthy taste produced when chicory is extensively mixed with coffee, a practice has of late prevailed of adding to such low-priced mixtures caramel or burnt sugar, which, by its bitterness, serves to conceal the disagreeable flavour imparted by chicory.”\*

In the Report for 1866 Mr. Phillips says—

“ The use of duty-free methylated spirit in the arts and manufactures of this country has now become very extensive, and the purposes to which such spirit is applied are very various ; and perhaps no legislative act relating to revenue matters was ever more successful in its operation than the 18 & 19 Vict., c. 38. The benefits it has conferred on many of the trades and professions of the country, and the effective manner in which it has led to a great mitigation of the demoralizing practice of illicit distillation, have now become too obvious to require any further comment; but it is not quite unattended by evil, as some unscrupulous persons, who profess to be respectable, have long been seeking to obtain an illegal profit, under cover of the provisions of the Act, regardless as to what injury this wrong inflicts either on the revenue or the public health.”

And then he gives the ensuing details of the fraud in question.

“ Methylated spirit was, I believe, first sold as a beverage under the name of ‘ Indian brandee,’ a title which alone proves the real object of its sale. Next was introduced ‘ Medicated whiskey,’ ‘ Pure Islay Mountain,’ and others, the names of which were more suggestive of the gin palace than of the druggist’s shop. Their unequalled valuable qualities were widely made known through a profuse circulation of handbills, and by other means. Persons went about the country pressing small shopkeepers to become retailers of the spurious article, and I have no doubt that throughout the whole of these transactions there was a tacit understanding among all concerned that the liquid should be asked for and sold as medicine, although meant to be consumed as an ordinary stimulant. The spurious compounds, under whatever name they were sold, had no definite composition, the only substance which was constantly present, and which in combination with water formed nearly the whole bulk, being methylated spirit, or a derivation from such spirit. The ‘ Indian brandee’ was put forward as a specific for nearly every disease, and was said to be composed of the most costly and rare productions of India, which had by great skill been so combined and applied as to become a perfect boon to the human race. It is sad to think upon the unblushing audacity of such statements, made by persons who deem themselves honest, and who resent the application to them of the word impostor ;

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\* “ Eleventh Report of the Commissioners of Her Majesty’s Inland Revenue.” Appendix, p. xxi.

but it is far more so to think that there are large masses of the labouring classes in this country who firmly believe them. As a corollary to the above, it may not be amiss to state that each of the samples sold as 'Indian brandee,' analysed during the last year, was composed of either one or other of the following groups of substances : 1. Methylated spirit, partially purified by treatment with nitric acid and distillation, containing a trace of sweet spirit of nitre sweetened with brown sugar. 2. Methylated spirit slightly flavoured with rhubarb and sweetened with brown sugar. 3. Methylated spirit simply sweetened and coloured. 4. Methylated spirit, containing a small quantity of chloroform, and coloured. 5. Methylated spirit, with a small quantity of opium. 6. Methylated spirit, coloured, sweetened, and slightly flavoured with ginger. 7. Methylated spirit, flavoured with fenugreek and coloured. Several samples of 'whiskee' were analysed, and with the exception of not being coloured, found to be identical with the first group of ingredients given above. Two samples of 'Indian tincture' were also examined; one was composed of methylated spirit, containing a trace of sweet spirit of nitre, and much sweetened with treacle; the other was nothing more than methylated spirit similarly sweetened."\*

In his several reports Mr. Phillips does not attempt to give, even of the adulteration of the few articles to which his attention is officially confined, anything like a systematic and exhaustive notice. He mentions only the more remarkable cases which have come under his observation in each preceding twelvemonth, but what he says is quite sufficient to warrant the assumption that if an Analytical Commission or a Select Committee were now to be appointed, the results of their inquiries would not materially differ from those arrived at by the Commission employed by Mr. Wakley, or the Committee nominated by Mr. Scholefield.

It would be sheer waste of time to point out the numerous evils, physical and moral, that must necessarily be attendant upon the wide-spread practice of adulterating food and drugs which undoubtedly prevails in this country. We shall therefore close this paper by merely expressing the hope that among the many good things we are encouraged to expect in the new political era upon which we have entered, an efficient measure for the suppression of this abominable system of fraud, will be one by which a portion of our aspirations will be speedily realized.

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\* "Tenth Report of the Commissioners of Her Majesty's Inland Revenue." Appendix, pp. xvii. xviii.

## ART. VII.—MR. DARWIN'S THEORIES.

*The Variation of Animals and Plants under Domestication.*

By CHARLES DARWIN, M.A., F.R.S., &c. Two volumes 8vo.  
London: John Murray. 1868.

IT is now some eight years since the publication of Mr. Darwin's great work on the "Origin of Species," and most of our readers will bear in mind the storm of abuse which lighted upon the head of its unfortunate author, whose name, indeed, has ever since been a byword of reproach among the upholders of orthodoxy both in science and religion. Nevertheless, notwithstanding all the obloquy which has been heaped upon him, Mr. Darwin's theory, or at all events views very similar to those put forward by him in his celebrated work, must be admitted to have made much progress in the minds of thinking men. Among the leading botanists and zoologists in this country, many of the very first are firm Darwinians, and on the continent, especially in Germany, the acceptance of the Darwinian theory is very general among zoologists. In the case of German authors indeed, it is curious to see how they are inclined to out-Darwin Darwin himself, by carrying out his results to consequences which he did not venture to enter upon in detail; and it would rather astonish some of those orthodox folks in our religious world, who look upon our author as a near relative of Antichrist, to find that in free-spoken Germany he is regarded as having been prevented by some lingering remnants of the prejudices of his English education, from writing upon certain questions which he regards as beyond the sphere of investigation. How far this may be true is a question which we shall not attempt to settle; so much is certain, however, that there is abundant evidence in his writings that he approaches these subjects in no irreverent frame of mind, whilst he most decidedly shows far more of the true Christian spirit in his treatment of his opponents, than they have ever done in their not over gentle handling of him.

But apart from the hard measure which the Darwinian theory has received from those who felt themselves bound to oppose it on supposed religious or theological grounds, its treatment by the champions of the old school of orthodox naturalists, from a so-called scientific point of view, has hardly been fair. Some of these writers have treated Mr. Darwin's opinions in a sneering tone, looking calmly down from the height of their own superiority, or remarking that Mr. Darwin is indeed an excellent zoologist, that his "Voyage of the *Beagle*" is a most interesting

work, his memoir on Coral-reefs an exceedingly important contribution to science, and his "Monograph of the Cirripedia" a perfect model of what a monograph ought to be, but that really this notion of his about the origin of species is merely a crotchet, and, (if they wish to be good natured at the end), they express their sorrow at seeing so eminent a man misled into supporting such views.

Others maintain that Darwin is merely Lamarck *redivivus*, but although there is at the first glance some show of truth in this statement, it will be found on investigation that the agreement between Lamarck and Darwin is almost limited to their holding in common the opinion that species were not independently created, but produced by evolution from pre-existing organisms. The means by which this result is supposed to have been brought about are quite different in the two theories, and whilst Darwin has the advantage in the precision and rationality of the processes which he endeavours to demonstrate as having taken place, Lamarck on the other hand places his theory on a higher standpoint than that occupied by Mr. Darwin in his first essay, by the recognition of a general law governing the whole of the changes assumed by him, a deficiency in his theory which is supplied by Mr. Darwin in the work now under consideration, by his hypothesis of "Pangensis," to which we shall have to advert hereafter.

Another objection to Darwinism, and one which presses with great force on the minds of those who are not students of natural history, is embodied in the question,—where are the transitional forms? If these continual changes have been going on since the first appearance of life upon the earth, some traces of them ought to be preserved in the fossil remains of animals and plants with which the strata forming the crust of our globe abound. Palæontology, we are confidently told, furnishes no evidence of anything of the kind, and as a general rule we cannot hope to witness the production of a new species from one now existing. But as regards the palæontological evidence, it seems to the present writer to prove very little one way or the other; independently of the imperfection of the Geological Record to which Mr. Darwin himself calls attention, our knowledge of fossil organisms is still to a great extent very vague and imperfect, the determination of a vast number of so-called species is in the highest degree conventional and empirical, and finally, any one who will take up some well-worked group of fossils, such as the British Terebratulæ for example, with Mr. Davidson's Monograph, or even the Monograph alone, will speedily be convinced that no sweeping assertion as to the absence of transitional forms can be founded upon it.

Even among existing animals, moreover, we have some indications of the direction in which to look for evidence of recent changes. Mr. Wollaston in his most valuable researches upon the Beetles of the Atlantic islands (the Madeiras, Canaries, and Cape Verdes), which must be regarded as the remaining summits of a vast submerged continent, found abundant evidence of a community of fauna throughout these groups; but among the forms to which he felt himself obliged to accord specific rank, there are many (generally confined to one or a few of the islands) which differ so slightly from other known species, that he marks them as possibly derivative, and remarks that if they were inhabitants of a continuous region some hesitation would be experienced in regarding them as distinct species. In his last work on the Coleoptera of the Cape Verde islands,\* Mr. Wollaston, although a strenuous supporter of the theory of independent creation of species, finds himself compelled to admit for these insects that it is difficult to conceive of the separate creation of organisms differing so slightly and limited so frequently to a single small spot of earth in the midst of the ocean. We have in these islands the conditions most favourable on the Darwinian hypothesis to the formation of new species—the breaking up of a widely extended fauna into small areas, and consequent segregation of the animal inhabitants, accompanied by a gradual change of conditions, and when in this very region we find a large series of doubtful specific forms, it is hard not to draw from this fact an inference favourable to the hypothesis which seemed to predict it.

The great majority of Mr. Darwin's opponents have given sufficient evidence that they had never taken the trouble thoroughly to understand his theory, but none perhaps more than those who have maintained that the argument from animals and plants under domestication was inadmissible. They seem to have forgotten, or not to have noticed, that Mr. Darwin's use of this argument, and of the term "Natural Selection," which has been a stumblingblock to many, was purely analogical; and from this point of view we do not see why either the term or the argument should be objected to. The selecting power for organisms in a state of nature is to be found in the struggle for the means of existence to which all creatures must be subject, and we can only reject the argument derived from the variation of animals and plants under domestication by assuming that domestication of itself introduces some new quality or property into the organism, rendering it plastic under changed conditions of life. In fact, we must logically assume either that the potentiality to vary to the extent attained by our most improved domestic

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\* "Coleoptera Hesperidum." London, 1867.

animals and plants existed in the wild progenitors of the species, or else that man has been able to act a creative part and to implant in the creatures which he has taken under his care a property altogether new and foreign to their original nature. But we know that animals and plants in a state of nature do vary under altered conditions of life. Local varieties and races are very common and well known to collectors, and their variations are the same in kind as those of domesticated species—the latter, in fact, merely presenting the phenomena in a condensed and intensified form, inasmuch as their conditions of existence have been more forcibly changed and subjected to the influence of an arbitrary selection. Thus it would be as unfair to deprive the student of the laws of variation of the data presented to him by domesticated organisms as to deny to the anatomist the use of his microscope, or to the astronomer that of his telescope.

In the work of which the title stands at the head of this article Mr. Darwin has in the first place greatly enlarged the data and arguments contained in the first chapter of his "Origin of Species," and afterwards discussed in great detail the general inferences to be drawn from the phenomena described. In approaching this great work for the purpose of giving some general idea of its contents, the writer must confess to a feeling of the greatest diffidence. The mass of most interesting and valuable material brought together is so great and so various that any attempt to analyse it is almost hopeless, whilst each fact is subsequently discussed so fully, and placed in so many different lights in connexion with the theory of selection, that the most conscientious efforts to trace out the general line of argument must almost inevitably leave many important points untouched.

In his description of the variation of animals and plants under domestication, Mr. Darwin brings together a vast mass of facts which cannot but be of the highest interest and value, even to those naturalists who do not believe in his theory of the origin of species. He traces the history of the domesticated breeds from the earliest periods, revealed to us by their remains preserved in the later geological deposits and in the lake-dwellings, turbaries, kitchen-middens, and other traces of pre-historic man, through the early documentary references to such matters, to the present time, giving, finally, such a full account of the existing breeds, especially of pigeons and fowls, as renders his work a perfect mine of information upon these subjects. To this portion we must advert very briefly,—it furnishes the evidence upon which the theoretical considerations of the subsequent portions are built up, and some of the most important facts described in it will have to be cited in our consideration of the latter.

As regards the origin of the domestic breeds of dogs little can

now be ascertained. At a very early historical period, we learn from Egyptian monuments that several breeds of domestic dogs were already in existence,—figures of dogs resembling greyhounds, hounds, mastiffs, turnspits, Pariah dogs, and some other forms, are found upon sculptures belonging to the period between the fourth and the twelfth dynasties, the most ancient form being a sort of rough greyhound, with long pointed ears, and a short curled tail, a breed closely resembling which is still employed as a boar-hound in North Africa. In the monuments of pre-historic periods, the kitchen-middens and lake-dwellings, traces of dogs are met with, and these seem to have been very uniform all over Europe. In the early Danish kitchen-middens, and in the older lake-deposits belonging to the Neolithic or later stone period, a small breed occurs, which was succeeded in the bronze period by a larger, but still accordant form, both in Denmark and Switzerland, and this again in Denmark gave place to a still larger dog in the Iron age. The existence of a single uniform and widely-spread race during the whole Neolithic period might seem at first sight to be in favour of the origin of our European breeds from one primary form, but, as Mr. Darwin very truly remarks, the subsequent change in the character of the domestic dogs of Europe may be due to the importation of new breeds by the conquering tribes of the Bronze and Iron periods. This opinion, and indeed the general notion of the multiple origin of the extraordinarily varied breeds of dogs, receives strong support from the close resemblance of the domesticated breeds kept by savage and semi-barbarous tribes to the wild species of *Canidæ* in their immediate vicinity, and from the ease with which these domestic dogs will interbreed with the wild species, and the permanent fertility of the crossed offspring. This is particularly remarkable in North America, where the difference between the domestic dogs and the wolves of the country is very small, and in the case of the Esquimaux dog almost *nil*. So also with the Hare Indian dog, which presents no marked difference from the prairie wolf (*Canis latrans*), and is doubtless derived directly from it. Nevertheless, these two aboriginally distinct dogs cross freely with each other, with the wild wolves, and with European dogs. With regard to the latter also, and to Indian dogs, Mr. Darwin brings forward abundant evidence to prove that some of the breeds at least present the same close resemblance to, and facility of interbreeding with, the surrounding wild species (wolves and jackals).

The argument against the derivation of domestic dogs from wolves and jackals, derived from supposed differences in the periods of gestation, is clearly shown by Mr. Darwin to be without foundation; indeed, we may say that the extant



data are rather favourable to the above mentioned view. This period in domestic dogs is by no means fixed, varying between fifty-nine and sixty-seven days, and it appears from the testimony of several observers that it is usually longer in large dogs than in small ones. The average period in the dog is sixty-three days, which is exceeded by large dogs, whilst smaller breeds vary between sixty and sixty-three days. Now the latter is likewise the case with the jackal, from which the smaller dogs are probably descended, whilst the wolf, according to F. Cuvier, has a period of two months and a few days, which would seem to correspond with the longer period of our larger dogs. The whole evidence goes far to prove the multiplicity of origin of domestic dogs, but at the same time the amount of variation under domestication has been exceedingly great. Upon this subject Mr. Darwin gives a multitude of details, to which, however, we cannot advert.

The domestication of the cat, like that of the dog, extends to an ancient period, as evidenced by the mummied remains and monumental figures of cats found in Egypt. The mummies, according to de Blainville, belong to three species, two of which are still met with, both wild and domesticated, in Egypt. The cats of different parts of the world seem, indeed, to be descended in general from several wild species, and the common cat of Europe is probably the result of an intermixture of two or more. In all parts of the world wild and tame cats breed freely together. And it is supposed by Mr. Blyth that the resemblance presented by our common English cats to the wild cat (*Felis sylvestris*), a resemblance which is not so strongly marked elsewhere, is due "to frequent intermixture at a time when the tame cat was first introduced into Britain and continued rare, while the wild species was far more abundant than at present."

The domestic pigs, which probably present one of the most remarkable instances of variation under domestication, have likewise been subjected to the influence of man from a very early period. The Swiss lake dwellings contain the remains of pigs, and indeed of two forms,—namely, a pig evidently descended from the European wild swine, and a variety or species which has been denominated the "Torfschwein," the *Sus scrofa palustris* of Rütimeyer. It is curious that this peculiar form, which appears to have been domesticated in various parts of Europe during the Neolithic period, presents in some respects an approach towards the characters of the *Sus indicus*, the parent species of the well-known Chinese and other Eastern Asiatic domestic pigs, and may indicate either that the latter species formerly extended its range over the whole breadth of the Asiatic continent, from China to Europe, or that a third

allied species, now extinct, existed in Europe during the period when the Swiss lake-dwellings were inhabited.

However this may be, there is no question that the Eastern and European domesticated swine belong to two distinct types of structure,—the one that of *Sus indicus*, the other agreeing closely in all important particulars with the common European wild swine (*Sus scrofa*), and yet the animals belonging to these two types are perfectly fertile when crossed. A remarkable form from Japan, described by Dr. Gray as a distinct species under the name of *Sus pliciceps*, has also been found to be perfectly fertile when crossed with the Berkshire breed.

One particularly interesting point in connexion with the pig is the change which takes place in that animal when it becomes feral. It is generally believed, and Mr. Darwin attributes this belief chiefly to observations made upon pigs, that domestic animals, when they run wild, revert completely to the character of the parent stock, but as our author remarks, this is not even here “grounded on sufficient evidence; for the two main types of *S. scrofa* and *indicus* have never been distinguished in a feral state.” The changes which occur are those which might be expected in such an animal returning to the habits of its original progenitors—namely, alterations in the general form of the body, and in the length of the limbs and muzzle. In general the colour approaches that of the European wild boar; but this is by no means always the case, and certain anomalous colours are supposed by Mr. Darwin to be produced by conditions of climate. The bristly covering which is so striking a peculiarity of the wild boar, but which is reduced to a very scanty coat in our improved domestic breeds, is reproduced in most feral races, but in different degrees, dependent apparently on climate; and the tusks of the male also resume their character of formidable weapons, in accordance with the rule recognised by Mr. Darwin, of a close correlation between the development of the hair and teeth. Another curious fact noticed here is that many of the feral pigs of Jamaica have the bristles of the end of the tail arranged in a double row, like the plumes of an arrow, a character which occurs in the Indian wild boar, but not in the European species, or in the domestic pigs of Europe, from which the feral pigs in question have been derived. In the young of feral pigs a character reappears which is common to the wild swine of Europe and India, but which has been eliminated in nearly all the domesticated breeds; these young animals are striped longitudinally.

Like the pigs, our domestic cattle have likewise undoubtedly a multiple origin, at least two distinct species generally recognised by naturalists being now domesticated and interbreeding

freely, whilst if we go back to pre-historic times, the origin even of our European cattle becomes evidently complex. Thus the Indian humped cattle or zebus (*Bos indicus* of authors) are certainly distinct from the European humpless breeds commonly denominated *Bos taurus*; and the researches especially of Rüttimeyer and Nilsson show that the latter include the descendants of at least three distinct species. *Bos primigenius* was domesticated and had begun to undergo variation during the Neolithic period; it was wild in Europe in the time of Cæsar, and still survives in a semi-wild state in Chillingham Park. The larger breeds of cattle on the continent of Europe and the Pembroke breed are considered to be descendants of this fine species. *Bos longifrons*, the remains of which are so frequent in superficial deposits in this country and elsewhere, was also domesticated in Switzerland during the period of the early lake-dwellings, and seems to have been the common English form of cattle during the Roman occupation of Britain. It appears to be the original species of the Welsh and Highland cattle, and also of some small Swiss breeds. Nilsson's *Bos frontosus*, which is regarded by Mr. Boyd Dawkins as only a form of *B. longifrons*, occurs fossil with the latter in Scania and in Ireland; Nilsson believes it to be the parent form of the mountain cattle of Norway, which, like it, have a protuberance between the horns. But notwithstanding this undoubted multiplicity of origin, all our existing breeds of cattle are, as is well known, perfectly fertile amongst each other, and not only those of the European varieties among themselves, but also indiscriminately with the Indian humped species or zebus, and again with three other Indian species—namely, the yak, the gayal, and the arni.

As to the origin of the domestic sheep great diversity of opinion prevails, but there seems little reason to doubt that they are descended from several distinct species. Their variation, as is well known, is exceedingly great. The domestic goat, on the contrary, is generally regarded as descended with but little intermixture from a single species,—the Asiatic *Capra cagrus*. Both the sheep and the goat were domesticated at a very early period, their bones being found among the remains of the Swiss pile-dwellings.

The horse, which was likewise a possession of the ancient inhabitants of Europe, the discovery of the long-concealed traces of whose life and manners has opened up such a vast field of interesting research in our days, has generally been regarded as descended from a single species; but as we know that several species of horses existed in Europe in the later Tertiary periods, and as, according to Professor Rüttimeyer, the earliest domesticated horses showed differences in the form of their skulls, it

seems very probable that the origin of the numerous varieties of this most valuable animal may be more complex than is commonly supposed. There is indeed the difficulty that in this case we must assume several species to have become entirely extinct in the wild state, for we cannot indicate any wild species to which a share in the parentage of our domestic horses can be ascribed,—the so-called wild horses of the East being in all probability feral animals,—whilst, on the other hand, the amount of variation which horses undoubtedly descended from domesticated animals are known to have undergone, under changes of conditions, shows very clearly that all the varieties with which we are familiar may very well have originated from a single primary form. The latter is Mr. Darwin's opinion.

We have dwelt at some length upon these examples of well-known domesticated animals, not for the purpose of indicating the amount of variation to which they are subject, but in order to show how many of them may trace their pedigree to a multiple origin, thus greatly invalidating the objection so commonly raised against the Darwinian theory from the supposed sterility of all hybrids. If it be true that, as implied in the Pallasian doctrine, the domestication of two allied species gradually eliminates the tendency to sterility of their descendants when crossed, and of this fact there seems to be no doubt, what becomes the real value of the supposed divinely ordained law that hybrids shall always be sterile in order to maintain the purity of that mysterious entity the species?

The fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh chapters of Mr. Darwin's book are occupied by a discussion of the natural history and variations of the domesticated breeds of rabbits, pigeons, and fowls, upon which, especially the latter two, he enters into great details. To the zoologist these chapters are invaluable; it is impossible to conceive a more exhaustive treatment of any subjects than the history of the domestic fowl and pigeon has received at our author's hand. But this very copiousness of detail renders it impossible for us to give any idea of the contents of these chapters without greatly exceeding the space which can be devoted to the present article. For the same reason we must pass over the chapters in which the variations of several other domesticated animals and cultivated plants are described in more or less detail, and proceed at once to those matters bearing more directly upon theoretical points.

There are certain peculiar modes of variation which sometimes produce a marked effect upon the progeny of domesticated animals and cultivated plants, and some of these phenomena are so curious as to deserve at least a passing notice. Under the general name of "Bud-variation," Mr. Darwin includes all those

cases of variation in plants in which changes are introduced during the development of certain flower or leaf buds. Mr. Darwin cites a great number of examples in which changes of greater or less importance, amounting sometimes to the production of a new variety, have thus been introduced among cultivated trees. Thus, a late and early variety of the *grosse mignonne* peach have been produced by bud-variation; the large tawny nectarine originated in the same way from a tree bearing smaller fruit of the same character; and instances of a similar kind, although not taken advantage of in the same way, are very numerous. The occurrence of single branches bearing fruit of peculiar character, or of several branches or buds on the same tree each producing a different kind of fruit, are recorded in the cases of the peach, plum, cherry, vine, gooseberry, currant, pear, apple, and banana. In flowering plants the same phenomenon is of constant occurrence, and is particularly remarkable in the sweet William now so much cultivated, in which the flowers seen in the same truss often vary greatly. In like manner the forms of leaves and shoots may often vary greatly from those upon other parts of the same tree, and, as might be expected, those stems which proceed from underground buds, suckers, bulbs, and tubers are liable to similar changes. All the anomalous forms thus produced by bud-variation may be propagated by cuttings and grafts, when they seem to become more fixed, and Mr. Salter has even applied the principle of selection to such abnormal growths by propagating only from the buds developed at the base of variegated leaves.

A very singular case, intimately connected with this phenomenon of bud-variation, is presented by the laburnum known as *Cytisus Adami*, which appears to be a hybrid between the common laburnum (*Cytisus laburnum*) and *Cytisus purpureus*. Its dull red flowers are always sterile, even when it is growing in the midst of examples of its supposed parent species; but not unfrequently individual branches revert to one or other of these parents, and the pure yellow or purple flowers produced on these modified branches furnish fertile seed. With regard to the origin of *Cytisus Adami*, some difference of opinion prevails, but the evidence appears to be against the notion that it is an ordinary hybrid between the two species which it so remarkably reproduces. According to M. Adam, after whom it is named, he "inserted in the usual manner a shield of the bark of *C. purpureus* into a stock of *C. laburnum*, and the bud lay dormant, as often happens, for a year; the shield then produced many buds and shoots, one of which grew more upright and vigorous, with larger leaves, than the shoots of *C. purpureus*, and was consequently propagated." Therefore, as Mr. Darwin

says, "If we admit as true M. Adam's account, we must admit the extraordinary fact that two distinct species can unite by their cellular tissue, and subsequently produce a plant bearing leaves and sterile flowers intermediate in character between the scion and the stock, and producing buds liable to reversion,—in short, resembling in every important respect a hybrid formed in the ordinary way by seminal reproduction."

A case almost still more extraordinary than this is presented by the *Bizzarria orange*, which was first raised in Florence in 1644. This tree produces simultaneously the leaves, flowers, and fruit of the bitter orange and citron, and also fruit compounded of that of the two species; and the trifacial orange of Alexandria and Smyrna presents a similar anomaly in its fruit-bearing, but in this case the sweet orange and the citron are blended together. The gardener who raised the *Bizzarria orange* declared that it originated from a grafted seedling, in which the graft had died away; the stock subsequently shot out and produced the singularly composite form which has since been propagated by cuttings.

Other facts, bearing more or less upon the production of graft-hybrids, and illustrating the influence which this mode of union may exert both upon the graft and upon the stock, are cited by Mr. Darwin, and lead him to the discussion of another very singular phenomenon, namely, the immediate action of the male element upon the mother form. In plants, the colour of the outer coats of the seed (in peas and stocks), and even the colour and texture of the pods (in peas), the nature of the fruit (in *Chamaerops humilis*, the apple and the orange), may be affected by fertilization with the pollen of another species or variety. This direct effect of the male element upon the female reproductive organs, exterior to and independent of its influence upon the germ contained within the seed, seems to be accounted for by the observations of Gärtner, more or less confirmed by those of other botanists, that in all cases, besides the pollen grains employed in the fertilization of the ovule, a certain number must first be expended in acting upon, or "satiating" as he terms it, the pistil and ovarium.

Mr. Darwin applies these facts to the explanation of the analogous phenomena known to breeders to occur also among domesticated animals. He says:—"If we could imagine the same flower to yield seeds during successive years, then it would not be very surprising that a flower, of which the ovarium had been modified by foreign pollen, should next year produce, when self-fertilized, offspring modified by the previous male influence." And he indicates that this is closely analogous to what actually takes place in animals. Thus, a nearly pure-bred Arabian

chestnut mare bore a hybrid to a quagga, and afterwards two colts to a black Arabian horse.

"These colts were partially dun-coloured, and were striped on the legs more plainly than the real hybrid, or even than the quagga. One of these two colts had its neck and some other parts of its body plainly marked with stripes. . . . But what makes the case still more striking, is that the hair of the mane in these colts resembled that of the quagga, being short, stiff, and upright. Hence there can be no doubt that the quagga affected the character of the offspring subsequently begot by the black Arabian horse." This is only one of many similar examples which might be cited.

Passing from these curious but apparently somewhat isolated examples and causes of individual variation to the general arguments deduced by Mr. Darwin from the consideration of the whole phenomena of variation under domestication, we find the first place naturally given to the primary law of Inheritance, the recognition of which is in fact essential to the comprehension of all the rest. Without this law of inheritance it is perfectly evident that no permanent species or varieties could exist, for the very idea of a species or variety implies the transmission of the characters of the parent to the offspring; and this will be admitted even by those who maintain the absolute immutability of species, although they will hardly give the law so extended an application as Mr. Darwin's. Nevertheless, although even in common parlance we are in the habit of saying "that like begets like," and so forth,

"The whole subject of inheritance," as Mr. Darwin remarks, "is wonderful. When a new character arises, whatever its nature may be, it generally tends to be inherited, at least in a temporary, and sometimes in a most persistent manner. What can be more wonderful than that some trifling peculiarity, not primordially attached to the species, should be transmitted through the male or female sexual cells, which are so minute as not to be visible to the naked eye, and afterwards, through the incessant changes of a long course of development, undergone either in the womb or in the egg, and ultimately appear in the offspring when mature, or even when quite old, as in the case of certain diseases? Or again, what can be more wonderful than the well-ascertained fact, that the minute ovule of a good milking cow will produce a male, from whom a cell, in union with an ovule, will produce a female; and she, when mature, will have large mammary glands, yielding an abundant supply of milk, and even milk of a particular quality."—Vol. ii. p. 2.

Some writers cited by Mr. Darwin have expressed doubts as to the prevalence of this law of inheritance, maintaining that the statistics of the subject (in connexion with man) are hardly

sufficient to establish the fact of the transmission of individual peculiarities from the parents to their descendants. There may, doubtless, be a deficiency of accurate statistical information upon this question—and in the case of the human subject some other slight difficulties may come in the way—but so many examples of the heredity of family peculiarities must have occurred to every one who has passed through the world with his eyes open, that the fact of the hereditary transmission of even slight peculiarities must be evident to every unprejudiced mind. When we come to domestic animals, there can be no longer the least doubt on the subject. "In fact," as Mr. Darwin says, "the whole art of breeding, from which such great results have been attained during the present century, depends on the inheritance of each small detail of structure." And this is the main point of Mr. Darwin's argument, that not merely great alterations in the organism (if such can take place suddenly), but that the smallest changes, even down to morbid peculiarities and mutilations, have a tendency to become impressed upon the offspring, and to be handed down through them to subsequent generations. We may cite a few examples. Mr. Darwin tells us of a race of pigs in which the hind legs were quite deficient, and which continued for three generations. A single young rabbit with one ear, produced in a litter, gave origin to a kind of one-eared rabbits. In 1781, a one-horned stag was observed in a German forest; in 1788, two such stags were noticed; and for several years afterwards the same forest contained many stags with a single horn on the right side of the head. In man, polydactylism, or the presence of supernumerary fingers and toes, is a very great anomaly, for no existing mammal, bird, or reptile, possesses more than five digits, and yet this peculiarity has been transmitted through five generations—a fact the more remarkable from its being well known that the persons exhibiting this monstrosity have married, in most cases, persons not similarly affected.

"In such cases," says Mr. Darwin, "a child of the fifth generation would have only  $\frac{1}{32}$ nd part of the blood of his first sedigitated ancestor. Other cases are rendered remarkable by the affection gathering force—as Dr. Struthers has shown—in each generation, though in each the affected person had married one not affected. Moreover, such additional digits are often amputated soon after birth, and can seldom have been strengthened by use. Dr. Struthers gives the following instance:—In the first generation an additional digit appeared on one hand; in the second, on both hands; in the third, three brothers had both hands, and one of the brothers a foot affected; and in the fourth generation, all four limbs were affected."—Vol. ii. p. 18.



This peculiarity of polydactylism is especially remarkable from the circumstance that the supernumerary digits have a tendency to grow again when amputated.

Peculiarities of vision and morbid affections of the eyes seem to furnish particularly striking examples of hereditary transmission. Thus long and short sight are certainly transmitted from father to son, as are also squinting and even cataract.

Absence of the iris was transmitted for three generations, and a cleft iris for four generations,—in the latter case only the male side of the family was affected. In one very remarkable instance, a father and two sons became blind whenever the head was bent downwards, apparently owing to the crystalline lens with its capsule slipping through a very large pupil into the anterior chamber of the eye. Night-blindness, or incapacity to see except under a strong light, is also inherited; one instance is recorded in which this peculiarity affected eighty-five members of the same family during six generations. Colour-blindness or Daltonism is hereditary, and has been traced through five generations, in which, singularly enough, it was confined to the female side. Peculiarities in the colour of the iris are also transmitted.

From all the facts brought forward by Mr. Darwin, and especially from the experience of breeders, we may accept it as almost a certainty, that the peculiar characters of parents will be transmitted to their progeny, and probably intensified in those cases in which both parents are similarly modified, and as a very common result even where only one parent exhibits some more or less striking peculiarity. But in this latter case the results are very variable,—sometimes the peculiarity of the modified parent may be transmitted to the offspring unimpaired and even intensified, as in the above-cited case of polydactylism, or a portion of the offspring may be affected,—or the peculiarity may be wholly lost. In the present state of our knowledge of the subject, it is evident that we have no means of accounting for this variability of the phenomenon, and Mr. Darwin's discussion of the causes of non-inheritance shows this very clearly. It seems probable indeed that in addition to the causes, such as counteracting changes in conditions of life, adduced by him, the law of prepotency of transmission of character recognised by him in connexion with crossed breeds, (Chap. xiv.) may come into play, for as an animal or plant showing peculiarity of character is the potential representative of a new breed, which if subsequently crossed with its parent stock might be absorbed in consequence of the prepotency of the latter, there seems to be no cause whatever why the same law (which indeed is purely empirical) should not come into play in the first instance, and thus prevent the transmission of its

peculiarities. In fact, the analogy of the two cases appears to be very strong, for in both, whilst the peculiar characters of the individual may apparently be lost in its immediate progeny, they may, and frequently do reappear in its later descendants.

To this reappearance of apparently lost characters the term *reversion* or *atavism* has been applied; and it is manifested as a variation, imitative of the characters of distant ancestors in the products both of sexual and bud reproduction. In some cases, even in pure breeds, some of the characters proper to the original stock make their appearance suddenly, as in the well-known instance of the pigeon, in the various breeds of which individuals reproducing the colouring of the parent species (*Columba livia*) are frequently produced. Similar examples occur in the common fowl. In the ass, notwithstanding the length of time that it has been domesticated, the legs frequently exhibit the transverse markings characteristic of its wild progenitor, the Abyssinian *Asinus tæniopus*. The earliest domesticated sheep are believed to have been "brown or dingy black," but at a very early historical period we see clearly enough that the majority must have been white, and in the time of David certain flocks are spoken of as "white as snow." It is a remarkable fact of reversion that even at the present day black and parti-coloured lambs are often dropped by ewes of our most improved breeds. A fact of the same kind is the reappearance of rudimentary horns on the young of hornless breeds of sheep and cattle. In the case of crossed breeds of animals, the tendency to reversion becomes so exceedingly strong that Mr. Darwin regards crossing as a direct cause of reversion towards an earlier parent than those by means of which the cross was made. Mr. Darwin gives a curious instance of a reversion in the case of an important instinct due to crossing. Certain breeds of fowls are commonly known as "everlasting layers," because, having lost the instinct that prompts other fowls to incubate, the process of egg-laying goes on in them almost constantly. Now it appears that when fowls belonging to two of these peculiar breeds are crossed, the mixed progeny usually prove to be first-rate sitters, thus going back, in consequence of the cross, to the original condition of the species, in which the incubatory instinct is certainly very strong.

As to the causes of this singular phenomenon we are still entirely in the dark.

"When animals run wild" (says Mr. Darwin), "the tendency to reversion, which, though it has been greatly exaggerated, no doubt exists, is sometimes to a certain extent intelligible. Thus with feral pigs, exposure to the weather will probably favour the growth of the bristles, as is known to be the case with the hair of other domesticated

animals, and through correlation the tusks will tend to be redeveloped. But the reappearance of coloured longitudinal stripes on young feral pigs cannot be attributed to the direct action of external conditions."—Vol. ii. p. 47.

To account for the more remarkable instances of reversion, those, namely, in which, whether by means of crossing or otherwise, the peculiarities of distant ancestors, not possessed by the immediate parents, make their appearance, Mr. Darwin assumes that the characters were latent during the intermediate generations. This of course is a pure assumption, and may be said to be only another way of stating the case; but Mr. Darwin illustrates it by reference to the peculiarities often presented in the development of the secondary sexual characters. These are the external peculiarities of form, clothing, and so forth, which in many cases serve to distinguish the sexes of animals, quite independently of differences in the essential organs of reproduction.

"Now, it is well known that a large number of female birds, such as fowls, various pheasants, partridges, peahens, ducks, &c., when old or diseased, or when operated on, partly assume the secondary male characters of their species. . . . A duck ten years old has been known to assume both the perfect winter and summer plumage of the drake: Waterton gives a curious case of a hen which had ceased laying, and had assumed the plumage, voice, spurs, and warlike disposition of the cock; when opposed to an enemy she would erect her hackles and show fight. Thus every character, even to the instinct and manner of fighting, must have lain dormant in this hen as long as her ovaria continued to act."—Vol. ii. p. 57.

A similar suppression of the male reproductive functions leads to the same results in male animals; not only do they lose male characters, but to a greater or less extent these are supplanted by female peculiarities. Mr. Darwin cites various examples of this curious fact, and sums up the results as follows:—

"We thus see that in many, probably in all cases, the secondary characters of each sex lie dormant or latent in the opposite sex, ready to be evolved under peculiar circumstances. We can thus understand how, for instance, it is possible for a good milking cow to transmit her good qualities through her male offspring to future generations; for we may confidently believe that these qualities are present, though latent, in the males of each generation. So it is with the game cock, who can transmit his superiority in courage and vigour through his female to his male offspring; and with man it is known that diseases, such as hydrocele, necessarily confined to the male sex, can be transmitted through the female to the grandson."—Vol. ii. p. 52.

We shall not attempt to follow Mr. Darwin through the remainder of his discussion of inheritance in its various bearings

upon the variation of organisms; but we may quote the concluding paragraph of his fourteenth chapter, in which he sums up the results arrived at from the consideration of the phenomena. He says:—

“Finally, though much remains obscure with respect to inheritance, we may look at the following laws as fairly well established. Firstly, a tendency in any character, new and old, to be transmitted by seminal and bud generation, though often counteracted by various known and unknown causes. Secondly, reversion or atavism, which depends on transmission and development being distinct powers; it acts in various degrees and manners through both seminal and bud generation. Thirdly, prepotency of transmission, which may be confined to one sex, or be common to both sexes of the prepotent form. Fourthly, transmission, limited by sex, generally to the same sex in which the inherited character first appeared. Fifthly, inheritance at corresponding periods of life, with some tendency to the earlier development of the inherited character. In these laws of inheritance, as displayed under domestication, we see an ample provision for the production, through variability and natural selection, of new specific forms.”—Vol. ii. p. 84.

Space warns us that we must hasten to a conclusion. One effect of the crossing of distinct races or varieties has already been indicated—namely, the production of a strong tendency to reversion in the progeny, not only to one or other of the immediate progenitors, but towards a still earlier and probably common ancestor. Free intercrossing seems generally to produce, sooner or later, uniformity of character; hence the necessity, in order to preserve or improve a domesticated breed, of keeping it strictly separate from other breeds. Nevertheless, when the individuals of one breed are much less numerous than those of another, and the two breeds are allowed to intercross, the less numerous one will speedily be absorbed by the other; and by the judicious adoption of this mode of crossing, with subsequent segregation of the crossed animals, many of the improvements in our domestic animals have been effected. Close interbreeding, in fact, as Mr. Darwin carefully points out, tends eventually to produce deterioration; and thus, in order to preserve a breed in some degree of vigour, a certain amount of crossing seems to be necessary. From the consideration of the effects of crossing and close interbreeding in domesticated productions is deduced the general law, that organic beings are not destined to “fertilize themselves for perpetuity.” In support of this view, many observations of botanists may be adduced, showing in what numerous instances in plants with hermaphrodite flowers arrangements exist for preventing the pistils from being fertilized by the pollen produced in the same flower. To this quality, which Mr. Darwin denominates “self-impotence,” are

due the various dimorphic and trimorphic flowers, upon some of which our author has elsewhere published most valuable observations (*Primula, Lythrum*). The orchids also require generally to be fertilized by the pollen from a different flower; and this seems in a fair way to be proved in a great many other plants. In most cases insects appear to be the agents employed in the transportation of the fertilizing material from one flower to another. In attempting to account for the good effects produced by crossing, and the evil results of too close interbreeding, Mr. Darwin remarks that "it is a widely prevalent and ancient belief that animals and plants profit from slight changes in their conditions of life; and it would appear that the germ, in a somewhat analogous manner, is more effectually stimulated by the male elements, when taken from a distinct individual, and therefore slightly modified in nature, than when taken from a male having the same identical constitution." On the other hand, wild animals, when first subjected to captivity, are often sterile, so that in their case the reproductive system must have been impaired by the change in the conditions of life.

"It is impossible not to be struck with the double parallelism between the two classes of facts just alluded to. On the one hand, slight changes in the conditions of life, and crosses between slightly modified forms or varieties, are beneficial as far as prolificness and constitutional vigour are concerned. On the other hand, changes in the conditions greater in degree, or of a different nature, and crosses between forms which have been slowly and greatly modified by natural means—in other words between species—are highly injurious, as far as the reproductive system is concerned, and in some few instances as far as constitutional vigour is concerned. Can this parallelism be accidental? Does it not rather indicate some real bond of connection? As a fire goes out unless it be stirred up, so the vital forces are always tending, according to Mr. Herbert Spencer, to a state of equilibrium, unless disturbed and renovated through the action of other forces."—Vol. ii. p. 177.

Mr. Darwin discusses at some length the nature of this apparently very great difference between natural species and domestic varieties with regard to their facility of crossing, and comes to the conclusion that the distinction is not so great as it at first appears. He dwells particularly upon his observations on dimorphic and trimorphic flowers, and on the infertility of the seeds produced by the illegitimate union of their sexual elements; but the subject is treated in so condensed a form, that except by the transfer of the whole section to our pages it would be impossible to give a clear idea of the line of argument adopted. In like manner we must hurry over the chapters on selection, and on the laws and causes of variation; the former, indeed, need little notice, as probably no one in the present day doubts either

the fact or the efficacy of selection in the modification of domesticated animals.

The primary cause of variability seems to be a change in the conditions of life, and this need not be very great to set up that state of instability in the organism which may lead to a good deal of individual variation. In some cases the action of the changed conditions seems to be direct or definite, causing all, or nearly all, the individuals of a species or variety subjected to them to vary in a particular direction; but more commonly the tendency to variability is general, placing the organism in an unstable state, in which various influences come into play. Thus the increased use or the disuse of parts often impress themselves strikingly upon the organism by an increased or diminished development of these parts in the progeny; although, probably from the fact that animals have not been long enough under domestication, the latter seems never to be carried so far as to have merely a rudiment. "When rudiments are formed or left under domestication, they are the result of a sudden arrest of development, and not of long-continued disuse with the absorption of all superfluous parts. Nevertheless they are of interest, as showing that rudiments are the relics of organs once perfectly developed." By the correlation of variability further changes are introduced; for in accordance with this, when one part varies other parts vary, producing often very singular results. Hence it seems probable that many modifications are of no direct service, having arisen in correlation with other and useful changes."

We have now to advert, as briefly as possible, to the remarkable hypothesis which Mr. Darwin has proposed for the purpose of bringing to one focus, as it were, all the scattered facts and inferences which he has in this work brought together with such astonishing labour. He points out that between the repair of an injury done to any part of the organism and the production of a new individual by fissiparous generation, there is so complete an analogy and so perfect a gradation of intermediate steps, that we may regard them as essentially identical processes. Sexual reproduction, although generally regarded as a totally distinct phenomenon from gemmation and fission, is really connected therewith so gradually through the phenomena of Parthenogenesis and various forms of alternate generations, that it is not easy to draw a strict line of demarcation between the two processes. Again, the production of graft hybrids in plants, such as the *Cytisus Adami*, is a most important phenomenon in showing that sexual and asexual reproduction are essentially the same; and consequently we may infer that one general fundamental cause presides over all the functions of the animal and vegetable organism.

Now, it is very generally admitted that the whole organism, whether simple or complex, consists of a great number of elemental parts—whether we call them cells or not does not much matter in the present case—which differ in their nature in the different organs of the body, have the faculty of self-reproduction, and to a certain extent may be regarded as leading an independent existence. Some writers have gone so far as virtually to affirm the individuality of each cell or histological element in every organism, arranging these microscopic entities as a class of Protozoa, and distributing them under orders and genera! Mr. Darwin, as might be expected, stops short of this view, but he accepts in its fullest extent the doctrine that the “cells, or the units of the body, propagate themselves by self-division or proliferation, retaining the same nature, and ultimately becoming converted into the various tissues and substances of the body.” But he adds to this the assumption “that cells, before their conversion into completely passive or ‘formed material,’ throw off minute granules or atoms, which circulate freely throughout the system, and when supplied with proper nutriment multiply by self-division, subsequently becoming developed into cells like those from which they were derived.” This assumption of the development of “cell-gemmules” thrown off from every cell of every organ of the body, circulating through every part, constituting a portion of every organ, and consequently transmitted by the parents to their offspring, forms the basis of Mr. Darwin’s hypothesis of Pangenesis. He supposes the development of these gemmules to “depend on their union with other partially developed cells or gemmules which precede them in the regular course of growth,”—that they may lie dormant in the organism during one or more generations, and that in their dormant state they have a mutual affinity which leads to their aggregation in the form of buds, or of the sexual elements. “Hence, speaking strictly, it is not the reproductive elements, nor the buds which generate new organisms, but the cells themselves throughout the body,”—in other words, as all the elements of the body are represented by their gemmules in every part of it, and especially in the buds or sexual elements, the elementary constitution of the parent must be in a very distinct manner reflected in its progeny.

“*Ce n'est que le premier pas qui coûte*” is a proverb applicable to many things in this world of ours, and as Mr. Darwin remarks we have only to accept this simple assumption and the rest will follow easily. In fact, it is so clear that if the constitution of the organism be as laid down by Mr. Darwin in this hypothesis, nearly all the varied phenomena of animal and vegetable life are at once accounted for, that we shall not follow

him through his illustrative development of his new doctrine, especially as the present article has already extended to a very great length. That it is a pure hypothesis, and that it is impossible that we should ever *see* a germinule, are evident; but how many other statements do we not accept as truths upon similarly hypothetical grounds? The principal objection to his hypothesis discussed by Mr. Darwin, is that arising from the excessive minuteness which we must of necessity ascribe to his gemmules. He remarks that—

“A codfish has been found to produce 6,867,840 eggs, a single ascaris about 64,000,000 eggs, and a single orchidaceous plant probably as many million seeds. In these several cases, the spermatozoa and pollen-grains must exist in considerably larger numbers. Now when we have to deal with numbers such as these, which the human intellect cannot grasp, there is no good reason for rejecting our present hypothesis on account of the assumed existence of cell-gemmules a few thousand times more numerous.”

The mind certainly recoils from the attempt to realize numbers so great and minuteness so excessive as are implied in this hypothesis of the gemmular constitution of the organism, but as matter must be assumed to be infinitely divisible, and as we know that practically in the case of odoriferous bodies and infectious diseases, the particles given off must be inconceivably minute, whilst in the latter they possess a power of self-reproduction within the body almost precisely analogous to that claimed by Mr. Darwin for his gemmules, we must agree with him in thinking that the difficulty of conceiving the existence of gemmules so numerous and so small has really little weight as an argument against his hypothesis.

It is evident that, unless we accept the notion of supernatural interference in every case, some such hypothesis as this must be adopted to account for the transmission of constitutional peculiarities from parents to their offspring, across a bridge narrower even than that which according to Mahometan tradition conducts the Faithful into Paradise. Of the defects and shortcomings of this “provisional hypothesis” no one, probably, is more conscious than its gifted author himself,—his whole theory, fruitful as it has been in results and brilliant as is the light it throws upon many of the most secret operations of Nature, brings us at last face to face with questions which the human intellect will, perhaps, never be able to answer, and we can fully sympathize with Mr. Darwin in the mournful feeling, leading almost to a wail of despair, with which he finally, as it were, lets fall the partially raised veil as the inscrutable Fate-phantom advances upon him from its ambush behind the revealed portion of the majestic Temple of Nature.



## CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

*The Foreign Books noticed in the following sections are chiefly supplied by Messrs. WILLIAMS & NORGATE, Henrietta-street, Covent-garden, and Mr. NUTT, 273, Strand.*

## THEOLOGY AND PHILOSOPHY.

THE Boyle Lectures of the Rev. Stanley Leathes<sup>1</sup> profess to set forth a somewhat peculiar or modified scheme of the author's for maintaining the existence of a Messianic element in the Old Testament Scriptures, for its definition and interpretation, and for the application of it so interpreted as a Christian evidence. He first makes himself safe by saying that he does not deny "there are instances in the Old Testament of actual prediction of future events." He then explains his notion that in the Prophets, or Old Testament writers prophetically moved in the highest sense—there was not properly speaking, in the case of the Messianic prophecies, a prediction of what should happen to Jesus as historically manifested upon this earth, but rather that they were "enabled to behold in the essence of the Divine Nature the Person of the Son of God;" that to their Spirit was revealed the Messiah, the Son or Word of God, "dwelling from all eternity in the Bosom of the Father." (p. 19.) Now we must beg permission to observe—although it does not touch the intrinsic value of Mr. Leathes' book, whatever that may be—that his mode of treatment of this subject of Messianic prophecy is singularly at variance with the terms of the foundation of the Boyle Lecture itself—for the Lecturer is retained "to preach eight Sermons for proving the Christian religion against notorious Infidels, viz., Atheists, Theists, Pagans, Jews, and Mahometans, not descending lower to any controversies that are among Christians themselves." But the peculiar theory which Mr. Leathes advances of the nature of the Messianic Scriptures is precisely one which may be matter of fair though friendly controversy among Christians, the very kind of discussion the lecturer is forbidden to engage in by the will of Mr. Boyle—whereas the assumptions which he makes, both at starting and throughout his argument, render it altogether valueless as addressed to the "Infidels." There is no Foundation of a like kind whereon the lecturer should be more careful to treat the "Atheists, Theists, Pagans, and Jews" with respect, as honestly engaged in investigation equally with himself, or should be more particular in resting his argumentation on principles and facts which he and they will equally admit. Mr. Leathes, however, starts with the assumption that for the profitable discussion of his subject he and his hearers must be "in personal union with the Christ"—"it is Christ as a living person that we must set before us,"

<sup>1</sup> "The Witness of the Old Testament to Christ: being the Boyle Lectures for 1868." By the Rev. Stanley Leathes, M.A., Professor of Hebrew, King's College, London, and Preacher-Assistant, St. James's, Piccadilly. London: Bivingtons. 1868.

existing "now as then, in the fulness of essential Godhead;" and "we must be partakers of a Messianic consciousness before we can appreciate all that the Prophets have spoken of him." (p. 27.) And so he confesses that his work will only be valuable in confirming the Christian, not in convincing the gainsayer (p. 54). The work, however, is not only thus confessedly valueless for those persons whom the lecturer ought especially to have had in view, by reason of its requiring in its readers the presence of a spiritual insight, a divinely illuminated faculty, which they are not supposed to possess—all the details of the argument which follow are vitiated by a circular process. The lecturer has undertaken to illustrate or confirm the Messianic doctrine of the New Testament by the witness of the Old Testament; but he is obliged, before he can do so, to assume that the New Testament is infallible in its interpretation of the Old Testament Scriptures. The three leading instances which the author has selected as Messianic Prophecies in the Old Testament are, the promise to Abraham; the hundred and tenth Psalm; the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah; and the weakness of his case is seen in the viciousness of the method he employs. He cannot establish the fact that the promise to Abraham included a prediction of a Messiah, except by resting it on the declaration put into the mouth of Jesus in the fourth Gospel—"Your Father Abraham rejoiced to see my day, and he saw it and was glad." (John viii. 56.) He thus assumes the infallibility of the record which attributes those words to Jesus, together with the infallibility of his utterance. Moreover, it is not self-evident that the words must necessarily bear the meaning which the lecturer has applied to them. Mr. Leathes does not make the slightest allusion to any doubts as to the apostolic authorship of the fourth Gospel, which are at least so weighty as to preclude a critic from alleging it in evidence with one of the "Infidels." The next instance of prophetic revelation of the Messiah alleged by Mr. Leathes from the Old Testament, is rested by him in like manner on the authority of a passage in the first Gospel. "How then doth David in Spirit call him Lord, saying the Lord said unto my Lord, Sit thou on my right hand, till I make thine enemies thy footstool. If David then call him Lord, how is he his Son?" (Matthew xxii. 43—45.) If anything can be certain from the structure of a literary composition, it is that the hundred and tenth Psalm could not have been written by David, who is himself spoken of by its author as "his Lord," and described in it as having the attributes of a Melchizedekan priest. Nor can there be a more unfortunate attempt on the part of the Boyle lecturer towards the conversion of the "Infidels" than the production of such a text as the above, containing a statement so incorrect on the part of a person asserted to be infallible, and whose words are assumed to be infallibly recorded. Mr. Leathes assumes further that the purpose of Jesus was to prove his own Divinity from premises which he and the Pharisees alike admitted. It was rather to force them to feel the hollowness and inconsistency of their own tradition that Messiah was to be Son of David after the flesh. The argument falls into this shape—Messiah cannot be both David's Lord and David's Son. But David himself, as you confess, says he is his Lord;

therefore he is not his Son. The interrogative phrase, according to Hebrew idiom, amounts to that negative conclusion—and the Pharisees could not contradict it. Thus the passages in the two Gospels (Matt. xxii. 41—45 ; Mark xii. 36, 37) appear to us to indicate a stage in the formation of the Christian tradition, when Jesus of Nazareth was not as yet believed to have been born of the seed of David according to the flesh. If Jesus conceived of himself as Messiah, it was as Messiah with spiritual attributes and a spiritual office. The Pharisees taught that his greatest glory would be to sit on the throne of his father David. But as children of Abraham may be raised up to Abraham who never descended from his loins, so the spiritual kingdom of the Son of David by eminence belongs to, and the title was rightly accepted by, one who was no fruit of his body. Paul, educated as a Pharisee, adopted the Pharisaic tradition of the fleshly descent (Rom. i. 3), and the genealogies and the wondrous birth from Mary became current among the disciples ; but we have no evidence that, although he may have conceived himself to be Messiah in a spiritual kingdom, and accepted the title "Son of David" in a spiritual sense, Jesus ever asserted himself to be born of the family of David according to the flesh. The third instance of Messianic prophecy which the preacher alleges, is the description of the Sufferer in the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah : his authority in this case also is derived, according to the same circular method as before, from the New Testament. Not, however, in this case from the Gospels, or any supposed words of Jesus himself, but from the application of a part of the chapter made by Philip in his discourse with the eunuch, as related in the eighth chapter of the Acts. It is necessary, in order that this passage should be of any service to Mr. Leathes' argument, that we should be sure of the inspired accuracy of the anonymous book of the Acts, and that we should be sure also of the inspiration of Philip for the purpose of his discourse. Still more, when all that has been proved or assumed, a meaning must be imported into the words of Philip which is not expressed in them. There is nothing more expressed in them than an application to Jesus, which was quite natural and justifiable to the Christian sentiment. The Jewish Christian, in overcoming the stumbling-block of the cross, was forced to acknowledge the compatibility of suffering with Messiahship, and that suffering was the very instrument of Messiah's spiritual conquest. Herein, however, was nothing but a natural development of ideas which were partly derived from education and tradition, and the records of the history of the Jews, and the fates of their prophets, and partly suggested by the stern teaching of events. Mr. Leathes, as will readily be supposed, contends for the unity of the book of Isaiah, and devotes a paper in the appendix to an examination of some of the arguments against it as sketched by Dean Stanley, at the close of his second volume of "Lectures on the Jewish Church." But, as he says, the difference of two hundred years in the date of this portion of the book does not affect its value as a Messianic prophecy or anticipation—it does not affect it either way. It will be sufficiently seen from the foregoing, how little Mr. Leathes has contributed to the confounding of the "Infidels."

Dr. Réville, of Rotterdam, by no means enjoys in this country the reputation which he deserves as a theologian, and as an indefatigable and most successful labourer in the cause of propagating enlightened views. At times as a preacher, at others as a translator from the Dutch, at others as a contributor to various periodicals, and especially of late years to the first periodical in Europe, the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, he has done more, perhaps, than any other person to recommend the modern theology to the acceptance of the best educated French readers.<sup>2</sup> He clears away, as a dead thing, the old dogmatism which has so long held possession of the ground, and he does so much more effectually than by direct controversy. He shows how this dogmatism was a natural growth from known antecedents under known circumstances. The supposition of a deposit of credenda "once committed to the saints," vanishes into air when the mutations which the Christian dogma has undergone are described historically. And theories of development which, from Petavius to Dr. J. H. Newman, have been devised by the more subtle controversialists, in order to cover these doctrinal mutations, give way before a plain historical statement of the manner in which all settlements of the Christian doctrine grew out of those which had preceded, and had been found inadequate—and all have been found inadequate in their turn. Nothing can be better done in the way of the demonstration now spoken of than the "*Histoire du Dogme de la Divinité de Jésus-Christ.*" The process by which this human conception was naturally elaborated till it reached its culminating point, and the reverse process by which its dissolution has already been partly accomplished, are described in the clearest manner. In this, as in all Dr. Réville's writings, there is an entire absence of that acrimony which usually characterizes controversial discussion. For, in throwing his work into the form of a history rather than of a debate, the author avoids the necessity or the temptation of saying irritating things. The work is not so much controversial as one which supersedes the necessity of controversy upon the subject to which it relates. For if a natural origin of the dogma be shewn, and a natural process of its growth can be traced, the supposition of a miraculous origin, or of any supernatural endowment of the Church, falls of itself; and this, without the necessity of any previous demonstration or argument as to the possibility or otherwise of miracle in the abstract. The history divides itself into three periods:—the first reaches to the eighth century, and its close is nearly coincident with the first obscure appearance of the creed so-called of Athanasius, which embodies with great subtlety and force the final elaboration of the two great doctrines of the Trinity and of the Incarnation. The second, or mediæval period, terminates in the sixteenth century, and relatively to the dogma, it is a period of its unquestioned supremacy. The third period commencing with the Reformation, and still continuing, is one of disintegration and dissolution. The dogmas referred to as elaborated by the councils

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<sup>2</sup>"*Histoire du Dogme de la Divinité de Jésus-Christ.*" Par Albert Réville. Paris. 1869

and embodied in the creeds, amount, as Dr. Réville expresses it, to a "deification of the contradictory." They held their ground almost unquestioned during the Middle Ages through the influence of tradition, and because they still continued to satisfy the religious sentiment. For in the production of a religious dogma there are two factors, an intellectual and a sentimental one. The sentimental factor takes the lead; the intellectual factor does its bidding. And the work so constructed abides, even notwithstanding contradictions which become apparent to the intellect, so long as it continues to satisfy the religious sentiment. "Il faut pour expliquer la longue durée des dogmes contradictoires, aussi bien que pour raconter leur genèse, discerner les côtés par lesquels ces dogmes ont plu au sentiment religieux." The doctrine of the Incarnation at once satisfied the personal affection which Christians bore to their Master, and linked humanity with the Deity—elevating the one without appearing to lower the other. The force derived from sentiment which belongs to this doctrine is still seen in a well-known school among ourselves, who are not unwilling to surrender to criticism and science almost any portion of the Bible which these may claim, to give up or to modify almost any doctrine of the Church, but they hold fast, as essential, to some doctrine of the Incarnation. The doctrine of the Trinity seems to appeal less directly to the religious sentiment, but it does so no less really. For the Triune God of the Creed is a living God. He is not an unknown Source, blind, deaf, "produisant les mondes comme une substance qui fermente, sans savoir ce qu'il est, ni ce qu'il fait;" nor is He an Idea ever in process of "becoming," "qui ne crée pas le monde, mais que le monde crée;" nor again is He the mechanical contriver of the Deist, sitting apart from the world when once He has made it. No such God invites worship. And Dr. Réville says, "La notion de l'immanence de Dieu dans le monde a plus fait pour bannir la Trinité des consciences religieuses que tous les arguments de la critique. Alors on s'est vu de nouveau en présence d'un Dieu réel, prochain, et l'âme a frémi, comme autrefois, au souffle de son esprit."—p. 118. So that the religious sentiment, not finding any longer the Trinity God essential to its satisfaction, will henceforth suffer the intellectual objections to the Trinitarian theory to have full play. Leaping over very many excellences most deserving of being pointed out, we must present one extract from Dr. Réville's conclusion:—

"La Chrétienté a épuisé tout ce qui pouvait lui fournir la foi en Jésus. Elle doit revenir à la foi de Jésus, commentée par l'expérience de dix-huit siècles, au sentiment filial de Dieu, et sans ôter au Fils de l'homme la place qui lui revient de droit comme chef et initiateur de la foi, s'inspirer de son principe religieux pour en faire application au monde, à l'âme, et à la société, à peine effleurée par le Christianisme dogmatique. Les dogmes de la Trinité et de l'Incarnation, formés par le Catholicisme, modifiés par la Réforme, dissous par la critique Socinienne, inacceptables par la raison, démentis par l'histoire, ont fait leur temps, et les éléments de vérité qu'ils renferment doivent revêtir d'autres formes et rentrer dans une autre conception de choses."—p. 185.

Anticipating in the future new applications of the Christian principles of the divine Fatherhood and of human fraternity, he conceives that

the glory of having in fact initiated the new and happy order of things will never pass away from Jesus Christ.

“Qu'on ne craigne rien pour la gloire du Fils de l'homme. C'est à lui, c'est à l'idéal divin vivant en lui que nous devons de nous sentir fils de Dieu, c'est dans son cœur pur que l'homme et Dieu se sont aimés, et c'est là une couronne que nul ne lui ravira.”—p. 187.

An extremely valuable work comes before us in the shape of a German translation of the Lectures of Professor Opzoomer, of Utrecht.<sup>3</sup> They were published in Dutch at intervals during the years 1864-1867. They present a view which has not been presented exactly, that we know of, even in Germany. For in Holland traditional ways of thinking and speaking of religion and of Christianity have been got rid of, without abandoning religion and without denying the Christian name, more completely than in any other country. There is, if we may so say, a religious life in the disbelief of miracle and dogma which is not to be met with elsewhere. Something of the same kind, but less living and thorough, characterizes the Protestanten-Verein of which the lamented Dr. Rothe was so distinguished a member; in a less degree again, still more hesitatingly, and with a more determined clinging to the old dogmatic forms, if not to the substance of the dogma, the school which is known in this country as that of Mr. Maurice, has made some steps in the like direction. The peculiar strength, however, of the Utrecht divines consists partly in the simplicity of their fundamental positions, and partly in the completeness with which they show how entirely their modern determinism is in unison with the original principles of the reformed or Calvinistic theology. The belief in God as an all-wise and loving Ruler of the universe, and of our relation to him in consequence, is a sufficient basis of religion according to Opzoomer.

“The religious belief comprehends all facts, and recognises them as brought about by God's will, and therefore as good. This recognition does not prevent our distinguishing facts in their relation to us, so as to specify some as good and others as bad, and to perceive virtue in these and sin in those. What we call evil and what we call sin are equally willed by God as their opposites. The conceptions of the physically bad, or of evil and of sin, are merely relative—for God himself those distinctions do not exist.”—pp. 48, 49.

The belief in God is not the result of an intellectual demonstration, for the proofs of the Divine existence, as usually presented, are considered by Opzoomer to be insufficient as demonstrations. The conviction of the being of God and of our relation to him arises from a feeling which belongs to man; nor, if it be granted that many tribes of mankind have no conception, properly speaking, of a Divine Being, is that conviction shown to be groundless, because it is confessedly present and most perfectly developed in the most cultivated races. This single conviction suffices for the foundation of religion, for the idea of virtue and the hope

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<sup>3</sup> “Die Religion.” Von Cornelius Wilhelm Opzoomer, Professor der Philosophie an der Universität Utrecht, Dr. philos. theor. lit. hum. et utr. jur., Präsident der Königl. niederländischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, etc. etc. Aus dem Holländischen übersetzt von Dr. Friedrich Mook. Vom Verfasser corrigirt und revidirt. *Elberfeld*, 1868.

of immortality, which are considered by some to be necessary bases of all religion, are in fact developments or fruits from this. Opzoomer said elsewhere—

“Do we in fact acknowledge nothing as positive but matter and sensitive perception? Do we give up the distinction between good and bad? Do we abandon the belief in immortality? Do we cast off religion and deity man? Do we ridicule Christianity and its great Founder? To all these questions we answer—No! What then is there so frightful in our doctrine? Why are we charged with undermining morality and religion? Why are we called man-worshippers and atheists? Because we deny miracle.”—*Pref. of Translator*, p. iii.

Miracle has no essential connexion with religion, nor even with the Christian religion; for the Christian religion is not, as Dr. Réville puts it, the faith *in* Jesus, but the faith *of* Jesus. And if but little seems to be left when the miraculous is abstracted from Christianity, it should be remembered, that the remaining little is the kernel which alone supplies nutriment however thick may be the enveloping shell. If, however, the belief in the miraculous is thus abandoned, is not all connexion severed between ourselves and the ages which have preceded? By no means. For the good which Christianity has wrought it has wrought in spite of the dogmatisms and superstitions which have overlaid it. And we of this day are only carrying out the principles of Protestantism, and following a precedent already set us, in rejecting any superstitions whatever, whenever they shall have become revealed to us as such. For true Protestantism is not to be understood as consisting in a system of doctrines.

“It cannot be sufficiently dwelt upon, that Protestant orthodoxy is only Protestant in name and in externals, but in its essence is [Roman] Catholic through and through. True Protestantism is not to be found where men entertain the same conceptions of the universe which the Reformers had; nor there where, as in the Confession of Augsburg, or in the Heidelberg Catechism, or in any whatever document of that kind and of that age, men think to find a perfect and correct exposition of their faith—but only there where men are filled with the spirit of the Reformation, and in that spirit will work. Let not slaves imagine themselves to be true followers of the heroes of liberty. Let not those who never venture to question the authority of a Paper-Pope put themselves forward as spiritually of kin to those great men who had the courage to shake off the slavish yoke of the living Pope, and to burst the fetters riveted by the authority of many hundreds of years. How differently altogether would the Reformers now speak from what they did and must have done three hundred years ago! Science, now grown and strong, was then a helpless infant. Think you that Luther and Zwingli, Melancthon and Calvin, would have passed over without thought or observation the beautiful and fruitful researches in the fields of natural science, of history, of the science of language and of criticism?”—p. 296.

There remains, however, a question rather of historical than of religious interest properly so called. Ought those whose religion is defined as Prof. Opzoomer has set it forth, to call themselves Christians—are they justified in so doing? is it their duty? The negative answer is not so obviously required as many will suppose. For at what point does the negation of Christianity begin? Does it consist in a denial

of the miraculous?—but to deny the miraculous is not to deny God. Does it consist in a denial of particular miracles or on particular grounds, but require the acceptance of some? Is it consistent with Christianity to doubt or deny the literal history of the Deluge, or of Noah's Ark, or of the Plagues of Egypt, or of the three in the burning furnace, but necessary to believe all the miracles of the New Testament? Or may exception be taken to some of the most astounding, as to the miraculous Incarnation? or to those which rest on the least evidence, as the turning water into wine? or would it be consistent with the name of Christian to give up all other miracles so long as the bodily resurrection of Jesus was acknowledged? Yet it was never said by Jesus himself, so far as we know, "By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples if ye believe all the miracles which shall be related in the Gospels hereafter to be written;" nor even, "If ye shall believe in my resurrection from the dead." And Opzoomer concludes a most eloquent plea for those who have inherited Christianity, as all of us have, to retain the Christian name as our just title—though we be Christians not as we were when at our mothers' knees we wondered at the tales of Bethlehem and Gennesaret—not as when we imbibed from some grave teacher high-sounding doctrines of a God made man, and of Vicarious Sacrifice, and of a Judge of quick and dead—No; our Son of Man is become a true Son of Man and a brother indeed—an ordinary man in one sense, but the first-begotten of us all and the Father of the Ages. For from Him issued that movement towards a pure worship of the Father and an unselfish love of mankind, which has made Christians brethren across dogmatisms, ecclesiasticisms and corruptions. Every one who sincerely sets forward the work of Jesus Christ may and ought to name himself his disciple. (Pp. 270—274.)

Mr. Clissold's work called "Transition"<sup>4</sup> is intended to have a bearing upon some present controversies, and to enforce that there can be no means of settling them until the Christian Church is imbued with the principles set forth in the writings of Swedenborg. He conceives that no theory of inspiration will in the end be found satisfactory except that which is in accordance with the method of Scriptural interpretation developed in the writings of Swedenborg, and that no hopeful anticipations can be formed concerning the Church of the future unless they are consistent with the order of dispensations expounded by the Swedish seer. The interpretation of the words of Scripture is not of importance compared with a right understanding of the typical value of the things which the words stand for. For the words are only signs of signs, inasmuch as all things which have a place in any lower dispensation are truly signs and symbols, according to a divinely appointed correspondence, of things and verities responsive to them in the higher. All Nature takes its forms by spiritual "influx," and represents Spirit; "all the parts of nature are but as coats, sheaths and clothing, which envelope spiritual things;" and thus "the series

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<sup>4</sup> "Transition; or, the Passing Away of Ages or Dispensations, Modes of Biblical Interpretation, and Churches; being an Illustration of the Doctrine of Development." By the Rev. Augustus Clissold, M.A. London: Longmans. 1868.



and order of creation are a series and order of envelopments" (p. 74). The case of the succession of Dispensations and Churches, exemplifies the like law of envelopment; so that the Law with the Temple and its services was one continued *envelopment*; the Gospel being enveloped in the Law, the New Testament in the Old, or the spiritual in the natural. Indeed the whole series of Churches from the commencement have been alike as to their essential, internal, or spiritual contents, differing in their external part in the purity or impurity of their envelopment. For "the direct lineage of the Catholic Church began from the Adamic Church, thence proceeded to the Noachian, thence to the Hebrew, thence to the Jewish, thence to the Christian; whence it will continue itself into the Church, coming down from God out of heaven" (p. 78). In one important respect the views expounded by Mr. Clissold differ from those usually entertained respecting this lineage of the churches, for it is generally represented as if each successive dispensation of religion under which man has been placed has been superior in excellence to that which preceded it—the Noachian to the Patriarchal, the Abrahamic to the Noachian, the Mosaic to the Abrahamic, the Christian to the Mosaic: whereas, according to Swedenborg, "from the period of the Fall to the birth of Christianity, there has been a perpetual descent" (p. 238); a continuity, nevertheless, having been preserved throughout by means of an always-existing remnant, or chosen seed; "in the order of Ages from the Christian Church to the New Jerusalem, there is to be a corresponding ascent" (*ib.*); the process is to be reversed; and the Church, in order to its restoration, must pass through the Noachian form, which, we are told, was distinguished for its cultivation of the "science of correspondence." Thus the Church will obtain an insight into allegories, both those of nature and those of the Scriptures. And so will natural science fall into its proper place as a collector of facts, the key to the understanding of which can only be given by the Spirit; and so also will disappear the difficulties which necessarily attend the letter of the Scriptures—when the right method of its interpretation (namely, the allegorical) shall be adopted by the Church—carrying with it a just idea of inspiration.

"The Scripture Doctrine of the Atonement" is a posthumously published work of the late Dr. David Thom, minister of the Scottish Church in Liverpool.<sup>5</sup> The author differed in some of his views from those usually received on the subjects here treated of. And he accomplished as much as could be done towards presenting a reasonable theory of the Atonement by one who felt himself strictly tied down to the authority of Scripture. He does not represent the Atonement of Christ to have consisted in a transfer of man's sin and due punishment to his person, or man's Redemption to be founded on a corresponding transfer of Christ's merits to the believer; but he conceives in some mystical fashion Christ as the second Adam to have divinized the human nature—he in it and as partaking of it to have suffered

<sup>5</sup> "The Scripture Doctrine of the Atonement." By the late David Thom, D.D., Ph. D., Author of "Divine Inversion," "Dialogues on Universal Salvation," &c. London: H. H. Lewis. 1868.

death which was due to it by reason of sin, and we in the same nature, which by reason of his assumption of it belongs to him and us in common, are to be elevated through the power of his Resurrection to the life celestial. Dr. Thom also held a certain doctrine of Universalism which avoided the inconsistencies both of Calvinism and Arminianism as to the extent of the efficacy of the Redemption, which in each of them is practically limited; at the same time, while maintaining the co-extensiveness of the ultimate recovery of mankind with the sin and death-bearing consequences of the fall of Adam, he avoided the contradictions involved in some of the more hasty theories of Restoration. His notion seemed to be, following the authority of Scripture only, to which he tied himself strictly down, that while all mankind are interested in the Redemption and inheritors of Salvation, which cannot be severed from it, they are interested under different titles and will inherit in a due order; that is to say, the members of Christ's Church inherit as such, and first in order; the rest of mankind, when the Adamic nature which is in them shall have been destroyed; for it must be destroyed.

—"unless we are prepared to hold one or other of the monstrous dogmas, so censurable in the school of ordinary and popular divines, either, that God, after having given temporary existence to sin, chooses to retain it everlastingly in being; or that, after having once given it existence, he has put it beyond his own power to effect its destruction, either of which hypotheses is, of course, blasphemous and absurd."—(p. 97.)

Nor is there any contradiction involved to the view presented in Scripture. Every man in his own order, Christ the first fruits, afterward they that are Christ's at his coming: then cometh the end when he shall have delivered up the kingdom to God even the Father. According to Dr. Thom some souls have a relation to Christ "as the spiritual Abraham, and are permitted to sit and reign with Him in his kingdom"—others are only related to him as "spiritual Adam," and "are reigned over by him and the members of his Church." "All are thus ultimately saved as well as redeemed; while to some, redemption and salvation are applied after a special manner."—p. 235.

Dr. Thom, as we have said, acknowledges throughout the authority of Scripture, and recognises its immediate inspiration: it will surprise some that he should have been able to evolve from it such a theory of salvation as the foregoing; yet it will not be easy for those who accept the Scripture rule to find much fault with his premises, or to demonstrate his conclusions to be false.

It is curious, indeed, how the authority of Scripture lends itself to very different and even opposite conclusions on this subject.<sup>6</sup> For it cannot be denied that, *primâ facie*, it seems to be in favour of the ordinary doctrine concerning the punishment of the wicked in the world to come. It is found, however, to be a "nose of wax." We have seen the theory which Dr. Thom deduced from it. And we have before us

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<sup>6</sup> "The Duration and Nature of Future Punishment." By the Rev. Henry Constable, A.M., Prebendary of Cork, Author of "Essays, Critical and Theological." London: Longmans. 1868.

a pamphlet by an English clergyman, Prebendary of Cork, on the "Duration and Nature of Future Punishment," the argument of which is "directed alike against the systems of Augustine and Origen," and which is rested solely on the authority of Scripture. Mr. Constable's view is pretty nearly the same with that of the late Dr. Whately, as given in the "Scripture Revelations concerning a Future State." He agrees with Dr. Thom in refusing to acknowledge that sin could be perpetual in the Divine creation, and he elicits from a pains-taking examination of the Biblical language, that the punishment threatened to the impenitent in the world to come, is, that they should be destroyed. Nevertheless, he supposes variety and gradation in the punishment:—

"Hell is not to all a sudden cessation of existence. There is life in that fearful prison, though it continues not for ever. The children of the kingdom, cast into its outer darkness, gnash their teeth when they think of those who have come from east and west, and enjoy what they have lost; the unworthy guest at the marriage feast of Christ is in despair that he is not suffered to continue there; the despisers of the offers of redemption, be they Jews or Gentiles, behold their astounding folly, and marvel at its greatness; the unfaithful servant has time to bewail his want of fidelity, and the hypocrite to see that the part he has chosen is a bitter and a hard one; ere all—sooner or later—sink into that state where wonder and remorse, and pain and shame, are lulled in the unconscious sleep of the second death."—pp. 25, 26.

Although the sufferers will thus die out and be extinguished, the scene or spectacle Mr. Constable thinks will remain for ever, and become a lesson of mercy to myriads:—

"But it will be read without the shudder of anguish. The dead know not anything. They have drunk the waters of Lethe, and forgotten long ago their misery. There is no eternal antagonism of good and evil: no eternal jarring of the notes of praise and wailing. Evil has died out, and with it sorrow. Throughout God's world of life all is joy, and peace, and love."—p. 43.

Mr. Constable's essay is able and scholarly within the limits which he has prescribed to himself. But we are inclined to think that on this, as on other theological subjects of discussion—as, for example, the issue between Trinitarians and Unitarians—so long as the Bible is recognised by either side to reveal absolute truth, to be infallible, and throughout consistent with itself, controversialists will be driven to hopeless *tours de force* to reconcile irreconcilable statements; and "of their vain contest appears no end." Nothing can be a more fruitful source of controversy, or aggravation of controversy, than the supposition that we are possessed of an infallible authority, of which it is hopeless we should ever arrive at the meaning.

Professor Hagenbach's "Lectures on Church History" have been delivered at various intervals without following the chronological order of events.<sup>7</sup> A collected and improved edition is now in course of pub-

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<sup>7</sup> "Vorlesungen über die Kirchengeschichte von der ältesten Zeit bis zum 19. Jahrhundert." Von Dr. H. R. Hagenbach ordentl. Prof. der Theologie in Basel. Neue, durchgängig überarbeitete Gesamtausgabe. Erste Lieferung. Leipzig: 1868.

lication. It will be completed in seven volumes. Hagenbach is a sensible moderate person, and the lectures will be found to present a reasonable view of ecclesiastical history, from the "reformed" point of view, and not inconsistent with what is called orthodox doctrine.

The third edition of Ebrard's "*Wissenschaftliche Kritik*" has been thoroughly revised and considerably augmented by the author.<sup>8</sup> The first edition appeared five-and-twenty years ago. The present forms a bulky volume of 1240 pages. It is an armoury of criticism on the orthodox side, undertaking to meet in detail, on the ground of the New Testament writings, the representations of Strauss, Baur, Volkmar, Schenkel, Weizsäcker, and other moderns, concerning the natural origin of Christianity. In the preface we are treated to some controversial amenities directed at Strauss, who, for his part, is not slow at repaying such attentions in kind.

Mr. Sharpe's "*History of the Hebrew Nation and its Literature*"<sup>9</sup> gives, in an unpedantic and uncontroversial manner, the chief outlines of the Biblical narratives of the Old Testament, with a fair indication of the results of modern inquiry as to the age and authorship of the several books and their parts. It is peculiarly adapted for use in schools, and will be found very suitable for a lecturer's text-book.

The pamphlet of Dr. Rigg's,<sup>10</sup> on the subject of the "*Relations of Wesleyanism to the Church of England*," furnishes a temperate, fair, and, so far as we can judge, sufficient answer to a somewhat startling suggestion in a letter addressed to the Wesleyan Conference by a person here described by Dr. Rigg as "one who is equally eminent as a man of saintly character and as an able and dangerous heresiarch." It is, indeed, astounding that any one even in the seclusion of a cloister could live so wholly in his own theories and in dreams of the past, could be so utterly incapable of observing the progress of events as to fancy that it might still be a question of fusing or re-absorbing the Methodist Connexion in the Established Church of England. If Wesley varied at different periods of his life in his feelings towards the Established Church, and if the attitude of the Wesleyans towards it has been since his death becoming gradually more and more that of "Dissenters," the Church has itself to blame. The breach cannot be healed by discussions as to what Wesley thought, or Wesleyans practised, at one or at another date. There is only one policy now possible, if the governors of the Established Church were courageous enough to follow it, which might have an effect towards healing these breaches—and that is a policy of frank mutual recognition—that churches, which as a matter of fact do exist, whether endowed or un-

<sup>8</sup> "*Wissenschaftliche Kritik der Evangelische Geschichte.*" Von Joh. Heinz. Aug. Ebrard, Dr. phil. et theol. Dritte, gänzlich umgearbeitete Auflage. Frankfurt a. M. 1868.

<sup>9</sup> "*The History of the Hebrew Nation, and its Literature.*" By Samuel Sharpe, Author of "*The History of Egypt.*" London: John Russell Smith, 1869.

<sup>10</sup> "*The Relations of John Wesley and of Wesleyan Methodism to the Church of England, investigated and determined.*" By James H. Rigg, D.D., Author of "*Modern Anglican Theology,*" "*Essays for the Times,*" &c. London: Longmans, 1868.

endowed, should acknowledge each other as Christian communions—none claiming any superiority over another, their ministers availing themselves of each other's services when forms would admit of it, and interchanging the use of their pulpits.

Three more volumes have been issued of the reprint of Newman's "Parochial Sermons."<sup>11</sup> No one reading these for the first time will wonder that the decorous, drowsy, compromising, mundane Established Church of England would not supply an abiding home for so mystical and restless a spirit. His departure from the home of his first mother, when they could not possibly be brought to understand each other, needed no "Apologia." But which mother has proved the hardest and harshest?

The Bishop of Rochester's Sermon on occasion of reopening a foundation free school at Chigwell, is an amiable and well-intentioned, but feeble and even puerile production;<sup>12</sup> he has not the least notion that it is a great question which must be debated before long, whether on principles of public policy any person should be permitted to tie up for specific purposes any property whatsoever, real or personal, beyond a limited number of years; for this, however, a bishop might be excused, but he seems really to think that the sending forth by Jehoshaphat on some occasion of "Shemaiah, and Nethaniah, and Zobiaiah, and Asahel, and Shemiramoth, and Jehonathan, and Adonijah, and Tobijah, and Tobadonijah" (2 Chron. xvii. 8), to teach the people in the law of the Lord, is an authority for the foundation in perpetuity of a grammar-school in Chigwell in connexion with the Church of England.

We only notice a Funeral Sermon by Dr. Wordsworth, recently elevated to the bishopric of Lincoln, as characterized by his usual wordiness, narrowness, and ultra-episcopalianism.<sup>13</sup>

Mr. Voysey continues his assaults upon the current orthodoxy with unabated vigour, not without exhibiting occasionally deficiencies of learning and of taste; of his courage and sincerity there can be no doubt. We take the following from the preface to the third volume of the "Sling and the Stone."<sup>14</sup>

"To every man calling himself a Christian, who may read these Sermons, they convey a challenge, the spirit of which may be thus briefly expressed—Are these things so? Is this true or false? Is it true that the human race was ever under the curse of God? Is it true that God needs the intervention

<sup>11</sup> "Parochial and Plain Sermons." By John Henry Newman, B.D., formerly Vicar of St. Mary's, Oxford. In eight volumes. Vols. IV.—VI. London: Rivingtons. 1868.

<sup>12</sup> "Godly Teaching: a Sermon Preached in the Parish Church of Chigwell, Essex, on the Feast of St. Michael and All Angels, 1868, on the occasion of the Re-opening of Archbishop Harsnett's Free Grammar School." By Thomas Legh, Bishop of Rochester. Published by Request. London: Rivingtons. 1868.

<sup>13</sup> "A Sermon Preached in Westminster Abbey, on October 11, the Sunday after the Funeral of the Rev. Ernest Hawkins, B.D., Canon of Westminster, &c." By Christopher Wordsworth, D.D., Canon of Westminster and Archdeacon. London: Rivingtons. 1868.

<sup>14</sup> "The Sling and the Stone." Vol. III. For the year 1868. By Charles Voysey, B.A., of St. Edmund Hall, Oxford, Vicar of Healaugh. London: Trübner & Co. 1868.

of another to mediate with men, and to bring them into a state in which He will be more favourable to them than He is already? Is it true that there is any God but He who made us? Is it true that God ever was, or ever is, at a distance from this world, so that in any sense it can be true that He comes and goes to and from the earth, or sends some one to act as envoy on his behalf? Is it true that the only, or even the chief signs of God's presence and power are to be found in what is called miracle? Is it true that such miracles would prove God's constant presence and favour, or only His occasional presence and favour? Is it true that the doctrine of vicarious punishment is of any moral benefit to mankind, or at all redounding to the honour of God? Is it true that men are to be saved or lost according to their religious belief?"—*Preface*, p. v.

A number of "Pamphlets"<sup>15</sup> are before us bearing on present controversies. Of these the most noteworthy is the one which stands at the head of the list given below. Mr. Newman puts very forcibly the inconsistencies of the particular proposal to which his paper refers. And we are inclined to think with him, that its promoters are involved in an insuperable difficulty. Their principles seem so generous that they might comprehend in their proposed union Theists at least—to say nothing of Jews and Mahommedans—then why term the Association "Christian?" If, however, the term "Christian" is essential, the extent or nature of the Christianity which is implied by it ought in some way to be expressed, or no Christians will be attracted by it. Professor Newman puts it:—

"If it is sincerely meant that pious Christians and pious Theists stand on an equality before God, this is to proclaim a new comprehensive religion, a religion for which one might be enthusiastic; but it involves the downfall of Christianity as hitherto understood. The new wine will infallibly imbibe the old stench if put into the old bottle. In short, by retaining the pretence of Christianity, when you have got rid of what has hitherto been regarded as essential to it, you fall between two stools. You encounter from the 'orthodox' an enmity not unjust, as undermining them by pretentious phraseology; and you claim that Jews, Mahommedans, and Indian Theists shall yield up to your pride their historical and just repugnance to the Christian name."—p. 13.

The "Address" recently delivered by the Archbishop of York to the members of the Edinburgh Philosophical Institution has been fairly characterized by Professor Huxley as "eloquent."<sup>16</sup> The most reverend prelate could hardly be expected within the limits prescribed to him to deal effectually with so great a subject as that which lay be-

<sup>15</sup> "Thoughts on a Free and Comprehensive Christianity." By Professor F. W. Newman. Ramsgate: Thomas Scott.

"A Man's Belief." An Essay on the Facts of Religious Knowledge. London Williams and Norgate. 1868.

"The Church of England Catechism Examined." By Jeremy Bentham, Esq. A New Edition. Thomas Scott. 1868.

"Modern Orthodoxy and Modern Liberalism." The same.

"A Portion of a Speech." By Robert Clayton, D.D., Bishop of Clogher. The same.

"Idolatry." A Letter to a Friend. By a Beneficed Clergyman. The same.

"The Gospel of the Kingdom." By a Beneficed Clergyman of the Church of England. The same.

<sup>16</sup> "The Limits of Philosophical Inquiry." Address delivered to the Members of the Edinburgh Philosophical Institution, November 6, 1868. By William Lord, Archbishop of York. Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas. 1868.

fore him. He confined himself accordingly, to an endeavour to show the weakness and inconsistency of Positivism, with its failure to embrace all even of the facts which scientific observation makes known to us, as well as to recognise the testimony of the universal religious consciousness to the being of a God. The God, however, of the Archbishop is the "wise and benevolent designer" of the Deists of a former age; and Dr. Thompson does not appear to be sensible of any difficulty in arguing consummate wisdom and skill on the part of an artificer who is the author also of his own material, and the framer of the conditions under which he acts—although he must remember the line—*τεχνὴ τυχὴν ἔσπερξε καὶ τυχὴ τεχνὴν*. So that, however wonderful and complete may be the adaptation and inter-dependence of particular things among themselves, and in relation, as far as we can observe it, to the universe—we cannot reasonably conclude that it must be arrived at by a similar process to that whereby a human artificer attains his ends. The weakness, indeed, of the usual inferences from the human to the divine attributes, is also especially seen in the concluding a like *moral* character in God to that which is observed in man. For even a pagan philosopher, discussing the question of the justice of the gods, argued that it would be ridiculous to suppose them buying and selling, and entering into the various relations wherein human justice is exhibited. A similar observation may be extended to inferences from the human reason, consciousness, and personality to the divine. Nor does the charge appear to us to be sustained—that those who acknowledge type and idea to be present in nature are false to Positivism. At least M. Taine, whom the Archbishop classes with Comte and Littré, though he is a Hegelian, rather a Positivist, explains his doctrine of the "idea" implicated in all material phenomena, in a way very different from that of the artificer setting to work upon his material, in order to realize his purpose. He argues both against the Spiritualist who considers Cause as a distinct being or entity, intangible, incorporeal, invisible, different from, but sustaining the visible, palpable, and extended world; as also against the Positivist, who considers causes to be beyond the reach of science; so that the Spiritualist separates cause from nature, the Positivist banishes cause from science. But he (M. Taine) maintains as against the Spiritualist, that the cause of things is in the things themselves, and that it is not necessary to suppose the existence of a spiritual world in order to explain the existence of this; and as against the Positivist that the world of causation is not mysterious and inaccessible—that causes are reducible to laws, types, or dominant qualities, observable directly in their objects, and implicated in them, so that 'la loi de la pesanteur est comprise dans chaque chute qu'elle produit.'<sup>17</sup> The Archbishop will remember the parallel difference between the *ἀχωριστὸν εἶδος*—*εἶδος ἐν τοῖς πολλοῖς* of the Peripatetics, and the *χωριστὸν εἶδος*, the antecedent idea of the Platonicians, and he will see how loose it would be to argue that the Peripatetic by admitting an inherent inseparable type and species of things, let in uncon-

<sup>17</sup> "Les Philosophes Classiques du XIX<sup>e</sup> Siècle en France." Par H. Taine. 3<sup>me</sup> édition, revue et corrigée. Paris. 1868. Préface, pp. vi-viii.

sciously or unwittingly the doctrine of an idea separate from, and antecedent to the things in which it is involved, and in which only it is to us capable of being observed. At all events, it is exceedingly slovenly in reference to this subject, to place M. Taine in company with Comte and Littré, as in the following passage:—

“In presence of the facts of organic life, of the type preserving itself through many changes by means of many organs fitted for its preservation, of that secret spring by which all nature is pushed forward continually into life, Comte, and Littré, and Taine, and Renan slide into language which, if true to their instinct, is false to their philosophy. They speak of type and aim and ideal. They let back into the world, unawares, the doctrine of a purpose in creation, of a thought that guides it.”—(p. viii.)

The Comtist and the Hegelian differ *ἀμύχανον ὄσον*, and we wonder how the Archbishop should have confused M. Comte and M. Taine, or have supposed that the idea of the Hegelians involved or let in the conception of a Creator sitting down with a plan in his eye and a chaos before him. We hardly think that this address will add in any way to the Archbishop's philosophical reputation.

Mr. Martineau's pamphlet<sup>18</sup> touches in the first place on the question whether Dissenters, and especially Unitarians, should look forward to a shutting up of their own special educational establishments in consequence of the further liberation of the old Universities from dogmatical tests. The time hardly seems to have come for such an inquiry. Mr. Coleridge's Bill is not yet passed: and in the shape in which it was presented last Session it did not aim at liberating candidates for theological degrees from the necessity of subscribing the Thirty-nine Articles. Nor even if the theological degrees were granted upon “Testamurs” certifying knowledge only, and the candidates were not required to do any act implying belief, would that amount to such an opening of the Universities as would justify the dissenting bodies in abandoning the provisions they have made for the education of their own members, at least of their ministers. For in order to the unrestricted resort of persons of all religious denominations to the national Universities it would be necessary not only that all degrees should be free from dogmatical tests, but also that the theological Chairs should be free; or if not all free, at least that there should be one or more Chairs of theology to be occupied by the best men in their faculty, wherever bred, and subjected to no test of belief whatever. The rest of Mr. Martineau's pamphlet is occupied with a feud which he has with the men of science and with “Modern Thought,” concerning which he shall express himself in his own words:—

“Since our ‘Modern Thought’ does not solve, but only despair of the haunting problems of ‘Metaphysics;’ since, again, it makes no provision for any primary truths, but makes all our mental stores alike derivative—and that from sensible experiences common to us with the brutes—it may be surmised

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<sup>18</sup> “A Word for Scientific Theology in Appeal from the Men of Science and the Theologians.” An Address at the Opening of the Session 1868-1869 of Manchester New College, October 5, 1868. By James Martineau. London: Williams and Norgate; E. T. Whitfield. 1868.



that intellectual curiosity may yet rise in discontent and reclaim its natural range; that the device will not permanently succeed of shutting up vast chambers of human thought and labelling them 'empty.' There is a future still for philosophical theology; and the death with which it has been so often threatened by the exposition of natural laws and molecular hypotheses, will yet be postponed. 'Modern Thought' is strong; but ancient truths are stronger; and with the vigour of eternal youth they will re-assert their moral power, as the inexhaustible springs of noble and reverent action, and vindicate their intellectual place, as the immoveable bases of any satisfying philosophy."—pp. 81, 82.

Mr. Maurice's Lectures on "The Conscience"<sup>19</sup> do not call for any particular notice. The first two lectures contain the gist of the book. As the result he gives, that there is "no more exact description of the conscience than this, 'It is that in me which says I ought or I ought not.'" He has very well shown that conscience implies an individual "I;" in other words, it is a form or modification of the consciousness, concerned with a special object matter, or awakened in a particular set of relations. For the connexion between the "I" and the "ought" evidenced in our language is "of infinite importance to us." We cannot weed the expressions "I ought" and "I ought not" out of our dialect, or out of the dialect of any civilized nation. But it is very important to observe that it is only in the language of civilized nations that such expressions occur, and even among civilized nations the phrases expressive of moral obligation are by no means precisely parallel with each other, as in the case of the impersonal *dei* of the Greeks, and the "I ought" of the English. This latter may be allowed to be the expression of the more refined moral sense, of the more completely educated conscience, sensitive of what is required of the self, rather than observant of what is deficient out of self. The inference, however, is not justified which Mr. Maurice seems to draw from the occurrence of words expressive of moral obligation in the languages of various civilized nations, that the conception of that obligation is in all of them identical, or has grown up in the different cases in the same way. Mr. Maurice might very well have made much more use of the indications of language in analysing the conscience into its constituent elements, and in tracing its growth. The volume as a whole is somewhat rambling. The present Course indeed is to be taken as introductory to future lectures on Moral and Political Philosophy. The connexion between casuistry, morals, and politics, is described as follows:—

"You cannot contemplate the individual man out of society: you will scarcely find him among savages if you look diligently for him. But you must vindicate his position in order that you may show what society is; of what it consists. If it does not consist of I's, of Persons, the Moralist has no concern with it. If it does consist of I's, of Persons, begin with asserting that character for it, then go on to investigate the relations in which the members of it stand to each other. That means, as I conceive, when translated into the book-speech, 'Begin with Casuistry; go on to Moral Philosophy. First, make it

<sup>19</sup> "The Conscience." Lectures on Casuistry, delivered in the University of Cambridge. By F. D. Maurice, Professor of Casuistry and Moral Philosophy. London: Macmillan and Co. 1868.

clear what you mean by a Person; that you will do when you make it clear what you mean by a Conscience; then treat these Persons as if they did form real bodies, and tell us out of history, not out of your own fancy, what these bodies are."—p. 202.

Dr. M'Cosh is leaving this country for the United States, where he has accepted a professorial chair. We regret that it should be so. He is one of the few among us who can treat philosophical subjects, which necessarily more or less involve controversy, with adequate ability and becoming temper. The three papers<sup>20</sup> which he lays before the public on occasion of his quitting us, relate: 1. To Sir W. Hamilton's Logic, in which we think Dr. M'Cosh has completely and successfully shown the futility of the Scotch Professor's vaunted logical discoveries. 2. To the controversy between himself and Mr. Mill, in which Dr. M'Cosh does not appear to us to have the worst of it. 3. To the present state of moral philosophy in Britain, a paper read before a meeting of the Evangelical Alliance at Amsterdam in 1867, in which theological topics as they present themselves to clergymen are a good deal mixed up.

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#### POLITICS, SOCIOLOGY, VOYAGES AND TRAVELS.

**I**T is always a matter at the least of reverential sorrow when any deservedly eminent man thinks that the time has come for him to make an apology for any apparently ambiguous circumstances in his past career. It destroys the notion of complete identity of character and purpose by which, above all things, a great life should be distinguished from first to last. Such an identity is in every way consistent with even violent revolutions in mere opinion, and entire change of front in practical action. But a formal reconciliation of past and present conduct tends to hide this supreme fact out of view, while it argues an undue, not to say pusillanimous, deference to floating impressions abroad among an unthinking vulgar, in the place of that confident appeal to the generous judgment of the few wise in successive ages, to which all real virtue and greatness may unflinchingly trust itself. Mr. Gladstone's<sup>1</sup> explanation of his change of attitude towards the relations of Church and State in England and Ireland—but especially in Ireland—naturally opens out such considerations as those above. If ever it ought to have been written, we think a fitter time for its appearance would be rather "in life's distant even" when all political struggles should be called to mind as only faint and distant memories, rather than in the very midst of a contested election, and when

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<sup>20</sup> "Philosophical Papers." I.—Examination of Sir William Hamilton's Logic. II.—Reply to Mr. Mill's Third Edition. III.—Present State of Moral Philosophy in Britain. By James M'Cosh, LL.D., formerly Professor of Logic and Metaphysics, Queen's College, Belfast, now President of New Jersey College, Princeton, U.S. London: Macmillan and Co. 1868.

<sup>1</sup> "A Chapter of Autobiography." By the Right Honourable W. E. Gladstone, M.P. Second Edition. London: John Murray. 1868.

neither friends nor enemies have leisure to give heed to any further personal considerations than their rooted love or hatred for the hero of the hour. The facts contained in the papers are of great interest in themselves, though most of them could have been supplied from other sources, and might judiciously have been collected and published by some patriotic friend of the writer. Mr. Gladstone has, beyond all doubt, tenaciously held from the first, the belief that if a church is not to be defended by statesmen on the ground of their own personal assurance of its basis in absolute truth, nothing else, short of assent all but universal, can justify its establishment, even for a single hour. The grant to Maynooth in 1844 obliged Mr. Gladstone to abandon the first ground as a practical possibility in these dominions. From that moment he has steadily shaken himself free from all his early reluctance to encounter the full consequences of the only other alternative thereupon presented. The history of the Protestant Church in Ireland for thirty years, often under every possible external advantage to herself and disadvantage to her rival, confirmed the lesson. The disappointment consequent on the later stages of the Church movement at Oxford drove it home with painful but terrible force. We do not think that even yet, and in spite of evidently painful gestation, Mr. Gladstone has thoroughly thought out the Church and State question as it is presented in England and Ireland. Probably it is next to impossible for a politician plunged in practical conflict to retain the habit of severely thinking out any matter whatever.

Mr. Homersham Cox,<sup>2</sup> in an interesting and impartial compendium of the leading events that have distinguished the administrations in this country for the last thirteen years, and while criticising Mr. Disraeli's arguments on the subject of the connexion of "Religion" with the "State," points out what we think has been much neglected in this controversy, that is, the extreme indeterminateness of the language always used by politicians on both sides of this question. Mr. Cox rightly notices that religion is personal.

"It is supposed that, in some unexplained way, the Constitution itself, that is the contrivance or machine by which the country is governed, may be religious or connected with the 'principle of religion.' Mr. Disraeli deprecates 'the divorce of political authority from the principle of religion.' He might as well complain of the divorce of the principle of religion from the Binomial theorem. It is not worth while to enquire whether the union he describes is or is not beneficial: it is simply impossible. . . . We may have a union of Church and State in this sense; that the State may invest the Church with peculiar privileges. We may also have a system of government which promotes religion; but that does not make the system itself religious. The union of religion with the State is as much beyond human power as the arithmetical addition of quantities which are not of the same kind."

We think this simply logical criticism extremely valuable and well-timed. The whole question really, however, turns upon a consideration to which we do not think Mr. Gladstone even is as yet fully awake. It is not merely necessary, as he seems to hold, to abstain from

<sup>2</sup> "Whig and Tory Administrations during the last Thirteen Years." By Homersham Cox, M.A. London: Longmans. 1868.

further continuing the establishment of a particular church, so soon as creeds get to differ and governments become popular; but in the nature of things a broad line exists, though it may not be easy at once to draw it, between religious and secular faculties, motives, and interests. The proper local limits of secular rule is ever becoming less and less coincident with those of spiritual rule, and all violent measuring of one by the other is a Procrustean operation, as cruel and brutalizing as it is impolitic and unjust.

The numerous treatises that keep pouring out of the press on the Irish Church question are not only interesting as showing how very multiform that question really is, but also as bringing to the surface a quantity of curious political notions and sentiments resident among large classes of the community, the very existence of which notions and sentiments could hardly have been guessed at by any known process beforehand. For instance, we have a really excellent and courageous pamphlet by Mr. Martin,<sup>3</sup> the Vicar of St. Andrew's the Great, Cambridge, who really handles the subject in a most broad and genial spirit, yet one of whose strongest arguments in favour of good churchmen assisting disestablishment in Ireland, is the influence they would thus acquire with a view to prevent a diversion from the Protestant body of such revenues as have accrued to it since the Reformation. The Rev. Mr. Briggs,<sup>4</sup> on the other hand, seems to hold that a mere repetition of the long and oft-told story of Protestant and Catholic contention both in England and Ireland since the Norman conquest much assists his Conservative view of the question. A vigorous appeal again in favour of disestablishment, on simply Protestant grounds, is made by "One of Themselves;"<sup>5</sup> while an opposite view is based by "Laicus"<sup>6</sup> on a supposed need for more "moral harmony," instead of mere political junction between England and Ireland. Though each of these writers shows a marked preponderance of concern for his own special view of the subject, yet all of them, with the exception perhaps of Mr. Briggs, evince a good deal of serious thought and elevated political sentiment on the main issues involved in the existence of the Irish Church Establishment. For example, though it is the main purpose of "Laicus" to get identified in every possible way the government, institutions, spiritual discipline, nay, the very national denominations of England and Ireland, yet he has some very wise remarks on the nature of what are called, sometimes derisively, "sentimental grievances."

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<sup>3</sup> "Remarks in favour of the Disestablishment of the Irish Church." By John Martin, M.A., Vicar of St. Andrew's the Great, Cambridge. London: Rivingtons. 1868.

<sup>4</sup> "A Historical Survey of the Relations which have subsisted between the Church and State of England and Ireland and the See and the Court of Rome." By the Rev. James Briggs, M.A., Priest of the Church of England. London; Rivingtons. 1868.

<sup>5</sup> "Disendowment, an Appeal to Irish Protestants." By One of Themselves. London: Hamilton. 1868.

<sup>6</sup> "England and Ireland, or Union without Communion." A Letter to the Right Hon. the Earl of Derby, K.G. By Laicus. Dublin: Hodges. 1868.

"In the scale of national grievances the *sentimental* takes the place of the *material*, and is ever doubly formidable, not only as less tolerable in itself but as involving a numerous train of palpable and substantial evils. It is the *moral temper* much more than the external circumstances of a people that mainly shapes its lot. . . . Viewing Ireland in this regard, how has she been dealt with? Does the admission of the equal nationhood go much beyond mere legal affirmation:—is a healthy and elevating self-respect consulted for:—is she taught by word as well as act that in moral right and political status she is abreast of the rest of the kingdom? I think no one, competent to form an opinion, will be found to deny that Ireland as such has in this matter an unassailable claim for satisfaction. This at all events is the unavoidable conviction, not the less stinging, because the less unspoken, of many Irishmen, the salt of the land, who, attached to British connexion by argument, by interest, or by sympathy, yet find themselves chilled, repelled, or exasperated by the habitual reduction of their country, so far as language goes, from imperial to provincial rank."

The situation of Ireland could not be described in more glowing or more adequate language than this. Nevertheless, so destitute of all true political instinct does "Iaicus," in common with all those whom he represents, seem to be, that he supposes all these evils, resulting as they do in protracted hardship and oppression, can be at once got rid of, not by a generous performance of a long delayed duty on the part of Englishmen, not by a free and honest legislation adroitly addressed to the existing conditions and wants of the governed, but by intensifying the old error of violent assimilation of the different parts of the empire to one another, and by a forced as well as mocking demonstration in favour of those much abused terms liberty, equality, and fraternity. The "Appeal to Irish Protestants," by One of Themselves, carries with it the weight of Mr. Gladstone's approval, who, in a note published on the title-page, says he has read it with great interest, and he sincerely desires "that the principles on which that tract is based may find an unbounded acceptance among the members of the Established Church in Ireland, convinced as he is that such acceptance will be for their highest interest in that capacity." It is laid down in a three-fold division, and, of course, decisively proved, so far as such propositions admit of proof at all, that it is (1) safe, (2) expedient, and (3) right, to disestablish the Irish Church. The main argument here rests on the essentially and indestructibly vital force of the Protestant principle, which is likely to be increased rather than diminished by a discipline of independence and the necessity of self-reliance. As addressed rather to those who have a Catholic faith in the infallibility of Protestant dogmas, than to those who only care for Protestantism as vindicating one side of human nature, that is, the ultimate personal responsibility of the solitary conscience, just as they only care for Catholicism as vindicating the other side, that is, the need of the conscience being illumined by communion with the highest organized reason of the whole society, the arguments are telling, and indeed brilliant.

"What greater reproach can possibly be put on our National Church than to aver that she derives all her strength and her usefulness from her nationality? . . . Is disendowment, then, expedient? It is expedient for the Church, which will then rise into her true character. It is expedient for the

dark and perishing neighbourhoods of our land, which will be cared for then as they have never been yet cared for. Inexpedient alone will it be for that church, the foe of Protestant principles, which will then find these principles directed against her with a new and terrible energy."

On the whole it is to Mr. Martin's pamphlet that we incline the most favourably, as displaying greater political sagacity, and being at once comprehensive, unflinching, and acute. His views indeed on the possibly inalienable and immutable right of any class of persons in a community to funds which were essentially set aside for public uses, and with respect to which the interpretation of what is public and what is an use can never be finally performed by one generation on behalf of all succeeding ones, we think superficial and erroneous. But we can forgive much to a clerical writer whose belief in justice is earlier and deeper even than all his other beliefs, or rather would appear to be the fountain of them all, and who consequently writes:—

"The Romanist has a right to justice even though the effect might be to increase for a time the fees of a church whose claims appear unreasonably, and of whose dogmas some are absurd. It makes a man sad to see a political party, with an honoured and historic title, pledging itself not to promote but to oppose a just settlement of Irish affairs. But it saddens him much more to see the Church of England, in its length and breadth, adhering to a policy which can but diminish the influence of the Gospel among a people who are rejoicing in a growing freedom."

The deplorable result of the recent Westminster election, as well as the general failure throughout the country of all candidates who in any conspicuous and distinct way might be treated as representatives of the wages-receiving classes, marks out the topic of working-class<sup>7</sup> representation as one of more urgent importance than any other political topic at the present moment. We are glad to be able to take for our text so excellent a piece of true literature as the report of Mr. Holyoake's speech at Birmingham. He must be a very mean or a very ignorant man who can read this speech without the sincerest admiration for the energy, the calmness, the penetrative sagacity, and yet withal the delicate appreciation of all that is not wholly bad in those he would oppose, evinced by the speaker. Even of the prime minister Mr. Holyoake can say, with a determinate spirit of independence and generosity few other men so unflinching in their purpose as radical reformers could attain to, "There must be an element of nobleness in Mr. Disraeli's nature, that sense of personal capacity which dares the judgment of mankind, that he should have made himself the instrument of this mighty and restless change. It is seldom history furnishes an example of a man not a military chief, who with such prejudice of name, and race, and opinion against him, has made his way to such eminence and influence. Had Mr. Disraeli's integrity been equal to his capacity, he had given us enfranchisement in a noble way, which had caused the nation to be grateful

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<sup>7</sup> "Working Class Representation." An Address to the Electors of Birmingham, delivered at the Town Hall, October 16th, 1868. By George Jacob Holyoake. London: Book Store, 282, Strand. 1868.

as it is glad. As it is, under his hands, the English people have wriggled into citizenship. But let us not forget that he has at least this merit, that he is the first great Conservative who has committed a splendid sin in the interests of the people." We think Mr. Holyoake has rightly divined the true obstacle in the way of the representation of working men. It is their individual poverty and want of union as opposed to the concentrated wealth in the hands of other classes of society. Mr. Holyoake tells us that several times he has had letters from constituencies asking him if he can recommend "a rich Radical" to them, as no one else could hope to fight the battle of Liberalism. Mr. Hughes had to leave Lambeth. For twenty years Mr. Holyoake has seen him working for the artisan class.

"Working men never had a more laborious or accessible friend. He gave character to Lambeth too. Working-men electors then, by contribution, could have ensured his election; but it requires time and money to organize opinion, even among workshops. There is no borough where this is done yet, and how can there be any chance for working-men candidates until it is? It would cost a working man all he could save in twelve months to turn his head round in a borough in the direction of the poll. Without money there is no chance. Who is to pay for the candidate's halls, his bills, his circulars, his hustings expenses, his poll-clerks, his committee rooms?"

The cure for this is, suggests Mr. Holyoake, independent organization on the part of working men. They must levy a political tax among themselves to provide electoral means. Working men will have to create a great political fund, and contribute to all election costs, as a first step to representative action.

"Until this is done all sorts of inane, monotonous people with money bags about them, will elbow the working-man to the bottom of the poll, and he will never know how he got there."

Nothing could be more pointed and effective than the way in which these glaring truths are expressed. Perhaps we differ a little from Mr. Holyoake in his view that the best representative of working men will generally be one chosen from the same order of life as themselves. No doubt a few such elections would be invaluable by way of teaching the constituencies incontestably that whatever else was the result, they really can send the man to Parliament they choose to send. We believe, however, that inasmuch as the mass of legislators in any country must necessarily be a leisured class, exempt from their birth from manual toil, individual members suddenly emerging from an entirely opposite region will be at a great disadvantage even for purposes of effectual action, and we are not sanguine enough to trust that any amount of mutual courtesy, good feeling, and acuteness of apprehension, will entirely remedy this. We furthermore cling to the notion that politics, in the true sense of the word, is an arduous science and art, and that it demands a life-long preparation in those who would approach it. At the same time we think that, before every other consideration at the present moment, it is imperative that the operative and artisan class be effectually represented by men who have devoted long time and thought to the claims of that class, and who also, by habits of assiduous personal intercourse, have cultivated

such a sympathy with them as to give to their action in Parliament a consistent vigour now scarcely appreciable.

We are happy to have a pamphlet on "Personal Representation,"<sup>8</sup> from Mr. J. Rigby Smith, Fellow of the Working Men's College. This college, which, as well as the Working Women's College, is one of the most enlightened and energetic institutions of the day, may well claim a hearing for its *alumnus*, especially on such a subject as this. The style and argument of Mr. Smith is above the average of pamphlet writing; and we think his mode of substituting two voting days for one, as devised by Mr. Hare, very ingenious, and sufficient to meet the particular difficulty contended with.

An University town is the natural home of gossip. Where people have their minds in a tolerably acute condition, have not overmuch to do, and live very close together, every personal trait or individual variation from the common type naturally becomes an object of the deepest possible concern. We can picture to ourselves the snug satisfaction with which an antique Oxford magnate, duly ensconced in his easy chair, will pore over some of Mr. Cox's<sup>9</sup> "Recollections of Oxford." The reverend reader is amply secured against being disturbed by any rude invasion on the part of the "modern spirit;" and even the Tractarian and Hampden controversies he will find robbed of everything that could give any irritating life to the history of those movements, except the names of the main actors and the dates of the more prominent epochs. Certainly to us Mr. Cox's work is eminently disappointing, though we cannot but regard with affectionate respect the old Esquire Bedell, into whose mind all the merely outward events—as ceremonies, entertainments, installations, recitations—have burnt themselves so deeply. We are reminded, however, by this very account, of what has been Oxford's relation to English thought, what it is, and what it must hereafter become. We are able, as it happens, to put side by side with the recent history of Oxford another conception of academic education supplied by an address delivered in the University of St. Andrew's, by Mr. Campbell,<sup>10</sup> professor of Greek. We cannot but think that in this conception there is a maturity of thought and a depth of apprehension in regard to all the aspects of the high education which, except in isolated cases (of which Mr. Mark Pattison is a brilliant instance), is not common at either of the English universities. We should doubt whether so lofty a production as this address could proceed from any one in England who had been fairly exposed to the discipline of an English university. Mr. Campbell especially shows his power in his penetrating sense of the peculiar intellectual and moral dangers to which the young are exposed from the bare fact of their being brought together in large numbers. "The individual purpose is too apt to be swamped in the

<sup>8</sup> "Personal Representation." By J. Rigby Smith. London: Trübner. 1868.

<sup>9</sup> "Recollections of Oxford." By G. V. Cox, M.A. London: Macmillan and Co. 1868.

<sup>10</sup> "The End of Liberal Education." An Address delivered at the Opening of the United College in the University of St. Andrews. By the Rev. L. Campbell, Professor of Greek. Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas. 1868.



current of society; and it is sometimes left for after life to discover that there is no true independence, no true strength, but in a firm and faithful will." Again, "Could men be so indifferent to the decision of important questions, if the love of truth were more incultated in youth? Could that sacred ardour be then extinguished 'more utterly,' as Plato says, 'than Heraclitus' sun, in that it is never illumined?' If consciousness were once fully alive, would not the result be more perceptible in the upward growth of character?"

It is customary to cite Scotland as a country where education of all kinds has been most widely diffused and most successfully conducted. A pamphlet<sup>11</sup> by one who for twenty years has been engaged in education in that country, is calculated to check any undue sanguineness in the progress of knowledge and its fruits, even with respect to Scotland. The main defects seem to lie in the fact of all the "parish schools" being at once primary, middle-class, and high schools. The result is to weaken their power in each capacity. It is also complained that they are far too few in number, they are subject to no controlling central power, they attempt too much in a limited time, and there is no check provided against the irrational carelessness or greed of parents and guardians. It is suggested, upon a very close and careful examination of all the actual circumstances in great detail, that the parish schools should be converted into middle-class schools only, that new primary schools should be founded on a purely national and not ecclesiastical system, and that higher schools as well as technical schools of all sorts should be provided for professional and commercial education. The investigation of the meaning and relevancy of the word "secular" towards the close is very important.

There has been much painful experience within the last few months to teach us how lamentably deficient in social and political knowledge are all classes of persons without exception in this country. We have little belief indeed, for true educational purposes, in mere "popular" treatises, and lectures, whether accompanied or not with a magic lantern. But we have the strongest belief that even the most illiterate persons, whose days are occupied in manual work, are not out of the reach of really effective instruction, through the medium of a clear un-technical phraseology, in all the most vital truths of political and even juridical science. Did we want an instance to our hand of the possibility of such instruction, we could not find a more apposite one than M. Edmond About's "A.B.C. du Travailleur."<sup>12</sup> . . . The true nature of this valuable little treatise is best given in the fact that it purports to be a practical reply to the question of an actual working man—

"Is there no science of social economy? How is it that we have never been taught it? Do you know it? Can you teach it? We do not ask for a set treatise, but for some hours of familiar talk on riches, capital, revenue, labour, wages, production, consumption, co-operation, taxes, money, and such things. They are ever driving these words into our ears; sometimes to dis-

<sup>11</sup> "National Education and the Church of Scotland." Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas, 1868.

<sup>12</sup> "A.B.C. du Travailleur." Par Edmond About. Paris: Hachette, 1868.

courage us, sometimes to seduce us; never to define them and clear away all doubts about their meaning."

M. About then gives us a series of chapters on such topics as Man's Wants, Production, Exchange, Liberty, Money, Wages, Co-operation, and Assurance. Each topic is handled with an inimitable union of lightness and thoroughness. All kinds of sophistries which have habitually misled the poor and uneducated are dissipated, and that too, not by ridicule or abuse, but by genially pointing out the kind of truth that is really in them, as well as the sources and consequences of their falsehood. For instance, the subject of "Liberty" leads M. About to investigate the value both of such excessive protection as characterized the "paternal" Government of Louis XIV., and such more modified Protection of inland trade and manufactures as exists to this day. Mr. Buckle himself has not sketched with a more relentless brush the unscrupulous interference by which every man's work and profession was, at the earlier period named, imperatively marked out for him, and the clothes, food, habitation, and decorations, supposed to be best for him, ascertained and limited with the most unresting solicitude. The native disposition in all men indeed to such tyranny over one another is branded by M. About in the following forcible language:—

"When the feeble becomes strong, and the oppressed free, his first movement is not to use but to abuse his liberty. Untie the hands of a noble man illegally chained; he will not at once throw aside the manacles, but will cautiously gather them together in order to bind him who bound himself. It is for this reason that the ignorant mobs who then composed the majority of the French nation invented a social economy solely directed to their own peculiar advantage. The poor had been rifled at the hands of the rich; the former, accordingly, did not content themselves with suppressing abuses, they attempted to return them on their late oppressors as a conqueror turns on the enemy the pieces of artillery he has just captured. The history of revolutionary spoliations is too well known to need my telling the tale again."

A specially instructive chapter of M. About's work is devoted to co-operative schemes. Three modes of relieving the oppression of labour by capital are discussed in them, that is—*Sociétés de consommation, de crédit mutuel, et de production*; or, in English political speech, Co-operative Stores, Loan Societies, and Industrial Associations. The virtues and vices of these different schemes are honestly weighed, and recent illustrations of their success or failure are carefully investigated. It is pointed out, in a way intelligible to the simplest-minded workman, that much of the extra price he pays over what a large consumer pays is due to the convenience of being able to buy what he wants from day to day, in small quantities, and at his own door; and therefore, though co-operative stores may go far for the moment to reduce tyrannical prices, they can never really enable the purchaser to obtain his goods at the mere cost of their production. Again, Loan Societies can only assist those already in possession of a little capital, and therefore scarcely come near the labourer who receives only weekly pay. By their very constitution they imply the joining together of several small sums already acquired into one large

stock. As to the value of Industrial Associations, the evidence points to different results in the different kinds of manufacture,—being most satisfactory, of course, where the greatest value is added by labour to the least expensive materials. M. About points out, what we heartily accede to, that in all cases capital must be concentrated in fewer hands than those of the actual labourers, whether such privileged hands be called by one name or another, and that the true hope for an elevation of the labouring class is through more prudential habits of assurance on their own part, and an improved feeling on the part of their employers.

We are always ready to welcome any new theory of human society which is conceived in an original and courageous spirit, and all the more so if the ground on which it professes to rest is not over popular, and consequently encounters some difficulty in obtaining a fair and tolerant hearing. Certainly Mr. Miles, in his "Economy of Life,"<sup>13</sup> draws upon our powers of impartial attention to their greatest possible limit. We of course do not merely complain of the coarse and circumscribed materialism which reduces the whole phenomena of human life, as displayed in the individual, the family, and the State, to the operation of the three "primary wants," food, repose, and love, and to the "three secondary wants," expressed in the love of power, the love of the beautiful, and the love of society. Such a scheme is of course allowable as an hypothesis, and so far only sins in being nothing more than an impoverished and milk-and-water plagiarism from the great utilitarian moralists—differing, indeed, somewhere about as much from the theories of Mr. Mill and Mr. Bain, as the poetry of the bard retained by Moses and Son differs from Hamlet. What we rather complain of, is the total want of rigour with which the real facts of human existence, thought, and feeling are explored; the rash generalization which seems to be absolutely indifferent to its own truth or falsehood; and the reckless suggestions about State interference in such matters as prices, marriages, and the like, without so much as a thought of what all State interference really involves. As a specimen, we need only allude to the orders of personal and military merit to be publicly accorded to men and women according to their possession of high marriageable properties. So, again, in the performance of the duty of securing to every one wages proportional to the value of the labour he is willing to sell, we are told that "The Government ought to provide a free market, accessible to all, for the sale of labour and goods; and to appoint officers to determine the value of labour and goods when the buyers and sellers disagree." At the same time, as there is only too little free speculation in this country, we would do no more than gently advise Mr. Miles to make himself acquainted with the best works, at any rate of his own school of thinkers, before he commits himself to print again.

Any discussion of the subject of international coinage which seems to open a way for facilitating commercial and social intercourse be-

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<sup>13</sup> "Economy of Life: or Food, Repose, and Love." By George Miles. London: Trübner. 1868.

tween the different nations of the Continent, is always extremely acceptable to us. Herr von Xeller's<sup>14</sup> work is a valuable specimen of an intelligent and large-spirited mode of treating such topics. He is deeply impressed with the value of uniformity in a system of notation, and with the practical advantages of the decimal system. He also resents in calm but decisive terms the absence of all system, and even all attempts at precision and regularity, that is so notorious in different parts of Germany. He notes that at present there are no less than seven distinct systems of coinage in Germany, which he severally describes. He gives an account of the general history of gold and silver coinage in Europe, and estimates the inconveniences attending upon a double standard. The chief conventions between states with a view to bring about some temporary uniformity are also passed in review. Herr Von Xeller's general project is the introduction, gradual but effectual, of one standard in gold for all Germany on the decimal system of notation, and of which a piece closely resembling the Austrian guilder, would form one coin.

There is no topic which lies so near the heart of scientific politics, and which is so universally ignored by all students other than professional lawyers, as jurisprudence. It can rarely be said that even professional lawyers, by the large-spirited way in which they handle technical law, or by the wide and generous attention they usually pay to political topics, at all compensate for this neglect. Such a work as Professor Wilhelm Arnold's<sup>15</sup> on "Roman Law and Culture," is one we could wish every man engaged in the practice of the law in this country were obliged within (say) a year, to translate and undergo a searching examination in. He would at least have his eyes opened to what Germany is doing and has done, as well as to what England must do some day if she is to systematize her own law, or maintain even a respectable position in the intellectual and scientific world. Professor Arnold has in this work applied himself to a historical examination of the leading divisions of Roman law, with a view of discovering how far the ideas exhibited by that system reflect the state of civilization at different periods of the Republic, and how far these ideas have influenced or may yet influence the nations of modern Europe. Some of the Professor's lines of thought are, we think, very promising and suggestive. Such, for instance, is the conception of Rome as essentially and from the first a commercial centre. The law of "obligations" rose almost cotemporaneously with the law of "property," and all the institutions of civil and domestic life were coloured from the first with the hues drawn from a pervading familiarity with hard mercantile transactions between man and man. The earliest patricians were eminently capitalists, and the new land constantly added to the state, inasmuch as it needed capital to cultivate, defend, and improve it, naturally fell into the hands of those already rich. Thus, ceaseless agrarian laws affecting to regulate the claims to the possession of this kind of pro-

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<sup>14</sup> "Die Frage internationalen Münzvereinigung und des Reform des deutschen Münzwesens." Von Friedrich Xeller. Stutgard: Hallberger. 1869.

<sup>15</sup> "Cultur und Recht der Römer." Von Wilhelm Arnold. Berlin. 1868.

perty, as well as successive laws determining the relations of debtor and creditor, in vain sought to contend with the advancing plague of unequally diffused wealth. Then there was rising up, from the earliest times, an enormous system of slave-labour in agriculture, which brought all free-labour in the same department into disrepute, and numerically increased, to an extravagant extent, the trading classes of society. Professor Arnold rightly lays it down as a maxim, that for a state to be healthy, either agricultural produce must be created with a rapidity not wholly disproportionate to other kinds of wealth, or the interchange of commodities between the home and foreign capitalists must lead to the introduction of something better than luxuries and mere unproductive materials. There is something plaintive in the Professor's observations, that—

“The only fruit of the progressive economical life was the elaboration of what was in itself a magnificent money-mart. A coinage severely accurate and conspicuously excellent for those times kept pace with the demand for it. As Roman history begins with money-dealing, so it also ends with it—money, nothing but money—that is the beginning and the end of Roman culture.”

We are glad that Professor Arnold marks distinctly the use to which the study of Roman law can alone be put in these days. It is the pure form, the technical and logical, and not the moral and social element, which alone is imperishable, “which stands on an equal elevation with Grecian art, and so long as jurisprudence subsists as a science, it is in the ideal types presented in Roman law that such a science will ever be discovering fresh patterns of loveliness and purity, and never ceasing to gaze with admiration upon them.”

The modes of preventing war and of mitigating its cruelties without lengthening its duration, must for a long time to come form one of the most anxious questions of a liberal and scientific political philosophy. A valuable contribution to the discussion of some apparently minute, but really most momentous, points relative to the conduct of maritime law is supplied to us in a French translation<sup>16</sup> of an essay originally published in Russian at St. Petersburg by M. Alexandre Basily, a young man, as we are given to understand, of great promise, and Russian minister of foreign affairs. M. Basily rightly points out that the main difficulty in formulating a truly equitable system of international maritime law has hitherto been the long-continuing maritime preponderance of one or more States, especially England, whose interests have been wholly in favour of belligerents and against neutrals. The main questions relating to the law regulating Blockade, Prizes, the Neutral flag and Neutral Merchandize, Contraband of War and the Right of Search, have been determined rather with a view to what is likely to be in the long run the most advantageous to the states most constantly at war, than with reference to abstract justice and right. An important step was taken in the last direction at the close of the Crimean war, when the claims of neutral ships carrying merchandize not contraband of war, and of neutral merchandize wherever

<sup>16</sup> “Extrait de La Revue Critique de Législation et de Jurisprudence. De la Contrebande de Guerre.” *Essai par Alexandre Basily.* Paris: Cotillon. 1868.

found, as well as of those neutral states which were likely to be injured by an ineffective blockade, were recognised and adjusted on large and generous principles. M. Basily has in this little treatise essayed to carry on the work by pointing out the hardships still to be endured by neutrals, owing to the existing mode of regulating and defining merchandize "contraband of war." M. Basily holds that the main error is that of insisting on a mere competitive right on the part of the neutral, to carry whatever merchandize he pleases, and, on that of the belligerent, to seize whatever he pleases, if only he alleges the carriage is likely to be injurious to himself in any way whatever. It is far more just, argues M. Basily, to define strictly the rights and duties of the neutral and of the belligerent respectively, as well as the objects of such rights and duties; and, in all cases of acts of violation of duty on the side of the neutral, to take into account, as in the case of a private juridical person violating a law, the state of his knowledge and the consequent degree of his responsibility. This would at once do away with many of the iniquitous principles by which an identical penalty, that is, the confiscation of the neutral's ship and cargo, is enforced for an indefinite number of offences all differing from each other in kind and magnitude.

Of the many books that have recently appeared on the subject of the social and political condition of the United States at the present time, we have not met with one more entertaining and valuable than Mr. Zincke's<sup>17</sup> account of "Last Winter in the United States." He tells us just the kind of things we want to know and no more. He writes as disengaged as possible from all prejudices, and he has evidently made the best use of his opportunities in searching for reliable information on those topics about which his English friends are most curious. Though evidently Republican in his sympathies, he describes the existing condition of the South with much feeling and point. There is no doubt that the extirpation of slavery and the vindication of central government have been attained at a terrible, though none in England ought to say excessive, cost. The negroes are described as "loafing about, doing nothing." In the country districts, especially, they have taken to stealing, and they have not left on many properties a sweet potato or head of maize, or even a fig. The condition of the whites is said to be even more pitiable. "Tens of thousands of white families who lately were living in affluence and refinement, not knowing what it was either to want anything or to do anything for themselves, are now in a state of abject penury, or positively starving; many are without the means of procuring hominy and salt pork, the humblest fare in the country." It is true the States of the South are very differently circumstanced in relation to one another. The state of Missouri, for instance, the climate of which is thoroughly adapted to the Northern farm-system, was instantly benefitted by the abolition of slavery. It is believed that Virginia, "on having passed through the distress which is implied by the passage from the estate to the farm-

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<sup>17</sup> "Last Winter in the United States." By F. Barham Zincke. London: Murray. 1868.

system, will emerge from its present distress, a far richer and more populous state than it was before. In Georgia, successful efforts are being made to effect the change from the estate to the farm-system, and instead of trusting entirely to cotton, to try what could be done by growing wheat and maize. South Carolina, on the contrary, is utterly and helplessly crushed. Its best estates were in the Sea Islands, which, as they were very fertile, and their produce fetched exceptionally high prices, were densely inhabited by blacks. The result has been that throughout South Carolina, the most abject and irrecoverable poverty reigns, precisely where formerly there was most abundant wealth." For this State there appears to be no resurrection, except in some new order of things, under which a new set of proprietors will occupy the land, and cultivate it with Northern capital, and somewhat in the Northern fashion. As to the political prospects of the Union, it appears probable that universal suffrage will be conceded to the blacks in order that the South may return to the Union, not as of old on the Democratic, but on the Republican side. Mr. Zincke notices many circumstances tending to draw nearer to each other than ever before the North and South. The very differences of climate and therefore of productions will, through the instrumentality of railways and of the telegraph, be promotive of mutual dependence and continuous intercourse. The account of Chicago is very life-like and stimulating. "You could never guess that you were standing in a city so young that many of its inhabitants, still young themselves, remember the erection of the first brick in the place." Its "stores" are buildings two floors higher than the shops of Oxford Street or Regent Street. They have an air of solidity, and are not entirely devoid of external decoration. From the gallery of the city hall one could count twenty-three towers and spires; but this was far from giving the number of churches, the majority of them being still incomplete. Mr. Zincke, while speaking of the liberality of the Chicago merchants, evinced in contributing in a few hours a large sum towards making good losses sustained by their brother merchants through a monster fire, takes occasion to make a good defence of the American people against the charge of worshipping the dollar. He notices that there is no other country in the world in which the political sentiment is so widely diffused and so deeply felt; where so much time and thought are devoted to it; and where it calls forth so much hard intellectual work in the forms of writing, reading, and speaking. Again, in no other country does the religious sentiment work so vigorously and so spontaneously, and in no other country "do a million persons, taken not from a horizontal, but from a vertical section of society, read so much." It is also true that the Americans do not hoard their wealth. There are no other people who spend so much on their families and houses, on travelling and entertaining, in hospitality and in charity. Mr. Zincke on visiting Washington was frequently present at the debates in both Houses of Congress. He was not much impressed by the style of speaking in either of them. He heard much good common sense, and many of the attacks and defences which are necessary in party warfare, but he heard no eloquence, and where eloquence was attempted,

it seemed to result in declamation. He went away with the impression that both senators and representatives spoke, not like persons who were in the habit of addressing cultivated audiences, but like those whose style had been formed by the practice of canvassing-speeches and mob-oratory. Mr. Zincke considers it a flaw in the American constitution that there is no provision made for the training of statesmen. A large proportion of Congress—and this happens every fourth year—were new men, thrown up to the surface by action of local political causes in their respective States. The whole machinery of the government is rather adapted for ascertaining and carrying out the opinions of the people than of forming statesmen. A successful local politician, be he a grocer or a shoemaker, a rail-splitter or a tailor, will find his way into the Senate. We think this work of Mr. Zincke will be very valuable in removing a number of foolish prejudices against American institutions and manners. "The only difference I observed (says he) between the manners of these republicans and our own, was that they were easier and less constrained than we are; for no one is haunted with the idea of maintaining or establishing a position; because no one supposes himself better than any one else. I would only add that there seems to be few dull people in American society."

The recent variegated pictures of American life in its social and religious aspects presented by the entertaining volumes of Mr. Hepworth Dixon, have received an important supplement at the hands of Mr. Charles Wentworth Dilke,<sup>18</sup> who was Mr. Dixon's fellow-traveller for part of the American journey. There is room, however, for any number of works about the condition of the United States, and Mr. Dilke not only dwells upon some aspects of American life with which Mr. Dixon did not concern himself, but also by following England round the world he extended his observations to New Zealand, Sydney, Victoria, Ceylon, Calcutta, Benares, Scinde, and Bombay. The matter, consequently, in these volumes is extremely diversified, and though the whole work is written in a very light and agreeable style, the facts and theories are likely to excite a good deal of criticism from those who, from special local opportunities, are competent to test the details. Out of the mass of materials we shall select only two classes of facts, which we think of great interest—one, university education as conducted in Michigan; the other, the condition of democratic government in Victoria, especially in relation to protection. We believe that the university of Michigan has grasped hold of the educational principles for lack of which our own university life is constantly becoming more poverty-stricken and demoralizing. One of the principles is that of "elective studies," the other, that of the absence of all competition. In Michigan men first graduate in science or in an Arts degree which has a close resemblance to the English "poll," and then pursue their elected study in a course which leads to no university distinction, and yet the Michigan professors say that "a far higher

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<sup>18</sup> Greater Britain: a Record of Travel in English-Speaking Countries during 1866 and 1867." By Charles Wentworth Dilke. In Two Vols. London: Macmillan. 1868.



average of work and real knowledge is obtained under this system of independent work than is dreamt of in colleges where competition reigns." We cordially sympathize with Mr. Dilke's comments:—

"Unlimited battle between man and man for place is sufficiently the bane of the world not to be made the curse of its schools: competition breeds every evil which it is the aim of education, the duty of an university, to suppress; pale faces caused by excessive toil, feverish excitement that prevents true work, a hatred of the subject on which the toil is spent, jealousy of best friends, systematic depreciation of other men's talents, rejection of all reading that will not pay, extremely unhealthy cultivation of the memory, general degradation of labour, all these evils and many more are charged upon the competitive system."

We have only to add, that this university is probably the cheapest in the world. It consists of 1200 students, paying only a ten-dollar entrance fee and five dollars a year during residence, and living where they can in the little town. Of the course of study, "it is harder to say what it does include than what it does not." The twenty heads range over philosophy, philology, art, and science; there is a branch of criticism, one of arts of design, one of fine arts. Astronomy, ethics, and Oriental languages are all embraced in the general scheme. Ten years ago Michigan "was a wilderness, and the college-yard an Indian hunting ground." Mr. Dilke seems to have arrived at the same conclusion as other observers with respect to the state and prospects of democracy in Victoria, to the effect that the main disturbing element in its even and healthy development is the anomaly presented by the aristocratic squatters and the plutocratic and respectable English emigrants. One of the best features of colonial democracy is its earnestness in the cause of education; in the colonies, as in America, there is a spirit of political life astir throughout the country, and newspapers and public meetings continue an education throughout life which in England ceases at twelve. "There are many reasons for believing that the present disorganization of colonial society will only cease with the attainment of complete democracy or absolute equality of conditions, which must be produced by the already democratic institutions in little more than a generation." Mr. Dilke is of opinion that both in America and the Australian colonies the cry of protection is neither founded on an economical misapprehension nor suggested by selfishness, but is rather due to a serious political fear of an excessive division of labour being carried out in those countries whereby many human faculties and local advantages would become disused and paralysed.

The condition of California, and of the Western States of America generally, is matter of equal interest and importance to politicians. We could scarcely have looked for the advantage of having it treated by a lady traveller, such as Miss (or Mrs.) Isabelle Saxon.<sup>19</sup> The book is rich in social and economical facts, which tend to throw much light upon the advanced degree of civilization to which California is gradu-

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<sup>19</sup> "Five Years within the Golden Gate." By Isabelle Saxon. London: Chapman and Hall. 1868.

ally attaining. San Francisco seems to be carrying on direct commercial intercourse with the whole world—with England, New York, Hong Kong, Japan, and Victoria. The whole character of the city is now entirely changed from what it lately was. San Francisco, with its fine public buildings, its ecclesiastical edifices, and places of business, enjoying perfect tranquillity, seems as if changed by enchantment.

Very little is known in England, or, it is to be feared, cared about the fortunes and prospects of the Spanish Republics in South America. Mr. Hutchinson<sup>20</sup> claims especial attention to his notices of the existing circumstances of the Argentine, Paraguayan, and Uruguayan states, on account of the opening he is of opinion those states afford to European emigrants. The facts that Spanish is the language of the country, that the governments are not founded on stable bases, and that these governments do not sufficiently protect their subjects, Mr. Hutchinson admits, are serious discouragements. Certainly, some of the experiments in colonization already made seem to have been eminently successful; and the local authorities in some parts have shown much intelligence and vigour in affording facilities to emigration. Thus, in 1855, agriculture being found in a very deplorable condition in the Baraclero district of the Buenos Ayres province, the Municipal Commission communicated with Switzerland, from whence came, in consequence, ten families of agricultural emigrants. Each family was presented with a grant of land measuring 200 yards in front and 300 in depth, under conditions of occupying and cultivating it in such a way as to have a ditch, with or without trees, around each plot; and to leave a "street" of thirty yards wide between any one farm and its neighbour. These ten families were the originals of a flourishing Swiss colony, whose productions, within eight years after its foundation, are not only sufficient for its own and the adjacent populations, but form an important export, especially in potatoes, to the capital, Buenos Ayres, to Rosario, to Entre Rios, and Monte Video. Further emigration succeeded this first attempt, and the municipality has throughout tried to let or sell the land on the most generally advantageous terms. The whole colony now consists of 203 dwelling-houses, and, allowing seven persons to each house, the ratio at which Argentine population is generally calculated, the original community of ten families has in a very few years come to be represented by 1421 individuals. The chief produce raised is maize, wheat, barley, potatoes, beans, peas, and onions. The history of the war conducted by the allied forces of Brazil, the Argentine and Uruguayan Republics against the Republic of Paraguay is very instructive, both by way of pointing out the real obstacles to orderly government in these Republics, and also in elucidating their actual social condition. Mr. Hutchinson suggests that the real political puzzle is due to the constant attempt to graft the political constitution alone popular in the United States

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<sup>20</sup> "The Paraná; with Incidents of the Paraguayan War, and South American Recollections from 1861 to 1868." By Thomas J. Hutchinson, F.R.G.S. London: Edward Stanford. 1868.

upon a state of society all the traditions and sentiments of which are drawn from the mediæval Spanish monarchy. It may be said, indeed, that the root-evil is the want of organic integrity in race, and such an evil nothing but time and a government strong enough to preserve civil order can cure. The origin of the war was a persuasion or assumption on the part of Lopez, the enterprising President of the Paraguayan Republic, that the adjoining Republics, in some recent conduct of theirs were bent on outraging the national dignity, and compromising the security, of Paraguay. The war thereupon commenced by a sudden and unexpected invasion of the province of Corrientes on the part of the Paraguayans; and there shortly followed a triple alliance of Brazil, the Argentine, and the "Oriental" Republics, the object of which was to put down the government of Lopez, while respecting the sovereignty, independence, and territorial integrity of Paraguay. The war was still proceeding during Mr. Hutchinson's visit. From his account, President Lopez would appear to be a man well qualified to conduct a policy of national aggrandizement, and by no means wanting in the qualities of a true politician. During several years previous to the war, Lopez had been constructing railways, organizing an arsenal, building steam-vessels, and putting up lines of electric telegraph. Mr. Hutchinson's view of Lopez's character is, that "ambition for military fame, as much as a desire to enlarge the territories of Paraguay, is one of the chief urging dreams in his notion of equilibrium and independence of the States of La Plata." Paraguay has never been considered strictly as a Republic; for "since the Francia dictatorship, the name of Lopez has been, and still continues, the 'be all and end all' of Paraguayan existence, morally, socially, commercially, and politically." Mr. Hutchinson thinks that peace with Paraguay is out of the question, until the Triple Alliance be repealed; and he utterly discredits the talk of the Paraguayans being nearly exhausted. "These people have already shown" (he says) "a spirit of self-reliance—be their cause good or bad—which cannot be put down by such newspaper penny-alining as this." The latest accounts bring down news of the ladies of Paraguay having offered to Field-Marshal Lopez a quantity of their jewellery, as well as gold and silver plate, as their contributions to the expenses of the war. Of this Lopez would only accept a twentieth part, and that was destined to be the foundation of a metallic currency for the Republic of Paraguay. There is much else in this book we should like to call attention to. Thus the local government of Monte Video well deserves notice. This is conducted by a municipal body, under the title of Junta. It is "a practical municipality, whose excellent organization is proven in its public works of paving the streets, Macadamizing the roads, and in every way beautifying the city." It comprises the several departments of public works, primary education, public health, and some others. Then the account Mr. Hutchinson gives of the progress of agriculture, especially in relation to corn and cotton growth, is of great importance; as also are his compendious sketches of the education laws and sale of land laws in different parts of the Argentine Republic. Owing to the irregular mode in which the author picked up his information in the course of travel, the work is a

little too discursive for easy reading ; but this is quite compensated for by the abundance of useful facts and statistics on all manner of subjects.

As a lively representation of the vehement feeling on the democratic side with respect to the recent so-called "dead-lock" in Victoria, we can commend Mr. Parsons' two Letters to the Duke of Buckingham.<sup>21</sup> As we agree with Mr. Dilke, that democracy will only become wise and steady in the Australian colonies when it has become omnipotent, we are disposed to sympathize with Mr. Parsons in his spasmodic throes, though he speaks, while alluding to the persons on this side of the world employed in vituperating his party, "of a recent article in the *Westminster Review* of their production."

An important service to the cause of humanity has been rendered by Mr. Chesson<sup>22</sup> in bringing to light the barbarous and tyrannical conduct of the Dutch Boers inhabiting the district of South Africa "across the Vaal river," towards the native tribes. These Trans-Vaal Boers were constituted into an independent republic by a treaty with the English government ratified on the 13th May, 1852. The fourth article of this treaty stipulates that no slavery is or shall be permitted or practised in the country to the north of Vaal river by the emigrant farmers. Mr. Chesson's letter contains a mass of startling evidence to the effect that this article has been and is flagrantly violated, such evidence being based upon such unimpeachable documents as a memorial of Dr. Livingstone to Sir John Pakington in December, 1852 ; letters from persons themselves inhabitants of the territory across the Vaal ; personal statements taken down from the lips of ill-used female captives, given in the most minute detail ; and lastly, a formal and solemn resolution of the Legislative Council of Natal, in August, 1868, (among other things) declaring, "That ever since the annexation of the Orange River Sovereignty (since abandoned) in 1848, the emigrant farmers who settled over the Vaal river and formed a government of their own, under the style of 'the South-African Republic,' have carried on a system of slavery under the guise of child-apprenticeship, such children being the result of raids carried on against native tribes, whose men are slaughtered, but whose children and property are seized, the one being enslaved and sold as apprentices, the other being appropriated." For a full and most precise and vivid account of all the actual atrocities committed, we must refer to Mr. Chesson's letter itself. We trust that the matter will at once attract the serious attention of the government or the House of Commons, and be exposed to an unflinching and public investigation.

The manners and customs of the tribes inhabiting the islands of the East Indian Archipelago, some of which contain settlements under British protection, are well worthy of being carefully investigated by intelligent travellers. Such a traveller we have no hesitation in calling

<sup>21</sup> "Letter to the Duke of Buckingham." By Thomas Parsons.

"Second Letter to the Duke of Buckingham." By Thomas Parsons. Melbourne : May and Co. 1868.

<sup>22</sup> "The Dutch Boers and Slavery in the Trans-Vaal Republic, in a Letter to E. W. Fowler, Esq., M.P." By F. W. Chesson. London : W. Tweedie. 1869.

Mr. Bickmore,<sup>23</sup> who, in a work full of the most varied matter and founded chiefly upon a well-kept diary, gives us the result of his observations during a voyage originally undertaken for the purpose of collecting the beautiful shells which are peculiar to the Spice Islands. The chief inhabitants of "Batavia," with the exception of certain aboriginal tribes dwelling in the mountains, are Chinese, Malays, Arabs, and a few from other Eastern nations. The religion is nominally Mahomedan, but is really a good deal mixed up with Hinduism. The people are generally of a mild disposition, hospitable, trustworthy, and they have an insatiable passion for gambling, which no restrictive or prohibitory laws can eradicate.

The liberality of the Court of Directors of the late East India Company, and their enlightened readiness to promote every kind of scientific and literary exploration in the East, supply one of their highest titles to fame, not to say excite something akin to regret. The travels for scientific purposes in India<sup>24</sup> and other parts of Asia, conducted by Hermann, Adolph, and Robert von Schlagintweit, between the years 1854 and 1858, and of which the account has only just begun to be published, were undertaken at the expense of the East India Company, and with the approval and assistance of Frederick IV. of Prussia and Alexander von Humboldt. The immediate object was to extend further some observations already made in the Alps, bearing upon the relation of certain changes in the thermometer to the generally mountainous character of the district, and to ascertain whether similar phenomena revealed themselves in the hill districts of Asia, and also what magnetic variations due to the earth's attraction were discoverable in the interior parts of tropical countries. For these purposes the travellers started from Southampton, and, after reaching Bombay, travelled on to Madras, and thence to Ceylon and Calcutta. Benares, Agra, Delhi, the Punjaub, and Assam were successively visited, and a residence in Pondicherry concludes so much of the journey as belongs to India and is spoken of in the present volume. The description of the above places, as well as of their neighbourhoods, is by no means limited to matters interesting to merely physical students. Indeed, some of the careful details relating to the culture of land, religion, opium-eating, language, and the like, are, if not wholly new, at least of great moral and political interest, and valuable as corroboratives of what is already known. For instance, in Benares, the "sacred city," with its thousand temples, its streams of pilgrims, its roving sacred bulls, its crowded river banks and attendant ablutions, its Fakers, and its strange processions of devotees in long lines, each holding on to the one in front, and the first one holding the offering about to be consecrated to the god, perhaps the really important feature is the progress that we are told is being made in the study of Sanscrit. It was a crime, not so long ago, for any one not a Brahmin to read for himself the Vedas or sacred hymns, or to know them other-

<sup>23</sup> "Travels in the East Indian Archipelago." By Albert S. Bickmore, M. A. London: John Murray. 1868.

<sup>24</sup> "Reisen in Indien und Hochasien." Von Hermann von Schlagintweit-Sakünlinaki. Jena: Hermann Costenoben. 1869.

wise than through extracts and from hearsay. "European energy has now published copies of the texts, of the commentaries upon them, and of all the literature that belongs to them. It is note-worthy that the Hindoos now find these lately hidden books accessible in beautiful type to all: they prefer these copies to the incomplete manuscripts, and many have energetically applied themselves to obtain an education of the European style." A very detailed account is given of the opium trade and its cultivation in Bengal, as well as of its manner of preparation and its medicinal and physical properties. The travellers charge the Government severely, and we think justly, with the responsibility of cultivating so noxious and brutalizing a drug. We are told that in Bengal opium is cultivated immediately on behalf of the Government, and in Bombay a high excise duty is levied upon it. The average gain to the Government is  $3\frac{1}{4}$  rupees in the pound in Bengal, and  $2\frac{2}{6}$  rupees in Bombay. In 1859 the receipts to Government were about 23 millions of rupees, in the year 1865 they were 74 millions. This commercial activity of Government in so vicious a subject-matter seems to us to partake of two crimes. It is first of all protection of the most intense description. It is, secondly, whatever may be said about the restrictions on the sale which the high price involves, a public patronage of trade in a confessedly deleterious production on the part of those whose single and solemn object it ought to be to promote in every way its disuse and eventual extirpation.

An anonymous tract upon the subject of General La Marmora<sup>25</sup> and the conduct of the Prussian and Italian alliance opens out a view of the General's demeanour which, whether justifiable or not, is no doubt entertained in some circles of Prussian society. It is complained that the General never heartily accepted or facilitated the alliance with Prussia. His character was opposed to it. He was "a military diplomatist without ability to initiate a policy, without creative thought, great in little things and little in great ones." He had, furthermore, a secret mistrust in the alleged honourable intentions of the Prussians; he believed that Venice could be purchased for money: and lastly, he was naturally indisposed to the war; hankering after the friendship of the Emperor of the French. Particular instances of a kind of imperfect faithfulness to the alliance are alleged, but as we have not materials at hand by which to test or to contradict these statements, they must be taken, if not as mere libels, certainly as of no further interest than as exhibitions of a particular state of Prussian feeling. For a precise, soldierly, and most instructive history of the whole Italian campaign, and accompanying political observations of much value, we cannot do better than refer to Captain Wyatt's<sup>26</sup> "Political and Military History of the Hanoverian and Italian Wars."

Rather a striking anonymous pamphlet, translated from the German, under the heading "Who is the real enemy of Germany?"<sup>27</sup> conceives

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<sup>25</sup> "General La Marmora und die Preussisch-Italienische Allianz. Leipzig: Verlag von Otto Wigand. 1868.

<sup>26</sup> "A Political and Military History of the Hanoverian and Italian War." By Captain W. J. Wyatt. London: Edward Stanford. 1868.

<sup>27</sup> "Who is the Real Enemy of Germany?" London: Dulau and Co. 1868.

this enemy to be the Hohenzollern dynasty, that is, Prussia. The history of the rise of the present Prussian dynasty, and the policy and character of that dynasty, is set forth in the most telling style of political pamphleteering. The Empress Maria Theresa "had predicted this dynasty in its present form as an active and military despotism, caring neither for right, truth, nor honour, utterly regardless of everything save the furtherance of its own selfish interests, only with this difference, that in place of its former cynicism in religious matters there is now substituted—it is difficult to say which is the more despicable—dissimulating hypocrisy." "*The dynasty of the Hohenzollerns is, partly by its principles in themselves, and partly through its connexion with Russia, the real veritable and hereditary enemy of Germany.*" War against Prussia is imperiously called for by the writer and his friends, even in alliance with France.

The topic of peasant-proprietorship has received a seasonable illustration at the hands of Herr von Eckardt,<sup>28</sup> who in a book, on many other grounds of much interest, gives a full and complete account of the history, nature, and results of the present system of land tenure in Russia. The discovery of the true nature of the customary tenure of land in Russian villages, which has recently been brought to the attention of Englishmen by Mr. Maine, was originally due to the investigations of a conservative and enthusiastic Westphalian gentleman, Herr August Freiherrn von Haxthausen. In the course of searching for a basis upon which to establish an union between the Eastern and Western Church, and urged on by extreme antipathy to revolutionary and Jacobin projects, he lighted upon the custom of village proprietorship which he found to prevail universally over Russia, except in the Baltic and Polish districts. According to this custom, all the land attached to a particular village belonged in fee-simple (as Englishmen would say) to a kind of resident feudal lord. He occupied one-third of this land himself, and the remaining two-thirds were allotted, for the purposes of occupation, to the heads of the families comprising the village, with the exception of certain individuals retained on the lord's property and chosen at his pleasure. The rest gave up two or three days a week to labour on the lord's land. The allotment was repeated every nine years, and all persons who had not cared to take a lot on a former occasion might at any period of their lives come in and claim a share. This scheme so fascinated von Haxthausen, that in 1842 he submitted it to a searching critical process, and afterwards communicated it to a select circle in Moscow of enthusiastic and cultivated young men. For thirty years past there had been a set of earnest students in Moscow devoted to the study of German philosophy, some of them following Hegel and captivated with the principles of French socialism, while others rather favoured Schelling's more romantic philosophy, and formed themselves into a body called the "Slavophilists," who repudiated the connexion of Russia with the West, abjured the memory of Peter the Great, and

<sup>28</sup> "*Baltische und Russische Cultur-Studien aus Zwei Jahrhunderten. Von Julius Eckardt. Leipzig: Duncker u. Humboldt. 1869.*"

loved of all things to repose upon ideas reaching far back into the earliest history of Russian life and development. To each of these classes the conception of universally diffused centres of primitive socialism became like sparks to the tinder. A new life and a new era seemed about to dawn on Russia. The old was to be recovered, the new fraternal bond was to be brought in, or rather, sealed afresh. But it was not till 1848 that the idea was publicly announced and canvassed; and it was only on the 19th February, 1867, that serfdom was abolished and a new tenure of property, exactly reproducing the old, was formally established by law. Any village might either buy of the lord all or part of its territory, or might engage to pay a rent for it in money or services. All the other mutual relations between the individuals and the families comprising the village were retained intact. The result has been that five-eighths of the whole land has been purchased, and in the case of the remaining three-eighths, the old relations, as now defined by law, are preserved. Herr von Eckardt notices that the result is said not to be favourable to agriculture and production, and he appends some judicious explanations of this. The step was, however, a great and wise political move in order to pave the way to an ultimate reconstruction of the whole social condition of the people. The particular rules about re-allotment no doubt will have to be changed so far as they favour indolence and obstruct the due reward of individual industry. If some such comprehensive and generous policy were attempted in Ireland, an Irish peasant might one day aspire to be as prosperous, or nearly so, as an emancipated Russian serf.

A light and easy account of travels along the Danube and in the Levant, actually written *en route* in the shape of letters, by Mr. R. Arthur Arnold,<sup>29</sup> tells us a great many things, social and political, about people not much visited, and as to the true state of which mere anonymous newspaper correspondence is scarcely satisfactory as evidence. In the second volume an interesting conversation with an Hungarian is reported, which throws some light on the state of feeling in Hungary in respect of the attitude of Austria. "We must have a king," the Hungarian said, "and he must have the rank and blood of a king,—so who could we have better than Franz Josef?" Mr. Arnold was, nevertheless, under the impression that the emperor neither was nor ever could be loved by the Hungarians. The Hungarian further complained of the delegation from Hungary not being sufficient to control the national expenditure as voted in the Austrian parliament. "To say the truth, we would rather have the thing a little more to ourselves. Then we would be content with Franz Josef."

We are glad to find that Burke's<sup>30</sup> "Reflections on the French Revolution" have been republished in a convenient form. We should

<sup>29</sup> "From the Levant, the Black Sea, and the Danube." By R. Arthur Arnold. In Two Vols. London: Chapman and Hall. 1868.

<sup>30</sup> "Reflections on the Revolution in France." By the Rt. Hon. Edmund Burke, M.P. London: Rivingtons. 1868.



like to see Sir James Mackintosh's celebrated Reply also republished in the same form. The situation of Burke as a politician, and the true aspect in which the principles of the French Revolution presented themselves to his mind are well worthy of being calmly reviewed in the present day. His "Reflections" are far too profound, and in fact sagacious, though extremely one-sided, to make us content with the theory of Burke's mind being unsteadied by domestic misfortunes, and so having lost its old well-balanced critical faculty.

The modes in which the population of a country amuse themselves might be often taken as affording a fair index of their intellectual and social state. Mr. Trollope,<sup>31</sup> who could render any topic charming even to those who know nothing about it, and never could or would know anything about it, has shed quite a halo of interest round the critical epochs and vicissitudes that are evolved in such pursuits as hunting, shooting, fishing, racing, Alpine climbing, and cricket. We fear that many of those who are the most successful in these entertainments will be the least competent to express an opinion on the high literary merit of the gymnastic historian. They will scarcely know themselves again in their illuminated garb.

Another form of national entertainment is found in Heraldry.<sup>32</sup> Mr. Cussans' work is very pretty, and we should suppose useful for beginners. No doubt there are points of contact with really human interests even in this marvellous conception of the human brain. Our own studies in the subject have always been cut short in the bud by invincible stupidity, or at least, by a reprehensible want of enthusiasm as to the true relations of a chief, a pale, a bend, a chevron, and a saltire.

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## SCIENCE.

MR. W. L. JORDAN, in a small work on "Vis Inertiæ in the Ocean,"<sup>31</sup> endeavours to show that the oceanic currents are due to the action of a force which he denominates *Vis Inertiæ*, but which, in its subsequent development, turns out to be identical with what, in a former work entitled the "Elements," our author termed "Astral Gravitation." In other words, he considers that as the great mass of water on the surface of the earth is carried round by our planet in its axial rotation, the particles of water, especially in the more superficial layers, are held in check by their general gravitation towards the other heavenly bodies; and thus currents are set up dependent for

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<sup>31</sup> "British Sports and Pastimes, 1868." Edited by Anthony Trollope. London: Virtue. 1868.

<sup>32</sup> "The Handbook of Heraldry." By John E. Cussans. London: John Camden Hotten. 1869.

<sup>33</sup> "A Treatise on the Action of Vis Inertiæ in the Ocean. With Remarks on the Abstract Nature of the Forces of Vis Inertiæ and Gravitation, and a new theory of the Tides." By W. Leighton Jordan, F.R.G.S. 8vo, London: Longmans. 1868.

their direction upon the surface conditions of the earth, especially the configuration of the continents. He regards this cause as the predominant one, at the same time admitting the co-operation of differences of density in the water itself, and of prevalent winds. Even the direction of the winds is placed by the author under the dominion of his force of *vis inertiae*, which is also held by him to have an important influence on the tides. The subject is treated by Mr. Jordan in considerable detail, and illustrated with several charts and diagrams.

No one could have been more fitly chosen to give an account of the works of the greatest of English physicists, Michael Faraday, than his familiar and intimate friend of many years, his colleague, and ultimately his successor at the Royal Institution, Professor Tyndall. That gentleman, as is well known, delivered to the members of the Royal Institution a lecture on "Faraday as a Discoverer;" and this is the foundation of the little book now before us.<sup>2</sup> We all know the general outline of the great experimentalist's quiet and uneventful life, and the means by which the bookbinder's apprentice was enabled to take his place in the first rank of philosophers; but it requires such an analysis of his work as this with which Professor Tyndall has furnished us, to enable us to realize the extent of Faraday's labours, and the effect produced by them upon modern Physics. His main discoveries lie, indeed, chiefly in the domain of Electricity and Magnetism, but these led him often to the investigation of other phenomena, and with almost equally brilliant results. His results being always founded upon experiment, were obtained with an almost inconceivable amount of labour; his private notes of experiments connected with his "Experimental Researches," are carefully numbered, and "their last paragraph bears the figure 16,041." His success in discovery was due to his intense perseverance, to his extreme ingenuity and tact in devising experiments and in carrying them out, to his delicacy of manipulation, and in a higher degree than all, perhaps, to that openness of mind which led him to take in at once all the bearings of a produced result, and thus to advance from deduction to deduction with almost certain steps. From this last-named quality it happened also, that in some cases even lines of research which proved unfruitful as regards the purpose for which they were undertaken, led him on to some new and unexpected discovery. It may never be the lot of any man to do as much for the progress of science as Faraday from his genius and the time in which he lived was enabled to perform; but the processes by which his great results were obtained must still be those by which future students of physics must secure their progress; and the young experimentalist could hardly have a more instructive picture set before him than that presented to him here by Professor Tyndall.

A nice little popular work on optics, chiefly translated from the French of M. Marion, has lately been published by Mr. Quin.<sup>3</sup> It

<sup>2</sup> "Faraday as a Discoverer." By John Tyndall. 12mo. London: Longmans. 1868.

<sup>3</sup> "The Wonders of Optics." By F. Marion. Translated from the French and edited by C. W. Quin, F.C.S., 12mo. London: Sampson Low and Co. 1868.

gives a fair general account of the principles of the science, and of various optical instruments, such as the telescope, microscope, &c.; but the main object of the book seems to be the explanation of the various optical toys, illusions, and other matters of amusement. As a book for young people at the present season, it may be recommended. The translator has generally done his work well, although we notice a few careless expressions; he has added a short chapter on the spectroscope.

In the present day, when a young fellow going up for matriculation is expected to display an extent and variety of information which would have sufficed for a finished student of the last generation, the necessity for condensed hand-books is becoming very pressing, and we have no doubt that the excellent little *Manual of Inorganic Chemistry*<sup>4</sup> lately published by Mr. Kay Shuttleworth, will be highly appreciated by students. In a single small volume of two hundred pages, the author has given, not only, as he professes, the most elementary information on the science of which he treats, but really a most valuable succinct account of the present condition of the chemistry of the inorganic bodies. In his views of the nature and combining properties of bodies, he follows Dr. Frankland's views, and in consequence of this the terms employed by him are not of universal acceptance, but, indeed, in the present chaotic character of chemistry this could not perhaps very well be avoided.

After a voyage of several months, performed in the far east, passing along the coasts of China, and visiting such out-of-the-way places as Formosa, Borneo, and Manilla, Dr. Collingwood has published the results of his observations in a handsome volume.<sup>5</sup> The greater part of his work is in the form of a narrative of his voyage, which contains much interesting information as to the places which he visited, and the strange people among whom he was thrown, told in a pleasant manner; but interspersed with this are many references to Natural History subjects, and these, although they do not indicate any very profound research, are for the most well arranged, and will interest the general reader. Here and there we note defects arising from carelessness: thus at p. 56, Dr. Collingwood says—"To find caddis-worms in the towing-net seemed remarkable," which would certainly lead us to suppose that he had found them, but it turns out that he hadn't, and that this is intended to allude to the resemblance between species of *Cerapus* living in cases and caddis-worms. Three chapters towards the close of the volume are exclusively devoted to scientific observations, and relate to the surface population and luminosity of the sea, and to certain miscellaneous observations made during the voyage.

To those who admire sentimental and emotional natural history, and who cannot read any language but their own, the publication by

<sup>4</sup> "First Principles of Modern Chemistry. A Manual of Inorganic Chemistry for Students and for use in Schools and Scientific Classes." By U. J. Kay Shuttleworth. 12mo. London: Churchill and Sons. 1868.

<sup>5</sup> "Rambles of a Naturalist on the Shores and Waters of the China Sea. By Outhbert Collingwood, M.A., M.B. 8vo. London: Murray. 1868.

Messrs. Nelson of an English translation of Michelet's "L'Oiseau" will be a welcome phenomenon.<sup>6</sup>—This work consists of an exposition of various ornithological matters from points of view which could hardly be thought of, except by a writer of M. Michelet's peculiar genius; and these matters are treated in an ultra-French style. With one of the author's arguments—that in favour of the preservation of our small birds—we can heartily concur, but how far he is from having any truly philosophical view on which to build even this argument is shown by his expressed aversion to the birds of prey. The translation, which is anonymous, seems to be generally well executed, although we notice a few mistakes, such as the retention of the French terms *gorfou* and *martinet* for the puffin and the swift. In the matter of paper and printing, the translation is almost an *ouvrage de luxe*, and the illustrations, which are those of the French editions, are generally very beautiful.

From this work, we turn to one of a very different nature, namely, an account of the "Birds of Berkshire and Buckinghamshire," by a very young naturalist, who calls himself "An Eton Boy."<sup>7</sup> As might be expected, we find some trivial matters elevated into undue importance, but the painstaking work displayed by the general performance of this first effort at ornithological authorship is highly creditable, and leads us to hope that the "Eton Boy" may hereafter take a good place among men of science. His list of birds found in the two counties which he has studied includes 225 species, rather more than one quarter of which are permanent residents, whilst more than one-third are characterized as rare and accidental visitors. The subjects are arranged under the heads of resident species, migratory species occurring in summer, in winter, and in spring and autumn, and accidental visitors, the species being classified under each of these categories. The little book contains four very pretty coloured photographic illustrations.

Dr. Pflüger, of Bonn, has commenced the publication of a monthly periodical devoted to the Physiology of Man and of the lower animals.<sup>8</sup> The first part, now before us, contains a valuable memoir by Professor Helmholtz on the "Mechanics of the Auditory Ossicles and of the Tympanic Membrane," a memoir by the Editor "On the cause of the Respiratory Movements," and another by Dr. Burkart "On the Influence of the *Nervus Vagus* upon these Movements." Dr. Kemmerich also publishes a short notice upon the "Physiological action of Flesh-broth upon the Organism."

An admirable Handbook of Botany<sup>9</sup> has lately been published by

<sup>6</sup> "The Bird." By Jules Michelet. 8vo. London: Nelson. 1868.

<sup>7</sup> "The Birds of Berkshire and Buckinghamshire: a Contribution to the Natural History of the two Counties." By Alex. W. M. Clark Kennedy, "An Eton Boy." 12mo. Eton: Ingalton and Drake. London: Simpkins. 1868.

<sup>8</sup> "Archiv für die gesammte Physiologie des Menschen und der Thiere." Herausgegeben von Dr. E. F. W. Pflüger. Erster Jahrgang. Erstes Heft. 8vo. Bonn: Cohen. 1868.

<sup>9</sup> "Lehrbuch der Botanik nach dem gegenwärtigen Stand der Wissenschaft, bearbeitet von Dr. Julius Sachs." 8vo. Leipzig: Engelmann. 1868.

Dr. Julius Sachs, professor of that science at Freiburg in Breisgau. In every page of this book we find evidences that he has made use of the works of the most recent authorities, and the materials thus brought together are combined in a most excellent manner. In his second book on "Special Morphology and the Outlines of Classification," he devotes his attention especially to the great groups or classes of plants, avoiding the common error of writers of books of this kind, who carry their classification down to the orders or even lower still. The whole of these first two parts of the book, relating to general and special morphology, are illustrated with numerous and very beautifully executed woodcuts. In the third part, relating to vegetable physiology, we find a chapter devoted to the question of the origin of the species of plants, in which the author strongly supports Darwinian views, or as he calls it the "Descendenztheorie."

Professor Balfour, in a very good little Manual of Botany, of which the second edition is before us,<sup>10</sup> takes a different view of this subject, and sticks to the orthodox opinion. Professor Balfour's treatise is written in a more popular form than that of Dr. Sachs just noticed, and hardly goes so deeply into the philosophy of the subject. He combines the treatment of the morphology and physiology of plants under one section, which contains a great amount of useful details. His second section, relating to classification, is also very good, and the third and fourth sections, in which he treats of geographical and palæontological botany, furnish a useful analysis of our knowledge on these subjects. The little volume concludes with a very copious glossary of botanical terms, which will greatly augment its value in the eyes of young students, for whose especial behoof it is published, and to whose notice we may safely recommend it.

We do not usually associate the term "Synopsis" with the idea of an octavo volume of 500 pages, nevertheless, the "Synopsis Filicum" of the late Sir William Hooker and Mr. Baker,<sup>11</sup> although nearly reaching this extent, is a synopsis in the strictest sense of that term. Three sheets only of the work were completed when Sir William Hooker's lamented death took place, but from Mr. Baker's statement it would appear that the remainder has been prepared in strict accordance with the notes and other materials left by our great pteridologist. The book is wholly descriptive, consisting of short characters of all the known species and established genera and subgenera of ferns; the former amounting now, as Mr. Baker informs us, to 2235. The descriptions are exceedingly condensed, as is also the information concerning geographical distribution, &c., which is given under each genus and species. The characters of the genera and subgenera are illustrated by outline figures in a series of nine plates, by Mr. Fitch, and the work is one which no botanist should be without.

<sup>10</sup> "Outlines of Botany, designed for Schools and Colleges." By John Hutton Balfour, M.A., M.D. Second Edition. 12mo. Edinburgh: Black. 1868.

<sup>11</sup> "Synopsis Filicum; or a Synopsis of all known Ferns, including the Osmundaceæ, Equisetaceæ, Marattiaceæ and Ophioglossaceæ." By the late Sir William Jackson Hooker and John Gilbert Baker. 8vo. London: Hardwicke. 1868.

A work of no small importance to Indian botanists is Dr. Forbes Watson's "Index of the Native Names of Indian Economic Plants and Products."<sup>12</sup> It contains on more than 600 large octavo pages, printed in double columns, an alphabetical list of the names employed in the various languages and dialects of the East, for the designation of useful plants and their products, with indications of the particular language or district in which these names are used, the equivalent scientific names, and references to authorities.

The Anatomical Memoirs of the late Professor Goodsir, edited by his successor, Professor Turner, and prefaced with a biographical memoir of Goodsir by Dr. Lonsdale, make two rather large volumes.<sup>13</sup> They are an honourable monument to the industry and acquirements of one who during his lifetime always had the reputation of not having received the full credit to which his discoveries had entitled him. On the whole, this is, perhaps, rather an advantage than a misfortune to a man of science; for he is saved from much envious detraction, while a dim notion in the public mind of merits not sufficiently recognised, surrounds him with a vague esteem in which his figure is rather enlarged than otherwise. We are not disposed to think that the memoirs now first published, or at any rate those dealing with anthropological and psychological questions, will add much to Goodsir's reputation. Maintaining, as he does, on the evidence of the revealed record, that the primitive condition of man was not savage, and that the less civilized races are not undeveloped but degraded forms, he looks for the causes which have produced all "the so-called forms of savagism and imperfect civilization, as well as the so-called imperfect forms of human structure," in the neglect by man of his higher principle of belief. In like manner, he maintains that speech was beneficently conferred upon primitive man by an immediate or divine act or process, and that his possession of a spiritual principle entirely excludes him from the scale of mere animal being, even though he possesses an animal organism. It will be understood that the grounds on which these opinions are founded are not scientific grounds alone. The evidence on which they rest "is involved in moral science, and in those statements of that revealed record by which our higher beliefs are enlightened, confirmed, and sustained."

"I would lay it down as a principle, that whereas we are not to look to the revealed record for scientific forms of statement, we are, nevertheless, from its character, entitled to assume, that wherever statements are made in it, bearing on the intellectual, moral, and religious departments of the economy of man, in their relations to his material economy and conditions of present and future existence, the sense or bearing of these statements will not only not be contradictory to, but, on the contrary, confirmatory of, the scientific results of human research."

<sup>12</sup> "Index to the Native and Scientific Names of Indian and other Eastern Economic Plants and Products." By J. Forbes Watson, M.A., M.D., &c. 8vo. London: Trübner. 1868.

<sup>13</sup> "The Anatomical Memoirs of John Goodsir, F.R.S." Edited by William Turner, M.B.; with a Biographical Memoir by Harry Lonsdale, M.D. Vol. II. Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black. 1868.

It is evident then that Goodsir took quite a different stand-point from that which most of the eminent men who are engaged in anthropological inquiries have now taken. How he would have contrived to reconcile his fundamental principles with the observations with regard to man's primitive condition, which have been made during the last few years, we cannot tell, seeing that his anthropological memoirs are merely sketches of his views, and do not deal with the discussion of facts. Most of the important memoirs on anatomy, physiology, and pathology, have appeared in different journals or in the *Transactions of learned societies*. They are now collected and arranged in an easily accessible form. Dr. Lonsdale's biographical memoir is successful in giving a lively idea of Goodsir's character and labours, although he writes with an enthusiasm which, we think, moves him to place his hero on a higher pedestal than the calm verdict of posterity will endorse. The memoir too would have been improved by curtailment, and by the omission of some passages which, in their straining after effect, look rather theatrical.

We have received Part I. of Mr. Spence's "*Lectures on Surgery*,"<sup>14</sup> which has been published precipitately, in order that students might have the advantage of perusing it during the current medical session. The author is Professor of Surgery in the University of Edinburgh, and it is doubtful whether he has consulted his own reputation or the reputation of the University to which he is attached by this publication. It may be that this sample does not impart a fair notion of what the work will be when it is completed, but if it be allowable to conclude as to the general character from the mode of treatment of the particular subjects here handled, it is difficult to cherish much hope. The author appears to be destitute of any principle of classification, and wanders from one disease or injury to another in a way which ingenuity is baffled to discover the method of. Moreover, the treatment of a particular subject is hasty, sketchy, and incomplete, giving the impression of notes made and put together in a hurry. Take, for example, the account of Inflammation, the lecture on Cancer, and the lecture on Syphilis; it is hardly possible to conceive anything less adapted to give the student an adequate scientific knowledge of these diseased conditions, or falling so far short of what the latest acquisitions of science demand in a treatise on surgery. It is painful to be obliged to add that want of method and want of knowledge are accompanied by want of any acknowledgment of the labours of those who justly merit honourable mention. In speaking of the use of carbolic acid in the treatment of wounds and abscesses, Mr. Spence makes no mention whatever of Mr. Lister, to whom its introduction and successful application are due, but writes in a way which indicates that he is writing at him. Other examples of the same disingenuous and illiberal spirit occur in the volume, and make it hard to recognise the real merits of the practical suggestions regarding treatment which the author's large experience enables him to make.

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<sup>14</sup> "*Lectures on Surgery*." By James Spence, F.R.S.E. Part I. Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black. 1868.

Dr. Grainger Stewart has presented in his treatise<sup>15</sup> a painstaking and instructive study of those diseases of the kidney, which bear the name of their discoverer. These he classifies as (1) *The inflammatory form*, of which there are three stages, those of inflammation, of fatty transformation, and of atrophy; (2) *The waxy or amyloid form*, which has also three stages, that of degeneration of vessels, that of secondary changes in the tubes, and that of atrophy; and (3) *The cirrhotic, contracting, or gouty form*. He describes faithfully, and illustrates by cases, the characteristic features and the appropriate treatment of these different forms. The treatise is not a compilation of the views of others, but a genuine product of the author's researches, written in a clear and concise style, and well printed on good paper. Its value is enhanced by several plates exhibiting the minute morbid anatomy of the kidney in its different stages and kinds of degeneration, and the work may be justly recommended as a faithful study of the morbid conditions with which it deals.

Dr. Rudolph Brenner has published the first part of the first volume of a series of investigations into Electrotherapeutics.<sup>16</sup> This volume, extending over 250 pages, deals only with his observations on the effects of the electric stream upon the organ of hearing in its healthy and in its diseased state. The aim of his patient labours and numerous experiments is to endeavour to lay the foundation of the means of an exact diagnosis of the very different pathological conditions of the auditory nerves. He hopes to have accomplished this purpose, and to have shown also that the electric stream may be usefully employed as a means of cure in diseases of the auditory apparatus.

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## HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

**W**ONDERS will never cease! The sacred British Inch has been discovered in an Egyptian pyramid, but the sublimity of this discovery dwindles into nothing before the overpowering magnificence of the series of discoveries, historical, archæological, exegetical, linguistic and scientific, for the first time revealed to an ignorant world in a work of portentous ingenuity, entitled "Palæorama."<sup>17</sup> Mysteries, it informs us, hitherto undreamt of, are concealed in the biblical records. To suppose that the cradle of humanity was in Asia, as all educated Christendom has done for eighteen hundred years, is a gross mistake. The cradle of humanity was in America! The book of Genesis was written not in the East but in the West! It is an ancient American

<sup>15</sup> "A Practical Treatise on Bright's Disease of the Kidney." By T. Grainger Stewart, M.D., F.R.S.E. Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black. London: Longmans & Co. 1868.

<sup>16</sup> "Untersuchungen und Beobachtungen auf dem Gebiete der Elektrotherapie." Von Rudolf Brenner, M.D. Erster Band. Erste Abtheilung. Leipzig: 1868.

<sup>17</sup> "Palæorama. Oceanisch-Amerikanische Untersuchungen und Aufklärungen, mit Wesentlicher Berücksichtigung der biblischen Urgeschichten. Aus dem Nachlasse eines Amerikanischen Alterthumsforschers." David Nutt. 1868.



document! To look for Noah or his ark on Mount Ararat we must go to Cuba, and the catastrophe of Sodom and Gomorrhah must be referred to an American foretime. Esau, again, will be found in Brazil, and the Euphrates of the Apocryphal Ezra must be identified with Behring's Straits. The original Wales and the "rale' ould" Ireland are to be sought in America. The Joktan of the Bible is Yucatan, and Mr. Piazzi Smyth's pyramid-builder, the shepherd Philition of Herodotus, was unquestionably an Indian entity of extremely unpopular views. In short, the whole universe of the Bible (to borrow the language of Artemus Ward, himself an American) "revolves on its axle-tree once in twenty-four hours, subject to the constitution of the United States," in the representations at least of this mysterious volume. The book seems to be written in crazy-earnest, though we should quarrel with no one who held it to be an etymological burlesque, or what the same classical authority already cited, in his wayward foolery used to call a "goak."

Our next book has nothing in common with this arcane scroll except that its author has also a case to make out.<sup>2</sup> The object of Mr. English is to show who the historians of Croyland really were, and to vindicate, to a great extent, the reputation of Ingulfus and the authenticity of the writings which bear his name. Into the merits of the controversy we cannot undertake to enter, but we will explain the position which the present controversialist occupies. Ingulfus's *History of the Abbey of Croyland* was first published in Sir Henry Savile's "Scriptores post Bedam," London, 1596, in a mutilated form. It was printed entire in Fulman's volume of Gale's "Rerum Anglicanum Scriptores," Oxford, 1684. Mr. Riley affirms that with the exception of a transcript of the sixteenth century, no ancient manuscript of Ingulfus's Chronicle is known to exist, and regards this as a singular or suspicious circumstance. To break the force of this objection Mr. English endeavours to show that Gunton, the earliest of the modern historians of the Monastery of Burgh, had two different copies of Ingulfus, and that De Caux about the year 1260 transcribed particulars common to himself and Ingulfus, from his copy of the Crowland History. The argument appears to us somewhat precarious. Turning to the weight of authority for and against the genuineness of these records, we find that Lingard, Lappenberg, Sir H. Ellis, and Dr. Maitland quote Ingulfus as a trustworthy witness. Mr. Pearson retains a modified belief in him. Mr. Freeman cites him as Pseudo-Ingulph. Mr. Riley suggests that much of the history which passes for the work of Ingulfus was not really his, but history compiled when Richard Upton was the prior of Crowland, in Henry V.'s time. Sir Francis Palgrave is of opinion that the history of Ingulfus must be considered to be little better than an historical novel, a mere monkish invention, and an interpolated invention too. If apparent anachronisms can be

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<sup>2</sup> "A Light on the Historians and on the History of Crowland Abbey, with an Account of Burgh, now Peterborough, in the time of the history which is called the Ingulfus." By Henry Scale English. London: John Russell Smith. 1868.

explained away as interpolations, the passage which represents "Aristotle" as forming part of the course of education at Oxford at a period when his works were studied in no part of Christendom, would not militate against the conservative view of Lappenberg, Maitland, and our author. The entire Chronicle, according to its latest vindicator, may be considered under three principal divisions. 1. History, without proof, attributed to Kenulfus, and portions of history which were written by Egelric, abbot of Burgh; 2. History attributable to Ingulfus himself; and 3. The continuation ascribed to Peter of Blois. Mr. English will not admit that any part of the history was written by the Abbot Kenulfus, the Turketulus of the Chronicle, but is of opinion that we owe to Egelric all the earlier history which is genuine; the portion which is not genuine—which carries us back to a period before Edgar—he declares, from internal evidence, the worth of which we are unable to appreciate, to have been the literary manufacture of Malmesbury before he was eighteen years of age, and when he was "probably at his wits' end for the necessaries of life!" The second division of this questionable work Mr. English attributes to Ingulfus, who to please Lanfranc by representations establishing the archiepiscopal supremacy, admitted Malmesbury's "devout imagination" into his history. Though wishing to appear religious, he was content to profit by the injustice of Lanfranc, whom Mr. English pronounces a most ambitious and thoroughly dishonest man, and incapable even of revising such a history. Ingulfus, in our author's judgment, wrote all, or nearly all, the narrative of his own life. Of the third division, attributed to Peter Blois, Ingulfus, according to Mr. English, wrote a portion, but the work of Ingulfus and that of the Continuator were hastily and incoherently put together. Such is a bare outline of Mr. English's theory. To us it appears conjectural and unsatisfactory. The author's indiscriminate estimate of Lanfranc (who shares with Berengarius the honour of being the first dialectician of his age), and even of Anselm, does not prepossess us in his favour, and his trick of printing in italics what he regards as important expressions, including such emphatic words as *also*, *still*, *here*, *at last*, positively disfiguring his pages, in teaching us where the stress is to be laid, is ordinarily indicative of forcible feebleness. The confidential whisper that "his ambition is excessive," and that he "makes no secret of it," had better not be repeated in *another* volume.

Leaving Ingulfus and his critics, we call attention to a portion of Jehan de Waurin's Chronicles and Ancient Histories, which deal with the events of the period A. D. 1399-1422.<sup>3</sup> In this new instalment are contained the fourth and fifth volumes of the original collection, carefully edited and duly provided with index by Mr. William Hardy.

The second volume of the once popular Chronicle of Pierre de Lang-

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<sup>3</sup> "Recueil des Chroniques et anciennes Istories de la Grant Bretagne à present nomme Engleterre. Par Jehan de Waurin, Seigneur de Forestel." Edited by William Hardy, F.S.A., Clerk of the Records of H.M. Duchy of Lancaster. Published by the authority of the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury, &c. London: Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer. 1868.

toft completes the work.<sup>4</sup> Mr. Wright, who seems to have spared no pains in examining various MSS. for his text, tells us in his preface that the manuscript belonging to the Heralds' College is an altered form of the original, executed probably by some writer of the earlier part of Edward III.'s reign, who had found that Langtoft wanted improving, and improved him accordingly. This volume contains some curious fragments of popular songs on the events of the day, and especially on the incidents of the Scottish wars. The first of the four appendices at the end relates to a curious phase in those wars in the time of Edward I.; the second contains two poems ascribed to Langtoft, illustrating the popular literature of the middle ages; the third shows the important rôle played in the political struggle by pretended prophecies, put forth under the names of Merlin, the Sibyls, &c.; and the fourth presents us with an elaborate prophetic poem in English, "intended, of course, to be sung by the wandering minstrels so as to spread the influence of these prophecies among the middle and somewhat lower classes of contemporary society." An English translation of the Chronicle accompanies the Anglo-Norman text, and an index is added to facilitate reference.

In a supplementary volume of "Letters, Despatches, and State Papers, preserved at Simancas and elsewhere,"<sup>5</sup> Mr. G. A. Bergenroth, instead of giving mere abstracts has printed the original documents, including even grammatical errors, in full, accompanying them with a faithful translation, being induced to adopt this step by the great importance of their contents. Eight years ago, when he began his researches in the Archives of Simancas, Mr. Bergenroth became aware that certain papers were being kept from him. Failing to obtain redress at Simancas, he applied to the Director-General of Public Instruction at Madrid. After a negotiation of six years he obtained a royal order, through the exertions of Don Severo Catalina, who then presided over that department, authorizing an unreserved communication to our editor of all historical documents. The result of his inspection was the discovery of two errors into which he had been betrayed, the first relating to the private life of Queen Katharine, before and after her marriage to King Henry VIII., and the other concerning the strange marriage projects of King Henry VII. with regard to Queen Juana, the widow of King Philip and mother of the Emperor Charles V. This discovery occasioned and justified the supplementary volume now before us. 1. As regards Queen Katharine, she was under the influence of Fray Diego, her confessor, who made unscrupulous use of the most effectual weapon that can be put into the hands of a

<sup>4</sup> "The Chronicle of Pierre de Langtoft, in French verse, from the earliest period to the death of King Edward I." Edited by Thomas Wright, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., &c. Vol. II. Published by the authority of the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury. London: Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer. 1868.

<sup>5</sup> "Supplement to Vol. I. and Vol. II. of Letters, Despatches, and State Papers relating to the negotiations between England and Spain, preserved in the archives at Simancas and elsewhere. 1. Queen Katharine. 2. Intended Marriage of King Henry VII. with Queen Juana." Edited by G. H. Bergenroth. Published by the authority of the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury, &c. London: Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer. 1868.

priest, "the belief of others that he is a dispenser of rewards and punishments in a future life." While submitting to the dictates of this priest, who was afterwards prosecuted for some scandalous amour, the conduct of Katharine became so reprehensible that the Spanish ambassador described it as "a thousand times worse" than her direct disregard of a royal order to join the King at Richmond, in order to remain behind with her young confessor, for whose gratification she likewise sold her plate and jewels, which were intended to form a part of her dower. Katharine's behaviour, Mr. Bergenroth concludes, if it does not compel a belief in a positive love intrigue with her priestly favourite, at least throws a strong suspicion on her, and we shall not, he adds, be too severe if we pronounce her to have forfeited the right to be considered a lady of spotless honour. 2. With regard to Queen Juana he shows that the right of this princess to the Spanish inheritance was incompatible with the plans of her father, the greediness of her husband, and with what her son considered to be his duties towards God and the world; he relates the tale of her double captivity, and comes to the conclusion that the story of her insanity, fabricated to serve as the foundation-stone of the political edifice of Ferdinand and Charles, is incredible. Mr. Bergenroth seems to leave it undecided whether Henry VII. believed this story or not. On the one hand, he says, the truth was kept so strictly concealed that it must have been difficult even for Henry to learn it: on the other hand, he appears to have so low an idea of Henry's moral nature as to be ready to admit that Henry, without having any settled opinion on the subject, "was quite prepared to marry Queen Juana, mad or not mad, for the sake of her dower." Of Charles, he says that, though a mean and miserable delinquent, he was not the worst prince of his time, and that time he thinks a very bad time, comforting us with the flattering unctio contained in the following summary comparison: "When we become acquainted not only with the smooth, and by far too much polished surface of bygone ages, but also with the hidden springs and motive power, the uncontrolled passions, the unscrupulous violence, the sordid avarice, and unblushing lies which abounded in their depths, we shall all confess that we have made progress in morality as well as in learning."

In a "History of Art,"<sup>6</sup> which has attained to the honour of a fourth edition, Dr. Wilhelm Lübke undertakes to give a comprehensive survey of the various aspects in the evolution of art, to delineate its essential successive features, and to produce a work that may serve as a preparation for the study of the more exhaustive treatises of Kugler and Schnaase. Tracing the inner spiritual connexion in the artistic creations of the various epochs, from the period of the Egyptian pyramids downward to our own days, he professes, while dwelling on the unchangeable laws of beauty, and assigning only a subordinate place to secondary modifications, to indicate the grand ideas that mark the advance of the human race in civilization. The work in which he

<sup>6</sup> "History of Art." By Dr. Wilhelm Lübke, Professor of the History of Art. Translated by F. E. Bunnett. In Two Volumes. London: Smith, Elder, and Co. 1868.

originally embodied his conceptions, historical and æsthetic, has been revised, improved, and augmented. Among the additions may be enumerated the passages on Assyrian and Hebrew Phœnician art, chapters on the monuments of Asia Minor and Indian Architecture, and observations on the art of the Japanese. Street's "excellent" work on Spain, and the contributions of Crowe and Cavalcaselle to the critical history of Italian art, have also been consulted. The work is profusely illustrated with wood engravings of various merit, placing under the reader's eye pictorial exhibitions of classic, early Christian art, and Renaissance architecture. These illustrations amount to more than four hundred in all. The volumes thus revised and improved, are laid before the general public, in a translation by a practised interpreter of the German language, Miss Bunnett, already favourably known to the world through her version of the "Shakspeare Commentaries, by Gervinus." We have not compared the translated with the original text, and therefore can only say that it reads pleasantly. We think, however, Miss Bunnett would have done well to have substituted a more familiar expression for the "autopsy" on which the author affirms that he has based his descriptions; and when she has occasion again to mention the old Greeks, she should call them not Hellenists but Hellenes, and some other similar corrections are required. On the whole, though these volumes are attractive and instructive, they contain a fair amount of common-place information. It should be said, too, that they do *not* contain a philosophy of art. No formal investigation of "first principles" will be found in them. They offer rather a descriptive narrative of the leading stages in the progress of art, than a philosophical history of its rise or advance.

Lübke has treated of the arts of architecture, sculpture, and painting in their historical development. The musical art, also under an historical point of view, is the subject of a reflective and pleasing disquisition from the pen of the distinguished liberal historian Gervinus.<sup>7</sup> The essay is divided into three principal sections, one dealing with the æsthetics of music, and comprehending the original sources of song, the musical art of the Greeks, choral singing in the middle ages, popular or ballad minstrelsy, the varieties of dramatic music, instrumental accompaniments, and pure instrumental music as considered under the historical aspect. The second part comprises a retrospect of the musical æsthetics of earlier times, a comparison between music and painting, and a discussion on music as the language of feeling. The third part contains a parallel between Shakspeare and Handel, the two unapproachable artists, Handel alone being for modern music what Shakspeare alone is to the modern drama. We are very glad to see this subject competently reintroduced by a writer who combines intellectual power with poetic sensibility, as Gervinus undoubtedly does. The function of music, as an agent in the formation of character, by the evocation and perpetuation of trains of feeling, is a theme that was magnificently touched by Aristotle; the ancient church con-

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<sup>7</sup> "Handel und Shakspeare." Zur Aesthetik der Tonkunst. Von G. G. Gervinus. Leipzig. 1868.

tinued the classical tradition by employing music as a devotional incitement, and of course the power of music has abundant attestations in our own time. It is, however, rather as a sensational pleasure or religious intoxication, that music is cultivated in these transition days, when the spirit of good in the old system is dying out, and the new life, social, political, and religious, is but in its dawn.

Let us hasten back to "the spacious times of great Elizabeth," not the most innocent times, certainly, but times of splendid action and memorable men; and conspicuous among the latter Sir Walter Raleigh.

The meritorious narrative of this great Englishman's life drawn up by Mr. Augustus St. John, and recently noticed in this section of the *Westminster Review*, has already encountered a formidable rival in the maturer biography of Mr. Edwards, the accomplished editor of the "*Liber Monasterii de Hyda*," and the author of certain historical and bibliographical works. The biography before us is executed with great care and thoroughness of research. Contemporary documents from the Rolls House, the Privy Council Office, Hatfield House, the British Museum, and other manuscript repositories, British and foreign, have been rendered available as sources of information and evidence. Of the two volumes which Mr. Edwards has given to the world, one is filled with the story of his hero's career, the other with an original collection of his letters.<sup>8</sup> We will dismiss the letters with a few words of comment. They contain much personally interesting matter, and illustrate an extraordinary versatility and practical aptitude, but they are mostly occasional, and afford few indications of the magnificent literary power of the bold and brilliant writer. They occupy the whole of the second volume. The personal history of Raleigh is comprised in the first. Distinguished by industrious investigation, clearness and vigour of conception, and a level, but by no means unanimated simplicity of style, this portion of the work—the portion on which Mr. Edwards' claims to successful authorship in the present instance must rest—appears to us satisfactory in the general exhibition of material and attractive in tone and manner. With the exception of some disparaging comments on Hume's Philosophy, there is little or nothing in the seven hundred pages of which the volume consists that we care to enter a protest against, for we omit all consideration, favourable or unfavourable, of the part borne by Lord Bacon in the Raleigh trial. Raleigh's active career spread itself over fifty years, 1569—1618. At the commencement of that period, a chance conjunction of circumstances, says his biographer, with a turn in the foreign policy, transformed an inactive student at Oriel into a hardy, restless, and not over scrupulous adventurer in the Huguenot Wars of France. At twenty years of age, Raleigh saw *the* Romish Festival of St. Bartholomew, and according to Mr. Edwards "took a ply" in the French wars and massacres of 1570-73, which no happier influences were ever quite strong enough to efface. "The half-trained stripling" passed from the hardening experiences of French warfare to the finish-

<sup>8</sup> "The Life of Sir Walter Raleigh, based on contemporary documents preserved in the Rolls House, &c. Together with his Letters now first collected." By Edward Edwards. In Two Volumes. Macmillan and Co. 1863.

ing school of a worse than civil strife in Ireland. The soldier, thus educated, had his nature, like the dyer's hand, more or less subdued to what it worked in, so that Mr. Edwards, with all his admiration for Raleigh's essential nobility of mind, is obliged to admit that we see at intervals throughout his life traces of a reckless spirit of adventure, a passionateness of self-assertion, an eager thirst for pleasure and immediate gains, and even a strong spice of personal vanity. In Ireland, continues his biographer, he was not merely a soldier, he was a planter of colonies, a captain of industry, both in agriculture and handicrafts, a bringer in of new kinds of food, possibly the man who introduced the potato into Munster, and so the remote cause of the Irish exodus. As Captain of the Guard, as Warden of the Staunaries, as mariner, ship-builder, sea captain, founder of the British Colonies in North America, as member of parliament, as poet and poet's friend (for he secured to Englishmen the "Faery Queene"), as author and publicist, Raleigh gave illustrious proof of his versatile and heroic genius. No man could wish a fitter audience than those mighty few who commended his writings to posterity, John Eliot, John Hampden, Oliver Cromwell, and John Milton. The whole story of his life is in the page before us, elaborately told by Mr. Edwards, from his birth in 1552 (?) at Hayes, near Budleigh Salterton, in Devonshire, to his death in Old Palace Yard, in 1618. The relations in which he stood to Essex, to Cecil, to Elizabeth, his projects, his adventures, his fall, his Guiana expedition, his literary efforts, his alleged conspiracy, and his trial, are all sufficiently set forth by Mr. Edwards. That Raleigh was convicted of treason by a gross violation of law in 1603 is evident, says his latest biographer, on the face of the reports; but he admits that he had violated more than one duty in listening to Cobham, who betrayed him. Mr. Edwards considers it impossible to believe that Raleigh ever contemplated the surrender of an English interest in favour of the interests of Spain; and he asks, with some show of reason, why, if Cobham's new and wild story of Raleigh's proposal to land a Spanish army at Milford Haven was true, such a formidable accusation was not from the beginning substituted for the less plausible tale of treason fabricated, as he contends, by that pitiful nobleman. The offence of 1603, if any were committed, received the royal pardon. The Guiana enterprise was vindicated by Raleigh on grounds of international policy. Mr. Edwards exposes all Hume's astounding misassertions. Raleigh was brought to the block by foreign influence, being professedly put to death on the conviction of 1603. We have characterized Mr. Edwards' workmanship as satisfactory, and in the general treatment of his subject, and assuming that he is right in publishing the letters in a separate volume, instead of working them into the body of his narrative, it is satisfactory. Still, there are some omissions or deficiencies to complain of. It has been said that Raleigh took £10,000 from Mr. Littleton, one of Essex's adherents, to procure a remission of his sentence, but we have looked in vain for any mention of this charge in the present biography. Again, the question of priority of occupation or right of possession in Guiana appears to us to require a little more discussion than our author accords it. It is a curious fact too that the date of Raleigh's

birth, though it may be inferred perhaps, is not specified in these pages, unless indeed the fault be in our own too hasty vision.

In a new instalment of "The Letters and Life of Francis Bacon,"<sup>9</sup> Mr. James Spedding has some remarks on Raleigh's trial and defence, which may be appropriately contrasted with Mr. Edwards's comments or conclusions. The vindicator of Bacon is of opinion that nothing has been discovered that enables us to explain Raleigh's connexion with the plot in a way at all favourable to his character. He insists that Raleigh had been in intimate relations with a man whom no one respected; that he had listened to an offer of Spanish money; that his object, whatever it was, could be neither popular nor patriotic; that even partial investigators have not succeeded in believing him innocent; that one of the most admiring students of his life, Mr. Macvey Napier, in order to explain his connexion with Lord Cobham, adopts Aubrey's hypothesis, that Sir Walter's purpose was, as Mr. Spedding expresses it, to invite his friend's confidence with the intention of betraying it, in order to make his own peace with the king, a supposition which explains why Raleigh left the case dark--namely, because he knew it would not bear the light; but which, as Mr. Spedding urges, implies the existence of a by no means heroic element in that great man's character. For all that we know to the contrary Mr. Spedding believes that the verdict may have been substantially just, although the conduct of the trial of 1603 cannot be defended. To defend it, indeed, is impossible, if for no other reason than that Gawdy, one of Raleigh's judges, himself declared that the justice of England has never been so injured and degraded as by the condemnation of Sir Walter Raleigh, an opinion which generations of competent lawyers have ratified. On the other hand, notwithstanding what Mr. Spedding says, we feel inclined to agree with the biographer of Raleigh, that a conspiracy for putting Arabella Stuart on the throne was not a plot in which that great Englishman was likely to engage. Still we must allow that Raleigh's implication, of whatever kind, in the Cobham business, compromised him; and, while insisting that he was illegally condemned, we feel that there is a mystery remaining which appears inexplicable. With Raleigh's trial, however, Mr. Spedding is chiefly concerned, only on *his* hero's account. Bacon, he reminds us, had no share in the transaction of 1603, either as actor, adviser, or reporter, though in the subsequent embarrassment he took a part which Mr. Edwards characterizes in language which shows with what grave censure he is disposed to visit it. Mr. Spedding's volume, however, brings us down to the year 1618 only, about five years before Raleigh's execution, so that we have yet to await his judgment of Bacon's conduct on that occasion. One of the most interesting papers in the present volumes is Bacon's apology on certain imputations concerning the late Earl of Essex, addressed to Lord Montjoy, the friend of that ill-starred man, and then Earl of Devonshire and Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. It has an interest, not only of

<sup>9</sup> "The Letters and the Life of Francis Bacon, including all his Occasional works, &c., newly collected and set forth in chronological order, with a Commentary Biographical and Historical." By James Spedding. London: Longmans. 1868.



an intrinsic but of an acquired kind, as being one of those papers by which Mr. Spedding was first attracted to the study of Bacon's personal character and history. It is not a formal, much less a complete vindication, but rather an occasional defence. It reads like the production of an honest, sincere, earnest man. The letters in which Bacon notices his own works, as well as the editorial comments interspersed, are well worth attentive perusal. Reports, speeches, draughts of resolutions and proclamations, indicate the sagacious mind and unwearied industry of the great chancellor. Among his correspondents at this time of his life were Sir Thomas Bodley and Bishop Andrewes. It was the period of the publication of the "Interpretation of Nature," "The Advancement of Learning," "The Wisdom of the Ancients," and of an enlarged edition of the "Essays." During this period, too, died Lady Ann, Bacon's mother, and some years previously his brother Anthony, both of whom are the subjects of discriminating remarks. The private memoranda of Bacon, which we think are rightly regarded by the editor as remedial against besetting failures of memory, though capable of adverse interpretation, Mr. Spedding has judiciously printed with all the original abbreviations. Mr. Spedding's work is always genuine, his editing careful, exhaustive, scholarly. We congratulate ourselves and the public that Bacon has found such a faithful literary servant in the collector of his letters and commentator on his life.

Quitting England for France, we open a volume of biography and correspondence in which we are introduced to very different, and we may add, to very indifferent characters.<sup>10</sup> Françoise Athénais de Rochechouart was born in 1641, at the Château of Tonnay Charente, the daughter of the Duke of Mortemart and of Diane de Grandseigne. Educated in the convent of Saint-Marie, in the town of Saintes, she was taken to Paris about 1660, and was before long attached, as maid of honour, to the Queen's household. Here Madame Tonnay-Charente, as she was called, to distinguish her from her sisters, soon danced herself into general admiration, and after dazzling the Marquis de Noirmoutier, fascinated, married, and deserted the Marquis de Montespan. In the play of "Amphitryon," brought on the stage in February 1668, Molière glanced at the passion of the terrestrial Olympian for the beautiful French Alcmena. The Marquis, however, unlike his Grecian prototype, was not disposed to go shares with Jupiter, and his unaccommodating disposition had for its consequences imprisonment, banishment, and divorce. Madame de Montespan was free. A brilliant triumph, a reign of glitter and extravagance, was interrupted by a temporary exclusion from the royal favour in 1675. The reconciliation which succeeded was followed in its turn by a final separation about eleven years after, and in 1691 the discarded favourite was compelled to quit Paris. She died at Bourbon l'Archambault, on the 27th May, 1707. The singular vicissitudes of this woman's life, the relations in which she stood to conspicuous persons in the Court, the splendour of her early career, her penitence, her austerities,

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<sup>10</sup> "Madame de Montespan et Louis XIV." Étude Historique, par Pierre Clément, de l'Institut. Paris. 1868.

her edifying death-bed, are the subjects of the introductory biographical sketch which M. Pierre Clément has produced for our entertainment and instruction. The second part of this "Historical Study" consists of letters written by Madame de Montespan, who was commended by Voltaire for her graceful style, by the learned Huet, Bishop of Avranches, by the sister of the subject of the memoir, the pious and charming Abbess of Fontevault, by the King himself to the austere Colbert, who was instructed to have his eye on the Marquis de Montespan, and to satisfy the expensive caprices of that Amphitryon's ex-wife; by the Duc d'Antin, her only legitimate offspring, and by the Duc du Maine, one of her many illegitimate children. There is also, towards the end of the volume, what is, we suppose, a sort of documentary curiosity, the Deed of Separation of Madame de Montespan, only recently discovered, and other papers enumerating her various charities, or cataloguing the furniture and effects formerly in her possession.

The successor of Madame de Montespan, the widow of Scarron, the purchaser of the estate called Maintenon, from which she borrowed the name by which she is best known, the grand-daughter of Theodore Agrippa d'Aubigné, and the clandestine wife of Louis Quatorze, advised, or at least promoted that odious measure of persecution intended to crush Protestantism in France, the revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1685). This persecution led to a revolt in the Cevennes, in the South of France, and to the war of the Camisards, perhaps from the provincial word *camise*, a shirt, worn as a badge of poverty or as a distinctive dress, or perhaps from *canisule*, a nocturnal attack. The literature of these poor persecuted enthusiasts has almost entirely disappeared. A recital by a Protestant gentleman, "Rossel d'Algaliers," has been edited by Gustave Frosterus, of the University of Helsingfors, which gives a graphic account of the miseries which he witnessed in Languedoc, and relates the story of his efforts to redress the wrongs of the suffering people. Not himself a Camisard, Jacob Rossel, Baron d'Algaliers directed himself now to the King and his agents, now to his co-religionists and the exasperated insurgents, entreating them to make reciprocal concessions. Cavalier, the most conspicuous of the Camisards, was induced by his appeal to lay down his arms—a step which, at least, helped to determine and accelerate the cessation of hostilities. Little successful, however, on the whole, for he was banished by the King and repulsed by a section of the Protestants, D'Algaliers retired to Geneva, where he drew up the narrative contained in the "Souvenirs" now before us. His end was as tragic as it was premature. On attempting to return to France he was arrested, imprisoned in the castle of Loches, and killed while endeavouring to effect his escape. The editor professes to have published the original narrative, with no alterations except in the spelling of some words, and affirms that he procured an un mutilated copy from the public library at Geneva for the basis of the present text.

<sup>11</sup> "Souvenirs de la Guerre des Camisards. Mémoires inédits d'un Gentilhomme Protestant. Précédés d'une Introduction par Gustave Frosterus, Professeur agrégé à l'Université d'Helsingfors. Lausanne. 1866.

Mr. Langford's new volume, entitled "A Century of Birmingham Life," has its point of junction with the first instalment of this local chronicle, in the Church-and-King riot with which he closes the first and opens the second part of his self-registering narrative, self-registering in the sense that he has not given us an original and independent composition, but a compilation, the materials for which are supplied by occasional documents and local records, in particular by *Aris's Birmingham Gazette*.<sup>12</sup> The period comprised in the new volume extends from 1791-1841, a period of revolution and repression, and no less of expansion and reform. The loyalty of the town, at the commencement of this period, was "of the most oppressive character." No toleration was allowed to dissentients; Dr. Priestley was the object alike of clerical and laical hatred, and the fanaticism that flamed in the pulpit was propagated by lay emulators of sacerdotal virulence. Trading interests, however, were not destitute of their proper vindicators, and the Buckle Manufacturers petitioned the "first gentleman in Europe" to smile on the "beautiful and brilliant" product of their industry, and to withdraw his countenance from the "unmanly shoe-string." Fashion, however, was too strong for the first gentleman in Europe, and lent a powerful support to the effeminate rival of the heroic buckle. In 1796 the Soho Foundry at Smithwick, built by Messrs. Boulton, Watt, and Sons, was completed, and Mr. Boulton, senior, as the Father of Soho, proceeded to purify, sprinkle it with wine, and christen it, "in the name of Vulcan and all the Gods and Goddesses of Fire and Water." One of the many men of genius whom Boulton had gathered around him, William Murdock, was the inventor of "gas," and two years after this polytheistical act of consecration, several of the offices in Soho were thus lighted. At the peace of Amiens in 1802 the front of the manufactory was also illuminated with gas, to the astonishment and admiration of the public. In 1839, however, when Murdock was examined before a Parliamentary Committee, he was asked by a member of that great national council, "Do you mean to tell us that it will be possible to have a light *without a wick*?" and when he replied, "Yes, I do indeed," was met with the legislatorial rejoinder, "Ah, my friend, you are trying to prove too much." The man who was thus anxious to give practical effect to the impossible died in the year 1839, at the advanced age of eighty-five, "the last of the men whose genius and labours have made for ever famous the world of Soho." The social state of Birmingham has frequent illustrations in the references to theatrical entertainments, brutal bull-baitings, diabolical cock-fights, and highway robberies, which are scattered through Mr. Langford's pages. In October, 1809, Birmingham saw its first statue, in honour of Admiral Lord Nelson, erected. In 1815, the Chamber of Manufacturers addressed to the House of Commons a petition against the Corn Laws signed by 48,600 persons: a few years later a Savings-

<sup>12</sup> "A Century of Birmingham Life; or, a Chronicle of Local Events, from 1741 to 1841." Compiled and Edited by John Alfred Langford. London: Simpkin, Marshall, and Co. 1868.

bank was opened in Birmingham, and about the same time the Factory Act, opposed by employers and employed alike, was introduced into the third largest city of England. In 1818 the "servant difficulty" cast a shadow over the mind of "M.," who, representing a master's or mistress's view, wrote, indignantly, to the editor of the *Birmingham Gazette*, "Is it not notorious, go into what family you may, that its chief complaint, and I fear not unjustly, turns upon the insolence of one—the independence of another—the immorality of a third, and, I was going to add, the ingratitude of all." In 1812 the Gnome Fly was anticipated in his greatest feat by Sieur Sanches, who in the Theatre Royal, Birmingham, walked across the ceiling with his head downwards; and there, eight years before, a boy of twelve years old, the Young Roscius, made his *début*, temporarily turning the head of another lad, Charles Pemberton, who himself subsequently won fame as an actor. In 1826 we find the citizens of Birmingham advocating free trade, and soon afterwards becoming a centre of political agitation. Still later Chartism had numerous adherents in Birmingham, a petition in favour of the six points being signed by more than 94,000 persons. The riots of 1839 were violent and destructive. Troops cleared the streets; arrests were made; shops were fired; the shells of the burnt houses looked as if the place had been attacked by an enemy; in short, Birmingham appeared like a town in a state of siege. At the Assizes held in Warwick a long list of prisoners committed by the local magistrates was presented. The condemned were transported for life, and no one suffered capital punishment for the Birmingham riots of 1839. It was in November of this year that the Charter was publicly read which incorporated the town and manor of Birmingham, those parts of the borough comprised in the parish of Edgbaston, and the hamlets of Deritend, Bordesley, Duddleston, and Nechells, and provided that the intended corporation should consist of a mayor, sixteen aldermen, and forty-eight councillors. In his distribution of material Mr. Langford has briefly interspersed occasional explanatory comments, and has given perspicuity to his narrative by prefixing separate headings to his sections. In his intended completion of the story of Birmingham life, the industrious annalist proposes to depart from his previous plan of reproducing extracts, and to give the results in a consecutive and more compressed form.

During a considerable portion of the period which Mr. Langford has helped to illustrate by his recital of the incidents of Birmingham life, flourished the second Earl of Liverpool, the hero of Mr. C. D. Yonge's somewhat heavy but informing biographical narrative.<sup>13</sup> Compiled from original documents, from correspondence and copies of correspondence left behind him by Lord Liverpool, and now in the possession of Colonel and Lady Catherine Harcourt, of Buxted Park, Sussex, this narrative may be regarded not only as authentic, but as entitled to a

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<sup>13</sup> "The Life and Administration of Robert Banks, second Earl of Liverpool, K.G.: compiled from original documents." By Charles Duke Yonge, Regius Professor of History and English Literature in the Queen's College, Belfast, and Author of "History of the British Navy," &c. In Eight Volumes. London: Macmillan & Co.

place among the chronicles of the recent past, supplying as it does a new means of approach to the men that ruled England in the days of "good King George III." It was in the old anti-reforming period, the period of an heroic war-struggle, the period of Wellington's brilliant successes in Spain, and of Napoleon's gigantic invasion of Russia, that the subject of this memoir was summoned to wield the supreme authority of the State. For ten years Lord Liverpool was Secretary of State, for fifteen more he governed the nation as Prime Minister. With the exception of the second Pitt, no English statesman ever enjoyed so long a tenure of power. Robert Banks Jenkinson, for such was the name of this conspicuous personage, was the eldest son of the first Earl of Liverpool, and was born on June 7, 1770. Educated at the Charterhouse, he went in 1786 to Christchurch. In the summer of 1789 he left Oxford, and spent somewhat more than three years in continental travel. While yet a minor, he was, through Sir James Lowther's influence, returned to Parliament for the borough of Appleby. His maiden speech, in 1791, made a great impression, and about two years after, Pitt, anxious to secure the then eminent debater for his administration, offered him a seat at the India Board, and "thus began that official career which, except during the few months of Whig government which ensued on the death of the great minister, he never relinquished." In 1796, on his father's promotion to an earldom, he became Lord Hawkesbury; and was appointed to the lucrative office of the Master of the Mint. In the second administration of Pitt, as under the premiership of Lord Portland, he held the appointment of Home Secretary, and under Mr. Perceval that of Secretary for War. In 1812, on the assassination of his chief, he succeeded him as First Lord of the Treasury, and retained that pre-eminent post till a combined attack of apoplexy and paralysis compelled him to surrender it. After nearly two years of a life that was little more than a semi-consciousness, he succumbed to a fresh assault, dying on December 4, 1828. He had been twice married, but left no children, and was succeeded in the earldom by his brother. Lord Liverpool was hardly a liberal Tory, much less a liberal Conservative; but making some allowance for times and circumstances, we may call him a rational Tory. An opponent of slavery and the slave trade; an advocate of the resumption of cash payments; a supporter of Huskisson's measure for modifying the corn-law; a statesman not unfavourable to a more enlightened foreign policy than extreme men of his own party, he was, on the other hand, an unflinching adversary of the Catholic claims, and had no active sympathy with any extension of popular power or project of Parliamentary reform. Possessed of unquestionable ability, though destitute of the highest statesmanship, always courteous, conciliatory, and diplomatic, an expert tactician in the field of politics, Lord Liverpool seemed to be the man for the hour, in the absence of more fortunate or more skilful aspirants to power. If over-rated, as he certainly is by Mr. Yonge, and if we must pronounce him wanting in political sagacity, foresight, and comprehension of his time, mistaken in his repressive home policy, and dawdling in his conduct of a great war, we may yet allow him the

merit of a certain imposing mediocrity, of filling the vacant seat of the premiership with a decent dignity of occupation. There are some interesting passages in Mr. Yonge's volumes besides those which relate to the subject of his memoir. He tells us, for instance, that the Reformation in Ireland had been simply a transfer of the property of the Church to the Protestants, unaccompanied by any corresponding change of belief in the people, a fact that it is well to recall in the present crisis. The Coronation Oath too is a twice-told tale. When George III. consulted the Chief Justice, Lord Kenyon, and the Attorney-General, Sir John Scott, both these great lawyers, combining a sound knowledge of their profession with an uncompromising honesty, though strongly opposed as politicians to any relaxation of the laws affecting Roman Catholics, "unhesitatingly replied to the sovereign that his oath did not forbid, and never could have been intended to forbid his royal sanction to any law approved and passed by Parliament." Interesting, too, is Mr. Yonge's statement, that in the summer of 1792, when young Mr. Jenkinson was travelling in the Netherlands, he transmitted to his father information respecting the conduct and object of the French emigrants, and the admission that "it is impossible to exaggerate the folly or the mischief of their behaviour." Still more so is the reference to the unhappy and bewildered Louis XVI., who was then returning "on the only act of his career which if known would have justified his enemies in the imputations of bad faith with which they were unceasingly assailing him; putting himself in communication with the sovereigns whose armies were known to be preparing for an immediate invasion of his kingdom." We are glad to see Mr. Yonge expressing dissent from the opinion of the youthful traveller, that the manifesto issued by the Duke of Brunswick, threatening, under specified circumstances, to burn and demolish the houses of the inhabitants of towns, boroughs, and villages, and to deliver up the city of Paris to military execution and total destruction, was an unobjectionable paper, embodying a moderate policy.

The biographical element in the passages from the American Notebooks of Nathaniel Hawthorne is but slender.<sup>14</sup> There is a meagre unsatisfactory notice of his sojourn at Brook Farm, touched throughout with a spirit of irony and quizzical humour; there are also some pleasing half-poetical accounts of his children's life, doings and sayings, and numerous sketchings of the men and women that crossed his path on the journey of life, Emerson, Thoreau, Ticknor, Margaret Fuller and others. There is, moreover, in these "Note-books" evidence of much minute laborious observation and vigilant inspection of natural and social phenomena, but mainly of the superficial character. There is picturesque gossip too about woods, waters, and skies, whimsical comment and grotesque and ghastly fancy. "What is the price of a day's labour in Lapland (he asks), where the sun never sets for six months?" Solomon dies, (he assumes) during the building of the

<sup>14</sup> "Passages from the American Notebooks of Nathaniel Hawthorne." Author of "Transformation," "Our Old Home," &c. &c. In Two Volumes. London: Smith, Elder, and Co. 1868.

Temple, but his body remains leaning on a staff, and overlooking the workman as if it were alive. The "Note-books" on the whole make a curious study for admirers of the author, but they will add nothing to his reputation, and are suited rather to kill time than to inform or invigorate the understanding.

A reprint of Hallam's "Europe during the Middle Ages"<sup>15</sup> comprises in one compact volume the whole of that now classical work as originally given to the world in two expensive quartos, or rather as revised and corrected in the fourth edition. Of course it does not contain the supplemental notes published in 1848 in a separate form. Convinced that these notes would not much affect the value of any earlier copy, the learned historian refrained from making alterations which would leave to the purchaser of former editions a right to complain. Many of the corrections, however, in the supplemental volume are interesting and valuable, and no one who possesses the original work or the present reprint, should be without the companion volume. Accurate and impartial as Hallam is allowed to be, he admits an occasional one-sidedness in the tone taken towards the Mediæval Church. Guizot he celebrates as a model of justice and candour, but adds, "I was trained in the Protestant School of Ecclesiastical History, and in that of the eighteenth century, which now and then failed in these points."

No. I. of "Masterpieces of the Early Printers and Engravers" has little of biography and less of history in it.<sup>16</sup> The Life of the Virgin Mary is illustrated by two photo-lithographs of designs by Albrecht Dürer, who receives an extremely brief notice in the letter-press. The series of masterpieces will be completed in twelve numbers. The subjoined title sufficiently explains the object of the work.

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#### BELLES LETTRES.

**M**ISS THACKERAY'S new book<sup>1</sup> will be a great triumph to those who maintain that genius is hereditary. The plan of it is thoroughly original. The five tales are not so much the five old tales of childhood rationalized and "improved," as the phrase is—that is, having all their poetry and beauty taken out of them—but transformed into a second and nobler meaning. Stories with a moral tagged on to them are generally not stories at all, but third-rate tracts. The authoress of "John Halifax," Mrs. Wood, and the host of temperance

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<sup>15</sup> "View of the State of Europe during the Middle Ages." By Henry Hallam, LL.D., &c. Reprint of fourth edition as revised and corrected. London: Alex. Murray and Son. 1868.

<sup>16</sup> "Masterpieces of the Early Printers and Engravers: a Series of fac-similes from rare and curious books, consisting of illustrative devices, beautiful borders, remarkable initials, printers' marks, elaborate title-pages," &c. By H. Noel Humphreys, Author of "A History of the Art of Printing," "The Illuminated Books of the Middle Ages," &c. London: Henry Sotheman and Co. 1868.

<sup>1</sup> "Five Old Friends and a Young Prince." By the Author of the "Story of Elizabeth." London: Smith, Elder, and Co. 1868.

prize-novelists are the greatest offenders in this line. They have neither the artistic skill to tell a story, nor the power to write an essay. Their tales are consequently a hash of scandal and theology. But, where they have so ignominiously broken down, Miss Thackeray has won her greatest success. Where they always prove dull and wooden, she is light and graceful. Where they paint with heavy coarse strokes, she sketches with the most delicate touches. Let us, for instance, take the story of Jack the Giant-killer, as transformed by Miss Thackeray. We need not repeat the nursery tale. In Miss Thackeray's hands, Jack becomes the Rev. John Trevithic, the curate at Southsea. The two great giants in this new story are converted into Giant Cholera and Giant Workhouse, with his satellites, Mr. and Mrs. Bullcox. Other smaller giants, too, appear in their train, such as Giant Ease and Giant Good-society, whom Jack also overcomes. Then, too, there figures the most charming of little fairies that has ever been seen since fairies left this world, Fairy Dulcie. Now to use such materials as these with effect, it is obvious that the touches must be the finest and lightest. The least hint at sermonizing would at once not merely spoil the effect of a particular portion, but ruin the whole. Any disquisition upon the Board of Health, the Poor Laws, old or new, Mr. Chadwick, such as we are so often treated to in novels "with a moral," would at once make the reader close the book, and turn for relief to the original story as it stood in the days of his childhood. And yet Miss Thackeray is eminently realistic, as realistic as Miss Austen or George Eliot. Here is where her true strength lies. She sketches society as it has not been sketched since "Pride and Prejudice" was written. She possesses that true mimetic power, joined with imagination, without which no novelist can hope to succeed. As an example of what we mean, let us take the opening scenes, where we are first introduced to the Rev. John Trevithic. He has, by his drains, just successfully "scotched," if not overthrown, the Giant Cholera. All his friends are delighted, and that excellent Christian Miss Triquet is described as "nearly jumping for joy, hearing that the mayor of the adjoining watering-place was ill of the prevailing epidemic, and not expected to live." Now this is, if we may use the expression in a certain well-known book, "delightfully wicked." We well know that such a good, amiable creature did not, of course, do anything of the kind. Yet it is not so impossible as to be improbable. Besides, the anecdote has just a pleasant flavour, recalling Rochefoucauld's maxim that "there is something in the misfortunes of our best friends which does not displease us." Again, too, take the following description of the teapot, which is presented to the curate as a testimonial— "It was a very handsome teapot, as ugly as other teapots of the florid order; and the chief peculiarity was that a snake grasped by a clenched hand formed the handle, and a figure with a bandage on his head, was sitting on the melon on the lid. This was intended to represent an invalid recovering from illness." We might pick out plenty of similar instances, where the humour relieves the description from being commonplace. Let anybody sit down and try to describe a teapot, and they will soon see how difficult it is to make such an article interesting.



But Miss Thackeray can even make drains and cesspools touching. Take, too, another crucial test of an artist's powers—conversation. Here, too, Miss Thackeray is equally successful. Thus the scene between Miss Simmonds, Miss Triquett, Miss Moineaux and Mrs. Champion at the district meeting is wonderfully managed. To put exactly the right words in each speaker's mouth, to make ladies recriminate upon each other, without forgetting that they are ladies and Christians, is, in its way, a triumph of art. Lastly, we must not forget the many touches of real poetry, pictures of the sea and of the earth, of spring and of harvest, which are scattered up and down these tales in such profusion. We have selected "Jack the Giant-killer" for especial praise, but it perhaps contains less poetry of this kind than many of the others. We have, however, one or two small faults to find with "Jack the Giant-killer." Surely no clergyman would use such a phrase as "nobody ever thought your father had done his duty *by* the place." This would be more appropriate in the mouth of some Southsea lodging-house-keeper than in the curate's. Lastly, we must make a protest against puns. Miss Thackeray should despise what is merely the wit of those who have no real humour.

Mr. Lever is a born story-teller. He possesses the story-teller's art. And novelists are like poets—born, and not made. A blind man might as well attempt to paint, as the generality of people to write novels. Mr. Lever has, too, not only the knack of story-telling, but possesses those graces of style which are rather felt by the reader than expressed by criticism, joined with powers of humour and fancy of no ordinary kind. He enjoys, too, another advantage over the ordinary novelist. Like Thackeray, he thoroughly knows the people whom he describes. Thus, in the "Bramleighs of Bishop's Folly,"<sup>2</sup> he knows the ground. Most of the characters stand out distinct, and as we read their doings we are apt to say, as when reading Thackeray, "I know a man just like that;" "That's just what Mrs. A. would have said." The greatest failure however is, unfortunately, the hero of the story. Mr. Lever is not at home with such a character, so sensitively scrupulous that he is almost morbid. Mr. Lever deals better with a less complex nature. Only the highest art can make such a character as Augustus Bramleigh attractive. For the same reason L'Estrange also fails. The minor characters, Sir Marcus Cluff, Tom Cutbill, and Sedley the lawyer, are, however, excellent. Of the women, Lady Augusta is the cleverest portrait, with her foolish, silly ways, and her intense selfishness. In her conversation she is delightful. She jumps from love to a horse's bit, and then flies, through half a sentence, to her own gloves. Her letter, which concludes the book, is admirable, as revealing her real selfish nature. Lord Culduff, however, is too theatrical. He is one of those stock characters which a novelist like Mr. Lever can afford to do without. As the novel has already appeared in the pages of our contemporary, the *Cornhill Magazine*, most people know the plot, so that we have no occasion to repeat it. But

<sup>2</sup> "The Bramleighs of Bishop's Folly." By Charles Lever. London: Smith, Elder, and Co. 1868.

it is not upon plot-interest that the story depends, but rather on Mr. Lever's easy, epigrammatic style of writing. His facility, however, now and then betrays him into a looseness of expression and even into mistakes. Thus, in one place (vol. iii. p. 32) Mr. Lever confounds the viscera with the lungs, and in another gives us as original the old joke about the lady who could do without the necessaries, but not without the luxuries of life (vol. iii. pp. 346, 347).

If the heroine in a novel is mounted on a grey horse, and admires Charles the First, be sure that the writer is a woman. This is an infallible rule. We indeed miss the grey horse and the king in "Every Day." Still there are other tests. No one, after reading in one page such sentences as "a dress of pink lustre with a silver stripe," "crape in full puffings, each attached by a tiny rose," can have any doubt as to the authorship. If, however, any one is still sceptical, all doubt is at once removed by such a delightful Latin phrase as "de gustibus non disputantibus." It is sometimes difficult to tell whether a novel is written by a woman or a young curate. The Latin, however, generally settles the point. A young curate may commit many absurdities, but he will not blunder over the commonest of Latin phrases. "Every Day," however, is a great deal better than the average of what we must call "goody" novels. The opening chapters are the weakest. As the writer goes on, the characters become more interesting. There are throughout evident marks of wide reading and culture. The reflections upon religion, social observances, are generally sensible, and sometimes shrewd. The great fault of the novel is want of construction and plot-interest. The characters talk too much. We want more action. Only great novelists, like Thackeray and Miss Austen, can afford to dispense with plots. We should advise the authoress, too, to cut out all her learned disquisitions—as, for instance, upon names (p. 61), and her criticism upon the Old Testament history (p. 43). Average men and women do not read novels for information of this kind. They rightly prefer to go to other and probably more reliable sources. From an artistic point of view such writing is a thorough mistake.

Mr. Paul Gosslett's *Confessions*<sup>4</sup> consist of three tales, of which the first two are considerably the best. In the first Mr. Gosslett goes out to Calabria with a sum of money to rescue a young Englishman from some brigands. Some of the sketches are in their way excellent. For instance, here is Mr. Gosslett's interview with "Mr. Spinnington, Attaché H.B.M.'s Legation, Naples."

"He was a fine-faced, blue-eyed young man, very short-sighted, with a faint lisp, and an effeminate air. He bowed slightly as he came forward, and said—'You're Mr. Gosslett, aint you?' And not waiting for any reply, he sat down and opened a roll of papers. 'Here are your instructions. You are to follow them when you can, you know, and diverge from them whenever you must. That is, do whatever you like, and take the consequences. Sir James wont see you

<sup>3</sup> "Every Day: a Story of Common Life." London: Provost and Co. 1868.

<sup>4</sup> "Paul Gosslett's Confessions in Love, Law, and the Civil Service." London: Virtue and Co. 1868.

again. He says you insulted him ; but he says that of almost every one. The cook insults him when the soup is too salt ; and I insulted him last week, by writing with pale ink."—p. 19.

Pleasant crisp writing of this kind carries the reader on to the brigand's den. But who the brigand chief is we must let each one find out for himself. It is the best part of the story. The second tale is also equally well told, though we begin to sympathize less with the hero in his love adventures in Ireland than in his exploits at Rocco d'Anco with Fra Bartolo and the brigand chief Stoppa. The third tale is in every way the poorest of all. It is extravagant and improbable to the last degree. For no earthly reason, which we can understand, Paul Gosslett flings away his good fortune. The writing, too, is much thinner. Further we meet such higgledy-piggledy Latin as the following :—"It sounds splendidly wise in the Latin moralist to say, 'Non numen habes fortuna si sit prudentia'" (p. 99). Now the "Latin moralist," that is to say, Juvenal, never did say anything of the kind. There are, we are quite aware, several readings of the last two lines of the famous tenth satire, but Mr. Gosslett's version will neither scan nor construe. In the next page the author, who is certainly not a woman, regrets that he does not quote correctly from Lockhart ; we think he would do well to extend his regrets.

Miss Parr<sup>5</sup> occupies a peculiar position amongst novelists. We have read with pleasure we dare not say how many of her novels, but they have left no impression upon the mind beyond the mere fact that they were at the time pleasant enough reading. She draws no characters that stick by us. Her men and women are ordinary every-day sort of people, and after we have read them we think no more about them than of the weather this day year, which at the time probably interested us. She gives us no dramatic scenes, and thrills us with no terror. Her characters utter no brilliant nor incisive sayings. Yet in spite of all this Miss Parr is one of the pleasantest of our novelists. In her present tale she has forsaken the Isle of Wight and the South Coast and sketched North-country scenery. The district is apparently between Middlesborough and Whitby. We say apparently, for we do not feel quite certain. The presence of iron certainly points to this neighbourhood, though the mention of coal militates against the theory. The sketches of Driftmore Abbey certainly remind us of Whitby Abbey, and the dialect abounds in Cleveland provincialisms. So much, then, for the internal evidence. The story is soon told. Mrs. Marsden, a mason's wife, wishes to put her child George, afterwards better known as "Chump" and "George the Second," to a respectable school at Kingston. Some scruples are felt by the school-mistress whether the presence of a mason's son is exactly desirable amongst her select pupils. Mrs. Grundy and respectability are, however, appeased when they discover that the boy's uncle is Sir George Cloughton, the great contractor. Sir George is a self-made man, who is able to buy up all Kingston, and eventually takes young George by

<sup>5</sup> "Contrast ; or, the Schoolfellows." By Holme Lee. London : Smith, Elder, and Co. 1868.

the hand. Here the story begins. We are introduced to a Sir Barnaby Figg, financier, speculator, and what not. We are, however, soon shown which way the wind is going to blow by the speech of old Joshua Wade, upon whose farm a rich iron vein has been discovered.

"I'm saying nothing against Sir Barnaby's ideas (tho' this o' Wildsoken is moonshine), but his extravagant speckilating companies are no better than gamblers. Finacing he calls their doings. 'Ay,' says Lawyer Crump, 'he'll finance himself into the dock before he's done, if he don't take more heed how he finances.' He began at nought, and he'll end at nought; that's my opinion o' Sir Barnaby, and I don't care who knows it. I bought fifty shares i' one o' his concerns, just on the strength o' his name, an' if I'd bought fifty soap-bubbles I should have had more for my money than I got."

The experienced novel-reader is at once aware that it is now only a question of so many pages before ruin befalls the great Sir George. And ruin comes in the last chapter but one. The Universal Loan Company breaks. At this point Miss Parr is at her best. How each one, and more especially Sir George, bears the crash, must be read in Miss Parr's own words. The hero of the book, however, is "Chump." His schemes and labours at Wildsoken form, perhaps, the most interesting part of the story. Some of the minor character, Lady Cloughton, Anna Trent, and John Froude, are sketched in with unusually firm strokes. They have more individuality of character than Miss Parr usually endows her personages with. The novel, in short, is pleasant light reading.

If the "Story of the Two Cousins"<sup>6</sup> is, as we suppose, a first attempt, it gives promise of far better things. It, too, is a tale in which we are introduced to a self-made man, not in this case a contractor, but an Indian nabob. The story turns upon the loss of his will. The two cousins, Godfrey and Tristram Vere, are the heroes. Their early school-day life is pleasantly sketched, but the general impression which the book leaves is that of sadness. The concluding chapters are especially sad. And the sadness is all brought about by the want of decision of character in Godfrey. The blow, however, falls heaviest upon himself. He discovers his uncle's missing will. But not until he has irretrievably committed both himself and others does he make known its contents. As a story-teller, the authoress has much to learn. There is a reverse to the proverb which we have already quoted, that "the poet is made as well as born." It is applicable also to the novelist.

As usual, the approach of Christmas is heralded by a number of minor poets. Their poems, like Martial's epigrams, are of all kinds, good, indifferent, and bad. Mr. Mair's<sup>7</sup> method of describing a shower,

"One shaggy cloud wept

Great pudding drops,"

is more original than poetical. He certainly, too, goes farther in his Præ-Raphaelitism than an artist should do, when in his minute description of the "chitmunk," he tells us

<sup>6</sup> "A Story of Two Cousins." By Lady Emily Pensonby. London: Smith, Elder, and Co. 1868.

<sup>7</sup> "Dressland, and other Poems." By Charles Mair. London: Sampson Low, Son, and Marston. 1868.

"That should you wag a finger through the air,  
 'Twill snudge away beneath the balsam bush."

In short, Mr. Mair's method of writing poetry may be briefly described as using words which all other people would avoid. Mr. Charlton<sup>8</sup> seems sometimes to labour under the same impression that words will do duty for ideas. Thus, in a poem upon Havelock we meet such stanzas as

"His father's ghost avenging,  
 Who drank in Odin's hall,  
 From skulls of foes the foaming mead,  
 With many a shout and *skal!*"

"And years full many a hundred  
 His sons dwelt by that shore,  
 And sailed their ships o'er those green waves,  
 The *chiules* of old that bore."

No local colouring is really gained by using such words as *skal* and *chiules*, especially when the reader is obliged to refer to a note to find out that the former means a drinking pledge and the other a ship. We would advise both Mr. Charlton and Mr. Mair to take the old advice—*verbum insolitum tanquam scopulum vitare*. Mr. Charlton, it is, however, but justice to say, is not an offender in the same way nor to the same extent as Mr. Mair. In short, his poetry is of a much higher order. The chief value of his book consists in one, at least, of the translations. English readers will be glad to find a version of "Der Sohn der Wildniss," by Friedrich Halm, whose *Griseldis* is already well known in this country, by a translation which appeared many years ago. If Mr. Charlton will take our advice he will give up writing original poetry, and devote himself to translations. He has already won laurels, of which he may be proud, for Friedrich Halm, who ought to be a judge, compliments him in warm terms on his success.

Mr. Lyte's poems<sup>9</sup> are shielded from any severe criticism by the subjects with which he principally deals. We can, however, only wonder with Lord Bacon, why religious poetry should always be so poor.

We are much afraid that Mr. Waterfield's poems<sup>10</sup> will not attain the popularity which they deserve. English readers are frightened when they see such subjects as "Hymns to Ushas," "The Fourth Avatara," "Sharmishthra," &c. &c. Yet Mr. Waterfield's treatment is particularly graceful. He seems to have thoroughly caught the Oriental spirit. Some of his shorter pieces, too, are full of quiet humour. He must be read between the lines. Thus, in a little poem, the Force of Nature, he tells us how a crow, flying over a hermitage, dropped

<sup>8</sup> "Poems and Plays, Original and Translated." By William H. Charlton. London: Longmans, Green, and Co. 1868.

<sup>9</sup> "Miscellaneous Poems." By Henry Francis Lyte, M.A. London, Oxford, and Cambridge: Rivingtons. 1868.

<sup>10</sup> "Indian Ballads, and other Poems." By William Waterfield. London: Smith, Elder, and Co. 1868.

a mouse. The hermit finds the wounded creature, and taking it to a holy well, washes its wounds, and then by a magic spell turns it into a damsel. The maiden grows up, each day increasing in beauty and grace. The time comes, however, when she must be married.

- “ ‘The father sinneth a sin,’ he said,  
 ‘Who sees not his child in honour wed.’
- “ ‘If I must leave my maiden state,  
 The strongest of beings I choose for mate.’
- “ They went to the sun in his noon-day height :  
 ‘Sure none can equal thy glorious might ?’
- “ ‘How can he claim that matchless praise,  
 When every cloud can hide his rays ?’
- “ They went to the cloud rolling back from the west :  
 ‘O thunder-voiced, is thy strength the best ?’
- “ ‘How is he the strongest, when to and fro,  
 As the wind may list he is forced to go ?’
- “ They went to the wind that was shouting free :  
 ‘Unwearied of wing, is the strength with thee ?’
- “ ‘How can he make so proud a claim,  
 When the hill is able his force to tame ?’”

The reader may now, we think, be able to see the beginning of the end. They go to the hill, and ask, “O pillar of earth, is thine the strength?” and the reply is that he cannot boast of strength, when the little mouse “bores his roots as he will.” So of course the mouse becomes the bridegroom, and the damsel turns back to her original form. It is an old story, but it is set to new music. Our English version runs, “you cannot make a silk purse out of a sow’s ear.” Once more, as a sample of Mr. Waterfield’s lighter strains, let us take a stanza from some Macaronic lines upon a valley :—

“ Kai entautha hē selēnē  
 Clarē splendet ac serenē,  
 ”Ala ghusni ’lyasim’ni,  
 Und des Sommers See:  
 And the placid waters brighten  
 Wo die Elfenshifflein gleiten,  
 Atque inter Nymphas Triton  
 Sings across the bay.”

The third line, as we learn from a note, is Arabic, and means, “on the branch of the jasmine.” The rest will be easily understood by most readers.

“Life Below”<sup>11</sup> is a very remarkable book. We have read some fifty pages of it without being able to understand a single word. More wonderful events take place than we ever remember to have met with, even in minor poetry. Weathercocks whine, and birds chase stars (pp. 73, 82).

<sup>11</sup> “Life Below. In Seven Poems.” London : Alfred W. Bennett. 1868.

The author of "Palingenesia"<sup>12</sup> is evidently in earnest, has liberal ideas and wide sympathies, but is deficient in power. He has chosen the "In Memoriam" metre, and often touches upon the same subjects as that great poem. The similarity is unfortunate. We are constantly reminded how inferior he is to Tennyson in melody, felicity of expression, and depth of thought. The old proverb, "Ubi vires deficient ibi laudanda voluntas," does not hold good in poetry. We think, however, that if Mr. Teetgen would throw his ideas into prose in the shape of essays he would probably find a large public to welcome them. No one will read poetry unless it is first-rate.

The same remarks apply with equal force to Miss Eckley's "Minor Chords."<sup>13</sup> It is as useless to try to entice readers with mere pretty couplets as with mere pretty covers. Miss Eckley's book has pretty couplets, and, thanks to Messieurs Bell and Daldy, a very pretty cover; but neither will, we fear, attract the general public. Let us, for instance, give a sample of Miss Eckley's poetry from a piece upon a stained church window:—

"How brightly glow'd the autumn sun,  
Through the great window pane,  
Streaming down on the altar, like  
A rainbow-rill of rain.  
The Apostles in their niches,  
And martyr'd saints grew bright,  
As radiant shone each garment,  
In that celestial light."

Now this is pretty enough, with the exception of the unfortunate line, "a rainbow rill of rain," which puts us in mind of "round the rugged rocks the ragged rascals ran." But let any one take down Keats' "St. Agnes Eve," and read that glorious description of a painted window, and they will then better understand what we mean when we said no one will read poetry except it is first-rate, or to put it in other words, no one will read Miss Eckley after Keats.

"Freaks, Follies, Fancies, and Fashions"<sup>14</sup> comes up to the usual standard of imbecility of modern satire. The author appears to have expended all his powers in getting four F's together for the title. The only amusing couplet which we can find is—

"So the whole world, when all the earth to one vast ocean grew,  
And sent old Noe in the ark out cruising with his Zoo."

But then it does not rhyme. On the whole, our conclusion is, that the author's verses which rhyme have no meaning, whilst those which have a meaning won't rhyme.

We have, however, one original poet. Mr. Browning's new poem<sup>15</sup>

<sup>12</sup> "Palingenesia; or, the Modern Apostate." By A. T. Teetgen. London: Williams and Norgate. 1868.

<sup>13</sup> "Minor Chords." By Sophia Mary Eckley. London: H. Bell and Daldy. 1869.

<sup>14</sup> "Freaks, Follies, Fancies, and Fashions." By H. E. R. (Without a Publisher's name.) 1868.

<sup>15</sup> "The Ring and the Book." By Robert Browning, M.A. Vol. I. London: Smith, Elder, and Co. 1868.

promises to be the greatest of all his works. But before we proceed to criticise it, we have a word or two to say on a personal matter. Twice in the poem Mr. Browning breaks away from his subject to sneer at the

“ British Public, ye who like me not,  
God love you.”

Now, the real truth is, that the British Public do not know Mr. Browning. There is no question of liking or disliking in the matter. Ten years ago he was quite unknown except to a select few. We distinctly remember hearing in the winter of 1860 a well-known author, and editor of one of the most influential reviews of the day, declare that he had never read a word of Mr. Browning's poetry. And the declaration struck nobody present as at all surprising. The exception, then, was to have read him. Such a declaration, however, in the year 1869 would be a confession of ignorance. But the British public at large still know no more about Mr. Browning than they did about Mill before he became member for Westminster. “The Ring and the Book” will, however, we venture to say, introduce Mr. Browning to the British public. Hitherto Mr. Browning's admirers have been few though fit. His present poem will do much to make him popular, no bad test, even remembering Mr. Martin Tupper's position, of the real worth of any poet. In the Ring and the Book we so far meet fewer of those wilful extravagances, crabbedness verging to obscurity, and carelessness of expression, which looks like contempt for the reader. The blank verse, too, has a sustained roll and harmony. There is less of that ruggedness of expression which in Mr. Browning's earliest poems so marred the form of the thought. We are constantly arrested by lines of exquisite grace, full of that nameless beauty which, as Shakespeare says, “makes old rhyme beautiful.” Here, for instance, is a vision of Autumn in one line:—

“ August's hair afloat in filmy fire”—

which is as suggestive as Keats' picture of Autumn:—

“ Sitting careless on a granary floor,  
Thy hair soft-lifted by the winnowing wind.”

Here, too, again, the seasons are painted by one swift stroke, so eminently characteristic of Mr. Browning's peculiar power, as—

“ Each facet-flash of the revolving year.”

But not in single lines is Mr. Browning's power shown. There are long passages of sustained beauty and pathos which win upon the reader the more that they are read. Here, for instance, is the close of the prologue.

“ O lyric Love, half-angel and half-bird,  
And all a wonder and a wild desire,—  
Boldest of hearts that ever braved the sun,  
Took sanctuary within the holier blue,  
And sang a kindred soul out to his face—  
Yet human at the red-ripe of the heart—



When the first summons from the darkling earth  
 Reached thee amid thy chambers, blanched their blue,  
 And bared them of the glory—to drop down,  
 To toil for man, to suffer or to die—  
 This is the same voice: can thy soul know change?  
 Hail then, and hearken from the realms of help!  
 Never may I commence my song, my due  
 To God who best taught song by gift of thee,  
 Except with bent head and beseeching hand—  
 That still, despite the distance and the dark,  
 What was, again may be; some interchange  
 Of grace, some splendour once thy every thought,  
 Some benediction anciently thy smile:  
 —Never conclude, but raising hand and head  
 Thither where eyes, that cannot reach, yet yearn  
 For all hope, all sustainment, all reward,  
 Their utmost up and on,—so blessing back  
 In those thy realms of help, that heaven thy home,  
 Some whiteness which I judge, thy face makes proud,  
 Some wanness where, I think, thy foot may fall.”

Such a passage as this, so passionate, so human, is in our opinion the highest tide-mark to which Mr. Browning's poetry has yet reached. It is unfortunate that "The Ring and the Book" is published in instalments. Author and critic both stand at a disadvantage. What the effect may be when seen as an organic whole we cannot say. Our criticism must for the present be confined to particular passages, without any regard to the scope of the poem. Some of the beauties we have already indicated. It is not difficult to see that Mr. Browning has sat at the feet of the Elizabethan poets. There are expressions and lines which recall Shakespeare's manner. Such words and phrases as "sliver" (pp. 1, 169); "mopping and mowing" (p. 30); "ask that of any she" (p. 93), all proclaim their origin. Nor is that joyousness which so marks Shakespeare's poetry wanting. There is an overflow of spirits, a perfect exuberance of joy throughout certain passages in "The Ring and the Book." The poet, describing himself, says, "A spirit laughs and leaps through every limb;" just as Shakespeare says, "The spring has put a spirit of youth in everything, that heavy Saturn laughed and leaped with him." Mr. Browning, too, has been an evident student of words. Such old words, pregnant with meaning and full of antique grace, as "scrannel" (Milton's word); the north country "hull" (p. 52), for husk; "handsel" (p. 85); and the expressive "grucsome" (p. 99), all used with singular felicity, show what pains he has taken with the workmanship. Sometimes, however, we think that Mr. Browning carries his manufacture of words a little too far. A "ring-thing" (p. 2) has a perilous resemblance to the vulgar "thingumbob." Lastly, we must ask Mr. Browning what is a "peacock's egg"? (p. 160.)

Metal upon metal is false heraldry. We are, however, going to commit a further sin, and review reviews,<sup>16</sup> some of which have appeared

<sup>16</sup> "Literary and Social Judgments." By W. R. Greg. London: N. Trübner & Co. 1868.

in our own pages. Perhaps one of the greatest differences which is noticeable between the Tory and Liberal press is the way in which the former blindly follows its leaders. A Tory writer, however glaring his inconsistencies, however absurd his crotchets, is sure of unanimous praise from the Tory reviews. A Tory writer with the Tory press is like the king—he can do no wrong. On the other hand, from the very nature of the case, Liberals must necessarily differ from each other on many most important points. The harmony of the Tories is produced by the same sounds, but that of the Liberals by different sounds blended together. We say this partly to justify ourselves for differing in many points from the views of our contributor as expressed in the volume before us. Mr. Greg has been known for many years as one of the foremost Liberal writers. His style, so effective from its terseness and lucidity, is admirably adapted for periodical literature. Its very hardness, and even harshness, contribute to its special purposes. Mr. Greg's writings, therefore, read, as all such writings must do, better at the moment than at any subsequent date. During the American war Mr. Greg exercised, and at the present time, on the subject of the Irish Church Establishment is exercising, no small amount of influence upon the public mind. Still we think it would be a dangerous experiment to reprint what he has written on the former subject. His arguments would now fall very flat, just as his argument for plea of "arrest of judgment" for the Irish Church will do in ten years' time. In short, there is a side of Mr. Greg's mind which, far from being illiberal, yet is still very far from being, in our opinion, Liberal. Curiously enough he often exercises the greatest influence not over Liberals, but over Tories. If we rightly remember, his views upon the American question were regularly reproduced by our Tory contemporaries, just as the staple of his arguments upon the Irish Church is at the present moment worked up again in Tory leading articles. Even in one of the papers of the present volume—*The Doom of the Negro Race*—there are long passages which might be effectually used as arguments for slavery. Mr. Greg would, we suppose, shrink from re-establishing actual slavery in Jamaica, yet the very arguments and tall talk which he uses, were used by our own Tory journals during the American war for the maintenance of slavery in the Southern States under Lee and Davis. We make these remarks to point out in what direction we differ from Mr. Greg. We like Mr. Greg best when he puts politics aside, and appears either as a critic on purely literary subjects, or as an original essayist. His papers on Kingsley and Carlyle and Chateaubriand are marked with a subtlety of analysis and an incisiveness of thought and high moral standard which at once lift them far above the ordinary level of periodical literature, and make us regret that the author has not devoted his remarkable powers to some work in which they would have been more fully developed. Thus, his description of Professor Kingsley's religious frame of mind is as witty as it is true:—"Mr. Kingsley's feelings towards God appear to hover between those of the Negro and the Israelite, or rather to partake of both. He speaks of Him and to Him, with the simple directness, the confiding but not disrespectful familiarity, now

of Moses and now of Uncle Tom." In the same happy way some of Professor Kingsley's peculiarities of literary style are hit off. Thus Mr. Greg's remarks that such Kingsleyan phrases as "God's work," "God's heroes," "God's bells," appear to be "dictated chiefly by an appetite for strong language operating on a gentleman in orders; and are in fact, we believe, Mr. Kingsley's way of swearing." Humour is so rare a quality that we almost regret to see it wasted on what are after all merely ephemeral subjects. It is, however, the high moral tone and earnestness which give the great value to Mr. Greg's literary criticisms. One of the best of these papers is on French Fiction. We heartily thank Mr. Greg for it, at a time when the worst productions of Dumas *fil.* and Feydeau, are being imitated by certain writers in England, by whom beauty is painted as merely "the lust of the eyes," and love degraded into "the lust of the flesh."

Nearly four centuries ago Caxton published the popular work of Geoffroy de la Tour-Landry—"The Knyght of the Toure, translated out of Frenssh in to our maternall Englyshe tongue." The only English edition published of late years, which we can call to mind, is that by Mr. Thomas Wright, published, we fancy, (for we have not seen it,) more especially with reference to philological purposes. Mr. Vance<sup>17</sup> has now given us a translation for the general public, but we imagine that the work will not be so popular in the nineteenth as in the fifteenth century. The reasons lie upon the surface. The estimate which each age forms of what is moral and immoral must necessarily vary. Some of the religious tales which used to be written in the Middle Ages for the edification of the nuns could not now possibly be read to young women. Mr. Vance in his preface defends the morality of the knight. There is no need whatever for any such defence. The Knight of the Tower Landry, as every other author does, merely wrote according to the standard of his age. The real question, however, is whether certain tales, which were adapted to the manners and morals of one generation, are equally fitted for those of another with different habits and a changed creed. Mr. Vance answers the question in one way in his preface, and in another in his book. In his preface he thus writes:—

"Fore-warned is fore-armed was evidently the motto of our Knight. He knew the world; he knew the times that he lived in, and he judged, and I think rightly, that his daughters could not well too early be initiated to the mysteries and the perils of the same. And without wishing to offer any sort of disrespect to the young women of the rising generation; or yet to their mammas, their ladies'-maids, their governesses, or their schoolmistresses; I yet may be allowed to question, if there is one in ten of them (however they came by their information) who is not as informed, in every way, at seventeen, as were the daughters of the Knight of the Tower, at the close of their plain-speaking old father's sermon."—(p. 15.)

The first part begs the whole question. The knight probably formed a true estimate of what was fitting for his own times, but not for ours.

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<sup>17</sup> "The Book of the Knight of the Tower Landry, which he made for the Instruction of his Daughters. By Way of Selection." Now done into English. By Alexander Vance. London: Hamilton, Adams, and Co. 1868.

With regard to the second part, we do not pretend to be accurately informed as to what the "Girl of the Period" may or may not know. Recognising, however, fully the truth of the maxim, "Blessed are those who keep themselves pure *from* the world, but still more blessed are those who keep themselves pure *in* the world," we do not think that light tales of the Middle Ages are the best means in these days for enforcing certain relations between the sexes. A biblical plainness may be necessary, but it should come rather in the shape of a moral essay, than in that of a half sportive story. It is not enough that the mere moral of the tale should be virtuous, but the whole atmosphere must be pure, to leave any really good impression upon a young mind. But Mr. Vance in the book itself really answers the question as to the general fitness of many of these tales for the present age. Thus we find the following note appended to the third chapter:—"This chapter the reader may as well read to him or herself." We must add, that it is certainly one which no father could read to a daughter of seventeen. The eighth chapter is omitted as being "a silly, allegorical, half-witted, old monkish tale." The ninth chapter, we are told, is omitted for the same reason. And as we proceed through the book, we find other chapters omitted, and are left to guess the cause. We would not, however, be understood to say that all the stories are like the third. On the contrary, many are excellent in their spirit and humour, as the story of the Jay, and that of the Two Eggs. Our only regret is that Mr. Vance, whilst he was about it, did not cut out certain other chapters, and tone down certain passages. On the other hand, to the student of the literature of the Middle Ages, the book will be, as Mr. Vance states in his preface, of great service, as giving a perfect idea of the social customs and general tone of the best society of the day. Mr. Vance's powers as a translator are so well known, that we are under no necessity for calling especial attention to them. We will only say, that he has admirably preserved in his version the antique dress and naïve air of the original.

There was another book, however, published by Caxton, "A Booke of the Noble Historyes of Kyng Arthur," of which we are glad to see a new version.<sup>18</sup> The revival of the Arthurian Literature is one of the most remarkable facts in the literature of the nineteenth century. Undoubtedly Mr. Tennyson's "Idylls of the King" has been in a great measure the cause. During the past year we have had two translations of "La Morte d'Arthur." The present little work will, we think, be as popular with the general public as Mr. Conybeare's and Sir Edward Strachey's editions with scholars.

We are not quite sure if we are to take the authoress of the "Solace of a Solitaire"<sup>19</sup> at the foot of the letter, when she tells us that she is nearly eighty, or how far we are to treat certain adventures as real. But setting this aside, the book is a chronicle of the feelings and thoughts, in short of the inner life, of a recluse. It contains the

<sup>18</sup> "The Legends of King Arthur and his Knights of the Round Table." Compiled and arranged by J. T. K. London: Strahan & Co. 1868.

<sup>19</sup> "The Solace of a Solitaire." A Record of Facts and Feelings. By Mary-Ann Kelly. London: Trübner & Co. 1869.

kind of reflections and experiences which most gentlewomen, of a naturally liberal mind—but trained up in a certain religious school—would probably give. The quotations, which are frequent, show a strong leaning towards that mystical spiritualism of which George Fox in former days was the ablest exponent, and of which we suppose Emerson would now be looked upon by extreme enthusiasts as the leader. It is, however, a school of thought which is daily becoming weaker. Some of the sayings which Miss Kelyt gives us of several distinguished men whom it has been her good fortune to know, are interesting. The original matter, too, is distinguished by a certain liberality of thought, which we should be glad to see more common in writings of this class. One of the best things in the book is—"I sometimes think and hope that great allowance will be made in the final award for those that have Irish blood in their veins." (p. 51.)

Mr. Tyas's "Language of Flowers"<sup>20</sup> is both in its exterior and interior a representative Christmas book. The publishers have, apparently, as ironmasters and shipbuilders occasionally do, overstocked the markets. There is just now a perfect glut of old Christmas books of former years in the booksellers' windows and counters. But a book of this kind is always useful. It is as much a part of the drawing-room furniture as a sofa. It is not of course meant to be read. We perceive, too, that like the flags at a theatre, only one side is meant to be shown. We know the stamp of book of old. It is sure to contain a vast deal of fine writing about the Forget-me-not, and to quote Southey's lines upon the Holly. It deals more in sentiment than in knowledge, and makes up for want of reflection by coloured illustrations. We wish, however, that our publishers would go a step further and give us a little more bread to our sack. Mr. Tyas might have easily produced a most instructive book. Why could he not, for instance, instead of indulging in cheap sentiment, have given us a few synonyms of the various flowers which he mentions? Why could he not, too, instead of quoting pages of second-rate poetry, have given us a few derivations of the names of trees and plants, such as, say, horse-chesnut and wall-flower, which not one person in ten knows? The task is in no ways difficult. The labours of Nennich and Mentzelius would supply most of the synonyms, whilst Dr. Prior's excellent work might be with advantage consulted for the derivations. The printers have done Mr. Tyas great injustice with the scientific names. Thus, we meet with "prunes" (p. 47) for prunus, "vulagris" (p. 55) for vulgaris, "Leontoden" (p. 75) for Leontodon, and so forth. Of course we all know what is meant by the language of flowers, namely, that it is the sheerest nonsense on this earth.

As a specimen, however, of Mr. Tyas's researches, we will only add that in this wonderful tongue "love is a myrtle" and "criticism is a squirting cucumber." We beg to hand the vegetable to Mr. Tyas.

Those who appreciate the best style of French *causeries* will be

<sup>20</sup> "The Language of Flowers, or Floral Emblems of Thoughts, Feelings, and Sentiments." By Robert Tyas, M.A., LL.D., F.R.B.S. London: George Routledge and Sons. 1868.

glad, if they are not already acquainted with them, to be introduced to M. Deschanel's collected essays.<sup>21</sup> They deal with a variety of subjects, and range, if not from China to Peru, from Paris to the gold-diggings. All, however, are worth not merely reading but studying. The first is upon *La Morale Indépendante*, a newspaper, which we suspect is not much known in England, but which when it first started created a great stir through all classes in France. Our first acquaintance with it was made soon after its first appearance, at, of all places, a blacksmith's shop in an out-of-the-way village near Montargis. M. Emile Deschanel gives a most interesting account of its origin, views, and aims. It has had, we have reasons for knowing, great influence with the middle-classes in France. The articles "Les Pensées de Pascal" and "Les Maximes de La Rochefoucauld" are especially worth attention. "Quand on Range sa Bibliothèque" is one of those light yet instructive papers which only Frenchmen appear to have the knack of writing.

In his *Portraits Littéraires et Philosophiques*,<sup>22</sup> M. Poitou takes also a wide range. Alfred de Musset, Lacordaire, Balzac, and Cousin figure side by side in his pages. Readers of this *Review* will not quarrel at all events with his estimate of Cousin.

"Littérateur éminent, il laisse de beaux livres, écrits dans une langue noble et pure; encore bien qu'un peu dénuée de relief. Philosophe éloquent, mais sans originalité, il ne restera rien de lui qui marque et qui attache à son nom une valeur scientifique propre; il n'a pas fait faire un pas à la science; il n'a pas apporté dans le monde une idée neuve. Son mérite a été de remettre en lumière, de relever, de propager les grandes conceptions de spiritualisme."—(p. 422.)

The second part of the *Shakspeare-Forschungen*<sup>23</sup> will be probably the most interesting to the English reader. It deals with what we may call the folk-lore of Shakspeare. We have disquisitions on the plants, flowers, birds, fairies, witches, hobgoblins, and what-not in his plays. The author always draws from a full cask. He is full to overflowing. He is not merely thoroughly at home with our best editors and commentators—Malone, Steevens, and Nares; but goes direct to Philemon Holland's translations, Latimer's Sermons, and Holinshead's Chronicles for illustrations of archaic expressions, and to Lyte's Dodoens and other herbals for plants. No author comes amiss to him. In his zeal for giving information he actually tells the reader what was the "grosser" name by which liberal shopkeepers call "dead men's fingers," which certainly no English editor has ventured to do. All such words and phrases as "a month's mind," "loggats," "mooncalf," "the owl was a baker's daughter," receive an exhaustive treatment. He does not, however, seem so thoroughly at home with modern

<sup>21</sup> "À Bâtons Rompus. Variétés Morales et Littéraires." Par M. Emile Deschanel. Paris: Hachette et Cie. 1868.

<sup>22</sup> "Portraits Littéraires et Philosophiques." Par M. Eugène Poitou. Paris: Charpentier. 1868.

<sup>23</sup> "Shakspeare-Forschungen von Benno Tschischwitz. I. Shakspeare's Hamlet. II. Nachklänge germanischer Mythe in den Werken Shakspeare's." Halle: G. Emil Barthel. 1868.

editors and commentators on Shakspeare as with those of a generation or two past. We must object to the reading in Hamlet of "old maids" (p. 34) for "cold maids," which quite destroys the antithesis to "liberal shepherds," the epithet "liberal" being used in this and other passages in Shakspeare for libertine, licentious. If, too, the author will refer to the word "ciron" in the "Dictionnaire Comique" of Leroux, (1786) he will find some information about "idle-worm" of which he appears to be ignorant. On the whole we can give the work high praise, and recommend it to not merely Shakspeare students, but to all readers of the poet.

Amongst miscellaneous books we have to acknowledge an edition of "Old Sir Douglas,"<sup>24</sup> which most readers of *Macmillan's Magazine* will remember as gracing its pages some two or three years ago. If Mr. Hope<sup>25</sup> and his publisher do not understand what is suitable for the tastes of schoolboys, we are certain that we do not. Mr. Hope has already achieved the task of pleasing those most fastidious critics. His present venture appears to contain enough jam to make the powder palatable.

Amongst editions and translations of the classics a very high place must be given to Mr. Paley's translation of Pindar.<sup>26</sup> He has rightly followed the example which Carlyle set in his "Dante," and given us a prose version. We believe that by this means the true spirit of the great poet will be most faithfully reproduced for the English reader. We wish that Mr. Swifte had followed the same method in his "Homeric Studies."<sup>27</sup> His poetry reads very tame. To three school-books<sup>28</sup> we give a welcome. In each case the notes seem admirably adapted for the special purpose in view.

<sup>24</sup> "Old Sir Douglas." By the Hon. Mrs. Norton. London: Macmillan and Co. 1868.

<sup>25</sup> "Stories of School Life." By Ascott R. Hope. Edinburgh: William P. Nimmo. 1868.

<sup>26</sup> "The Odes of Pindar, translated into English Prose." With Brief Explanatory Notes and a Preface. By F. A. Paley, M.A. London: Williams and Norgate. 1868.

<sup>27</sup> "Homeric Studies." By Edmund Lenthal Swifte. London: James Madden and Son. 1868.

<sup>28</sup> "I. Aristophanes. The Wasps." Edited by W. C. Green, M.A. Rivingtons: London, Oxford and Cambridge. 1868. "II. Isocrates. Ad Demonicum et Panegyricus." Edited by J. Edwin Sandys, B.A. Rivingtons: London, Oxford and Cambridge. "III. Demosthenis Midias." With English Notes for the Use of Schools. By Arthur Holmes, M.A. London: Hamilton, Adams and Co. 1868.

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ART. I.—SOUTH AFRICA.

1. *British Rule in South Africa.* A Collection of Official Documents and other Correspondence. W. Foster, Capetown.
2. *The Natal Mercury.* Articles Reprinted. Durban, Natal.
3. *The Dutch Boers and Slavery in the Transvaal Republic.* In a Letter to R. N. Fowler, Esq., M.P. By F. W. CHESSON. W. Tweedie, 337, Strand. London.

OF the five great continents which in the main form the habitable world, Africa is the least known. It is true that books of travel have, from the days of Herodotus, been written concerning the progress of discovery in that vast but shadowy land, but they have simply been books of travel—records of individual adventure or exploration, and little else. Of the political state, domestic economy, and social conditions of the several African communities, it may safely be said that English people as a rule have the faintest knowledge and the most confused ideas. It is not many years ago since a useful little publication called the “Statesman’s Year-book,” while supplying very full and accurate statistics regarding different countries and peoples, wholly ignored Africa. The geography-books of schools are comparatively reticent in conveying information about this part of the earth’s surface. It matters not that Africa can claim nearly a fourth of that area, nor that the history of a part at least of its

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territory dates back to the earliest known periods. Neither magnitude nor antiquity will alone suffice to attract the interest of modern ages to a land from whose shores the sceptre of empire long since passed away. For centuries all trace of African greatness has been but a memory; the name of Africa has called forth no sentiment but that of pity; mystery and ignorance have enveloped the continent in their gloom, and the great current of civilization as it sweeps around the world, would never have left a trace upon these shores had not stray eddies been sometimes caught and diverted by the scattered settlements along the northern and southern coasts.

It is chiefly from these two points that the restless forces of European colonization are gradually working on towards the regeneration of the continent. Along the northern coast we find in Algeria and in Egypt the evidences of rapid progress and of industrial advancement. In the first-named country the French are fast displacing the vestiges of Moorish sway, and are transforming a healthful and fertile country into a lesser France. Where the Christian was for five centuries excluded; where man has brooded so long under the cold shade of the Crescent—not far from where heathenism flourished at Carthage, and on the very spot where a power that menaced Europe and conquered Spain held rule thereafter—a prosperous community, great in the elements of strength, is now established. Algeria has a large European population, and a trade worth many millions sterling. The presence of the French there, and the operation of their vigorous colonizing system, are inestimable benefits to that part of Africa. In Egypt, too, the torpor of Orientalism is rapidly yielding to the quickening influences of western enterprise and example. The extension of railways, the construction of the canal, and the development of cotton culture there, are alone sufficient to give a new chapter to the history of the most venerable of lands. Steam traffic already exists upon the Nile, and in all probability ere many years are over a line of railway will follow the course of that river. The fine natural capabilities of Abyssinia brought to light by the recent expedition, will soon attract enterprise in that direction; and if the rulers of Egypt are true to their own interests, a future lies in store for the land of Misraim far greater than the stateliest era of its past.

Between the northern and southern shores of Africa spread about seven million square miles of comparatively unknown land. Upon the character of this region numberless speculations have been spent, and the exploration of it has been the work of ages. Little by little the veil has been lifted, until we now have caught glimpses which, though fitful and partial, are yet plain enough to give us a general idea of the country and its

peoples. That idea involves an entire subversion of the traditions held by our fathers. By them the interior of Africa was considered to be a "howling wilderness," as one described it, or a "death-stricken morass." Now we know that those secluded regions are more or less fertile, often of rare productiveness, possess many charms of scenery, and are by no means insalubrious. The stigma of unhealthiness which attaches to Africa, strictly speaking is deserved only by the coast, and that only at points. Near the shore the deltas and lagoons of rivers, long stretches of marsh, mangrove swamps and decaying forests, exhale the deadly malaria, which under a tropical sun has struck down so many of our countrymen. By these dread forces has a large portion of the continent been barricaded against the approaches of civilized man. It would seem as if by a mere natural barrier Africa has been kept through so many ages a sealed book, in order that it may give scope for the expansion of man's finer faculties, trained by a long experience, and guided by the fuller light of advancing knowledge, to a better fitness for the work of dealing with the huge difficulties of nature. What art and science have done elsewhere they can do in Africa. Drainage and cultivation may convert those miasmatic swamps into productive and habitable fields. Railways may bring the higher and healthier regions of the interior into close connexion with the coast. For the world knows now that Africa is not the desert-country it was so long deemed to be. The western shores north of Walvisch Bay, give ample evidence that a wealthy country lies beyond—a country rich in minerals and vegetation, and poor only in the means and agencies of industry. Liberia shows us of what the western shore is capable when occupied and improved by men suited to the climate and the work. Even so near the Equator as the Cameroon mountains we find within reach of the coast a district enjoying a climate so genial that Captain Burton recommended it as a desirable place for a penal settlement. On the other side of the continent we have the eastern section of that vast depression which is believed, and indeed may now be said to be known, to intersect Africa longitudinally from the Equator to the Cape—that wonderful lake-land whose inland seas, fringed by the palm growth of the tropics, are overshadowed by the peaks of the mystic Mountains of the Moon. Here we have at a high altitude above the sea, a country where the climate is so moderate that Captain Grant walked through the whole of it in woollen clothing, and slept every night between blankets. Seven hundred and fifty specimens of plants, brought away by that traveller and his lamented comrade, attested sufficiently the luxuriance of vegetation there, and the fertility of the soil. As in most other parts of Africa, so in

this equatorial region, the natives lead an easy and somewhat gluttonous existence in the rude enjoyment of nature's ready gifts. According to the last accounts from Dr. Livingstone the country southward bears very much the same character. The cotton plant grows abundantly throughout the valleys and river plains north of the Zambesi, and the whole territory down to the Cape of Good Hope will bear comparison for fertility with any other part of the world of like extent.

This rapid glance at the general features of the northern portions of the African continent will have shown that there, no less than in the south, elements of wealth abound, and openings for industrial activity exist, which sooner or later must lead to vast social changes—changes which cannot be too closely borne in mind by all who take an interest in the civilization of savage lands, the spread of European influences, and the general improvement of mankind. Our chief purpose now, however, is to present as clearly as we can a view of the present position and prospects of the southern section of the continent, and especially of those countries which come under the appellation of South-eastern Africa. For some time past events have been transpiring, and discoveries made there, which, though beyond the pale of public observation here, possess much intrinsic interest as well as local importance. Various reasons have combined to make South African subjects unpopular, and to keep English people in the dark concerning the progress of our settlements at the Cape of Good Hope. The wars which up to the year 1852 were so frequent and so costly made the name of "the Cape" distasteful to British taxpayers. Little good moreover has ever come out of the country. It has, so far, had no golden magnet to draw people to its shores. Its commercial progress has been far behind that of our other colonies. Its name has been popularly associated more with wild beasts and wild races than anything else, and the literature it has given birth to, though not inconsiderable as to extent, has been principally represented by the records of mighty hunters and the narratives of adventurous explorers. The time, however seems now to have arrived when a new era of progress is to be entered upon, and when it will be well on many accounts to become better acquainted with the true circumstances of the South African states.

Perhaps no part of the world in modern times—and certainly no part of the British dominions—has made less progress in proportion to its size and capabilities than the Cape colony. Under that designation are included two vast districts, known as the Western and Eastern provinces, extending from Table Bay at the south-western extremity as far as the Orange River and the Kei to the northward. Except where those

rivers—flowing west and east respectively—form the northern frontier, the whole of this territory is skirted by the South Atlantic on the one hand, and the Indian Ocean on the other; and although it is larger than any European country except Russia, its inhabitants do not exceed in number 600,000 altogether. Originally a Dutch settlement founded in the seventeenth century, the Cape colony became a British dependency in the year 1806. For a long time it was a favourite refuge for the Huguenot emigrants, and although the French language has ceased to be spoken, the names of many of the older families bear witness to their descent. Intermarriage with the Dutch settlers, and the gradual adoption of their language, led to a complete fusion, and the “Dutch” element in the Cape population has been dominant for generations. As a rule, these people have been devoted to farming pursuits. Wine-making was the favourite occupation in the districts around Cape Town until the disease which attacked the vines some years ago put a temporary stop to the industry. Latterly, however, the cultivation of the vine has been resumed, and wine-making is again in the ascendant. The dogged conservatism of the producer has yielded to the dictates of necessity and experience, and the wines now made at the Cape are of excellent quality. The wretched compounds vended in England as “South African,” have no more claim to the name than the vile gooseberry mixtures sold cheaply as “champagne” have to the honoured brand of Cliquot. Good Cape wines bought from respectable dealers are as wholesome and pleasant a beverage as a man need care to drink.

Until the Suez route diverted passenger traffic through Egypt, Cape Town enjoyed a glorious time commercially as the calling-place for the Eastern shipping. Old residents there look back regretfully to those days when the bay would be graced by many a stately Indiaman which had put in for supplies. The harbour is better fitted now for such a purpose than it was then. A massive breakwater has been constructed at considerable cost, and vessels of large tonnage already find shelter either behind its friendly cover, or in the dock that has also been formed, and nearly completed. Unlike its rival port, Algoa Bay, Cape Town has a great charm to people who live there—its brilliant atmosphere, its genial climate, its beautiful vegetation, and it may be the majestic influences of the grand old mountain which broods over the whole place, combine to make this great buttress of the Southern world a most attractive residence.

But a small section of the community, comparatively, live in Cape Town, or are engaged in wine-growing in its neighbourhood; the bulk is spread over both provinces, and engrossed by the ordinary pursuits of farming. A Dutch farm-steading is

much the same in its general features from Cape Town to the Limpopo. Nearer the larger centres of population there will be greater comfort in domestic surroundings, and more completeness of detail in the arrangements of the farm; but a family likeness pervades the whole. The houses are usually one-storied, gable-ended, with rooms in the roof, which in the better class of dwellings is varied by an extra gable over the doorway, and in the lower class, is entered by a steep ladder outside. A favourite arrangement in many places is to have a large central eating-room, into which open four or more bedrooms. Outside these will be the kraal, an enclosure for the cattle at night. In wilder districts this will be made not of stone, but of branches of trees piled up on end in a circle. An orchard of apple, peach, pear, and orange trees is sure to be near the house; and probably a garden for vegetables will not be far off. The fields—of wheat, oats, barley, and maize—will be situated near or away from the house as the exigencies of irrigation may require. With all their primitiveness, the Dutch farmers of the Cape colony show considerable wisdom and skill in this matter. On some farms may be seen river-dams and watercourses which show no little practical knowledge of one branch at least of engineering science, although if the constructor were questioned upon the principles and theory of his work he would probably be utterly at fault. That great local institution, the family waggon, is sure to be close at hand. No farm, not the poorest, is destitute of that indispensable appendage; it is a long, cumbrous machine, destitute of springs, but of great strength, as it needs to be. A white canvas "tent" or covering, well lined within, protects the interior from the elements. In front is a "waggon-box" which acts as tool-chest and storeroom. Within is a frame of ox-hide, called a "cartel," upon which the inmates stretch their bedding. An awful whip, with a long handle of bamboo, hangs at one side, its length being in proportion to the length of the team of fourteen oxen, yoked in pairs, by which the whole machine is moved at an average speed of, say, fifteen miles a day. We are thus particular in describing this waggon, as its existence and peculiarities are typical of Cape circumstances and character. For more than two centuries have the farmers depended upon this rude mode of transport, and been content with it. How was it possible for a country to advance—for its industrial capabilities to be developed—so long as produce had to be carried from distant points to a market or a port by such slow, inadequate, irregular, and costly means? For the ox waggon is remarkably dependent upon circumstances. Oxen may break down, or get lost; pasturage may be scarce; rivers may be flooded and impassable; or the vehicle itself may get into difficulties and need

repair. As a pioneer agency in a country of rough surface and bad roads it has done its work well ; but as an agency of traffic, it is wholly behind the wants of a prosperous country. Such as it is the farmers have been satisfied with it. It enabled them to carry to market once or twice a year as much corn, butter, and other farm produce as would provide them with groceries, clothing, and other imported necessaries, for the year. For the rest they were independent. Their farms, of 6000 and 8000 acres each, supplied them and their families with whatever else they needed in their simplicity of life. Such a condition of things obviously bespeaks social stagnation, and explains why it is that the Cape has lagged so long and so far behind the world.

The Eastern province of the Cape colony differs in some respects from its Western neighbour. In 1820 four or five thousand settlers from Great Britain located themselves in the district of Albany, near Algoa Bay, on the south-eastern coast. Their presence and operations have led to a much more vigorous development of the land's resources, and to a higher measure of outward prosperity, than have been attained in the other province. These early settlers underwent privations which will make a thrilling story for some future historian to narrate. At one time their destitution was such that Government had to grant supplies to save the people from starvation. They had to bear the brunt of successive Kafir wars, and time after time have seen their flocks swept away and their homesteads ravaged by the wild hordes of the northern barbarians. Scant justice has been done to the frontier settlers of the Cape colony by their fellow-countrymen in England. For many years the mischievous misrepresentations of men whose calling should have taught them better, led public opinion at home to regard the Cape farmers as the robbers and persecutors of the native tribes, and the fomentors of wars for their own mercenary ends. A terrible record of losses suffered and lives lost in those early days shows how groundless such stigmas have been, and how much sympathy was due from the English people for men and women of their own race who were carrying on the work of colonization and extending the limits of the empire under difficulties and in the face of sacrifices and perils of which it is impossible for a distant observer to form a just conception.

The great centre of these Albany settlers—few of whom now remain—was and is at Grahamstown, a charming little city of 8000 or 10,000 inhabitants, situated about eighty miles from Algoa Bay. The latter port is also a flourishing place, where in the season such long trains of wool-laden waggons pour in from the interior as would startle the simple minds of the

pioneers of forty years ago, who found what is now the handsome town of Port Elizabeth a sandy wind-swept plain. Their descendants have now spread over the land far to the west and north. Before the encroachments of their industry the native tribes have either receded or subsided into locations where they no longer are the formidable menace they once were. Sheep-farming is the one grand occupation throughout all this part of Africa. Not only near the coast, but in the remote interior, wool-bearing flocks have multiplied for many years past; but amidst the strange succulent bush-herbage of the Karroo they seem to thrive the best. Improved varieties of sheep have been introduced, and the wool of the Eastern province, like the wine of the Western, is likely to vie successfully with the more popular products of other countries. Large quantities of corn are also grown in this district, but not more than is required for home consumption. Horse-breeding is also a favourite pursuit. Agriculture has not advanced as it might have done had pastoral pursuits been less common. At this moment efforts are being made to extend the cultivation of tobacco and silk, both of which might be produced largely. Nor is there any reason why cotton should not be grown in a country so well fitted for its culture.

Two years ago what was known as British Kaffraria was formally annexed to the Cape colony. Before that, this little dependency had enjoyed a separate government of its own, and it protested loudly against absorption into its larger neighbour. This territory has been made historical as the seat of successive Kafir wars. Within it rise the celebrated Amatola mountains, a natural stronghold where so many British lives were lost, but which is now traversed by roads and harmonized by peaceful and prosperous settlements. There is to this district a small but very precarious port—East London, of which the less said the better, and also a capital town—King Williamstown, where the military element largely preponderates. Several native locations have been formed here, and among them that of Sandilli, the terror of the frontier in 1851, now a fat and rather bibulous stipendiary of the Government. British Kaffraria has enjoyed the services of some remarkable men, whose knowledge of the Kafir character has only been exceeded by the confidence reposed in them by the natives, and by their zeal in promoting peaceful relations between the two races. Foremost among these stands Mr. Brownlee, on the occasion of whose removal to a more honourable, though not more important office, last year a most extraordinary demonstration of attachment and respect was made by the tribes over whom he had ruled for a generation's length of years.

Throughout the whole Cape colony will be found at long distances from each other scattered townships of varying degrees of importance. Few, if any of these, exceed in size and population the limits of a small market-town in England. Some are beautifully situated, embedded amidst high and craggy mountains, and embowered in oak, orange, syringa, and willow trees. Each is socially and politically a Little Peddlington in its way. Its market, its church, and its court of justice presided over by a stipendiary commissioner or magistrate, serve the needs of a vast tract of country around.

On the north-western boundary of the Cape colony we find Namaqualand, which so far has been the sole scene of mining operations in South Africa. Here for many years lucrative copper mines have been and still are worked. Here too silver has lately been discovered in quantities large enough to justify hopes of extensive deposits of that mineral. The only other mining resource of this part of South Africa that has yet been turned to account, is the very valuable one of diamonds. About the reality of this recent discovery there cannot now be any doubt. A list of the gems, found in most cases by ignorant natives, has lately appeared with the names of one or two high and responsible officials attached thereto. It is believed that these precious stones have been brought down from a mountainous district in Basutoland, where the Orange River takes its rise. Many of them have been pronounced by competent judges in this country to be of great purity and value, and there is no reason to doubt that further discoveries will be made, and a remunerative diamond-field opened out. Of the other mineral discoveries in the more northern districts we shall speak in the proper place.

This rapid survey of the Cape colony may have been enough to suggest a general idea of the social aspects of that dependency. In physical contour the country is diversified. In many parts high mountain ranges are met with ; in others immense plains are outspread. Rivers are few, and, except in the rainy season, shallow. Here and there along the coast choice bits of scenery exist, such, for instance, as at the Knysna, the scene of H.R.H. the Duke of Edinburgh's elephant hunt. In British Kaffraria wood enters more largely into the landscape ; rivers are more frequent, and the ground is more generally hilly. Periods of drought at times affect the whole country, and prove very injurious to the farming interests. No ancient builders have provided South Africa as they have in India with colossal tanks where stores of water can be kept in readiness for times of need. It would be easy enough in many districts to make such useful provision by walling up gullies and gorges, as well as to promote rain supply by the more



abundant and systematic planting of trees. In the western and central portions of the country the juicy-leaved sugar bush already mentioned affords a nutritive food during the dry season to the flocks of the farmers. Perhaps no land can boast a healthier climate than that of the Cape colony, and the large, vigorous frame which is a physical characteristic of the people gives so far no indication of probable degeneracy.

It is north of the Orange River, however, beyond the limits of the Cape colony, that we find at this moment so many points of special interest. Here we have a country, or rather a series of countries, which, with the exception of Natal, is comparatively unknown land to the European public. Two of these states are scarcely noticed in any branch of literature, and the rest have only received notice in the pages of obscure or thinly circulated publications. The whole of these territories may be said to come properly under the style of South-eastern Africa, and it is to them that we wish now more particularly to draw attention.

Following the coast line, which here turns more directly to the northward, we shall find between the Bashee River and the Umtamfuna, which are the northern and southern boundaries of the Cape colony and Natal respectively, a long and narrow strip of country lying between the Indian Sea on the one hand, and the Kahlamba range of mountains on the other. Perhaps it may be as well here to say that this great chain of hills is to South Africa what the Andes is to South America. It runs more or less parallel with the coast at a distance varying from 150 to 200 miles, and on its eastern side is found the choicest portion of the southern continent. The tract of independent territory thus hemmed in between the mountains and the sea is occupied entirely by native tribes, amongst whom a few missionaries and traders dwell. At the extremity nearest the Cape colony the great chief Kreli, with his tribe the Amagelaka, still resides. Beyond him come the Amaponda, ruled until last year by the chief Faku, who, through all successive Kafir wars and over a period of fifty years, remained the staunch and friendly ally of the British Government. This old chieftain could bring 25,000 fighting men into the field, and was continually at war with one or another of the many minor tribes in his neighbourhood. He died at the age of eighty, about eight months ago. His son so far exhibits the friendliest disposition, but whether his tenure of power will be as secure and unbroken as was his father's, is a matter of doubt. Amapondaland can boast of a river, the St. John's or Umzimvubu, which is accessible by small vessels, and navigable for a few miles from the mouth. On either side of the entrance rise steeply up two imposing hills to a height

of twelve hundred feet, and the view of these from the sea is a most impressive spectacle.

The natural features of this last stronghold of independent barbarism on the South African coast are varied and attractive. When first seen by travellers its many beauties elicited most hearty admiration. It is hilly and well-wooded. Numerous rivers wind down deep valleys to the sea. Long luxuriant grass, rich in flowers, swathes the slopes and the hollows. Near the mountains more level tracts present breadths of breezy pastureland. Rugged heights sometimes break the prospect and tease the traveller. Droves of rough, hardy little horses, and herds of fat cattle abound, and near the kraals of the natives flocks of goats will be seen. Upon its northern borders, in a district governed by a Griqua chief or captain, Adam Kok, copper has recently been found, and it is believed that mines of this metal will be opened out there, equal in richness to those on the western shore. It is in all respects a goodly and a pleasant land, and it is to be regretted that the British Government does not formally lay claim to the entire seaboard, not with a view to immediate territorial annexation, but as a measure of precaution against the possible encroachments of other powers. The existence of this break of independent coast line between the Cape colony and Natal, subject to no customs regulations, and open to the approaches of any one, is an obvious source of complication in the future. It is believed that the Imperial authorities do recognise their claim to the seaboard up to the 26th parallel of South latitude, but the absence of any official and public notification of the fact leads to constant uncertainty and misunderstanding.

Something more may be said about Griqualand and its ruler. Ten years ago Adam Kok and his people, who are not pure Kafirs, and affect a certain degree of civilization, occupied a district in the northern frontier of the Cape colony, which it was deemed expedient to incorporate into the colony. Under Sir George Grey's auspices their present abode was offered in exchange and accepted, an arrangement very much to their advantage. Their new land consists of about two million acres of the finest sheep country in South Africa, lying immediately under the Kahlamba mountains, and possessing great capabilities for the growth of corn. Here these hybrid people have organized themselves as a settled community, and live in square houses, which, by the way, is supposed in Africa to be one of the elementary evidences of civilization. As the generosity of the English Government has secured for them a territory far in excess of their requirements, the ruling powers are making a good thing by leasing farms to English settlers. The Griquas, how-

ever, are too small to live independently. They are in constant collision with their native neighbours. Any clever European adventurer can get their chief men under his thumb. Much insecurity for property, if not for life, exists there; and it would be a boon to the people were the British Government to complete its good work, only half done so far, by constituting the Griquas British subjects.

Griqualand is succeeded by Natal, which is, for various reasons, the best known district of South Africa. Not only has its name been made notorious in connexion with affairs ecclesiastical, but more has been said and written concerning it than of any of the other states there. When, in 1838, the great expatriation of Dutch farmers took place from the Cape colony, a large number of those self-exiled people settled down in what is now Natal. They entered the country from the interior, and to their eyes and minds, tired of long wanderings in untrodden and pathless wildernesses, the fair scene which spread before them from the top of the Kahlamba mountains must have seemed like a Promised Land. Not long, however, did they enjoy the country of their choice. Events which need not be recapitulated here led to the despatch of a British force to the new settlement, and to hostilities which resulted in the annexation of the territory to the Cape colony in the year 1843. Having thus lost their independence, a large number of the Dutch settlers again migrated to the northward, and founded what is now the South African or Transvaal Republic. The only other epoch in the brief history of this young colony is its constitution as a separate and independent government in the year 1856. This separation was effected by Royal Charter, which also created a legislative council consisting of sixteen members, twelve of whom are elected by the European colonists.

Natal is not much larger than Scotland, but its products represent the world. Perhaps no country can boast so wide a range of resources as this small South-east African state. Amongst her exports we find sugar, coffee, cotton, tobacco, and arrowroot, by the side of wool, barley, oats, beans and peas, butter, bacon, fruit, potatoes, soap, tallow, hides, and spirits, and in conjunction with such purely local products as ostrich feathers, wild beast skins and ivory, which are brought from the far interior. The manifold and somewhat incongruous character of these resources can be traced to distinct physical causes. In the first place the land rises from the sea to the mountains in a series of terraces, the increasing altitude of which sensibly modifies the climate; and, in the second place, the coast-belt is subject to the humid influences of the warm Mozambique current, which washes the Natalian shore, and does for that country very much what the

Gulf stream is said to do for these islands. Thus it is that, although Natal is seven degrees beyond the Southern tropic, the products of the torrid zone are so largely grown there, and that a land which produces sugar and coffee yields also within less than a hundred miles corn and wool.

It is not odd that persons who are told of this unusual diversity of producing power should ask why it is that a land so richly endowed has made such scanty progress—scanty, that is, when compared with the advancement of other colonies. After twenty-five years of existence as a British colony the European population of Natal only amounts in the aggregate to 17,000, and its trade, taking the returns for 1867, is only represented in value by 269,580*l.* for imports, and 225,671*l.* for exports. When we contrast these figures with the returns from the Australian and North American colonies during the same period, the African colony seems almost to have been standing still. Such a comparison, however, would be most unfair to the latter, were the different circumstances of the several communities not taken into account. From 1843 to 1849 Natal was an unknown territory. In the last-named year a speculative scheme of emigration, started in this country, brought the place into notice, and threw upon its shores several thousand settlers, few of whom had any practical knowledge of agriculture, and none of whom had the experience of preceding pioneers and settlers to guide them in the difficult work of establishing new industries in an untried field. After a year or two's duration this badly organized project collapsed, and the accounts sent home by the disheartened and disappointed emigrants brought the place into disfavour. Then came the gold discoveries in Australia, and the attractions of all other lands paled before the glittering charms of the antipodean continent. From Natal even a migration set eastward, and that colony may be said to have passed into obscurity until the year 1866, when a special agent was sent to this country, commissioned to make its capabilities known, and to direct emigration to its shores. During all these intervening years the handful of British people who had identified their fortunes with the place, was steadily at work. Without capital, with indifferent credit, with no experience to guide them save what they acquired themselves, with no accessions to their numbers worth the name, this band of colonists struggled on, finding out little by little what the resources of the country were, and taught by many bitter disappointments that knowledge of local fitnesses and peculiarities which, having once been gained, remains for the lasting benefit of all present and future colonists.

Slow as by comparison the progress of the colonists in wealth-getting has been, they exhibit a rare attachment to the land of

their adoption. The local journals go to almost extravagant lengths in setting forth the advantages and in vaunting the capabilities of the country. People who have once lived in Natal, wherever they may be or may wander afterwards, look back, we are told, with a singular liking and longing for the free social atmosphere, pleasant climate, and beautiful natural surroundings of that southern land. The charm of the place, devoid as it is of the higher kinds of social attractions and occupations, must rest chiefly in the mildness of the sunny climate and the general attractiveness of the scenery. From April to September, during the winter months, the air, as a rule, is warm and sunny during the day, keen and often frosty at night. The summer-time is made less pleasant by many days of excessive heat, by frequent storms, and greater uncertainty in the weather. The winter much resembles that of central Italy; the summer is more tropical in its character. In the midland and upper districts hail-storms—such as are never experienced in England—are common and destructive, while hot, sirocco-like winds blow occasionally for a day or two at a time, and cause great discomfort. But in spite of these perverse moods now and then, the Natalian climate, as a whole, may be classed amongst the most moderate and genial of those enjoyed by man.

The scenery of Natal has thus been generally described by a local writer:—

“Externally the aspects of our land are beautiful and ennobling—beautiful all down the sea-swept coast line, where the earth, warmed by the humid breath of the Eastern ocean, bursts into a lavish fulness of leaf and bloom, and where, down its innumerable valleys, flow under the shadow of swarthy hills or impending crags, winding tortuously towards the sea, the sparkling waters of brooks and rivers. There is a rare redundancy of beauty about the scenery of these coastlands. There are unfoldings of sweet landscapes so frequent in their succession that the eye, dulled by familiarity, is apt to get callous to the natural graces of the earth around us. Nor is this beauty confined to the shore belt. It is found in the grand shapings of the outspread uplands, where the earth, naked save for the thick grass that clothes her, dilates into huge swelling heights which lie bare to the winds of heaven, and roll westward in solemn sequence, like the billows of the Southern sea.

“But there are ennobling aspects as well. Stand on the verge of the rent Inanda basin. Below you the ground falls sheer at one great plunge, and the scarred rocks around wall in apparent chaos. Hills shoot up and down in confused disorder, and cast the shadows of their stark frowning crags over the mystic valleys beneath them. Round the basements of these shattered eminences patches of glistening verdure, or of dark bush growth, nestle; rushing streams shimmer fitfully whenever sun-lit, but best doth the gloomy shade of cloud and rock besem the savage grandeur of the scene.

“ Or go beyond all of which I have written, to our land’s western marge, where the majesty of mountains mingles its influence with the rest. There the Scot finds his native hills surpassed, while even the Swiss might feel at home. Above you the ramparts of the Kahlamba turn their awful Sphinx-like precipices to the rising sun, and lift their gaunt peaks, often snow-swathed, into a yet purer air. Down the ledgeless flanks of the mountain summer torrents weave silver tracery, while their recumbent slopes are shaggy with the green drapery of veteran trees. Beyond those impassive sentinels the plains of Africa stretch illimitably, and the savage shares with the Boer republican dominion over the land.”

In Natal several distinct races of men may be found living side by side. There are first the aboriginal natives; of the Kafir tribes, who were the original dwellers on the soil, but few remain. In the earlier years of this century the wars carried on by the great Zulu warrior Chaka, led to the flight, destruction, or expulsion of most of the natives of Natal. Since the occupation of the country by the British, however, a constant influx of natives from other territories has taken place. These were mostly refugees from the cruelty of neighbouring chieftains, and they have been in most cases allowed to settle on the soil, and enjoy the same rights as the older residents of the country. There are now probably 230,000 Kafirs living within the colony. Natal presents perhaps the only instance that can be cited where a race of heathen barbarians is found living amongst and in constant contact with a white race without hostility between the two, and without a gradual process of extinction on the part of the coloured people. In New Zealand and in North America this problem has been tried, and has failed. There the two races have never coalesced nor intermingled. There feud and bloodshed have marked the intercourse of the white man and the black. It may be that the natures of the Maori and the Red Indian differ essentially from the nature of the Zulu Kafir. It may be, though on this point we are doubtful, that in Natal a different policy has been carried out. But whatever the cause of failure may be in New Zealand and North America, it is none the less certain that in Natal, ever since British rule was established there, twenty-five years ago, the most perfect peace has prevailed. It is quite true that several reasons may be assigned for this special but very happy state of things. Between the several tribes that make up the native population of Natal there is little unity and concord, and considerable jealousy and distrust. Many of them are largely composed of refugees, who are only too glad to find and to enjoy a state of peace and security, entirely unknown to them under their own rulers. These, however, are only reasons why hostile combinations should not be formed amongst them, not why peace should be preserved. The latter, after all, are the

most potent, and it is but just and well that facts so honourable to our countrymen should be properly understood in England. The natives of Natal have had no substantial cause for discontent. They have been treated almost too well by the colonial authorities. They have enjoyed privileges and immunities which few citizens of a European state can claim. In the early years of the settlement large tracts of land were set apart under the name of locations for the use of the natives resident in the colony. It has been generally considered on the spot that this policy was carried out in a mistaken manner; that the lands thus appropriated should have been scattered about the country in small blocks, easily manageable, instead of in vast tracts situated in the most rugged and inaccessible localities, where the natives have lived apart, that is secluded from the white settlers, and have been massed together in numbers that might become formidable.

The evil results of this arrangement have, however, happily been so far only indirect and of a moral nature. Habits and modes of life which it would be well to modify and improve, have remained in these locations unassailable by the force of civilized example. The natives have not given themselves up so fully to systematic labour as it is desirable they should do, and as they would have done had they not found in their homes too tempting opportunities for indulgence in the idle and luxurious indolence which is the savage's normal state of life. In their locations they found an abundance of pasture land for their herds and of garden ground for the growth of their crops. Their women did the rough work of the fields; their boys saw after the herds. What need therefore to engage in those pursuits of regular toil by which alone it may safely be asserted man's faculties are kept out of mischief, and his being properly trained and disciplined? Idleness and barbarism are synonymous, and they who would civilize the savage must first teach him the primal law and moral necessity of work.

No one can charge either the Government or the people of Natal with any desire to deprive the natives of their lands. Although so many of them have really no claim as aboriginal occupants of the soil to a share in its proprietorship, they—that is, the adult men—have been treated with a liberality that to many might seem indiscriminate. In 1861 the governor of the colony announced that he was about to issue tribal land titles to the native chiefs throughout the colony. Against such a recognition of the tribal principle, and such a perpetuation of the power of chieftainship *per se*, the local legislature loudly protested, and a battle lasting some years ensued between the governor and the representatives of the people. In the end the latter succeeded,

by agreeing to a compromise, in getting the principle of individual titles admitted; but a Native Trust, to be nominated by the governor, was to be created by law, in whom the titles should be vested. The colonial representatives went further than the official executive in their readiness to deal liberally with the natives. The governor had proposed to charge a sum of two shillings an acre as a purchase price for the lands to be alienated. To this the legislature demurred. Said they, if the natives are entitled to land at all, it is but just to give them it free of cost; and they therefore alienated by legal enactment lands which extend in the aggregate to an area of nearly one and a half million acres, calculated at the rate of about twenty-five acres for every head of a house.

The free and secure possession of as much land as they want is not, however, the only reason enjoyed by the native in Natal for keeping quiet. He has not by coming under British rule lost his own system of law, and his right to indulge in his own social customs. Kafir-law, which in the strictest sense is *lex non scripta*, is always adhered to in cases between native and native. The Zulus are wonderfully good advocates, and the ingenuity and natural eloquence with which they plead their causes before the European magistrates would do credit to Westminster Hall. Nor does the Government interfere with their domestic enjoyments. They are at liberty to marry as many wives as they like, and until the other day could bargain for these wives with their fathers, irrespective of any likes or dislikes which the girls themselves might have. This form of woman-slavery, which had long been denounced in the colony as incompatible with the freedom of British subjects, was last year subjected to certain counteracting checks by the enactment of laws requiring that all marriages be registered, that fees be payable on such registration, and that a certain fixed number of cows shall be a legal offer on the part of a native bridegroom to the father of the girl he seeks to wed. Hitherto it has too often been the case that wealthy old men have outbid their younger rivals, and that girls have been forced into marriage with patriarchal Bluebeards directly against their wishes and their will.

In one respect the Natal Kafir appears to differ from the natives of New Zealand and North America. They have no objection to servitude, as such. It has been calculated that 20,000 of them are at work under white employers at one time or another during the year. When in service they appear to be quite cheerful and contented, and to masters who understand the management of them, they are excellent servants. The young unmarried men and the boys are chiefly those who seek employment. The married men as a rule stay at home, and pay the

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taxes imposed by Government out of the wages of their sons. It is no unusual thing, however, for even married men to enter service occasionally, when food is scarce at home, or any special pressure prevails. There is, on the whole, an abundant demand for this kind of labour, but the colonists complain, and with reason, that their enterprises and industry are sadly impaired and retarded by the capriciousness of the labour supply. No law worth the name is in force under which contracts of service for lengthened periods can be entered into, nor are the Kafirs encouraged by the Government to enter into such agreements. The result is that the farmer or planter is often left in the lurch at the most critical period of his operations. Natives leave their employer whenever their caprice prompts them to return homeward; and it is significant of the freedom they enjoy that a Kafir seldom stays at his work for a longer period than nine months. Six months generally suffice to produce home-sickness in the native bosom, and when that malady sets in nothing less than a few months' holiday at his paternal kraal will effect a cure. So far it has been found impracticable to establish a better and more regular system. The home Government looks with jealous eye on any attempt to legislate colonially on the question of native labour. They see in every such attempt a covert approach to slavery. That perverse humanitarianism which sees a Legree in every unoffending colonist, and an oppressed Quashee in every "noble savage," fails as yet to see that the best way to make the native truly free is to train him to habits of steady, self-reliant industry, to make him a useful citizen, as well as an unfettered man, to teach him that the liberty of the British subject means the capacity to work for an honest livelihood, and the obligation to uphold the common weal of the State, not mere licence to indulge the unbridled propensities of a savage nature, nor the right to gratify personal caprice irrespective of the interests of others.

These are questions, however, which it may fairly be presumed the lapse of time and the pressure of circumstances will solve. In their relations with the natives around them during the past twenty-five years the colonists of Natal have shown themselves worthy to be trusted. That period of peaceful relations and industrial progress has seen a new generation grow to maturity. The men who would now in the ordinary course of things be the chief fighting strength of the native population, know nought of war by personal experience. They have listened to the tales of bloody strife told by their fathers when basking in the sunshine, or when sitting at night round their hut fires, but here ends their knowledge of the battle and the fray. Their boyhood and youth have been passed under the mild rule and amongst the

peaceful pursuits of the white man. And thus living the quiet lives of British subjects, they and their fathers have come to acquire strong positive interests in behalf of peace. Colonial statesmen have not always or often sought to indoctrinate a native population with the true principles of conservatism. Possession of property is, we take it, the best surety for a man's loyalty as a citizen. Give a native a direct personal stake in the soil he occupies, and he will be far less likely to jeopardize the tenure of that property than he would be as a landless man. Quite apart from the action of the Government it is no uncommon thing in Natal for natives to buy or to rent farms. They are shrewd judges of pasture land, and can well estimate the value of a good estate. Considerable sums have at times been paid by them for land that they have coveted. Of late years the use of ploughs by them has become general. Their normal mode of agriculture is to hoe up the ground roughly with a kind of pick made specially for their use. This work is done mostly by the women. Now, however, ploughs are being largely bought by them, through the instrumentality of the Government, which sells these implements on easy terms. As these ploughs are used by the men, a twofold good is thus attained; the natives are accustomed to an improved system of agriculture, and the men are led to labour in the fields, instead of lolling idly about their huts, or indulging in the pastime of hunts and dances.

Any notice of Natal would be very incomplete without a reference to its mineral resources. It has long been believed that the colony was rich in this kind of wealth, but the young community lacked both the skill and the capital required first to explore the mineral resources of the country, and then to turn those resources to account. The geology of Natal forms the subject of an able and interesting paper read last year by Dr. Sutherland, Surveyor-General, before the Natural History Association of the colony. We have not room to make extracts from this pamphlet, but it shows that, although this portion of South Eastern Africa is comparatively devoid of those fossil forms of extinct organic life, which makes geology so interesting a study in this country, the history and relations of its rocks and strata may be investigated with keen if not absorbing interest by the intelligent observer. The older formations are very prominent throughout the country, and give a stern and impressive aspect to the scenery of many districts. Until recently it was maintained that coal was not likely to be found in a land presenting the geological features most common in Natal. This view has been entirely dispelled by later discoveries, and by more extended observation. The north-western districts of the colony abound in outcroppings of excellent steam coal. Seams varying in thickness from a few

inches to five and six feet are found to run laterally through the mountains. It would appear that volcanic action in remote ages had covered up these carboniferous deposits beneath older strata. Sir Roderick Murchison has expressed his belief that the coal fields of Natal are part of the same great bed whose northern outcroppings were first observed by Dr. Livingstone, near the Zambesi. Most of the coal seams so far discovered are found at a distance of 150 miles and more from the port. Coal, however, has been found much nearer than this. About forty-five miles north of the port a seam of anthracitic coal crops out along the beach, and dips inland. Many years ago, according to Mr. Morewood, an analysis and trial of this coal were made in England, and the result was that the heating power of the Natal coal was set down at 131·14 against 150·5 Yorkshire. The usual indications of coal have also been found in localities nearer to the port.

Last year the colonists became so impressed with the value of this resource, and the importance of developing it, that public meetings were held, and committees formed, with the view of urging on measures which might lead to the establishment of mining operations. The subject was brought before the local legislature by Mr. Robinson, who moved the following resolutions, which were carried unanimously. As the question is really one of national importance, we make no apology for reprinting these resolutions at length, more especially as they give succinctly a bird's-eye view of the matter ; they are as follows :—

1. That in the opinion of this House the existence of workable coal mines in the colony of Natal is a direct and material advantage to the Imperial interests, and cannot fail to conduce to the naval supremacy of the mother country.
2. That in support of this opinion the following reasons may be urged :—
  - a. The South African seaboard presents the only available ports of call for the ocean traffic to Australia and the East.
  - b. Up to the present time no available coalfields have been discovered in South Africa, except those lately opened out in Natal.
  - c. That according to the reports of the Surveyor-General and Colonial Engineer, not only are the coalfields of Natal of great extent, and the natural surface outcroppings of coal seams many and extensive, but the quality of the coal has been proved by trials made on board the port steamer and H.M.S. *Hydra*, to be equal in many respects to that of English steam coal, and to be well fitted for use in steam-vessels.
  - d. That Sir Roderick Murchison, Director-General of the Geological Survey, has expressed his opinion, based upon state-

- ments made and specimens submitted to him, that "there is beyond all doubt in the colony of Natal a much greater development of coal than in any part of Africa yet explored."
- e. That beyond the confines of the colony coal of good quality crops out in many places, and is used by the settlers.
  - f. That indications of coal have been found in other districts of the colony than those from which coal is ordinarily taken at present, more especially on the coast, where seams of anthracite coal up to sixteen inches in thickness crop out along the seashore about forty miles north of Durban, and that a thin vein of similar coal has also been lately found within a few miles from the seaport.
  - g. That it is highly desirable that a thorough survey of the whole colony should be made as recommended by, and in the words of, the Director-General, namely, "that an intelligent and experienced mining engineer should be sent to Natal without delay, to report not only upon the amount and character of the coal, but also upon the cost of extraction and of transport to Durban by railroads that have yet to be made."
  - h. That the present depressed state of the colonial revenue, necessitating as it does large measures of retrenchment, together with the inability of the colonists, for the time being, to bear fresh taxation—now that they are only beginning to recover from a prolonged period of commercial depression and financial embarrassment—renders it most difficult for the colony to bear such a heavy additional charge as this important survey would involve.
  - j. That apart from the undoubted advantages which would accrue to the commerce of the United Kingdom by the establishment of an abundant supply of cheap coal at the seaport of Durban, the advantages secured to the Imperial government would be no less considerable, seeing that one of the first objects of an enemy, in the event of a war with any naval power, would probably be to seize outward bound colliers, and to cripple as far as possible the foreign coal supply of the mother country. The possession of available coal mines in South Africa makes the Imperial government independent of such a policy, while it secures for H.M. cruisers and transports, even during times of peace, an economical supply of fuel at the half-way calling place of the Southern Ocean.
  - k. That the colony of Natal has already out of its own unaided and scanty resources, erected a first-class lighthouse at its seaport, and is carrying out works for the improvement of the harbour entrance, which are already pronounced to have had a beneficial effect. When completed, these works will enable vessels of considerable tonnage to obtain constant access to the safe anchorage of an almost landlocked harbour.

3. That upon these grounds the House is strongly of opinion that the Home Government should be urged to contribute towards the cost of the proposed survey, and to assist by its guarantee, or in any other way that may be deemed expedient, the construction of the railway which will be required in order to transport the coal from the mines to the coast.

Subsequently other resolutions were also passed, declaring the willingness of the little parliament to vote half the cost of the survey, provided that the Imperial Government would defray the rest. Are we wrong in expressing a hope that a plea so moderate, and backed by arguments so strong and practical, will receive a favourable hearing in Downing-street? The sum immediately involved is a trifle when compared with the amounts frittered away yearly in costly naval experiments. England has never been at war with a naval power able to meet her fairly, since the supremacy of steam upon the seas was recognised. The blockading of the Russian ports during the Crimean war shut out any prospect of menace from that quarter. There have not been, therefore, opportunities of estimating the probabilities of action should such a calamity occur as war with a power whose command of the seas might be indestructible. So long as naval operations are entirely dependent upon steam as a motive power, and so long as steam is dependent upon coal for its production, so long will the unlimited supply of that commodity in all seas navigated by British cruisers and transports, be indispensable as a naval auxiliary. Of what use would be the ironclads and steel guns, which now absorb such a large share of the Imperial revenue, were the want of coal to paralyze their strength, and neutralize their capabilities? Surely then it would be wise policy on the part of the mother country to help in making available for commercial purposes these coal mines on the South African coast. There, whatever might happen, she could depend upon a supply of fuel for her vessels. There, without the cost as at present, of transporting it thither, coal could be cheaply obtained half way on the track to her vast Eastern possessions. It has been estimated that the coal required at Capetown for the Abyssinian transports cost nearly 75,000*l.*, at least three times as much as it would have cost had the mines in Natal been worked. It may be said that the opening out of these coal-fields is a matter for commercial enterprize. So it would be in an older and a better known country. But Natal is young and obscure, as well as poor, and cannot without help undertake such an extensive work. She now asks the Home Government to aid her in ascertaining the true nature and extent of a resource which will be a boon to the world, and it seems to us that it would be wise policy, and in the end sound economy, to

hearken and accede to that request. It is more than probable that when once these Southern coal-fields are made available, the shipping trade round the Cape will undergo a revolutionary change. The expediency of constructing very large steamers adapted to make the voyages to India and Australia in forty or forty-five days has often been discussed. Given a cheap and abundant coal supply on the South African coast, and this project would at once become practicable.

In addition to coal Natal possesses iron, which from early times has been smelted by the natives. This useful ore is also found in close vicinity to the coal-fields, so that the two minerals which have made England so great may yet play an important part in the destiny of Africa. Copper has also been discovered, but the want of capital has prevented adequate mining operations. Traces of other metals have been found. During the last six months minute particles of gold have been discovered in considerable number in two parts of the colony, and prospecting operations are now going on in districts and amongst geological formations, that are very much akin to those near the northern gold-fields as well as to those prevailing in Australia. Whether the precious metal will be found in quantities to pay for digging or working, remains yet to be seen. In some of the Natalian rivers garnetiferous sand abounds; rock crystals are very plentiful; agates, cornelian, and other pebbles are common, and interesting masses of petrified or silicified trees are frequently met with.

Still keeping to the coast we come beyond Natal to the country that is known as Zululand. Like Natal, it is washed on its eastern boundary by the Indian Ocean, and like Natal, too, its western frontier is formed by the Kahlamba mountains, which in some parts sink more gently towards the east, and in others assume an almost impassable character. Delagoa Bay is generally regarded as marking the northern limits of this territory, upon which the Boers of the Transvaal Republic have cast longing eyes for many years past. About half way between Natal and Delagoa Bay occurs what is known as St. Lucia Bay, a long reedy lagoon, intersected by deeper channels running northward behind a sandy ridge of land for about forty miles. Few countries have had so little written or published concerning them as this. The wilds of the Zambesi and of equatorial Africa, the wastes and marshes of the western coast, almost every section of the African shore, have formed the staple of many volumes; but Zululand would seem to be too near the confines of civilization to be interesting to the lovers of travel-lore. Although visited yearly by large numbers of British traders, one hears far less of it and its affairs than of the regions near the sources of the Nile; and yet the country is large, rich, and tempting—few

lands present a wider range of productiveness, few enjoy such capacities for supporting a large population.

Zululand seems in many respects to be but a modified counterpart of Natal; it lies nearer the equator, and has a somewhat warmer climate. Were it not for the fact that its south-western corner is cut off, and forms the republican district of Utrecht, the country would be a pretty regular parallelogram between the mountains and the sea. As in Natal, the land rises in three terraces from the sea-level; that nearest to the shore is said to be not only more fertile, but more capable of cultivation than even the coastlands of Natal—in many places you might put the plough in and drive the furrow in a straight line for miles without meeting an obstacle. The climate of this region is moist, and not over healthy. In some parts—near St. Lucia Bay, for instance—fever is endemic; lurking in the vapours exhaled by the marshlands, or bred amidst the thick vegetation that clothes some of the seaward valleys. The next terrace is very hilly, but well fitted for the grazing of cattle. Here also the plough may in many parts take possession of the soil. Beyond this midland tract the surface is also broken and mountainous, but occasionally it stretches inland into expansive plains, dotted over with little conical hills. These, of course, are also grazing ground, but are probably fitted for agriculture as well. There are here, too, what may be called valley-plains, covered with a thick but useless description of bush. In these situations tropical fruits may be reared; but they are by no means healthy spots as residences for white men. Rivers run through them, and marshes are frequent. Nor is the vegetation confined to a useless growth of jungle: eight extensive forests are familiar to the few residents there; yellow-wood and other valuable trees are known to be abundant, but there may be others unknown to fame as yet. From time to time tales reach the colony of rare and curious trees that have some special properties, but they literally “waste their sweetness on the desert air.” Game also continues plentiful. Many bands of white and native hunters have carried on their raids year after year. The noble pursuit of sport has been reduced to a trade. Vast numbers of the finest class of game—eland, buffalo, elephant, and leopard—have been shot down, not for the love of excitement, but for the sake of their saleable skins or tusks. And yet so thickly have these forests been occupied by the wild creatures of the wilderness that in many more sequestered localities game may yet be found in abundance. But this, alas, will not long be the distinction of Zululand. Rifles are getting so numerous in the hands of Europeans and natives, especially of the latter, that the extermination or dislodgment of these noble animals is a mere matter of time.

Many valuable products will flourish in Zululand : sugar-cane and arrowroot, together with other tropical plants, have already been grown there. Sugar must in course of time be largely produced upon the rich alluvial lands of the coast-belt. In former years, before pleuro-pneumonia ravaged South Africa, Zululand was famous for its herds, and even yet large numbers of cattle are brought into the colony from thence. The area of the country may perhaps be rather more than that of Natal, and has been roughly estimated at 22,000 square miles. We have already shown that it is broken and hilly. It is also well watered ; rivers and running streams are numerous, and the mouth of the Umhlatusi, about fifty miles from Natal, has been often pronounced navigable. The largest of these is the Umvolosi ; it enters the sea at St. Lucia Bay, and it is in fact partly the cause of that harbour. The valleys through which these rivers run are often clothed with mimosa bush, amongst which buffaloes are commonly found. One must regret that so little is known of the geology of Zululand : that branch of observation would not appear to have been much pursued by the hunters and traders who have visited the country.

This beautiful country—for it really is such—is gradually becoming depopulated ; in some districts you may travel for miles without seeing a kraal, or other vestige of human life. Such a state of things must be attributed to the political condition of the country. A despotism pure and simple reigns there. For many years life was held as cheap as it is in the most savage parts of Africa, whether it be Dahomey on the western shore, or Uganda on the equatorial lake. The nominal and paramount ruler is Umpande. This old chieftain, who is famous for his obesity, succeeded his brother Dingaan in the year 1840 ; he is also a younger brother of the renowned warrior Chaka, to whom allusion has already been made. He came into power as the friend and ally of the Dutch Boers, when they first settled in Natal, and after so many of their number had been cruelly slaughtered by the Zulu tyrant, Dingaan. From that period Umpande has always kept on good terms with the white people. He, like Eli, has had sore trouble with his sons, of whom he has a goodly number, as may well be supposed, when we say that the old king numbers his wives by the hundred. His children look forward to the time of their father's death, and severally aspire to the heirship. The succession has been as fruitful a source of hostility and heartburning among them as it has often been among more civilized people. In 1857 the quarrels of the sons came to a crisis, and resulted in a terrible massacre on the Natal frontier, more than three thousand people falling victims to the ferocity of the victorious son, Cetywayo. This young man



is a Kafir of rare endowments and of kingly presence—a Zulu Alexander, who, in quest of supremacy, sticks at few scruples, but who, having got the power, has the shrewdness not to abuse it. Having effectually silenced his older brothers, for some time at least, and secured the submission, if not the love, of his father's people, he has since been the recognised heir to the throne, and to a great extent ruler of the nation. In the year 1861 he was formally acknowledged as the future chieftain of the Amazulu, by an official representative of the Natal government. He professes to place a high value on friendly relations with the English, and is much guided by the advice of English counsellors. All persons entering Zululand have now to obtain a license to trade or shoot from him, and he has established a kind of custom-house upon the frontier, which acts as a great restriction upon commerce. But the change for which Cetywayo deserves the highest credit is that of putting an end to the indiscriminate slaughter of offending persons. Until within the last year or so blood was spilt in the most reckless manner; cases of violent death on charges of witchcraft were so common that scarcely a week passed without its own specific butchery. Seldom was there only one victim, generally speaking a man was put to death along with one or two of his wives. The diminution of the population was also attributed to that well-known law of life, common, we believe, to all animal kind, that where the females lead hard and perilous lives, where nature is unfriendly and food is scant, male births preponderate; at any rate it has been so in Zululand, where the girls and women have had to toil after their lords and masters—literally and really such—on their warlike expeditions, as carriers of food. It may be mentioned as illustrating this singular fact, that in the cases of twenty-eight families, it was some few years ago found that seventy-six boys and only fifty-one girls had been born. In the neighbouring colony of Natal, where peace prevails, the numerical relations of the sexes are believed to be more equal, if not reversed.

It is a noteworthy fact that both Umpande and Cetywayo in some sort recognise the paramount supremacy of the British Government. It is their common practice in cases of political difficulty to ask the advice of the colonial authorities in Natal. It was through the good counsel they got from that quarter, combined with the influence of the many excellent missionaries in Zululand, that they were induced to discourage the reckless disregard of human life. They speak of the Governor of Natal as their father, they take constant opportunities of sending him presents, or tokens of their friendship, and two of these in the shape of enormous tusks of ivory formed a conspicuous feature in the exhibition of South-east African products at the Paris

Exhibition. Much of this good feeling is due to the wise and able diplomacy of Mr. Theophilus Shepstone, who for nearly twenty-five years has had charge of native affairs in Natal, and whose knowledge of the native character, not exceeded by that of any other man in Africa, has been acquired by a lifetime passed among them in the service of his Queen.

Beyond Zululand we reach the region of Portuguese settlements, which are among the earliest vestiges of civilized man's presence in Southern Africa. Vasco di Gama's discoveries along this coast at the close of the fifteenth century were at once followed up by several ventures of colonization and conquest on the part of the Portuguese. Attention was directed to these distant and almost mythical shores by the reported existence of gold in great quantities, and more than one expedition was fitted out on a gigantic scale for the purpose of searching for and taking possession of the reputed El Dorado. Most of these movements failed. The ravages of fever, the want of food, and the hostility of the natives, were obstacles that were never surmounted, and the traditionary Ophir was never reached. Gold, however, was obtained from the natives, and down to the present time it has been brought down from unknown regions in the interior, stowed away in quills, for use as a medium of barter. In due time the Portuguese found a surer source of wealth than any fabulous city of gold, in the slave-trade, which being sanctioned by a Papal bull henceforth became the grand traffic of the East African coast. Little by little the Portuguese have abandoned all attempts at colonization. The traces of their settlements cease within a few miles from the shore, save where the slave-hunting parties organized under their auspices leave behind them in depopulated lands and wasted homes, sad tokens of their presence. It is not saying too much to assert that Portuguese domination has been the blight of East Africa. It has all but sealed the coast to everything but the rapacity and brutality of the men who have made the name of their so-called country a byword in these seas, and prostituted to the vilest ends the monopoly they have enjoyed. Testimony on this point is abundant. Time after time have attempts made by the British colonial communities of the South to open up legitimate trading connexions with the Portuguese ports failed. Vessels have been seized, trading parties stopped, property confiscated, and even Englishmen cruelly imprisoned or detained, at these centres of lawlessness. It is around these places, too, that the natives will be found in a more demoralised and debased condition than in any other part of Africa. European vices are engrafted on the baser passions of heathenism. Moral and social obligations are trampled down, and the white race, which should be the type of

a higher and purer form of life, is degraded and made hateful in the eyes of the aborigines. Upon this point we can never forget Dr. Livingstone's emphatic statement, that while Lord Palmerston's efforts to put down slave trade on the West coast, where English influence is predominant, had been most successful, on the East coast, in spite of the vast expenditure incurred by the Imperial Government in maintaining a squadron in those seas, they had been comparatively abortive.

It is true that the class of men chiefly chargeable with these melancholy results are not pure Portuguese, but the bastard offspring of a mixed parentage. It is true also, that in some cases the men sent out as governors and officials are persons of high rectitude and sincerity of purpose. It is, at the same time, to be just as much feared that Portugal finds it convenient to wink at these outrages on international law, and the principles which govern modern enterprise. Doubtless in times past the system has brought huge profits to the abettors. During all these years of monopoly the Portuguese adventurers have carried on a trade of whose extent it is difficult to form an estimate, but which must have proved enormously remunerative. Ivory, gums, feathers, skins, oil, woods, fibre, and even cotton have been exported to Goa, Bombay, and Europe, but in human flesh the traffic has been most considerable. The principal ports are Lorenzo Marques, on the north side of Delagoa Bay, where the Portuguese are in perpetual broils with the natives around them; Inhambane, a port situated a few miles up a deep river, accessible to vessels of considerable burthen; Sofala, Quillimane, and Mozambique. Of these places very little is known, as they are rarely visited by British merchantmen, except the two first, with which a desultory connexion with Natal is kept up. This much, however, may be said, that unless Portugal modifies her policy and reforms her course of action upon the East African coast, there is no hope that that side of the continent will or can be civilized and improved by any operations starting from the seaboard.

We now come to that portion of South Africa which presents at this moment so many phases of political importance to the attention of Imperial statesmen. Beyond the northern boundary of the Cape colony, and the western border of Natal, there stretch toward the equator two republics, principally though thinly peopled by Boer families of Dutch extraction. When in 1838 the migration of farmers from the Cape colony took place, a large number settled on the territory immediately over the Orange River, which here forms the Cape frontier. This is a land of vast sweeping plains, with little in the shape of bush or tree to clothe its surface or to hide its pastures, and with few

hills to break the dead monotony of its flat expanses. Here and there, however, table-topped or craggy mountains rise abruptly from the savannahs, and give a wilder aspect to the scene. As may easily be imagined, this is more a country of flocks and herds than of fields and plantations. As such it possesses excellent capabilities. Sir George Grey, the ablest governor South Africa has had for many a long year, so far back as 1855 wrote as follows to the Secretary of State:—"The territory of the Orange Free State forms one of the finest pastoral countries I have ever seen. There is no district of Australia which I have visited which throughout so great an extent of territory affords so uniformly good a pastoral country." This statement is verified by the fact (according to a recent calculation) that there are 2,500,000 sheep in the country; that it exports yearly 23,000 bales of wool, valued at 230,000*l.*, and hides, cattle, and horses worth 45,000*l.*, and that its annual exports have advanced from an aggregate value of 25,000*l.* in 1854 to 26,500*l.* in 1868. The climate of this region is considered to be the finest in South Africa. As the whole territory is several thousand feet above the sea level, it enjoys a remarkably clear and keen atmosphere, and there are few rivers and tracts of moist ground to impart dampness to the air. Immense herds of game, consisting of clans, quaggas, wildebeests and other antelopes still course over these limitless plains, although it is estimated that 37,000 persons of European origin are resident in the state.

England can charge herself with few greater shortcomings than her treatment of this secluded inland state. After its occupation by the emigrant farmers in 1838, the usual relations arose between the surrounding native tribes, and the Dutch settlers freed now from the wholesome restraints of British rule. Cattle thefts became frequent, and reprisals, with interest, were made by the farmers. The latter—never gently disposed towards people with black skins, and mindful of sufferings inflicted during frontier wars—indulged in several acts of oppression, which at last led to an appeal for protection made to the colonial government by aggrieved native chieftains. An endeavour was made to extend some kind of magisterial control over the district. This effort was unfortunately defeated. A large number of the Boers who had left Natal, after being in arms there against the Queen's troops, entered the Free State, and proclaimed there an independent republic. This rash proceeding was followed up by the establishment of a form of slavery, and these circumstances, combined with the notorious lawlessness of the community, induced the home Government to take action. An armed force was sent over the Orange River; the farmers who attacked this body when it was on the march

were worsted, and the territory was immediately brought under the British flag as the "Orange River Sovereignty."

This change gave general satisfaction both to Europeans and natives. Those who did not covet the distinction of being British subjects, the implacably hostile, receded to the northward, crossed the Vaal River, which is the present boundary between the two states, and established there the South African, better known as the Transvaal Republic. A British Resident was appointed at Bloemfontein, the chief town of the sovereignty, and a small garrison was stationed there. In 1851 it was declared by letters patent to be a distinct and separate colony. Unfortunately for itself and for South Africa, this independence was soon to take a direction which few at that time contemplated. Tempted, however, by this extension of British rule, and the security which generally comes with it, many colonists crossed the Orange River, bought, or acquired by grant, farms, and laid out large sums in the purchase of stock and the erection of buildings. Then came the Kafir war of 1851-2, during which the "British Resident" became embroiled with the Basutos, and experienced reverses and disaster. To quote the words of an ably written "Memorial," lately presented and we are glad to say very favourably received at the Colonial Office,

"This mismanagement produced several complications, and the then Governor of the Cape colony and High Commissioner, Sir Harry Smith, was superseded in his government before he could apply a remedy. Sir George Cathcart succeeded to the Government, and with the avowed object of sustaining the prestige of the British name, he marched into Basutoland and attacked the Basuto army."

Although the "Memorial" does not say so, this movement was also a failure, and this fact, together with its cost, induced the home Government, already sickened by the great expense of the Kafir war, to send out Sir George Russell Clerk, "to ascertain whether it was practicable to make arrangements for the abandonment of the whole of that territory." This extraordinary procedure, perhaps the most undignified act of which any British ministry has been guilty, was carried out, we must presume, by the Commissioner in the spirit of the instructions given to him.

"Professing to be guided in his decisions and report by the opinions of those most interested—the residents themselves, meetings were called throughout the sovereignty for the election of delegates, through whom the public voice was to be expressed. The expression of public opinion and feeling thus gained through these twenty-four delegates was clear and unmistakeable. It was that on every consideration of right, honour, and expediency, the British Government could not abandon the sovereignty."

Sir George Clerk, however, was commissioned to arrange for

the abandonment of this territory; and abandoned it must be. After some further parley, finding that the delegates would never listen to what to them was an appalling proposition, he dissolved them as a representative body; and although they expressed the feelings and desires of a vast majority of the people of both colours, he listened to the suggestions of a small clique of men, with whom, on the 23rd of February, 1854, he entered into a convention, handing over to them the territory as a Free State. Before this convention had been executed the delegates had already despatched to England their chairman and another gentleman to bring their case before the Queen's Government; and it was fully expected that Sir George Clerk would have awaited the result of this mission. He did not, however. Notwithstanding a solemn protest from the delegates, he signed the convention between himself as Special Commissioner and the men who for their own purposes had palmed themselves off as "representatives of the people." This document would be worth reprinting had we room for it; but it is enough to say, that it "guarantees on the part of Her Majesty's Government the future independence of that country and government." It however further provided "that this independence shall without unnecessary delay be confirmed and ratified by an instrument promulgated in such form and substance as Her Majesty shall approve, finally freeing them from their allegiance to the British crown, and declaring them, to all intents and purposes, an independent people." This instrument, be it remarked, was never promulgated, and, in point of fact, the people of the Free State have never yet been formally absolved from their allegiance, and in law are therefore British subjects.

It is impossible to describe the panic and indignation caused by this act. People had relied so fondly and confidently upon the good faith of the English Government, that the idea of being thus cruelly abandoned had never occurred to the minds of most of the settlers there. Meetings were held in the chief centres of population, and the resolutions passed at them will give some notion of the feeling that prevailed. Read now after the lapse of fifteen years, they seem strangely prophetic. The slighted delegates said that Sir George Clerk's proceedings were "certain to involve the country in irretrievable anarchy, confusion, and misrule," and that he had "made himself answerable for the insecurity of life and property which must inevitably ensue." A large gathering of citizens held at Bloemfontein, the chief town, said that their allegiance "has been always, and up to this moment is, entire and undivided." A yet more enthusiastic meeting at Smithfield, another town, "resolved not to be deprived of the rights and privileges of Englishmen," and wound up with the

following quaint and somewhat gushing, but very significant declaration :—

“Resolved, that this meeting, before separating for the day, do with heart and lungs nurtured and invigorated by the untainted air of freedom, and with right true loyal feelings, join devotedly, first in our most beautiful and sacred National Anthem, and then sincerely and vigorously in three hearty cheers for our beloved Sovereign Lady Queen Victoria, and may her reign and that of her children be long and permanent, happy and glorious, over the Orange River Sovereignty.”

Alas! for the good people of Smithfield, all these loyal aspirations were unavailing. The British authorities vacated the sovereignty, the British flag was pulled down, and this young struggling community which had been created under the fostering wing of British rule was left, sorely against its own will, to assume the responsibilities of a mature state. The sequel may soon be told. All that had been predicted as likely to ensue has since come to pass. The settlers have done their best to carry on government after a fashion. A representative assembly has been formed, and a President elected for a term of years. It need scarcely be said that no time was lost in establishing an official machinery. Under such circumstances needy and clever men will always be found in search of appointments. The republic, however, has been a failure; it has wholly lacked the prestige and force required for efficient government everywhere, but especially so in a community composed of such incongruous elements as are found in the Free State: English settlers, Dutch Boers, adventurous Hollanders, and natives, form a rather inharmonious mixture. The home Government moreover left these people to their fate at a time when it had not long before been compelled to patch up a peace with the Basutos, between whom and the Free State there has been enmity ever since.

Something may now be said about these people, the Basutos, who have the distinction to be the last group of subjects taken under the royal wing. This so-called “nation” is in point of fact made up of a number of fragmentary tribes, mostly of Bechuana origin, who have been now for very many years compacted together under the paramount chieftainship of Moshesh, whose sons rule over different divisions of this powerful community. The old chief is a man of rare diplomatic ability, as his dealings with the governments of the Free State and the Cape colony abundantly prove. For twenty years he has managed to hold his own against successive governors and presidents, bamboozling first the one and then the other, and always managing to appear in the interesting character of an injured being. He has to some extent conformed to European modes of life, lives in a two-storied house, and has given to some of his sons an English edu-

cation at Cape Town. That he possesses a mind far above the average, and in many respects displays a spirit of liberality and enlightenment very unusual in a heathen, and not always seen in a European, no one who knows him can doubt. Missionaries of all kinds have ever been the favourite subjects of his protection. Perhaps no finer mission stations exist in South Africa than those which represent the French Protestant and Roman Catholic interests in Basutoland. The Boers, who are notorious for their dislike to and distrust of this class (not altogether without reason), regard this preference for missionaries with great disfavour, and attribute, very unjustly, much of their ill-fortune to the influence thus exercised. But with all his good points Moshesh still remains an adept in the art of deceit. A more consummate hypocrite could scarcely be found than this chief has shown himself to be. He is never at a loss for a reason or an excuse, and after every war has generally succeeded in making it appear that he was the aggrieved and not the aggressor.

Basutoland consists of a territory compactly and roundly shaped, bordered on the north and west by the Free State, on the east by Natal and Griqualand, and on the south by the Cape colony. Moshesh has thus been fairly shut in by white communities. But nature has done much for his country; it is broken in every direction by detached mountains whose flat summits afford ample area for towns and villages, and whose steep, craggy sides are only to be surmounted at one or two narrow and easily defended points. Between these fortress-like hills sweep large and fertile valleys, where corn can be grown and cattle depastured. Ensnconced upon the strongholds made by the action of natural forces in remote ages, the Basutos for many years defied their enemies in the Free State, and from time to time made forays upon the plains beyond them, carrying off the stock of the farmers, and keeping up constant and bitter animosity. We may be sure that the farmers were not slow in retaliating, and as robberies became more numerous, and hostile frays more frequent, the Boers, exasperated by pillage, grew less and less scrupulous, until in their deeds of violence they have often vied with their heathen opponents. In judging of their actions, however, we must not lose sight of the circumstances in which by the action of the British Government they had been placed. The act of abandonment was in itself a confession of weakness, which naturally encouraged the Basutos to view with disdain a people cast off so summarily by a stronger protecting power. Then came the robbery of cattle—which on the Cape frontier was ever the precursor of war—and to the bucolic mind of a Dutch Boer, or indeed of any pastoral farmer, the loss of his herds or flocks is the sorest aggravation.



Thus came it to pass that from the time of abandonment in 1854 up to last year war after war has been waged between the Free State and the Basutos. Every successive conflict found the combatants more embittered towards each other. Neither of them were naturally warlike. Tactics on both sides have usually presented a Fabian character. Very few encounters in the open field have taken place. The Basutos when the Boers approached kept discreetly behind their rocks and cairns. The Boers for some years confined their operations in the main to reconnoitres, to the patrol of deserted districts, and to the seizure of any cattle that might come within their reach. During the last two or three years, however, a different policy has been pursued. The hill fastnesses were found to be less impregnable than had been supposed. Hitherto the storming of those places was a feat of arms never contemplated. But at last, as familiarity with the country and the field reduced the imaginary difficulties, even this task was attempted, with the aid of small field cannon which have been found very serviceable during the later years of this warfare. In 1865 and the following years several of the strongholds were "stormed" and taken with singularly slight loss of life, as the Basutos when fairly grappled with, prudently retire from the scene, and leave their foes in possession. A few successes of this sort soon gave the Boers grasp of a large portion of Basutoland, that which contained the best cornlands of the country. This was declared to be "conquered," and annexed to the Free State. The next act was to turn out the French missionaries, to plunder their stations, and deprive their native inhabitants of their lands. Nothing can be said in excuse of this harsh and wanton measure. The missionaries are excellent worthy men, some of whom had laboured in Basutoland for more than thirty years. At least 100,000*l.* had been expended by the home society in establishing these stations. Many of the men thus cast out had acquired considerable property of their own. All was recklessly sacrificed to the blind prejudices of the misguided Boers. Although a commissioner sate to investigate their case, no charge was proved against them, but it was shown clearly enough that furniture, books, and other property had been savagely destroyed, and that at several stations unoffending and unarmed natives had been barbarously shot down. Yet no redress has ever been granted for wrongs so gratuitous, unless, indeed, permission to occupy their stations again, not as such, but as mere farms, and probably under conditions of military service, on payment of 100*l.* for each, can be considered in that light.

Much of the conquered territory was surveyed and sold. The Free State, however, with its weak government, has so far shown

itself unable to hold what it may have got. As soon as under the pressure of reverses and in the face of prospective famine, Moshesh had asked for and obtained peace, the forces were withdrawn from the scene of their conquests, and as a natural consequence the Basutos reoccupied their country again, and recultivated their fields. Then followed more robberies, more reprisals, and war again, followed up by fresh attacks upon and capturing of mountain strongholds. On this occasion the Boers devoted themselves to the wholesale destruction of the growing crops, a measure which in itself seems inexcusable, although they say that only by such means can the natives be thoroughly subdued. The great mistake made by the Free State has always been that it carried its operations too far. The Basutos must live, and if deprived of lands and herds they can only have recourse to deeds of aggression and violence.

It was while affairs were very much in this position, and the Boers seemed not unlikely to extinguish their old opponents, that Moshesh represented his case to the High Commissioner, and negotiations ensued which finally ended in the cessation of hostilities and the acceptance of Moshesh and his people as British subjects. This proceeding, as may well be imagined, was bitterly resented by the ruling party in the Free State. They declined to enter into any negotiations with Sir Philip Wodehouse, indulged in a large amount of "tall talk," threatened to seek the interference of the French or Russian Emperors, and finally despatched to England two commissioners armed with a long and emphatic protest against the interference of the British representative just when they seemed on the point of reducing the Basutos to absolute and unconditional submission. This deputation returned to South Africa in October last, having wholly failed in their object. They were told that her Majesty's Government approved of all that Sir Philip Wodehouse had done in the matter, and had empowered him to take such further action as he, with his local knowledge, might deem necessary.

It will be at once apparent that the acceptance of the Basutos as British subjects entails the likelihood of complications with the Free State. Unless Moshesh succeeds in curbing the thieving propensities of his people better than he has done so far, there will be more robberies and more reprisals. What will be the position of the British Government then? Is it prepared to maintain in Basutoland a police force large enough to keep the Basutos in order, or does it intend to see the Boers again marching into the territory of its new-made subjects, laying it waste, and appropriating it to their own purposes? Unless some more definite and extended policy be adopted, one or other of these alternatives appears inevitable.

In the Cape colony and Natal public opinion is very unanimous regarding the policy to be pursued. Neither of those colonies care to have Basutoland, if one or other of them is to be responsible for the good conduct of the natives.

Natal has already suffered directly at the hands of those people. In 1865 a large body of Basuto marauders crossed the border in pursuit of cattle said to have been driven there by citizens of the Free State. The whole colony was agitated; the border districts panic-stricken, and a military expedition sent to the frontier at a cost—hardly borne by the impoverished colonists—of 9000*l*. For this outrage of the frontier no adequate compensation has yet been exacted from Moshesh. A few lean cattle have been received and sold on account of sufferers by the raid, but the expense imposed upon the local government has yet to be reimbursed. The feeling throughout the colonies, and we may add, predominant in the Free State, is that the only way to secure lasting peace is to retrieve the error of the past, by re-annexing the Free State to the Crown, or rather by extending British rule there, as in point of fact the territory has never been legally absolved from its connexion.

Every argument can be urged in support of this measure. Common justice requires it; considerations of prudence and economy warrant it; humanity and morality dictate it. When England, forgetful of her highest mission as the herald and champion of civilization in the dark places of the earth, acting on a hasty and ill-considered impulse thrust its own subjects away from her, left her children, as they not inaptly say, "out in the cold," she was guilty of one of those crimes which, whether committed by man or nation, are sure to work their own retribution. She entailed fourteen years of anarchy and confusion upon the abandoned settlement. She opened the door to crime and bloodshed, the full measure of which will never be fully known. She subjected the colonists of her own territories to heavy and continuous loss; for during the later years of the war all the courts of the Free State have been closed, and no debts have been recoverable there. Nearly half a million sterling is due from the Free State to merchants in the Cape colony and Natal, and the forced worthlessness of these claims has involved the mercantile community in both places, and more indirectly South African trading interests in this country, in serious monetary embarrassment. To meet the emergency a paper currency under the style of "bluebacks" has been indiscriminately issued, and as these notes have been legal tender, a ruinous depreciation has been the result.

England has in almost every part of the world presented herself under a benign and attractive aspect. In the Free State

she has seemed harsh, reckless, and repellent. Her flag has elsewhere been the symbol of justice and right. In the Free State it has been the emblem of injustice and wrong. The abandonment of that territory has led to war, plunder, and misery; to the expulsion of the French missionaries and the ravaging of their stations; to the raid into Natal, and the constant disquietude of both our colonial communities; to the nourishment of the bitterest feelings between the white and black races. A speaker in the Natal Legislative Council, when strongly advocating the annexation of the Free State, said that "the war had been most demoralizing in its effects. It had been demoralizing because it kept up a constant feeling of antagonism between the white and the black races, and led them to regard each other as hereditary enemies." And this demoralization, he remarked, must in course of time extend to the natives under our own rule, upon whose minds the spectacle of such a constant strife must have a disquieting and pernicious effect.

There exists in the Free State a small but compact party, known as *Hollanders*, who are not natives of Africa, and who possess more educational advantages than are enjoyed by their colonial countrymen. These men are the only people really averse to British rule, which would be the downfall of their supremacy, and deprive them of all the sweets of office they now monopolize. In 1858, when the Basutos had driven back the Boers, even such of these men as were there then were in favour of annexation; but in 1863, when 1550 memorialists asked the Volksraad to agitate this change, affairs had much altered, the Basutos seemed less formidable, and the *Hollanders* succeeded in persuading the simple-minded farmers, who were their colleagues, to do nothing. The only journal of any consequence in the Free State has advocated most persistently the reannexation of the country for years past, and there is, according to the best authorities, every reason to believe that the establishment there of British rule would be hailed as the highest boon by all but a small section of the inhabitants; that section, unfortunately, happens to hold the reins of government just now, a position it has acquired by the sheer force of greater worldly knowledge and superior education. These *Hollanders* speak the same language, and claim the same origin as the Boers whose prejudices they pander to and whose petty vanity they foster, and they have naturally greater influence over their minds than have the far larger body of English settlers dwelling in the Free State.

The dominance of this anti-English faction cannot, however, long continue, as the law of necessity will prove stronger even than their aspirations. H. M. High Commissioner, Sir Philip

Wodehouse, in a speech delivered in September last, when pro-roguing the Cape Parliament, used these emphatic words,—“Speaking entirely on my own responsibility, giving expression only to my own opinions, I may say that I regard the measures which severed from their allegiance the European communities in those regions to have been founded in error, and that it will be a blessing for all if, with their general and hearty concurrence, they can be restored in a general sense to their former position.” In these words fit expression is given to the wishes of all men of British origin throughout South Africa, and to most of the present citizens of the long-suffering Orange Free State.

We must now proceed to glance at the condition and affairs of the last section of European Africa in the South. After the British occupation of Natal, and subsequently of the Free State, a large number of malcontent Boers found their way across the Vaal river, and in course of time established there an independent republic. Before that point was reached many a strange and wild adventure must have been experienced by these men, who, with their families, were traversing unknown and untrodden regions, where they had to be constantly on the alert against a race of barbarians, regarded by them as their natural foe. Nor was this sense of antagonism unreasonable. When the emigrant farmers first arrived in Natal they were taught distrust of the natives, and hatred of a coloured skin, by many a bloody massacre and foul surprise. When animadverting, as we shall have immediately to do, upon the later proceedings of these people, let us not forget the wrongs they or their fathers suffered at the hands of treacherous savages in years happily long gone by.

The Transvaal Republic is one of the largest territorial divisions of South Africa, and covers an area of more than 100,000 square miles. It spreads over six parallels of latitude, runs up considerably within the Southern tropic, and is bounded on the north by the Limpopo river, which flows into the Indian Ocean, just as its southern boundary, the Vaal river, flows westward into the Atlantic. The country has therefore the advantage of a double watershed within its own limits, and you can see there two great river systems leave their sources to flow respectively towards the rising and the setting sun. This vast tract is broken here and there by ranges of rugged hills, the most conspicuous being those of the Rustenberg and Waterberg districts, where the scenery is in many parts most enchanting. The rocky distorted forms of the mountains rise from wide and fertile valleys, and their lower slopes are fringed with verdant farmsteads, irrigated by the crystal streams flowing from their recesses, and are beautified by primeval forests. As a general rule, however, the land is more or less level, spreading

out in wide plateaux, at a high elevation above the sea. When you enter the Free State, on surmounting the Drakensberg or Kahlamba mountains, you are 6000 feet above the sea level ; but on reaching Heidelberg, a district of the Transvaal, you are 2000 feet higher still. This fact explains why a country which in point of fact is tropical, enjoys so excellent and genial a climate. All sojourners and travellers are agreed upon this point. In the summer, as in Natal, rains fall and the plains are clothed with abundant pasturage. In the winter the weather is dry, the grass is burnt up, and travelling becomes difficult, as the Speaker of the Natal parliament found it to be when he was winter-bound by the want of food for his oxen, and kept from his presidential chair for a whole session.

The Transvaal, as may be imagined, has a wide range of products. Its corn-producing capabilities are famous throughout South Africa, but the cost of transport to the coast regions, 400 miles distant, so far puts a stop to the growth of wheat for any but home purposes. Sheep farming so far has not been largely carried on, but cattle breeding is a popular pursuit. The sugarcane grows well in several localities, and the farmers sometimes manufacture it, after a rude fashion, by boiling the juice in a pot. Coffee grows luxuriantly, though only a few persons have yet tried to cultivate it on any appreciable scale. Tobacco also thrives. The farmers of the Transvaal, however, are a primitive race, contented with very small things. So long as they have produce enough yearly to barter at Natal for the few important commodities they need, their wants are satisfied, and their aspirations have rest. These people present a curious example of what a complete state of social seclusion and stagnation will do for a race. In the Transvaal we see the Boer in his most primitive type—leading a life not many removes in its domestic surroundings and usages from that of the native, but most fanatically devoted to his religion—that of the Dutch Reformed Church. In his case, alas, as in many others of higher pretension, this religion is too generally a profession of words rather than a performance of deeds. There are, of course, exceptions; Boers whose circumstances have given them a taste for greater refinement of life, and whose better education has lifted them rather above the common level of their countrymen. But in a land of such magnificent distances, where no farm is less than 6000 acres in extent, and a population of twenty or thirty thousand is scattered over an area nearly as large as that of France, it is evident that the measure of education within reach of the people is of the scantiest and most irregular description. Great allowance has to be made for these depressing and degrading social conditions. If the Boers are narrow-minded, illiberal,

prejudiced, and ignorant, they have been made so by the adverse influences of a destiny which has sent them into those savage wildernesses to be the pioneers of European enterprise, and the vanguard of Anglo-Saxon civilization.

Not much is known of the mineral resources of this part of South-Eastern Africa, but present indications point to the future development of mining enterprise in the Transvaal. Lead exists in large quantities in one district, and specimens of this ore have shown a yield of thirty-six ounces to the ton. Coal outcroppings are very abundant, and on the eastern frontier it is a common thing for the settlers to use this fuel for their domestic purposes. Copper has also been found in several localities. But the great mineral discovery of the day is the opening out of the gold fields beyond the Limpopo, which have in some localities been worked by the natives from unknown ages. We have not room to say more regarding this interesting event than that there is no reason to doubt the intelligence that was received towards the end of last year. To Herr Mauch, the German traveller, belongs the credit of this discovery, and to Mr. Hartley, the hunter, who first put him on the scent and took him to the locality. The existence of these gold-fields is believed in so confidently in Natal that many prospecting parties of colonists have gone from thence, and according to the last accounts one of these had succeeded in finding gold in alluvial deposits, as well as in quartz. Before many months are over the world will probably know, through the labours of these explorers, how far the relative richness of these gold-fields—believed by Sir Roderick Murchison to be the ancient Ophir—is likely to draw to the shores of Africa a portion of that stream of population and of enterprise which the precious metal invariably attracts.

But we must pass on from the attractive subject of the natural resources of this country to the graver questions which spring out of its peculiar political conditions. The Transvaal Republic is governed by a President with an executive council of five members, and a Volksraad (or legislative assembly) consisting of members elected by the people, no qualification being required of voters, except that of manhood. This representative body meets twice a year; the members receive 15s. a day for their attendance, and many of them live during the session encamped on the market square of the little capital of the republic, snugly domiciled in their waggons. There are three parties in this chamber of deputies: the ancient Boer, who believes the world to be flat, and would have it stand still as he has done and is doing; the Anglo-Dutch Boer, who has caught the infection of enterprise from the neighbouring colonists, and would fain move on a

little ; and the Hollander, who plays off the one against the other to his own benefit and in favour of his own retention of office ; for many of the chief offices of the "state" are held by this class, and from them chiefly is resistance to British intervention to be expected. The President's principal qualification for office is the fact that he is the son of his father, the first and original President—the founder of the republic, Andries Pretorius, arch-rebel in Natal against the British Government. The son succeeded to office in 1854, and has retained it since. In 1856 a "constitution" was formed ; the same which exists at present. President Pretorius is a well-meaning man, and by no means indisposed to the infusion of new blood, and the adoption of schemes for the improvement of his country. Sensible probably of his own deficiencies, he is anxious to have education promoted, and to see his countrymen better fitted to take their places by the side of their English fellow-citizens than they are now. But he is so ignorant by personal knowledge and experience of the art of government as it is known under civilized conditions, and so distinguished by the sweet simplicity inseparable from a life passed in that remote Arcadia, that he falls an easy prey to the astute designs or wily machinations of any clever European adventurer.

Under this so-called "government" the Transvaal Republic has for several years past been drifting more and more into anarchy and confusion. There is no security there for social order, or legal redress. Unscrupulous adventurers—men who have fled thither from the neighbouring colonies—fugitives from justice, or outcasts from society, find there a safe and congenial Alsatia. The bold, loud-tongued, plausible man, finds it easy to step over the quiet, unobtrusive, and peace-loving settler. It is true that there are divisional courts of law, presided over by Landdrosts, but they are of little avail. Let, however, the words of a local witness who, under the title of "A Voice from the Transvaal," has been lately laying bare the social evils of the state in the columns of the *Natal Mercury*, bear testimony on these points :—

"We have no government. There is in the Executive Council a chronic want of power to execute the laws of the state. The Volksraad is incapable to make laws ; the Executive too feeble to carry them out, and the people on the whole too indifferent to obey them. Nothing but confusion, disorder, stagnation."

And again :—

"Each civil and military officer, from the highest to the lowest, has a little government of his own. The president appoints (and disappoints) people ; gives land, makes conditions, discharges prisoners, and does a thousand acts, without authority. A little while ago I saw a Kafir



doing his work with a heavy drag chain round his neck. I asked his master by whose orders the Kafir was thus punished. The answer was, 'Well, by nobody's orders particularly, but my own. It is too much trouble to send him to the field-cornet or the landdrost—and if I send him he will perhaps be hanged. It is better that I punish him myself.' The Mapoeh Kafirs are murdering the Basutos, and robbing them, not only within the boundaries of the republic, but within call of farmhouses and homesteads. And why? Because our Government is entirely powerless, if not unwilling, to suppress these murders. The Kafir has no protection from the Government. I have seen things the recollection whereof makes my blood creep. A Kafir may be beaten, burned, cheated, mutilated, hung or shot, and his blood remains unavenged. I knew a little Kafir girl who was beaten, hung by the arms and burned; the little thing ran away and got another master, and that was all. I know of a case where a Kafir boy was sold by his master because he was in want of oxen. The man reasoned in this way: 'If I do not maintain my household then I am worse than an unbeliever. I cannot maintain my family without oxen. I have no oxen: nobody will give me oxen: thus I must sell the Kafir that I may get oxen to maintain my family, and become not worse than an unbeliever.' Well, he sold the Kafir. The Kafir's new master was a hard-hearted man; the Kafir ran back twice to his old master; the third time his master caused him to be barbarously mutilated—and a noise being made about it the Kafir got the landdrost (or magistrate) as I hear—for his third master; that was all! Kafirs are hired and not paid. The Rev. Mr. — has shown me a letter written to him by an Englishman, in which letter a certain official is openly accused of having caused one of his Kafirs to be murdered by other Kafirs hired for the purpose. I urged upon my friend the necessity of laying this letter before Government. His answer was—'No; not before this Government. What should it help me?' I know of a case where a man was travelling in the Zoutpausberg district and outspanned near a reedy pool. He went to the pool to get water, when all at once a poor Kafir woman rose from the bushes crying out, 'Don't kill me—don't kill me; take my child,' at the same time reaching her babe to the stranger to be his slave. The man—an enemy to slavery—refused to take the child and let the woman go, filled with unbounded gratitude. This speaks for itself. Slaves are bought and sold almost openly. Nor is there protection against Kafirs. A Kafir may do what he likes, and save in a few instances, no protection is afforded to the whites. A Kafir girl poisons her mistress and child; she is arrested; confesses her crime; and is imprisoned pending her trial in Utrecht—that is to say she sleeps in the gaol there—costs Government 1s. 6d. per diem for food in a private house, becomes pregnant in prison, and remains a blot on our community, untried now for more than twelve months, not because a landdrost is in fault, but because the upper authority takes no notice of the case. At Lydenburg a Kafir criminally assaulted his widowed mistress; he is caught, but knowing the apathy of the legal executive, the good active magistrate has him privately punished,

otherwise the scoundrel would go free. Kafirs travel by hundreds through this district to Natal. They may and often do steal, murder, or outrage; the only thing a man can do is to be his own judge and protector. A Kafir may hire himself to you to-day, and run away to-morrow; may burn your house over your head; may show you a gun when you ask for his passport; may settle on your lands; may bring lung-sickness amongst your cattle, and in a few cases only stands any chance of punishment. The consequence of this is a chronic want of labour. I say chronic, for all our disorders are chronic. Hundreds of Kafirs regularly leave the republic to find work in Natal, while they obstinately refuse to hire themselves here. Many a farmer has to look after his farm, his sheep, his goats, his swine, his cattle, himself, without a Kafir to help him. It is useless as they troop over his land, bound to the coast, to persuade them to stay. Is it a wonder then that if he has a chance of buying the article he is so much in want of, and cannot get otherwise, that he gladly avails himself of the opportunity? And what is the cause of this scarcity of labour, and the slave-trade occasioned by it? It is the weakness of the Government. If a just and strong Government would deal rightly and justly between master and servant then there would be plenty of free labour and no slavery. If our Government had not issued that miserable paper currency, which no Kafir will take, then our Kafirs (assured of protection and of proper payment for their labour) would not be so foolish as to go to Natal to seek what they could find here abundantly, nor would our farmers feel themselves driven to buy slaves where they could procure free labour."

We have not space to give further extracts from the very interesting letters of this writer, who says he is actuated by no other motives than the prosperity of his adopted country, "the welfare of the Boers, who deserve a better lot than their present, the interest of Britain in Africa, and the common good." His disclosures are only some of many. For more than a year the Natal and Cape journals have contained communications from all sorts of people, of the same tenour as the above. They have mostly been made public in the first instance through the columns of the *Natal Mercury*, which was the first journal to take these evils up, with a view to the accumulation of such facts and evidence as should compel the British Government to take notice of the mischief that is brewing, and the wrongs that are being endured, on its own borders and in despite of its own treaties.

For the grand central evil of which complaint is made, is the system of slavery connived at for years by the paralytic Government of the Transvaal. This system may be briefly described. Armed forces are sent out against some native chieftain with whom cause of offence is easily found or imagined. These forces consist of levies made on all the able-bodied European population, sustained by supplies contributed by, or exacted from, the same people. As no risk to life worth talking about is incurred upon

these expeditions, they are rather popular among the undomesticated riff-raff gathered in the Transvaal. Deserters, loafers, and young men without occupation generally find it good fun to start on an excursion lasting weeks or months, as the case may be, on which they are mounted, carried, and fed at the expense of other folks. To young Boers, too, the prospect of such a campaign has its allurements. Those who do not go are made to contribute in the shape of horses, guns, and provisions; the former nominally as loans, although they are seldom seen again. The seizure of these articles for such quasi-military purposes, together with the summons to serve, is called "commandeering," the whole expedition being, in Dutch parlance, a "commando." Doubtless, in old times, when the natives were really to be dreaded, these movements were necessary enough; but in latter years they have degenerated into mere native-hunts. The Boers have themselves or the Portuguese to thank if the natives amongst them ever are really troublesome. They, the Kafirs in these parts, are in the main an inoffensive people, who would live quietly enough if they were allowed to possess their land and cattle in security. But continual encroachment will exasperate the mildest race; and it is not surprising that reprisals should occasionally ensue; reprisals which are usually the signal for a crusade of extermination on the part of the Boers.

The course pursued by these expeditions is to rout the men of a tribe, and kill as many of them as possible, compatibly with a prudent regard for life and limb on the part of their assailants; to burn down their huts, and let the women go adrift, with, now and then, the massacre of a few; and to take possession of all the live stock and children that can be got hold of. These latter are the highly prized booty of the conquerors. They are nominally "apprenticed" out to employers for a long term of years; but they are, in point of fact, slaves, and form an important feature in the commercial transactions of certain sections of the community. It has been estimated that six thousand of these children are thus apprenticed; but this can be but an approximation. Their local designation is "black ivory," and it is said that entries of this article often figure in the books of local storekeepers. Apologists for the system urge that the children thus enslaved are better taken care of than they would be if left at home, and are certainly better off than if they had been left destitute in the field. It is undoubtedly true that many Boers treat these "apprentices" with a certain amount of kindness; that is, they house and feed them, and, when they need it, flog them, all being, of course, for their good. But the fact remains none the less incontrovertible, that a form of slavery, and a very vile form, does thus exist under the eyes of the

British government, upon soil whose independence of the crown, legally speaking, is a matter of doubt, and in direct defiance and contravention of a treaty entered into between the emigrant farmers and H.M.'s commissioners in 1852, which stipulates "that no slavery is or shall be permitted or practised in the country to the north of the Vaal River by the emigrant farmers."

The reader who is sceptical about these matters, or who desires further information thereon, would do well to consult an able little pamphlet, published by Mr. F. W. Chesson, in the form of a letter to Mr. R. N. Fowler, M.P., who has lately brought the subject under the notice of the House of Commons, or the file of the *Natal Mercury*. From papers that were laid before the Legislative Council of Natal last year we learn also further details. A Bushman girl called Leya describes how she was caught over and over again; how her husband was once shot, and how, on another occasion, her child, aged seven years, was taken from her by force, "although he held on to me and cried very much," its captors telling her that other persons wanted her child as well as herself, and threatening to shoot her if she were not still. She also tells how most "of the children that were taken from the breast have since died;" and how another child, the babe of a girl who had been shot, was dragged from its dying mother's breast, and the latter kicked by a Boer unto the death. It is noteworthy that this girl says she was never flogged, but treated well by her master; but she ran away in quest of her child.

These are but types of a host of cases that might be cited, for since the Natal press boldly took the matter up, and inspired right-thinking people in the Transvaal with a belief that their wrongs were attracting attention and sympathy, communications have come in from all quarters. In 1865 Mr. W. Martin, a most zealous opponent of the system, brought it, as he had personally witnessed it in operation over the Vaal River, under the notice of the Natal government. His letter was transmitted to the High Commissioner at Capetown by Governor Maclean, but that functionary determined to do nothing, although he fully sympathised in the latter's anxiety to put a stop to the practices described, and although the startling statement made by "Leya" had been conveyed to him three years before by Colonel Maclean's predecessor. But upon this point we must let the resolutions adopted by the Natal legislature—a representative body, be it remembered—speak. They were adopted without material alteration on the motion of Mr. Robinson, and their more express object was to bring about some change in the relations of the colony to the office of High Commissioner, which as exercised at present is pronounced to be "inimical to

the maintenance of the prestige and influence of Her Majesty's Government among the native tribes of South-east Africa." They proceed to point out that—

"The High Commissioner, as Governor of the Cape colony, resides at Capetown, 700 miles from the frontier of the Eastern province, where alone independent native tribes are to be met with; that Natal is surrounded on three sides by large and powerful native tribes, with whom the local authorities cannot deal irrespective of the consent of the High Commissioner at Capetown; and that in times of disturbance amongst the surrounding communities the Government of Natal is deprived of that power of timely and effectual action which it might otherwise exercise with great benefit to the interests of peace and civilization."

The facts regarding slavery we have narrated are then set forth, and "the indescribable atrocities and evils" of the system are pronounced to have been "fully admitted by persons officially cognisant of them at a public meeting held in Potoschefstroom, the chief town of the Republic, in April, 1868." This meeting was a singular one in many respects. More than one old Boer were present at it, who while admitting that they had been present on child-enslaving commandoes, confessed that the practice was a wrong one; and one went so far as to say that the curse of God would rest upon the land until the stain of blood was wiped away. Another Boer of a tougher texture, however, said that if he could not have the children he caught he would shoot them.

The following resolutions are weighty enough to warrant us in reprinting them as they stand:—

"That the following reply was sent to Lieut.-Governor Maclean by the High Commissioner:—'I can assure you that I fully sympathise with you in your anxiety to put a stop to what is so strongly described by Mr. Martin, but I am really quite at a loss to discover in what manner I could interfere with any prospect of success. There can scarcely be a doubt that the President, if referred to, would strenuously deny the existence of such a traffic. A *bonâ fide* inquiry would be almost impracticable; and, moreover, it would be beyond the power of the Transvaal Republic, admitting it to have the inclination, to put down a trade which the Boers must find to be very tempting and profitable. Under all the circumstances, I trust that you will, on further consideration, be prepared to acquiesce in my desire to abstain from addressing Mr. Pretorius on the subject.

"That, as a *bonâ fide* inquiry to be instituted by the Government of the Transvaal Republic would be, under the circumstances, 'quite impracticable,' it is highly important that H. M. Government should take other steps to put a stop to a trade which, however 'tempting and profitable to the Boers,' is a direct breach of 'the treaty entered into with H. M. Commissioners, is an outrage on humanity and

civilization, and is an aggravation of the traffic which H. M. Government has so long sought to suppress upon the East coast.

"That so long as this traffic in children is suffered to exist, there can be little hope for the progress of civilization amongst the native tribes living in the Transvaal Republic, while the prevalence of such practices in the immediate neighbourhood of independent and colonial tribes, has a most pernicious and injurious effect, and tends to lower the position and influence of the white race.

"That it is impossible for the High Commissioner, living as he does so far from the scene of these atrocities, to judge clearly and fully their character and tendencies, but it would be in the power of the Government of Natal, had it the right to act, to interfere in the matter without entailing any troublesome or costly complications on the Home Government.

"That the state of peace which the colony of Natal has enjoyed ever since its establishment, combined with the constant recognition here of all the just rights and claims of the natives, have secured for the local Government the confidence of the neighbouring independent tribes, and would enable the representatives of her Majesty's authority here, were they freed from the control of the High Commissioner, to exercise a most salutary and beneficent influence over the natives of South-east Africa."

It is a new thing in the relations of Great Britain with her colonies that words of appeal, if not remonstrance, should be addressed to her, not by missionaries, not by philanthropic enthusiasts, or factious agitators, but by those very colonists who have so often been charged in the past with cruelty and oppression, concerning the policy she is adopting in regard to the savage races she has been wont to take under her wing, and in behalf of the heathen people whose well-being she has in times past been only too eager to espouse. It should be distinctly understood that the present exposure of the slavery practices in the Transvaal Republic, and the appeal for redress, proceed from South African colonists, and are proofs of the sincerity of their desire to promote the welfare of the natives amongst whom their lot is cast. Nor is this colonial agitation a partial one. Begun in Natal, it has extended to the Cape colony, where the press—and the *Standard and Argus* particularly—has been earnest in its denunciation of the Transvaal iniquities. A bulky pamphlet, entitled "British Rule in South Africa," contains a mass of reprinted matter, memorials, treaties, reports, letters, leading articles, and the like, which may be studied with advantage by persons who seek information. In the Transvaal itself many bold and patriotic men have done and are doing their best to get their wrongs righted. It would be highly unjust to charge upon the whole community there the misdoings of a few. A large section of the Boers proper are men who

deeply deplore the anarchy which distracts their country, and who have no sympathy with the atrocities which are often inflicted upon the natives. But they need the vigour and the capacity required to deal successfully with men who make up in wit and in resource what they lack in moral scruple and in principle. Many of these latter are of British origin, men born in England, and in some cases of good education, who have drifted after misspent lives into the lawless haven of that obscure African republic. Happily there are in the country other Englishmen of patriotic instincts and high character, who would fain see their adopted home delivered from the reign of disorder and of misrule. Nor must we omit to mention the one newspaper published there—the *Transvaal Argus*, whose courage and moral excellence are in an inverse ratio to its size. This little journal lives on sufferance, and is constantly being threatened with suppression on account of the disclosures and the remonstrances that appear in its columns.

The space left to us will only allow of one more fact illustrative of the affairs in the Transvaal. "One Montsiva Tavane, a chief of the Baralong," on the 26th August last addressed a letter to the Editor of the *Natal Mercury*, in which he describes how a week before "Field-cornet Kronge from Schoenspruit, with seven waggons and about thirty armed men, suddenly fell on a village in his country, and carried off men, women, children, and cattle into captivity." Other villages have been treated in the same way. "Can you tell me," says this chief in conclusion, "Mr. Editor, what this signifies, that the lion is thus among my children?" The answer may be found in previous proceedings of the Boers. Such, for instance, as that described in the report of a Commission appointed by the Transvaal Volksraad to inquire into some of these abuses—a document therefore of unimpeachable authority. A commando was got up on a trumped-up charge against a certain chief, Magor, who after being allured into the Boers' camp by assurances of safety and protection, was murdered during the night, his tribe destroyed, his kraals laid waste, and all the women and children carried off. Another such commando, with exactly the same results, was, according to the same official report, despatched against Tabuna, "a friendly Kafir who annually paid his taxes to Government," and we are further told that "by adopting a wrong course of treatment of the native tribes at that time both peaceable and subject to the Government, many of these Kafir tribes at last became insubordinate."

Here our rapid review of the evidence contained in the voluminous papers before us must cease. If facts which are too clearly proved to be gainsaid can afford any basis for a judg-

ment, then the Government of the Transvaal Republic stands convicted of connivance at one of the most atrocious systems of slavery devised by rapacious men, and of utter incapacity for even the ordinary responsibilities of rule. Under its pernicious influence the native races of South-east Africa are getting more and more demoralized, and the chance of promoting civilization amongst them is growing less and less; the good work that is being done in Natal is being neutralized by the conduct of these red republicans; the name and prestige of the white man are being abased in the eyes of the savage; the seeds of endless mischief in the future are being sown, and the progress of a country where all the pauperism of England might find a home, is being arrested and blighted in the bud.

Nor does the folly of President Pretorius and his coadjutors confine itself to dealings with the natives. It comes in direct collision with the interests of British commerce, the safety of British subjects, and the territorial rights of the British Crown. Almost from the time of its first establishment the Transvaal Government has been inspired by a dread of gold being found within its limits. A fine of 500*l.* was by law imposed upon all persons searching for the precious metal. These recent developments beyond their northern boundary have caused a great fear to fall upon them, but have also aroused their cupidity. It is now notorious that an agent of the government, Viljoen by name, has been striving to prejudice the minds, first of Moselekatse, and then of his successor, against the English and against the diggers, with the view of persuading those chiefs to forbid the ingress into his territory of British people. While this man was engaged in these intrigues, he was all the time professing the friendliest intentions towards the few explorers who have found their way to the scene of the discoveries. Pretorius, however, took even yet more decided measures. In the early part of last year he issued a proclamation—Cæsar in its conciseness—by which he extended the boundaries of the republic so as to reach the sea on the one hand, and Lake Ngami on the other, and adding to it all the country known as the “Southern Gold-fields,” and a huge block of territory now occupied by independent chieftains to the westward. Without any prior notification of his intention, this powerless potentate quietly ignored and rode over the existing border-rights of the British and Portuguese Governments, and of the independent chiefs, M’Pande, Matjen, Waterboer, and many others. It is needless to say that the declaration caused loud derision throughout South Africa, but the fact adds another to the long list of reasons for British interference.

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be, and is, to the mass of people in this country, there is no escape from the evils we have described except by the extension of British rule over the Orange Free State and the Transvaal Republic. It is said that only moral means should be used in the endeavours to bring about a change. To persons who know these countries and these communities, the suggestion of such means is almost laughably futile. There are men upon whom moral influences would be wasted so long as those influences interfered with their own interests and profits. What weight can moral considerations have with a man who can convey to Her Majesty's Commissioners "earnest assurances of the intention of his government to repress slave dealing and slavery," and who a year or two after is publicly declared in press and in Parliament to be himself the owner—guardian he might possibly style it—of several of these "destitute" captured children. What avail will moral persuasions be with a Volksrand whose chairman is reported to have said that it "was right and proper conduct to shoot down the miserable Kafirs, that he would have done similarly, and that he wished the last Kafir was out of the world." Moral means may be, and happily are, effective in civilized European countries, but in dealing with degenerate Europeans in the wilds of Africa they would be, we fear, thrown away. The British Government might, and probably would, get promises of reform; but they would be as little attended to or performed as they have been heretofore. So long as the barriers betwixt them and the gratification of their selfish ends were only of a moral character, these sinners would sin again.

What the Orange Free State and the Transvaal Republic need, is a strong government; but that neither State will possess unless the British Government give it. The few able and educated men who may be there lack the prestige which alone could secure command. Both countries are too poor and too sparsely peopled to undertake efficiently the whole business of self-government. They both want a firm hand at the helm to guide them into smoother waters, ere they start fairly as independent states.

We must again quote from the proceedings of the Natal Legislative Council, by whom these questions appear to have been gravely and impartially considered. Last session, upon a motion in favour of annexing the Free State, the following modified resolutions were adopted:—

"That the interests of the two South-African British Colonies—viz., the Cape Colony and Natal—are in many respects so closely united with the republics situated on their respective borders, that a union of these under British rule could scarcely fail to conduce to the material welfare of the whole, both as a means of promoting an interchange of friendly

relations amongst them, as well as of providing, by judicious combination, for their adequate security and confidence in time of danger, and establishing and regulating commercial intercourse on a permanent and satisfactory basis to all parties.

“That the comparative dependence of these republics on the Cape Colony and Natal, together with the similarity of the religion, laws, and customs of the white inhabitants to those of the same classes inhabiting the two latter colonies, favour the belief that sooner or later they will be desirous of coming under the dominion of the British Government.

“That the Council is therefore of opinion, that with a view to furthering the objects set forth, it would be highly desirable for Her Majesty’s Government favourably to consider any proposal which the authorities of these republics, being empowered thereto by the inhabitants, may put forward, affecting their annexation to either the Cape Colony or Natal, or embracing suggestions with respect to any other form of allied or separate administration deemed suitable by the majority of the white inhabitants of such States.”

It must not be supposed that the policy foreshadowed in the foregoing resolutions would entail a fraction of Imperial expenditure upon the mother country. These States would be just as able to pay the cost of their own government as they are now—far better able, in fact. Give peace and security, law and order to them, and they would soon yield a revenue ample for all requirements. With a governor over each of them, specially selected for the post, having under him officers and advisers chosen with equal discrimination, a police system could be organized and maintained at the cost of the inhabitants sufficient for all purposes. The people ask for neither Imperial troops nor Imperial money; they only ask for that “moral” power in the conduct of affairs which British rule confers.

Nor must it be supposed that any practical accession of responsibility would be thus assumed by the Home Government. In point of fact, England is already responsible for the disorders of those regions, and directly suffers by them. If no change be made these disorders will get worse and worse, until the time arrives when interference will become not a matter of choice, but of necessity, and cost not the mere exercise of a little statesmanship, but possibly a large Imperial outlay. “A stitch in time saves nine.” It will assuredly do so in this case. For unless England is prepared to cast off her other colonies at the Cape, as she cast off the Free State, she cannot divest herself of Imperial obligations on their account. In the words of a colonial writer :

“She has constituted herself the ruling power in South Africa. She acquired the Cape by conquest. She established herself in the Eastern province by military occupation. She took possession of Natal for

Imperial purposes, and for the protection of the native tribes, and the Queen's subjects then resident there. She became the mistress of what was then the Sovereignty with the same ends in view. If the home Government wishes to avoid future complications, it will act wisely in helping South Africa as it has helped Canada. There, through the intervention and good offices of the Ministerial representatives, a group of independent states has been compacted into one grand and strong dominion. There the mother country has done her best to build up an empire whose strength lies in its coherence and its unity. Before the Queen's possessions on the Continent are placed in a position where they may be truly independent of Imperial aid, and cease to be any drain upon the Imperial exchequer, a similar binding process will have to be gone through. Governed by the same people, under one common sovereign, and according to the same general principles, the different States of South Africa would be strong enough to put down all internal danger, and to resist all probable external aggression. Governed by different peoples, and owning no uniformity of plan, policy, or rule, the same territories will be a continual thorn in the Imperial side."

Fourteen years ago Sir George Grey (whose return to office as Governor of the Cape Colony would be the signal for rejoicing throughout South Africa), in a long and able despatch, sketched the outline of such a confederation. In his last sessional speech Sir Philip Wodehouse, the present Governor, has wisely and well hinted at the same project, in the following words:—"What is to be hoped for, in my opinion, is the creation beyond the Orange River of a large and well-organized government, bound to this colony only by a common allegiance, by the ties of kinship, by congenial laws, by just covenants, and by a common desire to extend the blessings of Christianity, peace, and civilization to all within their reach." Thus we have, both in the present and the past, shared in by the best official and unofficial authorities, the most positive opinions expressed, that it is to England's interest, on all grounds of policy, economy, and social advantage, to say nought of moral obligation, to resume authority over the territories north of the Orange River.

Never had a country stronger or better motives impelling her to a policy advantageous to her own interests and befitting her national traditions. We have, first, the distracted condition of the two States, in great measure the result of imperial abandonment. We have the native inhabitants of these countries threatened with speedy extinction, if no hand interposes to rescue them. We have chiefs of tribes, living far away from our own borders, sending in urgent entreaties to be accepted as British subjects, and to be allowed to share in the benefits visibly enjoyed by the Queen's native subjects in both colonies. Of the four great chiefs-paramount of the principal native nations—the Ama-ponda, the Basuto, the Amazulu, and the Amatebele—

we have two just dead, and two so old and infirm as to make the speedy end of their reigns imminent; and the early breaking up of these great tribal powers is thus made more than probable. We have the prospect of hostile combinations amongst these tribes in common league against the Transvaal Government, if the encroachments of the latter are not quickly suppressed; and if once the torch of war on such a scale were lighted amongst those passionate barbarians, none can say how far the conflagration might spread. Then, turning to material interests, we have in the discovery of coalfields in Natal, of goldfields beyond the Transvaal, of diamonds and of silver in the Cape Colony, a coincident development of mineral wealth which must work great social changes in the condition of those territories. We have the fact that other European powers, and Prussia more particularly, are said to be looking for colonial possessions in that direction. We have in the apathy and exclusiveness of the Portuguese Government looking up the Eastern seaboard from the approaches of legitimate enterprise, a spur and direction given to the aggressive forces of Anglo-Saxon industry and colonization, as the only true means of accomplishing the civilization and the reclamation of the native races. And lastly, we have the more sentimental but surely not less powerful motive, that as in so many parts of the world England has assumed the high function of being the dispenser and the agent of our modern civilization, so she has now in the wide field of Africa, without sacrifice or cost to herself, the chance of carving out another empire, where men of different colours may be found hereafter bearing her name, speaking her language, reproducing her institutions, and supporting without antagonism the common government of both.

Anglo-Africa will not discredit her origin. She has, as we have seen, all the elements that are required to make a State great and independent. Her resources, when properly developed, provide for all human necessities. Her one great want, the lack of navigable rivers, the plastic power of railway enterprise will easily obviate. Her climate will bear comparison with any in the world. Her position in the centre of the Southern Ocean is commanding. Her varieties of population will cause diversity of character and of enterprise. If England will but do her duty by those obscure and struggling communities, ere this century be out the world may have reason to wonder that it should so long have regarded with contempt the then Confederated States of South Africa.

## ART. II.—THE GLADSTONE GOVERNMENT. ·

*The Gladstone Government, being Cabinet Pictures.* By a  
 TEMPLAR. Hurst and Blackett. London: 1869.

SELDOM in the history of Constitutional Government in England has an administration come into power with a larger share of public favour, more ample opportunities of administrative originality and success, and a more definite field of work, than the Ministry of which Mr. Gladstone is the head. Unlike many recent Cabinets, the Liberal administration which now occupies the Treasury Bench represents with more or less completeness and accuracy the various sections into which the Liberal party is divided. The Premier too is now, as has not been commonly the case of late years, the real as well as the nominal head of his party, and the undisputed leader of the House of Commons. At his back there is a compact majority of more than a hundred members, pledged to follow the policy of the Cabinet at least on the one great testing question of the day. Behind that question there are, it is true, other questions of not inferior importance, upon which it is only reasonable to suppose that differences of opinion will arise in the Liberal ranks, and even introduce elements of discord into the Cabinet itself. Still it is not altogether visionary to hope that the well-disciplined army which fought and won the battle of religious liberty at the General Election of 1868 will not be disbanded before its leaders have accomplished some at least of the great measures of social reform that they have courageously taken in hand.

It is worth while to estimate now, before the heat of the battle commences, the strength and the weakness of Mr. Gladstone's Cabinet, as compared with former administrations, and the prospects of its further improvement. It must be borne in mind that when the leader of the Liberal party was called to her Majesty's counsels, and was entrusted with the task of combining the dissonant elements of Whiggism, Radicalism, and "Liberal independence" into a firm and coherent ministry, he had to deal with prescriptive claims, many of which dated further back than his own, and to conciliate traditional pretensions which it would have been dangerous to neglect. In the Governments of Lord Palmerston and Earl Russell, the old Whig element had possessed an enormous preponderance, and it was feared by many that Mr. Gladstone would be compelled to yield up too much to the claims of veteran placemen. In fact, for every office within and without the Cabinet that Mr. Gladstone had to give away

there were at least two aspirants, who could advance pretensions based either on old official experience or on more recent political service. In the construction of his Cabinet and the distribution of inferior positions, Mr. Gladstone could not expect to satisfy everybody ; and his selections, though undoubtedly open to much criticism, are probably the best that for the moment he had it in his power to make.

When the Queen by the advice of Mr. Disraeli frankly recognised the abdication of his functions by the former leader of the Liberal party, and entrusted to Mr. Gladstone the duty of forming a new administration, Parliament had not reassembled, though it was on the eve of its meeting after the turmoil and angry conflict of the General Election. The acceptance of office by Mr. Gladstone and his principal colleagues occasioned a singular delay in the commencement of public business, for the House of Commons was sworn in and went through the brief business of its winter session without a single minister being in his place on the Treasury Bench. As it happened, however, there was no matter of political urgency brought before the House, and the Opposition maintained an attitude of studied inactivity. Mr. Gladstone was thus enabled to complete the internal arrangement of his Ministry undisturbed, and to meet Parliament in February with a coherent and comprehensive policy of reform embodied in practical measures, for which the nation had long and impatiently waited. Above all, he had time to mature and elaborate his great scheme for the disendowment and disestablishment of the Irish Church, and to frame a Bill, which, for perfection of detail and directness of purpose, has not been equalled in the whole course of modern legislation.

Earl Russell's withdrawal from the place, which was his by prescription, at the head of the reunited and reinvigorated Liberal party, furnished a wholesome precedent to other veteran Whigs, which they followed, not, it has been shrewdly conjectured, in all cases without reluctance. Lord Halifax, Lord Stanley of Alderley, the Duke of Somerset, Sir George Grey, and Mr. Charles Villiers, who had all filled prominent places in former Cabinets, waived their claims and made way for younger men. Mr. Milner Gibson's defeat at Ashton-under-Lyne, Mr. Horsman's rejection at Stroud, and Mr. Massey's failure at Liverpool, tended also to relieve Mr. Gladstone from possible embarrassments of selection. It is unnecessary to speak of other eminent men who were excluded from the House of Commons at the General Election. Mr. Mill was not likely to accept office at any time, and it was in the highest degree improbable that under any circumstances Mr. Gladstone would have offered place, either in the Cabinet or in the Ministry, to Mr. Bernal

Osborne or Mr. Roebuck. The choice of the Premier was somewhat narrowed by these exceptions, but there still remained many more competitors for office than there were offices to be distributed amongst them; and the final disposition of places left not a few politicians, we are afraid, in no complacent frame of mind.

When all negotiations had been closed and all arrangements completed, Mr. Gladstone's Cabinet was found to consist of fifteen members. Beside the Premier himself and his non-political colleague, the Lord Chancellor, it was composed of five peers—Lord De Grey, Lord Clarendon, Lord Granville, the Duke of Argyll, and Lord Kimberley, of whom the last was admitted to the circle of the Cabinet for the first time—and eight commoners: Lord Hartington, Mr. Cardwell, Mr. Goschen, Mr. Fortescue, Mr. Bruce, Mr. Childers, Mr. Bright, and Mr. Lowe, four of whom had never before held a place in the Cabinet. What is more remarkable is that the new Cabinet Ministers in the Lower House evidently carry greater weight than their more experienced colleagues, and obtained or had got the offer of the highest posts. Mr. Bright, Mr. Lowe, Mr. Childers, and Mr. Bruce unquestionably are the strongest backers that Mr. Gladstone has got upon the Treasury Bench, and Lord Hartington, Mr. Cardwell, Mr. Goschen, and Mr. Fortescue belong to an inferior order of statesmanship. The influence of the new blood, therefore, is not to be underrated; and its effect is likely to be seen, if it has not been seen already, in the policy of the Government.

Since the meeting of Parliament in February several members of the Ministry have proved their quality either by the introduction of reforming measures, or by the exhibition of administrative skill. The Navy Estimates have been moved by Mr. Childers, and the Army Estimates by Mr. Cardwell; Mr. Forster has introduced the Endowed Schools' Bill; the Attorney-General has brought forward a comprehensive and courageous measure for the reform of the law of bankruptcy; the Solicitor-General has attacked the sectarian monopoly of the Universities in the Abolition of Tests Bill; Mr. Goschen has grappled with the difficulties of rating, and proposes to regulate the law of assessment upon principles of equality; the Duke of Argyll has brought forward a measure for the reform of the government of India, which attacks the crying evil of our rule in India—the exclusive administration of the country by Englishmen—by expedients for infusing the native element to a considerable extent into the services; Lord Kimberley has assailed habitual and professional crime in a Bill, which, however patent the objections to it, has at all events the merits of boldness and originality. These

and some other measures of almost equal importance have been presented to Parliament in a brief space of two months; and in addition, the House of Commons has been invited to consider Mr. Gladstone's careful scheme of disestablishment. We may at least admit therefore that the Ministry has lost no time in setting to work at its task, and has made a fair and encouraging beginning. Even the questions with which Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues have for the present declined to deal have not been put aside in a spirit of indifference; but the Liberal leader has adopted the sound principle of attempting no legislation which he cannot reasonably hope to carry to a successful conclusion within the Session. Mr. Locke King's measure for the abolition of succession by primogeniture to real estate in cases of intestacy has been sanctioned in its principles by the Premier; and if he has not pledged himself at once to follow up the policy of that proposal to its ultimate results, it is because he perceives the difficulty of dealing comprehensively with the question as long as the Irish Church controversy stops the way. So also Mr. Forster hesitates for the present to attempt the settlement of primary education in England, but he promises a careful and exhaustive plan next year. Mr. Fortescue also pledges himself to a reform of the land laws in Ireland as soon as the curtain has fallen on the first act of the Irish struggle for justice. Mr. Goschen is also engaged, we believe, in maturing a scheme of poor-law amendment, and Lord Hartington promises new and striking developments of the policy of cheap postage. What we are, after these changes, to expect in the way of legal reform and social improvement is not so clear, for many of the further measures of amelioration which have charms for the speculative reformer would to a certainty divide the Cabinet into two or more hostile sections, and perhaps overthrow the administration that now appears so coherent and so strong. This danger, however, is probably exaggerated in our eyes by the mere fact that it is very distant, and it would not be easy to calculate the chances of new political combinations and movements that may arise in the interval.

In addition to the criticism that was expended on Mr. Gladstone's appointments, not a little was evoked by the exclusion from Cabinet office of such men as Mr. Forster and Mr. Stansfeld. It seemed inexplicably strange that the member for Bradford, with his acknowledged administrative ability, his high position in the House of Commons as a distinguished leader of the advanced Liberals, and his clear views on the subject of education, should be subordinated to a young Whig peer, who in a somewhat prominent public career has shown a good deal of healthy Liberal feeling, but no special capacity for government. Mr.



Stansfeld's exclusion was yet more marked, for his ability, his energy, and his reforming zeal when he held the office of Civil Lord of the Admiralty had pointed to his selection either for the supreme control of that department or for the administration of some office of similar importance and dignity. His name had been suggested both for the Presidency of the Board of Trade and of the Poor-law Board; but he was elbowed out of the Cabinet by the crowd of less deserving but more influential competitors, and was tendered an office of great labour and small reward—the Secretaryship of the Treasury. Considerations of health we believe prevented Mr. Stansfeld from accepting Mr. Gladstone's offer of this place, the duties of which were subsequently divided, Mr. Ayrton taking the Secretaryship with the charge of the expenditure and the task of looking after the separate votes in the House of Commons, and Mr. Stansfeld, with the title of Third Lord of the Treasury, receiving the control of accounts. This arrangement may be practically a needful one, but it cannot be accepted in satisfaction of Mr. Stansfeld's claim upon a much higher place and larger power. The non-admission of Mr. Layard to the Cabinet was a thing of course; his title to promotion having been amply recognised in his appointment to the First Commissionership of Works, where his highly cultured taste in art may be made available for the public service, while, without a seat in the Cabinet, he will have no opportunity of doing mischief to his party either by his fractious temper or his extreme pro-Turkish views of Eastern policy.

Mr. Gladstone's Cabinet, as may be supposed, has not escaped the old accusation that has been brought against every Ministry in succession which has been formed in this country for twenty years past—the charge, namely, of putting the round men in the square holes, and *vice versâ*. Nor in the present instance is the charge altogether without foundation. That Mr. Bright would have filled at least two other places in the Cabinet to more general satisfaction than he is likely to elicit so long as he remains at the head of the Board of Trade is sufficiently obvious. As Secretary for the Colonies he would have inaugurated a policy of economy and impartiality, which by leaving such adolescent communities as Canada and the Australian settlements perfectly independent would at once diminish the burden of taxation in this country and engender among the colonists a wholesome and active spirit of self-reliant courage; as Postmaster-General again Mr. Bright would have been able, and we think willing also, to deal with one of the most pressing necessities of the age, the cheapening of postal communication with foreign countries, and he would certainly have been more com-

petent to the task than any Whig Marquis. It remains to be seen whether Mr. Lowe's undisputed abilities lie at all in the direction of financial reform, and whether his policy as Chancellor of the Exchequer is likely to bring us nearer to the ideal of "a free breakfast-table;" but it cannot be doubted that at the War Office his energy would have had a field equally wide and fruitful, and his independent will would have accomplished what has proved too much for Mr. Cardwell.

The book of which the title stands at the head of this article, "The Gladstone Government, being Cabinet Pictures, by a Templar," is one of those ephemeral but convenient publications which appear abundantly enough at times when the public mind is turned with more than ordinary attention to political changes. Such compilations are not intended for political students, but for that nondescript being, "the general reader;" and they not unfrequently display an ignorance of political events and personages that is positively astounding. The Templar's volume is a good specimen of its kind; the writer has a considerable acquaintance with the politics of the past thirty years, and as a general rule his judgments of persons and events are sound and fair. The casual reader of newspapers who wants a clue map of not too minute accuracy to guide him through the maze of contemporary politics may consult the Templar's book with advantage; but it does not go beyond the most rudimentary information on any subject, and is not free from blemishes of taste and style. The following attack on Mr. Bright is a curious specimen of that dismal and unreasoning Constitutional fetish-worship which was the prevailing faith with Englishmen in the dreary days when Blackstone was accepted as a great jurist and Delolme as a political philosopher:—

"Carried away by his zealous advocacy of some cause, then, it has happened, very near and very dear indeed to his heart and his convictions, Mr. Bright has upon two occasions run the imminent risk of striking a foul blow at what we can none of us but regard as the very root and basis of the constitution. He, more directly than any other man now living, has, at these critical moments, done his very utmost, and almost, it has seemed, with the greatest possible deliberation, and so to speak, with malice prepense, to bring the two branches of the imperial legislature into open and direct collision. Whereas, he ought in reason to have borne in mind—what has been nobly expressed by Blackstone in his Commentaries in these solemn and most weighty words—that 'The Constitutional Government of this island is so admirably tempered and compounded that nothing can endanger or hurt it but destroying the equilibrium of power between one branch of the legislature and the rest.' The great Commentator adding, 'For if ever it should happen that the independence of any one of these should be

lost, or that it should become subservient to the views of either of the other two, there would soon be an end to our constitution.'

"Beyond which it is worth while calling to remembrance the consideration that a radical and fundamental change, precisely of that kind, according to the philosophic view of Locke, no matter how it might have been effected, would result at once in 'an entire dissolution of the bonds of Government.' That harmonious combination in our administrative system of the usually independent authorities of a monarchy, an aristocracy, and a democracy—which was pronounced to be little better than a fantastic day-dream by Tacitus, but which was prophetically foreshadowed by Cicero as at once the wisest and directest mode of securing to a free people the advantages of an almost perfect sovereignty—that exceptional combination in one system of those three elsewhere antagonistic powers, is precisely what has been possessed here in England during a long series of generations, what is among all things human our most treasured inheritance, what constitutes at one and the same time the glory and the guarantee of our liberties, that ægis and palladium of our rights, known the whole world over as the British Constitution."

Surely while educated men, and men who assume to be political teachers, write or talk in this "'Ercles' vein," we have no need to go to the Elijah Pograms or the Jefferson Bricks of the Great West for full-grown specimens of "Buncombe." But apart from this question of taste, we should like to ask Constitutionalists like the Templar whether the consequences of either the sovereign or the peers acting upon their undoubted theoretical rights, and vetoing or rejecting bills adopted by large majorities in the Commons, would not reveal the rottenness of the theory and the sentiment by which it is surrounded. The "golden mean" is preserved, the "ark of freedom" is kept untouched, because the supreme power in the State is now vested in actual fact, beyond revocation or limitation by sovereign or peers, in the popular branch of the legislature.

The constitution of Mr. Gladstone's Government is in itself a proof of this. The centre of power under the present administration is in the House of Commons; the men whose names carry weight with the country, whose decisions determine the policy of the Cabinet, are members of the Lower House. The Conservative leaders command a majority in the Lords; but they are powerless, or rather they dare not use their power, lest a worse thing befall. At the most they offer a temporary and half-hearted resistance, and surrender precisely at the moment when, according to Constitutional theorists, the checking power ought to come into operation.

Mr. Gladstone's elevation to the premiership has probably separated him for ever from the field of labour in which he has won his proudest triumphs heretofore. It is not likely that the

responsibilities of the First Lord of the Treasury and of the Chancellor of the Exchequer will ever again be united in the person of a ministerial chief, as was the case with Pitt and Peel. When Mr. Disraeli became Premier he gave up the Exchequer to Mr. Ward Hunt, and when Mr. Gladstone returned to power he surrendered the control of the finances to Mr. Lowe. We may therefore look upon Mr. Gladstone's career as a financial reformer as now terminated. Its results have been at once solid and splendid. They are well summed up in the volume before us :—

“ Perhaps no statesman ever for the first time assumed office as Prime Minister, having contributed with his own hand so largely as Mr. Gladstone has done to the statute laws of the realm. In connexion with the Board of Trade he had, himself, to do directly with all those wonderful fiscal innovations which were adventured upon, between 1842 and 1845, by Sir Robert Peel's Ministry. The transformations which were thereby effected led, as we all know, among other beneficial changes, to the abolition of the duties upon exportation, to the abolition of import duties on the raw materials of manufacture, to the removal of the most grinding among the excise duties, to the abrogation of the laws hitherto restricting the importation of corn, and to the appreciable diminution at the same time of many of the more cruel imposts levied until then upon several other articles of food of the first importance to the great mass of the population.

“ In continuation of the benign and enlightened policy which was thus commenced, other changes of the same character were made, other steps in the same direction were taken, by the legislature, in the interval which elapsed between the disruption of Sir Robert Peel's Government and the beginning of Mr. Gladstone's career, at the opening of 1853, as Chancellor of the Exchequer. As illustrative, in a single sentence, of the scope of Mr. Gladstone's labours and of the magnitude of his achievements in that capacity, it has been recently calculated by an able contributor to the pages of the *Fortnightly*, that looking at the aggregate amount of the taxation reduced within the two intervals—whereas between 1842 and 1852 the balance of remission was 7,000,000*l.*, between 1853 and 1866, the period of Mr. Gladstone's 'régime' as a financier, the balance was nearly double, was in fact, actually 13,000,000*l.*

“ Following Sir Robert Peel's example in regard to the repeal of the duty on Glass, Mr. Gladstone abolished the excise on Soap and on Paper. Through a single budget alone, that of 1860, he remitted taxes to the amount of close upon three millions,—to be precise, of 2,900,000*l.* Simultaneously he has contrived new sources of revenue, as, for example, by means of a reasonable increase of the spirit duties and by his extension of the succession duties to real and personal property. Simultaneously he has, with a daring and resolute hand, we are almost tempted to say, perfected that bold revision of the tariff upon which Sir Robert Peel was the first to adventure.

“ Finding the number of customable articles in 1859 to be a little over four hundred (419) he, through the celebrated budget just mentioned, that of 1860, reduced their aggregate total nominally to under fifty (48), but actually and for all practical purposes to no more than fifteen. Were any thesis required at the hands of a new claimant for the Premiership, through the brilliant maintenance of which his nomination to that high office might be justified, so to speak, by documentary evidence of his capacity, it would be enough for Mr. Gladstone to produce that well known record of his great achievements as Chancellor of the Exchequer, the simple report of his Budgets which was published a few years back under the title of ‘ Financial Statements.’ ”

But if Mr. Gladstone has waived his claim to fresh and glorious victories over stubborn figures, he has entered upon a new career as a reforming legislator with every promise of noble and fruitful successes. The Bill for the disestablishment and disendowment of the Irish Church has extorted praise even from hostile critics and political opponents ; but only those who listened to the majestic and spirit-stirring oration in which that bill was introduced can thoroughly appreciate the grandeur of the scheme as it was unfolded by its author ; and only those who have examined the measure, clause by clause, with minute and critical attention, can fairly estimate the completeness of its detail and the keen desire to do ample justice to every rational claim by which it is inspired. Its acceptance by the House of Commons is, we may hope, the certain augury of its final adoption as law. Of this question it is unnecessary to speak at greater length. The judgment of the civilized world has long condemned the Irish Church Establishment as an outrage upon every principle of equity and reason, and now at last the judgment of the English people has been definitively pronounced against the remaining relic of sectarian ascendancy in Ireland. A new era has commenced for England and for Ireland, and it opens with bright hopes and the encouragement of a signal act of justice.

It is right to add that Mr. Gladstone in drawing up his measure was assisted in the intricate details of it by the learning and acuteness of the Attorney-General for Ireland, whose name, with those of Mr. Fortescue and Mr. Bright, appears on the back of the Bill. In the present session, Mr. Fortescue’s business will be principally that of a lieutenant to the Premier during the discussion in Committee on the Church Bill ; for little else can be done for Ireland until the pressing question of the day has been removed from the path which it obstructs.

The appointment of Sir William Page Wood to the Chancellorship, though it had long been discussed in legal circles as a probable event, was received with general surprise, not because

any doubt was felt that the Lord Justice of Appeal would efficiently discharge the functions and would fill with due dignity the high place of the Lord Chancellor, but because other names of yet more striking pretension had been put forward by rumour in anticipation of Mr. Gladstone's choice. Sir Roundell Palmer's claim, indeed, might be considered to be invalidated by his formal secession in the preceding year from the Liberal party on the question of Mr. Gladstone's disestablishment policy; yet hopes were entertained that the most accomplished of Liberal lawyers might be won back to the party connexions which he had abandoned for a trivial and technical scruple. Others, considering Sir Roundell Palmer's present conversion to Liberal notions of Church policy altogether hopeless, had selected by anticipation Sir Alexander Cockburn, the Lord Chief Justice of the Queen's Bench, as the probable successor to the woolsack. That the proposal of the Lord Chief Justice's appointment was entertained is, we believe, beyond all question, but it is not easy to decide why Mr. Gladstone preferred to confer the honour and authority of the Chancellor's place upon the Lord Justice of Appeal. It is now notorious that the Lord Chancellor does not need anything like a profound knowledge of equity jurisprudence in order to discharge the ordinary duties of his office with efficiency; and it is absolutely necessary that he should be an accomplished and experienced political gladiator. Sir W. Page Wood is an unequalled Chancery lawyer, but he is of very inferior quality as a debater, and in the case of a difficult debate, turning upon legal technicalities, such as may arise out of the Irish Church scheme, Mr. Gladstone's Chancellor will be no match for the crafty swordsmanship of Lord Cairns. If Sir Alexander Cockburn had been on the woolsack, we might fairly expect that the Tory leader of the Lords would meet his match in debate; as it is, we look, by no means with equanimity, for the debate in Committee of the Peers on Mr. Gladstone's Bill.

Admitting this unquestionable disadvantage, there are certain very tangible advantages in Sir W. Page Wood's appointment to be taken account of on the other side. Lord Hatherley, as he is now styled, is something of a magnate in the religious world, a doctor of the very strictest sect of the Evangelicals, and the last man to be suspected of a leaning either to Romanism or Rationalism. In the face of the absurd and wicked, but damaging outcry raised against Mr. Gladstone's Irish Church policy as the work of a conspiracy of Romanists and Ritualists with sceptics, there is perhaps a good deal of practical wisdom in Lord Hatherley's appointment to the supreme judicial office in the State.

It is also to be noted with satisfaction that the Lord Chancellor

has pledged himself most emphatically to the great cause of legal reform. Especially in regard to the emancipation of land from the absurd and mischievous restrictions of conveyancing, Sir W. Page Wood has spoken strongly, and it is to be hoped that Lord Hatherley will not hesitate to give a practical effect, as he has it now in his power to do, to the sound advice which he gave when he was only Vice-Chancellor, and did not count on the possibility of ever finding a place in a Cabinet of reformers. If the Lord Chancellor will only grapple with the work of promoting the unfettered transfer of land, he may win for himself an enduring reputation. For the achievement of the greatest and most difficult of legal reforms, the codification of the law, we must look, it is to be feared, to some younger labourer in the cause.

The Attorney-General and Solicitor-General of Mr. Gladstone's Government are men of decided ability, even outside the limits of legal questions. Sir John D. Coleridge is an accomplished orator and scholar, and no one is better fitted for his chosen task of emancipating University Education from the bonds of sectarianism. Sir Robert Collier is not an eloquent speaker, but his Bankruptcy Bill is an encouraging earnest of what he can do in the way of legislative improvements in the statute law.

The mechanical doctrine that the strength of a chain is measured by the strength of its weakest part holds good to a great extent of political combinations; and there are two or three places in Mr. Gladstone's Administration which for the security of the whole fabric of Liberal government we could wish to see filled otherwise than they have been filled on the first arrangement which Mr. Gladstone was able to make. It is somewhat invidious to specify the particular cases in which, as we conceive, Mr. Gladstone's judgment has erred, or has been compelled to give way to considerations of party claims or parliamentary expediency. It is no secret that the country does not repose full confidence in the policy of the ministry in regard to the management of foreign affairs; nor is it necessary to disguise our conviction that the presence of Lord Clarendon at the Foreign-office is the main cause of this mistrust.

Lord Clarendon is the eldest of the members of the Cabinet, having just entered on his seventieth year. He was trained in the old school of foreign policy; his associations and education incline him to sympathize with the exploded doctrines of the balance of power, and to look with suspicion on the young free and popular governments which have sprung up in place of the autocracies of the Holy Alliance. The only European Government of recent origin with which Lord Clarendon has shown any community of feeling whatever is the Government of the

Emperor Napoleon; and Englishmen have not forgotten how, on more than one occasion, the present Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs has truckled to the suspicious fears of the imperial faction and compromised the honour of England by admitting a controversy as to the right of refuge and the liberty of the press. In the *Templar's* volume, one of these discreditable escapades of Lord Clarendon's is alluded to; in the tenor of the following remarks we can fully agree, though just exception may be taken to their style:—

“The Coalition Government was thereupon, with certain notable modifications, reconstructed under the Premiership of Lord Palmerston, the Earl of Clarendon being, as a matter of course, reinstated as Foreign Secretary. It was in that capacity, and while he was yet her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for that department, that the noble lord, in the added capacity of Minister Plenipotentiary as well, signed at Paris, in 1856, as the diplomatic representative of his Sovereign, the Treaty of Peace, by which at the close of a historical Conference, the great war of the Crimea was formally terminated.

“At that Conference, it is matter still to this day of profound regret, and must always, indeed, continue to be so, that Lord Clarendon in one lamentable instance paltered with his high position—acted as ill became his own illustrious antecedents—spoke at the Council Board in the presence of the assembled Plenipotentiaries of Europe as it befitted no British Statesman to speak, more especially one representing as he did at that moment a throne graced by a Victoria, and a Government presided over by a Palmerston. The late Count Walewski was the wily charmer to whose insidious influence Lord Clarendon, then, for the time being, succumbed, to the amazement of the assembled diplomatists, to the surprise, we should imagine, of the French Minister himself, to the indignation of all England, when England, a little while afterwards, came to learn the particulars of the incident.

“Charmed he never so wisely, Count Walewski ought never to have been listened to by Lord Clarendon at that Conference, when the Liberty of the Press in Belgium was most unwarrantably insinuated as a theme for discussion among the plenipotentiaries, and insinuated, moreover, with such inimitable dexterity that there was left on record, as the result of it all, something very much like a condemnation or reprehension of what England at any rate ought unhesitatingly, on the other hand, to have sustained, and even eulogized. The incident, however, is altogether too painful to be descanted upon any further. We pass it by with head averted, adding, in justice to Lord Clarendon, nevertheless, while we thus speak of it, that it is one altogether exceptional in the history of his otherwise unsullied career as a diplomatist.”

Lord Clarendon has never exhibited that sympathy with the union and freedom of Italy, which Lord Palmerston, with all his old-world ideas of foreign policy, heartily felt and expressed, nor has he manifested any satisfaction at the release of Spain [Vol. XCI. No. CLXXX.]—*NEW SERIES*, Vol. XXXV. No. II. C C



from the Bourbon yoke. To his influence, doubtless, we may attribute the omission of the latter subject in a marked manner from the Royal Speech.

Mr. Gladstone's Cabinet can by no means be considered strong on the side of its foreign policy until Lord Clarendon has been replaced by some more trustworthy statesman, whose ideas are in accord with the progress of political intelligence in England. If it be supremely necessary that a Villiers should sit in the Cabinet, surely the elevated and not over-worked office of Lord Privy Seal, or the Chancellorship of the Duchy might furnish a safe, easy, and well-cushioned retirement for Lord Clarendon. Mr. Gladstone cannot be at a loss to find an able Foreign Secretary even among his present colleagues. Either Lord Granville or Lord Kimberley would fill the post with discretion and dignity. The former is especially marked out for the place by his smooth force of character, and his intimate acquaintance with European politics. It may be hoped that the change is not yet wholly out of the question. Were it not that the exigencies of party-government override the graver claims of the Commonwealth on the services of England's ablest men, Lord Stanley would, we imagine, have been requested to continue his admirable administration of the affairs of the Foreign-office. We should have regarded such an arrangement as the best possible; and that it would have had the emphatic approval of the public is proved by its cordial expression of satisfaction with his conduct as chief of that office during the recent Conservative *régime*.

Why Mr. Otway, and not Mr. Grant Duff, has been chosen to represent the Foreign-office in the House of Commons it is not easy to understand, unless a special knowledge of foreign affairs was considered a disqualification for the post. It may be, however, that Mr. Grant Duff would scarcely have worked in harmony with Lord Clarendon, for whose policy or ideas he could have no great respect. Mr. Otway is an able man and a good Liberal, but he has shown no peculiar knowledge of foreign politics—certainly nothing to compare with that of the Under Secretary for India.

Mr. Gladstone's main source of strength in the House of Commons arises from the support which he has there at his back in the shape not only of an overwhelming majority, but of the able phalanx of statesmen whom he has collected around him on the Treasury Bench. Of these, his two most eminent lieutenants, though perhaps not the most amenable to discipline, are Mr. Bright and Mr. Lowe.

Of the President of the Board of Trade, as an orator and parliamentary champion of advanced Liberal opinions, we expressed ourselves at length in our last number. Mr. Bright's position in the House of Commons is assured. As an administrator,

however, he has yet his reputation to make; and the office which he has chosen gives him little opportunity of doing this. His work will mainly be to second Mr. Gladstone in debate, and to deal with questions of general policy with the authority of a minister. Mr. Lowe also will be found probably most efficient in this respect, for we confess that we have some doubts of his powers as a Chancellor of the Exchequer. Whether he succeeds, or whether he fails in his financial enterprises, he will always be brilliant, and will command the attention of the House as no other member, except Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Bright, and Mr. Disraeli, commands it.

The Home Secretary is a supple official, skilled in calculating the changes of the political barometer, and not concerned to maintain principles when they cease to be in favour with party leaders or influential constituencies. We cannot believe that Mr. Austin Bruce will ever win the name of a statesman, but his place is one which in ordinary times respectable mediocrity is well competent to fill. Mr. Bruce is evenly matched enough with Mr. Hardy, and the two are thoroughly loyal to the traditions of the Philistine faith. The Poor-Law Board naturally connects itself with the Home-office; and the action of the departments is closely united. Mr. Goschen has shown considerable ability in his treatment of the questions of rating and assessment, but he will have to grasp his nettle far more boldly than he has yet shown any sign of doing, if he means to mark his administration of the Poor-Law Board by the accomplishment of large and beneficent reforms.

Lord Hartington is the heir of the house of Cavendish, and therefore, of course, a statesman by right of birth. Lord De Grey, inheriting the good fortune as well as the name and rank of "Prosperity Robinson," finds himself—we doubt not to his own astonishment—the official superior, as Lord President of the Council, of a statesman so respected and so proved as Mr. Forster. The latter, we may hope, is merely in training while he matures his plans of educational reform, for the inevitable and already projected change which will place him in the Cabinet as Minister of Education. Lord Kimberley, as Lord Privy Seal, occupies a position unworthy of his abilities and his experience. Having held the offices of Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs, and Under Secretary for India, and having been successively Envoy Extraordinary to Russia and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Lord Kimberley can show public services which entitle him to a more conspicuous and useful place than that into which he has been thrust by the over-crowding of competitors for office in Mr. Gladstone's Cabinet.

Turning to what are known as the "great spending depart-

ments," we perceive that the Admiralty and the War-office have been entrusted to two statesmen both entirely untried in the offices to which they have been appointed. We see further, that the first result of this change is a reform of the administration of the army and the navy, which results in a clear saving to the country on the estimates for either department of more than one million sterling. At the same time, there is a marked contrast between the policy of the Secretary at War and that of the First Lord of the Admiralty; and the comparison is not to the advantage of the elder and more experienced statesman.

The initial difficulties which meet the reformer at the War-office are concisely stated by the "Templar:"—

"The Secretary of State for War stands intermediately among a very important group of our leading administrators—he is a central figure among the other heads of departments. Above him, as a matter of course, is the Prime Minister. Below him, in one sense, namely, as the very groundwork upon which his office especially is built up, is the Exchequer, presided over by that financial despot, its Chancellor. Around him, to the right hand and to the left, are those other administrative chiefs with whom it is, as it were, an absolute necessity to his ministerial existence that he should be incessantly in the most intimate accord, bound up together with them by ties of the most familiar relationship. Sensitive alive at all times to what might be almost spoken of without extravagance as the nervous system of our diplomacy; and keenly appreciating as well everything affecting, no matter how remotely, any portion whatever of our vast and widely ramified colonial organization—the War Secretary has perpetually to keep a watchful regard over the maintenance uninterruptedly of the most cordial associations between his own office and the offices, quite equally, of the Horse Guards and of the Admiralty.

"As yet, in regard to his peculiar functions as, in an especial manner, the Ministerial Guardian of the State in its relations with the outer world, the Secretary for War is still in a position, it must be allowed, almost painfully abnormal. It was not until but very recently, as we all know, that the office itself was disassociated from that of Secretary of State for the Colonies. War and the Colonies went together. Why, it would be difficult even to conjecture, and almost impossible to determine. Disassociated they have at last been, however; so that where formerly there was but one Secretary there are now two—the Secretary for War and the Secretary for the Colonies. Nevertheless, standing apart as he does, at length, quite independently, the Secretary for War finds himself still hampered by many of those old anomalies of our administrative system which yet remain to be cleared away, as so many obsolete and utterly preposterous obstructions to good government. Looking to the national service, that is, to the maritime service, for aid and co-operation, he still discovers there a clumsy and complicated association of Lords Commissioners, exercising in a cumbrous manner a sort of distributed authority; instead of

finding, as he ought to find in the Admiralty of England, a directing power holding within a single grasp, so to speak, the thunderbolts of our enormous naval armaments.

“Looking, on the other hand, to the Commander-in-Chief for assistance, he actually still discerns in him a nominal chief of our land forces, exercising no sway over what may be called our National Reserve, that is to say, over the Militia or the Yeomanry, over the Enrolled Pensioners or the Rifle Volunteers. Common sense, all the while, seeming to dictate, as the one rational means of simplification for all these complex absurdities, the gathering together under a single rule here of our whole force ashore, there of our whole force afloat. Until that obvious and quite possible simplification shall have been arrived at, as we cannot for an instant doubt that it will be arrived at eventually, the Secretary of State for War must, clearly enough, be acting at all periods of emergency under stupendous difficulties, between an incomplete organization at the Horse Guards, and a singular confused organization at the Admiralty. To the present occupant of that vitally important position, the country is now naturally turning its regard with eager solicitude—desirous, as it is, of finding in him an administrator capable of dealing effectually with these ancient and portentous difficulties, of sweeping them away root and branch altogether, and of afterwards building up in their place a military and a maritime system in harmony with each other, though, as a matter of course, at the same time, completely and thoroughly independent.”

The expectations thus confidently avowed have already been disappointed by Mr. Cardwell's expository speech in moving the Army Estimates. The Secretary at War refuses to deal with the question of the subordination of the Horse Guards to the War-office in a manly and courageous temper, regardless of prescriptive claims, which are incompatible with the efficiency of the public service, or of the unconstitutional demands of highly-placed personages; and he declines also to attempt the reorganization of the reserve forces of the kingdom on a basis of firm discipline and governmental control. The army is left untouched in its essential features, overloaded with a useless crowd of officers, and disconnected from those subsidiary forces with which, on any sudden emergency, it should be trained to work in unison. As a Liberal War Minister Mr. Cardwell has pronounced his own sentence of failure in the speech which averred that there was little or nothing to be done to improve our military administration save to minimize expenditure, and alter the distribution of troops.

Mr. Childers has approached his task, which is certainly not less urgent and difficult, in a more determined temper; and aided by his efficient Secretary to the Admiralty, Mr. Baxter, he has already been able to effect very remarkable reforms. He has reorganized the constitution of the Board of Admiralty on a

basis of divided labour, with a reservation to the First Lord of supreme control and responsibility. He has largely reduced the expenditure on ship-building in the Government dockyards, and has abolished two of those costly establishments, Woolwich and Deptford. He has thoroughly reformed the distribution of the navy on foreign and colonial stations, and promises further and even more radical changes in this direction. He has put an end to the extravagant expenditure on untried models of iron-clads (with a costly exception in favour of two turret ships, for which we are to pay more than half a million sterling); and lastly, he has contrived a plan for relieving the Navy List of the multitudinous swarms of half-pay officers, who lead lives of discontent and uselessness without a chance of service one year out of four, and choke all the avenues of promotion for the younger and more active men. These are Mr. Childers' plans, and they constitute the policy of an administrator of the very highest order.

The government of India has tasked to the utmost, since the downfall of the Company, the capacity and energy of English statesmen, for however Anglo-Indians may murmur, and however politicians at home may disclaim responsibility, it is inevitable that, in these times, the centre of administration should be shifted from the Government House at Calcutta to the India Office in London. This is a transition which follows from the increased facilities of communication, from the telegraphic connexions between Europe and Asia, and from the subordination of the military and naval forces in India to the direct control of the Crown. Hence it has become of less importance what sort of man we have at the head of affairs in India, and of increasingly greater importance what sort of man we have at the head of affairs at the India Office. It would be an act of fatal trifling ever again to make the Indian Secretaryship—as it has been made already—an appanage for old Whig placemen, or young Whig noblemen, whose unfitness for any office that would subject them to public criticism has been recognised by their party, if not by themselves. Moreover, under the Tory Governments of Lord Derby and Mr. Disraeli, the Secretaries of State for India have been decidedly men of mark. Lord Salisbury showed true statesmanlike ability; and Sir Stafford Northcote proved himself a clear-headed and pains-taking administrator, and an impartial critic of Indian controversies.

When Mr. Gladstone came into power, the necessity of placing a statesman of first-rate ability at the India Office became apparent to him, and several names suggested themselves. Among these was conspicuous the name of Mr. Bright, and to the member for Birmingham in the first place the offer of the Indian Secretaryship was conveyed. As we have seen, Mr. Bright pre-

ferred a position less onerous and responsible, but also less fruitful in great opportunities of statesmanship. We cannot pretend to regret that Mr. Bright has declined the difficult and glorious task of governing our eastern empire. His views on some questions of Indian policy appear to be altogether visionary and impracticable, adopted, as we imagine, on insufficient knowledge, and such as an official experience of even very brief duration would doubtless materially alter. The proposal to divide India, as it were, into a number of independent states connected by a federal bond, would be defeated by financial difficulties, even though there were no objections of a strictly political nature. *Quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus* is not the formula by which we can describe the scope, the logical perfection, and predestined universality of that form of constitution which was accepted by an accident of party controversy in the United States. Yet if we are not mistaken, it was the American constitution that consciously or unconsciously suggested to Mr. Bright the plan of a federal government for India. Mr. Bright's Indian policy would be inspired, no doubt, by that noble sympathy for human suffering and for oppressed races that glows in every spoken word of his: but that it would encounter immense practical difficulties we are quite certain, nor is it unlikely that on some of them it would have been utterly and perilously wrecked. For these reasons we are rather inclined to congratulate Mr. Bright that he has escaped the responsibility of the place which he was in the first instance offered by Mr. Gladstone; while, we think, he has himself over-rated the objections on which he laid so much stress in his speech at Birmingham on his re-election. A theoretical dislike to war can hardly be maintained as a part of his public policy by a statesman without a loss of much of his real power, and an uncertainty as to the extent to which his conscience will permit him to serve the state. How quickly would Mr. Bright's pacific principles have gone to the wall had he been an American citizen during the struggle for national unity and freedom against slavery and rebellion! As quickly, we should think, and as completely as did Hosea Biglow's notions between the time when he wrote, "Ez fur war, I call it murder," and the time when he called for "pizon-mad, pigheaded fightin'." This, however, is beside the question. Whether Mr. Bright was induced to refuse Mr. Gladstone's offer of the Indian Secretaryship from an abstract aversion to war, or from a fear that he might find it impossible to carry out his policy in practice, is a matter of secondary interest. What is material is that he did refuse the office, which accordingly was offered at once to the Duke of Argyll and accepted by him.

Next to Mr. Bright, the Duke of Argyll had undoubtedly the

most commanding claims to the charge of Indian policy in any Liberal government ; and yet to his appointment also very strong objections might have been found. He was known to be the champion, one of the few remaining advocates of the Dalhousian policy of "absorption;" his essays on "India under Dalhousie and Canning," republished from the *Edinburgh Review*, contain some powerful and ingenious, but sophistical pleading for that system of aggressive chicane, which broke down so lamentably in India after its last great *coup*, the annexation of Oude, and received its death-blow in the mutiny of 1857. To many members of the Liberal party, and especially to Mr. Bright, the doctrines avowed and preached by the Duke of Argyll were peculiarly abhorrent. We are not sure even now but that serious difficulties within the Cabinet may arise if the Secretary for India should ever have to deal with such cases as those of Sattara, Dhar, Jhansi, and Nagpore. At the same time it is right to say, that, according to a report currently believed in India, the Duke of Argyll has acknowledged his error, and repudiated the doctrines of which he has been supposed to be the advocate. If so, we shall hear of the change, for the Duke is not a man to disguise his opinions or to disavow their logical consequences. As it is, we know that Indian administration is certain to be conducted with energetic zeal and honesty of purpose by the Secretary of State ; only we are not quite sure of the direction his policy may take. It may tend to augment England's empire in India with useless annexations, and to load "the weary Titan" with a worthless addition to "the too vast orb of her fate;" it may bend its course to fatal complications of external politics and still more fatal wars ; or lastly, it may turn to the beneficent, the practical work of internal improvement, to the development of Indian resources, to the education of the Indian people, and the gradual concession to them of full social equality, and a share in the government of their country.

The Under-Secretary of State for India has a difficult and honourable task to perform in the House of Commons, where he has not only to answer for a policy which he has not initiated, but to cope with the special knowledge of experienced Anglo-Indians like Sir Charles Wingfield and Mr. Wyllie,\* to expound the intricate finances of India, and to answer perpetual questions on every variety of subject connected with the administration in India. It would not be easy to find an official better qualified by careful study and trained political intelligence for this place than is Mr. Grant Duff. The son of a distinguished Anglo-Indian,

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\* Unfortunately, since this article was written, Mr. Wyllie has been deprived of his seat in the House of Commons.

the historian of the Mahrattas, Mr. Grant Duff commenced his political career as an Indian reformer; his views of Indian policy, so far as they can be gathered from a somewhat accurate acquaintance with his written and spoken utterances, are clear and just, and removed by many degrees from the fanaticism which ever springs from "the falsehood of extremes." The only fault we have to find with Mr. Grant Duff's appointment as Under-Secretary of State for India, is, as we have already hinted, that we consider him absolutely the fittest member of the House of Commons to undertake the charge of our foreign relations. There is no member of the Lower House who approaches Mr. Grant Duff in the comprehension and intimate knowledge of the politics of European states, and of the leading statesmen of Europe; and if promotion went by fitness, it is certain that at least the Under-Secretaryship for Foreign Affairs would fall to him without challenge.

Whether it is owing to the influence of the Secretary of State for India or of his Under-Secretary we have no means of judging, but in any case we may take it as a good omen of the new policy at the Indian Office, that in the bill recently introduced in the House of Lords for the reform of the Government of India by the Duke of Argyll, there have been inserted provisions for regulating and facilitating the admission of natives to the Civil Service. It is impossible to estimate too highly the significance of this change, the importance of which Lord Salisbury and Sir Stafford Northcote recognised in principle, when they controlled the destinies of India, but which they had not the courage to apply. The reform which we are promised, and which we sincerely trust may become law before the close of the year, is but the first step to a long series of changes in the fundamental principles of our Indian policy, by which we may at last be enabled to do full justice, without incurring any serious danger, to our fellow subjects in the East.

The charge of the Colonies presents no such difficult and perilous problems of policy as those which encumber the path of the Secretary of State for India. The Colonial Secretary in ordinary times has little more to do than to maintain towards the Governments of the colonies an attitude of dignified neutrality, and to keep the mother country clear as far as possible of those complications into which the impatient and adventurous temper of the colonists is prone to tempt them, and into which they naturally seek to drag us. To avoid these hazardous controversies, to cast upon the colonists themselves to the fullest extent that responsibility which ought never to be separated from political independence, is the negative policy that it should be the chief care of the Secretary of State for the Colonies to



support. At the Colonial Office we hold that the very striking abilities, the peculiar experience, and the political ideas of Earl Granville are worse than wasted. As we have already suggested, his proper place is clearly the Foreign-office, where his knowledge of European politics, his strong will and supple intellect would find a fit and congenial sphere of labour. At the Colonial-office, indeed, Lord Granville may possibly do mischief; and if we could trust the coarse and unfair criticism of a Templar, though written in a strain of eulogy, we should be glad to take the able Whig peer out of harm's way. Professor Goldwin Smith is a *bête noire* of the Templars; and this is the fashion in which the author thinks it gentlemanly and argumentative to vituperate—we cannot say, even by courtesy, to refute—Mr. Smith's theory of the impolicy of England's retaining her colonies:—

“One dependency we have given up within recent remembrance. A goodly cluster of islands, it consisted of: Cephalonia, Zante, St. Maura, Corfu, Ithaca, Cerigo, what not: we handed them all over for absorption into Greece. Gibraltar is sorely wanted, just now, to be done the like with by the Spanish—which is it?—monarchical or republican Government. Suppose we meekly do by that to-day as we did by the Ionian Islands yesterday? Suppose we spike our guns there—sneak across to Ceuta—and abandon for once and for all that grand old trophy won by our arms, our gold, and our blood; that grim guardian of our road to India; that one rocky Pillar of Hercules, from the height of which our garrison, like warders on the keep, have held watch for a hundred years at the entrance to the Mediterranean.

“Supposing we do all this, in the name of honesty let us go a step or two further. Let us at least be consistent. Let us deal with one after another of our various colonial possessions precisely in like manner. The arguments applicable to the Ionian Islands, the arguments said to be applicable now to the hitherto thought-to-be impregnable rock of Gibraltar, are applicable equally to all the rest of our dominions. There was Professor Goldwin Smith only a few years ago outraging all our feelings of patriotism, all the most cherished among our national susceptibilities, proposing that, in plain terms, England—this ‘dear, dear England’ of Shakspeare, not of Smith—should cave in at once without any more ado, should strip herself of all her world-wide territories, should take the sacred fasces and deliberately unbind them, to the end of, first of all, distributing the rods of empire, and afterwards, we may presume, submitting herself allegorically to decapitation by the axe.

“If we are going to give up Gibraltar, why not recall at once this wretched Professor Smith and install him permanently in Downing-street as our Disintegrating Minister or Lord Paramount? Against the advent of the Smithian era, we possess happily at this moment, however, one—if only for that reason—most acceptable guarantee. We have installed here already at the Colonial Office—at that mystical centre of the vast and complicated net-work of our colonial

system—a Minister, who like the majority of his illustrious predecessors in that most distinguished and responsible office, cherishes, we believe, very dearly at heart the glory of the Crown and the honour of the country, and is himself in his very heart of hearts a thorough, downright Englishman.”

The vulgarity of this attack is only equalled by its futility. It is Billingsgate and nothing more. As to the question whether Mr. Goldwin Smith's theory ought to be immediately adopted, we are not at present called upon to discuss it. The general sense of the nation is in favour of retaining the connexion with the colonies as long as the colonists themselves choose that it should be maintained, and no longer. We are not sure that Mr. Goldwin Smith would care to go beyond this point; and we are quite certain that Lord Granville or any soberminded statesman would feel far more inclined to agree with the temperate reasonings of Mr. Smith than with the bombastic folly of such sentences as those we have quoted from the *Templar's* invective. It must not be forgotten that we have already conceded perfect political independence to all our great colonies, and that the commercial relations subsisting between us and them are quite the reverse of friendly. They are protectionists, we are free-traders; and the Canadians, who claim the protection of our fleets and armies, without paying a penny towards their maintenance, and the privileges of British citizenship without its responsibilities, combat us with a hostile tariff, while here the nations of Europe have listened to the voice of Cobden, and yielded, to a greater or less degree, freedom of trade. We are now breaking the last link of material interest that united England to her colonial dependencies: we are drawing away our troops from colonial garrisons and our ships from colonial waters; both Mr. Childers and Mr. Cardwell have announced distinctly the end at which we are aiming: it is to make the colonists assume the duty and the charges of their own defence, for which they have hitherto drawn upon the overburdened resources of the mother country. When we have thus broken the last material link that joins us to the colonies, we shall do well not to calculate too confidently on the strength of merely sentimental bonds.

The leading elements of Mr. Gladstone's administration are, in our judgment, such as we have described them, not disguising their points of weakness nor hesitating to indicate personal defects. These defects and weaknesses are neither few nor unimportant; yet on the whole it is only fair to say that, by comparison with recent ministries, Mr. Gladstone's Government may emphatically be called strong. It is strong not merely in the ability of its members and in the support of an overwhelming majority of the legislature and of the constituencies, but also in the character of the policy

to which it stands pledged and the scope of the measures which it has offered already to the acceptance of the country. Taken by themselves these measures are admirable examples of well-considered Liberal legislation; taken as parts of a systematic and coherent whole, they show a resolute grasp of principles and a courageous logic in their application which gives us the best hopes of the future course of Mr. Gladstone's Government in the direction of reform. Although much has been done already and much more has been undertaken by the present ministry, an immense mass of obsolete anomalies and abuses remains still untouched by the unsparing hand of the reformer. In Church and State there are absurdities that clog the wheels of civilized government, and make the name of progress a mockery to multitudes of the people. Pauperism, with all its degrading incidents and consequences, is, after all that philosophers and statesmen have said and done, the most conspicuous and characteristic feature of England's social organization. Systematic and professional crime has barely been touched by our imperfect system of police, and taints year by year a large and increasing proportion of the youth of the country. Our educational schemes for the most part have failed, and ignorance continues to engender poverty in the midst of wealth, and criminality in the midst of civilization. The relics of the feudal times overspread the country; the soil of England is monopolized by a few proprietors, and a restrictive legal system gives assistance and sanction to the custom which prevents its distribution. The common law is a chaos of anomalies and contradictions; and the annual aggregation of isolated and inconsiderate additions to the mass of the statutes is an evil which begins to exceed the patience even of professional conservatism. These abuses and mischiefs, and many others as gross and scandalous, await the energetic and bold assault of a reforming Government. In Mr. Gladstone's Cabinet we believe there are men equal to a part at least of the great enterprise. Let them only put their hands to the plough, and they will not, we feel confident, look back, irresolute or repenting, until they have done their share of the work, and won immortal honour for themselves and happiness for their country.

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## ART. III.—LIBERTY AND LIGHT.

1. *The Queen's Speech*, 1869.
2. *Speech of the Home Secretary in Renfrewshire*.
3. *W. Hepworth Dixon on Freedom of Election*.
4. *Numerous Tracts and Speeches on the Ballot since 1830*.
5. *Debate on Mr. Leatham's Motion*, March 16.

THE fact that the question of substituting a secret mode of voting at the election of members of Parliament, for the open one hitherto in use, is being entertained by the present House of Commons, induces us to devote a portion of our space to a consideration of the issues involved. Although the question of the ballot has, especially of late years, been discussed and agitated *ad nauseam*, it is clear that recent events have placed it in a position different to any which it has hitherto occupied. Never before did the widespread operation of undue influences so forcibly strike the national conscience, and so deeply impress it with a sense of the national shortcomings. Never before was so large a class of electors found looking to the ballot with a sense of relief, and longing to realize the prospect offered to them by it of escaping from the cruel dictation of their social superiors. Never before was it espoused by partisans of all sides in politics. Never before were the laws against bribery and corruption so successful in ascertaining the facts, and inflicting the penalties due to their infraction, as to make men hopeful that the malady is one that can be touched by legislation. Never before had it anything like such powerful adherents in the Ministry. And never before was there a House of Commons so well disposed towards it. No longer taunted as "American" and "democratic," the examples adduced in its favour are derived from Italy, France, Germany, Belgium; in short, from nearly the whole of civilized Europe, where the ballot, regarded as the bulwark of liberty and a necessary safeguard against tyranny, occupies much the same place in public estimation that the vaunted institution of trial by jury occupies with us. And in our own Australian dominions, the colonists, holding that prevention is better than cure, have not waited for the growth of a system of undue interference with their selection of representatives, but have adopted in anticipation the means for making such interference impossible.

There is one uniform basis of agreement among all who uphold the ballot, as well also as among the vast majority of those who disapprove of it, namely, that it is the duty of every elector to give his suffrage according to his own best judgment. The question whether all is done, and done well, when he can do this securely, seems to us a matter of such vast importance to the

moral well-being of the empire, that we feel bound to urge its earnest consideration upon Parliament and the country in their dealings with it.

Granted that it is an elector's right, as well as his duty, to vote according to the dictates of his own conscience, without reference to private or individual considerations, and that the ballot enables him to exercise this right and to perform this duty without fear or favour of any man, we confidently assert that in adopting the ballot the elector is actually surrendering a right at least as essential, valuable, and indefeasible as any that he is asserting thereby.

If hypocrisy be the homage that vice pays to virtue, surely the adoption of secrecy in the exercise of what is not merely a public and recognised right, but a public and paramount duty, cannot be regarded as other than a tribute rendered to intolerance and oppression. And a heavy tribute, too, is it when the cherished traditional character and pretensions of our country are considered; for it involves the forfeiture of our claim any longer to be looked up to as a free, enlightened, and law-abiding people.

Freedom of expression is as much and as valuable a right as freedom of opinion; and he who requires the shield of secrecy resigns his claim to such freedom of speech and action as is alone compatible with the doctrine of equal rights for all. Moreover, by the imposition of such secrecy the State admits the low moral tone of its members, declares their unworthiness to be treated as freemen, and confesses its impotence to arrest the operation of their mutual tyranny.

The right of the voter to the security of secrecy was never more powerfully maintained than in the interesting address delivered by Mr. W. Hepworth Dixon at Brighton last year. As an argument against the interference of the *State* with the freedom of election, it was complete and unanswerable. But its moral was drawn from a period when fine and imprisonment were imposed at the dictation of influence or authority irrespective of law, and when the antagonism between classes amounted to an internecine conflict. Agreeing fully with Mr. Dixon, that the voter has a right to all the safety affordable by secrecy, we hold, and doubt not that Mr. Dixon also holds, that he has an equal right to the enjoyment of perfect publicity. And we are disposed to believe that the latter is the more important right of the two, inasmuch as the resort to secrecy involves the abnegation of all that moral courage and self-assertion which alone constitute and prove the true freeman.

Since it is the essential function and duty of the State to protect each citizen from the trespasses of his neighbours in the exercise of his legitimate rights, it is manifest that the State abdicates that function when it virtually confesses that it is

unable to protect its citizens from such interference without the imposition of secrecy. And it is moreover equally clear that the advocate of secret voting in public elections virtually acquiesces in the abandonment of his own right to assert his own opinion before all men, as well as in the abdication by the State of its supremest duty, that of protecting him in the exercise of the rights which it has conferred upon him.

A momentary application of the principle we are here maintaining to some other and more flagrant instance, will serve to illustrate its exceeding importance. For example, under the new order of things in Spain the Government has proclaimed liberty of religious worship. What would be thought of the condition of real freedom in that country if it had also to say to any religious sect, "You may worship as you please, but you must do it with such secrecy as not to be found out, or we cannot protect you?" Would not such a confession be an admission that although the Government itself had attained a certain degree of enlightenment, yet that the people were hopelessly intolerant, and the law miserably inefficient? The question of the ballot in England is none other than the question whether we are to make such a confession as this about our own law, and our own people; whether we are to stultify ourselves and belie all our professions of enlightened liberality and social advancement; whether we are to resign all hope for evermore of being able to present to the world the spectacle of a people at once civilized, independent, free, and respecting each other's freedom.

We think that we may claim credit for the integrity and maturity of our views on this subject, seeing that nearly forty years ago our pages contained a passionate invective against the corruption then prevailing in electoral contests, and a strong commendation of the ballot as the only means then discoverable of mitigating its deplorable effects.\* Our remedy, prescribed as a desperate resource for a patient that seemed to be in an almost desperate extremity, has never been applied; and the strength of the patient's constitution has enabled him to surmount the crisis. That divine germ which, implanted at the bottom of an Englishman's nature, oftentimes in spite of obstacles apparently most unfavourable for its development shoots up into a tree of noble stature and all-winning beauty, has in these our forty years of painful wanderings in the wilderness of political strife, asserted and proved its vitality, and vindicated its claim to be in reality and truth the tree of national life, the leaves whereof are for the healing of the nations.

Yes, nearly forty years ago we denounced "the utter extinction of moral feeling in England with regard to voting for mem-

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\* *Westminster Review*, July, 1830.

bers of Parliament." If there were now no hope or sign of improvement, we should still advocate the surrender of a portion of our liberties in order to secure the rest. We should still advocate the ballot, by way at least of an alterative or a tonic, hoping that under its operation the national constitution might in time become sufficiently robust to thrive without it.

As a people are, so are their institutions. It was only when believing that the country was hopelessly weak and corrupt that we advocated compulsory secrecy in voting. We anticipated the grounds which Mr. J. S. Mill, the arch-antagonist of the ballot, allows to be sufficient justification for its use. "When the voters are slaves, anything may be tolerated which enables them to throw off the yoke."\* Since then we have proved that we are not slaves, or hopelessly corrupt, by the passage of two Reform bills, and a law against corruption, the success of which has exceeded the most sanguine anticipations; and which, when amended and completed by the combined experience of the judges, will leave little to be desired. And now in the very fact that people see the evil and are horrified by it, lies our best evidence of amendment in the past, best ground of hope for the future, and consequently best argument against the adoption of the ballot.

It is not because the malpractices at the late election have been worse or more widespread than at any previous election, that the indignation and the outcry have also been greater; but because the national conscience has become purer and more sensitive. In this fact consists the strongest argument against the proposed change. So much has been gained, and all is going on so surely in the way of amendment, that it would be a deplorable blunder to reverse the treatment, and start again *de novo* as if the patient were still at extremity.

It will be seen that we regard the ballot as at best but a desperate remedy for a desperate disease. This is the ground taken in a book which was reviewed in our pages just twelve months ago,† in a conversation related as having been held in Australia at the era of the introduction of responsible government in that country, when the method of voting possessed something more than a speculative interest for the parties concerned:—

"Mr. Travers said he should like to know how the American system of secret voting had struck me?

"I said that I had only seen it in operation in California before there had been any registration of voters, and that the result of the elections

\* "Representative Government," p. 194.

† "The Pilgrim and the Shrine," *Westminster Review*, April, 1868.

there showed that there were very many more votes than voters; for any man could go and deposit his paper in the ballot-box over and over again. In fact, men went riding in bands all over the country voting at every polling-place they came to. No one dreamt of making a secret of his politics, for no one was afraid of anybody out there. How it might be in the old and more settled States I do not know, but from what I could gather from the expressions and demeanour of the people, it seemed to me as if the ballot had destroyed the necessity for the ballot. It had made it of no use to try coercion or intimidation, because no one could be quite certain how any one had voted, and the consequence was that the very idea of compulsion had so died out that Americans made no secret of how they voted.

"Mr. Travers said he quite hated the idea of performing a public duty in stealth and secrecy, as if men were ashamed of what they were doing.

"I said that to me the ballot was like correcting one fault by another; and that however much one should detest secret voting in public matters, one should still more detest the state of things which made the voter desire such protection. It was not the ballot, but the need of the ballot, that was to me such an odious proof of the low state of the public ideas of right and justice. It is a monstrous grievance that tradesmen and workmen should be intimidated by their customers and employers into voting or abstaining from voting contrary to their opinions; and if the law gave votes to persons who could not afford to exercise them independently, the least the law could do was to give them protection in the exercise of their right.

"Mr. Travers thought the cure might be worse than the disease, and that people who were such cowards as to be intimidated out of a right did not deserve consideration.

"I said that if I was right in supposing that in America the ballot had destroyed the necessity for the ballot, it had acted like a wholesome tonic, and given the constitution strength to do without it.

"Miss Travers, who had been listening in silence all the while, asked why people should not have their choice of voting openly or secretly as they pleased. And we all agreed that it would be a proud day for a constituency when it could throw off the ballot, and say there was no longer any necessity for it in that district. It would be like throwing away a crutch or a swimming-belt as no longer needed because one could now go without it.

"Whereupon Mr. Travers exclaimed, 'Then make it penal, and inflict secret voting upon every constituency in which there has been bribery, intimidation, or rioting. Let these, if you will, be disgraced by losing the privilege of registering their opinions openly and before the world.'"

In this short extract is said nearly all that can be said both for and against the ballot. If it be the fact that in the United States "the ballot has destroyed the necessity for secrecy," it is impossible to find any stronger argument in its favour. But since the end does not always justify the means, it is necessary [Vol. XCI. No. CLXXX.]—NEW SERIES, Vol. XXXV. No. II. D D



to consider whether even such a desirable result may not, in our own case at least, be too dearly attained. If it be gained by the sacrifice of a spirit of independence and by the degradation of law, security is a bargain dearly bought indeed.

That "if the law gives votes to persons who cannot afford to exercise them independently, the least it can do is to give them protection in the exercise of their rights," may be taken as an incontrovertible axiom. But it seems to us to fail entirely in its application to the question under consideration, owing to the fact that, by the very nature of the case, the granting of security by the agency of secrecy is on the part of the law a self-annihilating process; and that so far from affording protection to the elector in the discharge of his legitimate function, it amounts to an admission on the part of the law that it is incapable of affording protection at all.

Publicity in the enjoyment and exercise of his civic rights is fully as essential a part of the liberties of a freeman and a Briton, as immunity from interference and damage; and the law manifestly abandons rather than fulfils its functions when it affords that immunity only at the sacrifice of the publicity to which he is entitled. As well might the police claim the right to plead, "We can protect your lives and property by day, but must beg to be excused from doing it at night."

In taking up this position against the enforcement of secrecy in the exercise of a public duty, we are virtually pleading for all the liberties that as Englishmen we hold dear; liberty of thought, liberty of word, liberty of deed, bounded only by equal liberty on the part of others. The liberty cherished by Englishmen must be of strong and vigorous growth, and no sickly exotic creeping into corners and unable to bear the light. It is upon such a liberty of the individual that the liberties of our State are built. To restrict or extinguish it in one direction, is to limit and to obscure it in all. The edifice of the Constitution has, with a thousand struggles lasting through a thousand years, been raised to its topmost story. Watched in its progress and admired of all men, the free communities of the world have one and all paid it the highest compliment of imitation—so far as the model was sufficiently finished for them to follow it. But impatient of its slow though sure progress, they have jumped to the conclusion that all has been done to complete and consolidate it when security is attained; not perceiving that to attain security by the sacrifice of liberty is to adopt the favourite plea of the tyrant; is to pull down the very structure they have been rearing, and to belie the essential principles of its formation.

Upon the action of Parliament in this matter it depends

whether England is still to maintain her rank as the mother of liberty and instructor of nations; or whether, forsaking her independent career, she shall abandon the fruits of her faith, her labour, and her patience, wherewith she has so long striven for the sake of her first and only love—the ideal of perfect liberty,—and to suffer “her candlestick to be removed out of its place” of pre-eminence. Hitherto she has led, and shall she now follow, and that in a backward path? For backward she will assuredly be turning if she condescend to copy those who, having previously copied her, have shown their incapacity for a full appreciation of her by the very mode in which they have attempted to outstrip her.

For to this it comes. To impose secrecy as the condition of the exercise of the franchise, is as much a treason against the liberties of the citizen, as interference or menace in the exercise of his individual judgment is treason against the State. The franchise is a trust only in respect of its involving the duty of exercising it according to the conscience of the voter. To interfere with the honest exercise of that trust is a treason to the nation, for the State is thereby defrauded of the very object for which the trust was instituted, and the whole commonwealth suffers by such deprivation of the fair expression of the opinion of its members. In exactly so far as interference is successful, is the opinion of a free nation burked, and the views of those whose very violence and unfairness reveal them as the bitterest enemies of liberty, substituted for it. Equally does the State commit a treason against the liberties of its citizens, when it covers their exercise of the franchise with a veil of compulsory secrecy. If the franchise be a trust, the liberty to exercise it openly is a right.

The problem of the reconciliation of this liberty with security thus offers itself for solution. Under existing circumstances the best solution seems to us to consist of a twofold character. It is for the State, on the one hand, to visit with the penalties due to serious offences all proved attempts at coercion, treating them as more deeply criminal, as they are unquestionably more cruel, than the other forms of interference—namely, bribery and corruption; and, on the other hand, to make such concession to local exigency or individual weakness, as to permit such voters as may deem it necessary for their own security to have recourse to the ballot on their expressing a wish to do so.

The purpose of an election being to ascertain the unbiassed opinion of the community, the particular method whereby that opinion is recorded is of itself a matter of secondary importance. So that the vote be a genuine expression of opinion, it matters nothing to the law how the vote is taken, while it may

matter much to the individual how he gives it. What does matter to the law is, that its own character and credit be sustained by securing to the citizen the liberty he is entitled to claim at its hands. By according the use of the ballot to those who prefer it, the law in no way abandons its function of protecting the open voter.

We thus contemplate the employment of both methods at the same election for taking the opinion of the community, giving the voter the option of recording his vote either in the usual way or by means of the ballot-box. By such a combination, and such only, does it seem to us that consideration for the self-respect of the nation and of its independent electors is reconcilable with consideration due to the interests of individual voters. There is no difficulty, mechanical or otherwise, about the matter. The elector, on entering the division of the polling-room where his name is registered, has only to be asked how he chooses to vote, and his reply "Book" or "Ballot," "Open" or "Secret," will determine the clerks whether to hand him the balloting-paper, or to register his vote in their books. In all cases the rule must be rigidly enforced that admits but one person at a time into the division, in order that the exercise of any influence or control at the moment of voting may be impracticable. It is the infraction of this most necessary and wholesome regulation that has rendered possible much of the intimidation that has lately been practised. Instances have been reported to us of customers accompanying tradesmen to the poll, and seeing that they voted according to their dictation; of landowners standing, note-book in hand, beside the clerks and taking down the names and votes of their tenants; and of employers setting agents to work to the same end with the artisans in their employment.

By such a concession as we have described, the State will escape the charge of imposing secrecy upon its citizens as the natural complement of its own impotence, as well as that of being indifferent to their safety. It will throw upon the oppressor the whole odium of his conduct, and open a way of escape for those who cannot invoke the law to their aid. The principal objection that we can anticipate to this arrangement is easily disposed of. It will probably be said that voters who avail themselves of the shelter of the ballot, will be made to suffer as if they were known to vote adversely to the dictation of their oppressor; that is, the masters will assume that those who do not vote openly vote against them, and will discharge their men for having recourse to the ballot at all, instead of, as now, for voting against them.

But this objection is one that may equally be brought against

an universal or compulsory ballot ; for it is generally possible for an employer to ascertain the sympathies and opinions of his dependants ; and knowing these to be opposed to his own, he can equally threaten them with ruin for voting at all. If there is any part of the country where more than elsewhere the right of open voting deserves to be declared forfeit, it is in Ireland ; yet there the above objection to the ballot holds good. For, banded compactly together in opposite factions as Irishmen love to be, the side taken by every man will still be as notorious as if he continue to vote openly. No, there is a better expedient than secret voting for Ireland, and one that is already found to work well in the instance in which it is practised. It is the custom to confine the military to their barracks during elections to prevent the possibility of their interference. We recommend that the system be extended, and that all landlords, priests, magistrates, and others, who manifest any tendency to undue interference, be kept in strict seclusion during the whole progress of any election.

But while it is the duty of legislation to be as perfect as possible, it is certain that no laws can prevent or punish every offence. For the complete development and consolidation of our liberties we must trust to the gradual and growing enlightenment of the community. As one of the greatest impulses ever imparted to the enlightening process, we hail the operation of the new Act whereby the examination of petitions is made by the trained judges of the land in solemn court held upon the scene of action, instead of by the old extravagant, inefficient, capricious parliamentary committees sitting at a distance. Already under its influence are we enabled to anticipate the time as not far off when the liberty mainly practised at elections will be something very different from the liberty which has hitherto been so much in vogue, namely, that of coercing or corrupting one's neighbour. We are delighted to be assured that the people of Drogheda were thunderstruck at being told by Mr. Justice Keogh that the matter was not of private but of public interest ; that every man in the community had a right to vote without injury, threat, or insult ; that the intimidation of even a few voters vitiated an election ; and that it was illegal for a priest to tell a voter that if he voted in a particular way " his salvation would be impossible." The intensity of the popular astonishment at such doctrine reveals the depth of the popular ignorance. We doubt not that even the priest in question found himself more enlightened as to the meaning of British liberty than he had ever been before.

At Norwich, Mr. Baron Martin said that there was so much small bribery by persons acting under the authority of Sir Henry

Stracey—though not with his knowledge—that he doubted if there would ever be another election in Norwich. “Bewdley ran with beer;” and there the judge laid down the important principle that the very fact of 7000*l.* being spent, was of itself sufficient to invalidate the election. At Limerick, in giving his decision Baron Fitzgerald severely condemned the course pursued by the magistrates and clergymen in hiring mobs on such occasions. In many cases, in addition to the money spent in corruption, the heavy penalty of having to pay the costs of the petition has been inflicted on the delinquent parties, and the unseated candidates have been declared incapable of being returned for the same parliament.

Everywhere is the education going on. By bringing corruption to the test of the rigid purity that governs our judicial procedure, the new Act proclaims to the whole body of electors that votes are to be given only from a conscientious conviction, uninfluenced by fear or favour. Such a triumph of law over custom, tradition, and wrong offers the strongest testimony to the capacity of Britons for self-improvement without the surrender of a single right. Henceforth will men understand, as they have never understood before, in what sense the suffrage is a trust, and to what end it has been entrusted to them. Henceforth will electors better than ever comprehend that they are trustees for the community to which they belong, in a trust importing the greatest possible amount of good or evil to the vast majority of their countrymen; and that they are guilty of an act of treachery, cowardice, or vice, just in so far as they exercise it for their own personal preference or advantage, instead of exercising it for that which they honestly conceive to be for the best welfare of the community at large.

Agreeing fully with Mr. Mill that the voter is under an absolute moral obligation to give his vote exactly as he would be bound to do if he were the sole voter, and the government of the country depended upon him alone;—believing, moreover, that the shifty, the vacillating, the timid, and the frail must almost necessarily find in publicity a strong inducement to act in conformity with their avowed convictions, and that both themselves and the public are morally gainers by the exhibition of such consistency;—we yet hesitate to lay the same stress that Mr. Mill lays upon the absolute necessity of the duty of voting being performed under the eye and criticism of the public.

And for this reason: The voter is bound to follow his own best judgment as to what is for the public good, rather than to consider what it may be that the public believes to be for its own good. Whence it follows that if the voter finds that he can the better obey the dictates of his conscience under the shield of

secrecy, he is not merely entitled, but is bound, to avail himself of such shield. The final judge of the voter's honesty is, not the public, but his own conscience; and we do not see that so much is gained by making the public the judges as to whether the voter has voted according to his own conscience, as by placing him in a position in which he is absolutely free so to vote.

We have, then, no compelling aversion to the use of the ballot in public elections founded on the moral aspects of the question. The arguments variously based on its being "un-English," and on its being used in clubs, have in reality no pertinent application to the matter under discussion. If men find it conducive to their social convenience to decide who shall, and who shall not, associate with them in the familiar intercourse of club-life, by a method that excludes the risk of personal quarrels, that is no argument for concealing their principles and views of public policy, by the profession and exhibition of which no man has any right whatever to be offended. And as for its being "un-English," it were much to be desired that many things "un-English" could be substituted for many things English, especially in the conduct of elections. Drunkenness, intimidation, bribery, rioting are things exceedingly English at election time. Those who object to the ballot as "un-English," might as well object on the same ground to all efforts to abolish these abuses: might prefer the treachery involved in the elector's betrayal of the trust reposed in him: might laud as praiseworthy and moral the subornation and prostitution of votes by the wealthy, the influential, or the violent. We would, indeed, that these were the things that we could hear on all sides denounced as "un-English," instead of the simple mechanical contrivance which renders them impossible. No; what we object to as "un-English" in the worst sense, is not the ballot or the security afforded by it to the elector, but the abandonment which its compulsory use involves of an Englishman's dearest right—the right of free expression,—in deference to illegal and tyrannical dictation. That this is not the sense in which the denouncers of the ballot have used the phrase is only too clear from the fact that the loudest and most persistent objectors on this ground have ever been those who have shown themselves the most unscrupulous meddlers with the free exercise of the voter's choice, and who feel that by it their power for mischief will be almost annihilated. To quote the extract already given, "It is not the ballot, but the need of the ballot"—the need of any protection whatever—"that is such an odious proof of the low state of the public ideas of right and justice."

We are not disposed to assign very great weight to two other

objections which have been brought against the ballot, worthy though they be of consideration. It is said that\*

“In the effort to exclude the pressure of illegitimate influences, we should exclude the pressure of infinitely more important legitimate influences, without which a sound political opinion could not be formed at all. We know by experience the mischiefs of public voting; we do not know by experience the mischiefs of secret voting, and we believe they would prove far the more important of the two. Shut out publicity, and we let in the most dangerous of all the influences under which a crowd can act—caprice, arbitrariness, the fiat of a mere concurrence of wishes. The despot acts under a restraint—the restraint of respect for the nobles and the people. An aristocracy acts under a restraint—the restraint of respect for the masses before whom it is powerless. But a democracy acts under no restraint except deference to its own reason and justice. Protect each unit of the democracy from all fear of being tried by the common standard of reason and justice, and you tend to generate, instead of a steady public opinion, a fickle popular caprice.”

We have already quoted Mr. Mill as justifying the ballot under certain extreme circumstances, as in the case of the many being oppressed by the few. The extract above given objects to it that it rather enables the many to oppress the few, by encouraging the formation of shallow or selfish opinions. But we are disposed to think that the formation of opinions depends far more upon the character of the individual voter, and upon the efforts made by the thinking and writing classes to instruct their fellow-citizens in their obligations to society, than upon the particular mode in which votes are ultimately taken. But however this may be, it is infinitely better that the vote, although given in secret, be the honest expression of the voter's opinion, than that, given openly, it should represent only the undue interference to which he has been subjected.

The only other objection which seems to us to merit notice, is one which was brought by the late Rev. Sydney Smith, to the effect that the ballot renders all subsequent scrutiny impossible. We are inclined to believe that this, by no means trivial objection, is far overbalanced by the fact that, conducted as elections are always sure to be conducted in England, the ballot renders all subsequent scrutiny unnecessary. And even were instances to the contrary found to occur, there can be no doubt that the constituencies would on the whole far rather trust themselves to the integrity of returning officers, than to the tender mercies of those whose violence, corruption, mendacity, and tyranny, have, in all their sickening details, been lately placed before the world.

Thus, in full view of the advantages to be derived from the use of the ballot, and with no disposition to over-estimate its

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\* *Spectator*, January 23, 1869.

drawbacks, we yet plead for the postponement of its imposition until at least the country shall have had time and opportunity to reap the benefits of recent legislation. We plead for the postponement of such a proof as the compulsory use of secrecy would constitute that England can no longer be held up to the world as an example of freedom of opinion and of expression as illustrated in the most fundamental and essential act of self-government performed by her citizens.

Everywhere else has the desire of liberty induced the ballot. In France the jealousy of State interference; in Italy the unscrupulousness of the priestly and reactionary party; in Germany the influence of the court and the bureaucracy; in America the weakness of the law—everywhere has the adoption of the ballot proceeded from the desire to obtain liberty. It is because we already have liberty, and desire to preserve and cherish it, that we would reject the ballot for ourselves. It is because as Englishmen we claim credit for being able to live up to a higher ideal of liberty than our neighbours have yet learnt to aspire to, that we plead for, nay, demand the right to record our votes openly before our fellows. And it is because we believe that the English conscience is becoming daily more developed, and that the English law is mighty to protect, that we protest against an imposition that belies both the national conscience and the national law. Sad indeed will be the day when an Englishman has to hang his head in shame, and own that he can only exercise the noblest duty of a freeman in privacy, because of the oppression of his fellows and the impotence of the law.

We know that there are many to whom such an appeal and such an argument will be but food for ridicule and laughter. A large remnant of the passing generation has been brought up to the habitual commission of such practices as we have been denouncing. These regard an election as a period of warfare, and hold everything to be fair that gains a momentary advantage for their side. To them it is but pastime to scoff at all mention of liberty and justice, at the possibilities of a people's improvement, and the derogation of a people's rights.

Under the excitement of each recurring election there thus leaps into view a multitude of petty despots, who, spawned of conceit of birth, conceit of position, conceit of opinion, or conceit of purse, and ordinarily compelled to restrict their tyrannies to private life, regard the extension of the franchise as the extension of their field of operations, and straightway proceed to inflict upon all with whom they have to do the intolerable nuisance of their dictation. Acting independently of candidates or agents, and naturally preferring to exercise their love of domineering in brutal intimidation rather than in more gene-



rous corruption, their vitiating influences permeate more or less through all constituencies, converting household suffrage into a household curse, and embittering against the order to which they unhappily belong the whole of the dependent classes. Fancying that they are thereby maintaining the stability of existing social arrangements, and wofully misinterpreting the oft-quoted example of the inversion of society in the French Revolution, they thus copy as closely as they can the evil behaviour of the ruling classes whose tyrannies, by making them justly hated, brought about their own fall.

There are claims and rights that no human authority can enforce, and violations of them that no human laws can punish. The respect that is their due is obtainable only through the action of that sympathy which is justice, and which dwells in the breast of every man who holds the reputation and the feelings of others to be as sacred as his own. Guided by the great principle of social equity, such an one revolts with deepest aversion from the commission of all intentional wrong, and guards the rights of others as carefully as his own. Transferring himself in imagination into their situation, he qualifies himself for judging of their feelings and expectations, and allows that he would be guilty of cruelty or impertinence were he to accord to them any other treatment than that which he himself would claim under their circumstances.

To those whom we have been reprobating, the idea of applying the higher principles of morality to the conduct of political life will appear fantastic and chimerical. Yet they may be assured that only a complete abandonment of the principles on which they have hitherto acted will save them from the fate which they deprecate. The working classes have got the power, and if they choose to use it, will have their own way. Prudence at least, if no higher motive, should operate to put an end to the tyranny which is stinging them into resentment. The landlords who coerce tenants, the employers who threaten workmen, the customers who intimidate tradesmen, the clergy who terrify rustics, the partisans who suborn mobs, are the real patrons of the ballot, inasmuch as they do their utmost to force the masses to adopt it in self-defence, and therefore the real degraders of the law.

We have shown how, if it shall come to be deemed necessary to have recourse to secrecy at all, we propose to lighten the weight of the reproach, and still to retain the freeman's right of free expression. We want Englishmen to vote openly, not that they may be oppressed, but that they may maintain their right to act up to their own opinion. It might be well if they possessed more of the sturdy independence attributed to

Scotchmen, of whom it is said that the very attempt to influence them, duly or unduly, is apt to drive them in the opposite direction. But something of improvement may be looked for in the care with which opinions will be formed when electors have no cause to shrink from putting them to the test of a vote. At present there are tens of thousands of voters who abstain from forming any opinions whatever on account of the improbability of their ever attaining a position of sufficient independence to brave the risk of damage by following them. In their present circumstances a visit to the polling booth is but a dream, vague, and incapable of realization. Not daring to vote, scarcely daring to speak on any political subject, they inevitably hesitate to acquire any frame of mind that can even by courtesy be called a conviction. Give these the protection that they may fairly claim, and it will be interesting to note their gradual emancipation from any desire for secrecy under the co-ordinate growth of their own convictions and of the security afforded by the moral sense of the country, until they at length re-adopt the nobler method of perfect publicity. We write thus in the full belief that every man would prefer to give his suffrage openly if he could make an unbiassed choice. We believe that under an optional system of voting few statistics will be more interesting than those which will show the relative preference accorded to secrecy and openness by the various classes of electors in different places. It is by no means difficult to conceive a state of public feeling which will account it a reproach to any constituency to exceed its fellows in the proportion of votes given by the ballot, for thus will a special defect in the local spirit of liberty be betrayed. We can imagine a master feeling hurt at his men having recourse to the ballot, as indicating that they have no confidence in his fairness; and his seeking, in consequence, to reassure them, and tell them that they have no cause to dread his interference with their rightful liberties. Tradesmen, of whom in one provincial town alone two thousand are said to have been afraid to vote, will, if they abstain in future from going to the poll, be compelled to ascribe their abstinence to indifference, and no longer to the fear of offending their customers; and the former excuse will assuredly not be held as valid as the latter unhappily now is, for refraining from exercising their legitimate influence upon the government of the country.

It is certain that, as a recent writer has said,\*

“At the present moment the ballot is regarded by the great majority of voters as the only safeguard against constant political oppression for

the future. The suffrage has been given to men who, without the ballot, are at the mercy of masters who will show them no mercy. But bad as the disease is, the remedy is worse. The arguments against the ballot preponderate over those for it; and the greatest of the arguments against it is that by appealing to the better instincts and principles of men, we may bring about a healthier state of things, whereas by secret voting we can only frustrate their evil intentions; and the last elections showed that among the great owners of land there has generally sprung up a sense of political honour, and they put less pressure upon their tenants than they ever did before. It is quite conceivable that in a few years a landlord who coerced his tenants might injure himself in the social opinion of his equals and neighbours, and it would be far better that political liberty should be brought about in this way than by the rude contrivance of the ballot. In the same way it would be much better that manufacturers should be shamed out of turning men who vote the wrong way into the streets, than that the men should be protected by the ballot. But unless the manufacturers are wise in time, the ballot will certainly be demanded as the inevitable supplement of the new Reform Bill."

If the masses themselves despair of any such amelioration in the moral condition of their social superiors, we are glad to be able to add to the testimony just given that we are ourselves cognisant of instances where right reason has been allowed to prevail over party and class considerations. In one of these a timely reminder of that golden rule which is available for the solution of many more of life's problems than it is generally applied to, proved the agent in producing the desired effect. A proprietor of tenements to whose occupancy a vote is attached, happened to mention his impression (a not uncommon one in the present rudimentary condition of the education of many even among the governing classes) that the possession of property involved the right or duty of coercing his tenants into supporting his own opinions.

"Has your own landlord made your voting on his side a condition of your lease?" he was asked; a question which was of course met by an indignant disclaimer.

"Would you like him to do so?"

Disclaimer again.

"Then you know how to act by your own tenants."

"But supposing they ask me how I want them to vote?"

"Then you will have an opportunity of contributing towards their political education by informing them that their duty as electors is to vote according to their own consciences, and not according to yours."

Those who regard conduct based upon such principles as Utopian, may gain something by being reminded that Utopia is only to be destroyed by being reduced to fact. It is the

dictatorial conduct of one class of the community towards another that perpetuates Utopia, by banishing the Better to the regions of the Unreal, and making all co-operation for good impossible.

These vices of our system have their origin in the feudal and ecclesiastical spirits, and every symptom of diminution in them that marks each recurring election is a subject for the warmest national self-gratulation. Under the method we have indicated, combined with the growth of public opinion, the disposition to coerce will soon follow the power to do so; and the statistics of future elections will exhibit the gradual relinquishment of the ballot, until all desire for secrecy be at length quenched in the full blaze of assured liberty.

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#### ART. IV. DOMESTIC FIREPLACES.

1. *On the Extravagant Use of Fuel in Cooking Operations, with a Short Account of Benjamin Count of Rumford and his Economical Systems; and numerous Practical Suggestions, adapted for Domestic Use.* By FREDERICK EDWARDS, Jun. London: Hardwicke. 1869.
2. *Our Domestic Fireplaces: a Treatise on the Economical Use of Fuel, and the Prevention of Smoke.* Same Author and Publisher. Second Edition. 1865.
3. *The Ventilation of Dwelling Houses, and the Utilization of Waste Heat from Open Fireplaces.* Same Author and Publisher. 1868.
4. *On Smoky Chimneys, their Cure and Prevention.* Same Author and Publisher. Fifth Edition. 1868.

NO less than 104,500,480 tons of coal were raised in 1867\* from the coal mines of the United Kingdom; and of this enormous quantity, the conjectures of experienced persons would lead us to suppose about one-third was used in fireplaces for the domestic purposes of warming and cooking. If we assume, with the author of the volumes mentioned at the head of this article, that the average price of coal delivered to the householder is twenty shillings per ton, the amount expended in that year must have been 34,833,493*l.*; and if we farther assume the average

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\* The Mineral Statistics for 1863 are not yet published.

waste of fuel used for domestic purposes to be equal to a fourth of that which is put into the fire there must have been an actual loss amounting to 8,708,373*l.* We are unfortunately driven to form estimates of cost and waste that are in a great measure suppositive ; but it is by no means a difficult matter to form a tolerably correct notion of the sort of relation they bear to facts. With reference to the average price of coal, this probably exceeds twenty shillings per ton in London and the suburbs ; also in the southern counties generally, and the eastern counties. It is less than twenty shillings in the towns of the midland and northern counties ; but in all country districts remote from coalfields, and in Ireland and Scotland, it is high,—so that whatever may be the correct average, it does not appear possible that it can differ considerably from the figure we have named. To form a reasonable estimate of the amount of fuel that may be considered to be wasted, we want first of all a good standard of comparison which would inform us of the amount of benefit we ought to derive from a certain consumption of coal, and which would enable us to deduce the exact amount of waste in any given case ; but we have unfortunately no such standard, and it is not easy to be obtained. Experienced persons would undoubtedly differ as to what that standard should be. If, disregarding our insular customs, we were to turn our attention to the most economical methods in use on the Continent, we should undoubtedly find that our comparatively lavish system of burning coal in open fireplaces entails a very much greater loss than that we have supposed ; but if we consider the practice of using closed fireplaces, and chambers carefully constructed to prevent a free circulation of air, to be unadapted to our temperate and variable climate, we must then take the open fireplace as it is, ascertain what are the sources of waste and the ameliorations of which it is susceptible, and base our conclusions thereon. No writer has yet, to our knowledge, done this. Such questions as the utilization of the heat which escapes by our chimneys, and the constructional arrangements which would enable our houses to be more economically and equably warmed, have hardly been discussed ; and if, therefore, we are driven to place an arbitrary value on the heat which may be supposed to be wasted through badly arranged fireplaces and badly arranged dwellings, we have but to point to the great economy which was really effected by Count Rumford in kitchen fireplaces, and to the ample means we have at our disposal for effecting economy in other cases for a proof that our computation is in all probability very much within the mark.

A little consideration of these figures suffices to show of what great importance is economy in the use of fuel, both in a national

and an individual sense. It is deplorable that our mineral treasure should be squandered, and that our wasteful habits should simply entail the diversion of a large sum from its legitimate purpose of promoting the pleasures or alleviating the sufferings and inconveniences of life,—but there is more in the matter than this. Extravagance and inefficiency go fitly hand-in-hand. We not only want to reduce our consumption of fuel, but we wish to apply the heat as scientifically as we can, so that the atmosphere we breathe may be agreeable and that our rooms may be equally warmed. It is remarkable, considering the importance of the subject and the vast number of books which issue yearly from the press, that so very few writers have ever appeared to enlighten us; and as we undoubtedly offer ample scope for improvement, and Mr. Edwards has evidently given considerable attention to the question, we may regard the appearance of his books as peculiarly opportune.

Of previous instructors in this department the most persevering and influential was Count Rumford, a writer whose name is remembered in connexion with his stoves, and the medals he founded for encouraging researches in heat and light, and of whose career Mr. Edwards gives some account. The circumstances which led him to study the economical employment of heat for domestic use are interesting and peculiar. Rumford was by nationality an Englishman, though born in America. His parents' name was Thompson, and they appear to have been of somewhat humble station, for losing his father in very early life, he became indebted to a benevolent clergyman for a good education. He made a fortunate marriage, and devoted himself to science. When the war of Independence broke out he entered the service of the Crown, and came over as a messenger to England. An English minister was so pleased with him that he secured his services here, and Thompson rose till he became Under-Secretary of State. He did not, however, stay to share the disgrace of the ministry, but returned to America, still in the service of the Crown, and when peace was made he found himself with the title of colonel, considerable powers of application, and nothing to do. He travelled in Europe, and became acquainted with the reigning Elector of Bavaria, who thought him the very man he wanted to arrange his military affairs. This exactly suited Rumford, or, as he was then known, Colonel Thompson, and George III. not only gave him permission, but knighted and pensioned him. While in the service of the Elector he adopted energetic means for the extirpation of beggary, which was then exceedingly prevalent. He established houses of industry for the poor where they might learn a useful trade and prepare the clothing for the army, and for the purpose

of feeding them he turned his attention to the preparation of economical soups. This led him to the employment of heat, a subject he devoted himself to for many years with considerable pertinacity. He succeeded in providing a good supply of soup for a thousand poor persons at a cost of fourpence-halfpenny for fuel, the cost of the soup, including the fuel and the cookmaids' attendance, being at the rate of one penny for each person. He grew in the confidence of the Elector, and was finally made Count and ambassador to London. This last employment, however, the English Court would not permit, and on the death of the Elector, Rumford settled here for some years, when he continued his investigations and published his essays. He effected a great deal in the improvement of fireplaces, so that they might give more warmth and prevent inconvenience from smoke, and he tried to introduce in kitchens the systems he had found so successful in Bavaria. In this he succeeded very partially, though some of his suggestions are now in common use. As we have followed Mr. Edwards's account so far, we may add that Count Rumford went finally to reside in France, that he there married the widow of Lavoisier, from whom he afterwards separated, and that he died rather suddenly at the age of sixty.

To our common method of cooking before or over a large fire, Count Rumford was strongly antagonistic. He remarked that by it more fuel was used to boil a kettle than with proper management would cook a dinner for fifty men. He made experiments for the purpose of ascertaining the comparative cost of boiling water over an open and over a closed fire, and he found that one was more than five times that of the other. He therefore rejected the open fire altogether, thinking that if it was ever really wanted, it was better that such a fire should be made expressly, rather than be a constant source of waste. His principle of cooking was quite a simple one. He arranged within a body of brickwork, standing about three feet high, and built against a wall, a number of very small fireplaces, each fireplace being provided with some means for admitting air to it, for introducing the fuel, for removing the ashes, and for placing a vessel above it to be heated. The vessels were made to pass through the top surface of the brickwork, and to fit the apertures, one being adapted to each fireplace. The covers of the vessels were made double, to prevent loss of heat by radiation. When a fire was made, a vessel for boiling water or for other purposes was inserted, and the heat was made to pass over every portion of its surface below the aperture before it could escape. It then passed away by a flue to the chimney, but was allowed in its passage to heat water in a boiler, or to answer some other useful purpose. When the fireplace had answered one purpose it

was ready for another, and the number of fireplaces set at work was exactly proportioned to the work actually required to be done. The economy of this system may be traced to five causes. Firstly, to the use of the closed fireplace, by which the hot particles resulting from combustion were allowed to contribute of their heat to the vessels without being rapidly cooled by free exposure to the air of the room. Secondly, to the whole surface of the vessel below the cover being protected from the air of the room. Thirdly, to the almost entire prevention of loss of heat by radiation in the apartment, scarcely anything but the metal covers being exposed, and these were made double. Fourthly, to the utilization of the heat of the fire to the fullest extent before any could escape to the chimney. Fifthly, to the use of several separate fireplaces, each small, so that the amount of fuel consumed at any time was exactly proportioned to the work required to be done. For roasting, Count Rumford introduced a system of cooking joints in ovens which appears to be essentially the same as that which has since come to be adopted in the modern close ranges called "kitcheners." The method is probably now familiar to most housekeepers. A double dish made of tin is constructed to hold water between the two portions. The water slowly evaporates with the heat, and keeps the metal so cool that there is no chance of the fat from the joint becoming burnt in falling upon it, and infecting thereby the meat. Added to this, careful provision is made for ventilating the oven; and so successful did Count Rumford find his system when carried out under his own direction, that he was able to prove it to be superior to the old method of roasting before the open fire, while this new process of cooking was actually effected at a fourteenth the cost. It is Mr. Edwards's very evident opinion that Count Rumford's system of using several separate fireplaces, artistic as it may be, would not be accepted by our cooks; and he therefore takes up the best contrivance we now have—the "kitchener"—points out its faults, and examines how far its different parts are to be improved either through the instruction which is to be drawn from Count Rumford's teaching or from his own observations. He proposes that the kitchen fireplace should be arranged so that the fire may be quite closed or open at pleasure. This would afford the means of effecting a considerable economy, and enable servants to become accustomed to use a closed fire. He proposes also that tile surfaces should be introduced as largely as possible to prevent loss of heat by radiation, that the oven doors should be covered outside with tiles to confine the heat, that the heat generated should be well utilized, that cooking vessels should be constructed and heated on Count Rumford's careful system, and

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that the fireplace should be of smaller size than at present. He also urges the advantage of using more than one fireplace. We have not the slightest difficulty in crediting Mr. Edwards's assertions as to the large amount of economy that is to be effected with the experiments of Count Rumford before us, and knowing as we do, with all our readers, what a very large amount of coal is commonly consumed in the kitchen fire.

In our sitting-rooms and bedrooms there is by no means the extraordinary amount of waste that there is in the cooking apartment. We do not use our fires unless we really want them, and we have no flues of rapid draught that allow the hot air to pass away with great rapidity, as if they were constructed for that particular purpose; but we nevertheless offer plenty of room for improvement. Count Rumford effected much in this matter, for before his time fireplaces were large and open. They were very subject to emit smoke into the room, and most imperfect for warmth. He showed amply the advantages of contracted fireplaces, and very forcibly urged the introduction of fire-brick or fire-stone behind a grate in place of iron. It has taken a long time, however, for the builders and manufacturers of this country to learn even this simple lesson; but though we should unquestionably be better off if more attention had been paid to his teaching, we have nevertheless some room to be thankful for what we have got. The grates generally in use are, at all events, very much better than they were at any former period. The proportionate number of persons who suffer from cold probably diminishes every year; and if we may offer a suggestion to Permissive Bill advocates, it is that an extension of the amount of personal comfort in dwellings offers one of the best preservatives against the evils they wish to combat. If our forefathers suffered more from cold than ourselves, we know where they often found a remedy, one which it seems was well known to Bishop Still—

“Thoughe I go bare, take ye no care,  
 I am nothinge a colde;  
 I stuffe my skyn so full within,  
 Of joly goode ale and olde.  
 No frost, no snowe, no winde I trowe  
 Can hurt me if I wolde,  
 I am so wrapt and throwly lapte  
 Of joly goode ale and olde.”\*

There is one important improvement in the construction of firegrates to which we wish particularly to invite attention.

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\* “Gammer Gurton's Needle.”

This is the plan commonly known as Dr. Arnott's, but which was first introduced by a Mr. Cutler some fifty years ago. It consists of a receptacle, provided below the bars, to contain a supply of coal sufficient for one entire day. The bottom grate is dispensed with, but in lieu thereof, the receptacle is provided with a solid iron bottom, which is made to rise or fall by some simple method of leverage or other arrangement. A fire is made on the top of the body of coal, which burns gradually downwards, combustion being accelerated, when necessary, by lifting the bottom of the receptacle and raising with it the coal, and by thrusting the poker into the fuel so as to allow the air to enter freely. There are great advantages attending this system, which Mr. Edwards has very fully discussed. In the first place, the principle is said to be smoke-consuming, and it certainly is so to a very great extent. When the fire is lighted there is, of course, smoke from the wood and coal, but the gradual preparation which the lower layers of coal undergo is preventive of smoke. As the coal is raised and the poker is introduced amidst the slowly burning fuel, it burns actively without the preliminary of emitting on each occasion a volume of the dirty vapour which befouls our chimneys, beclouds our atmosphere, blackens our buildings, and makes the cleanliness of a country house a thing quite impossible in towns. If the system had no other advantage than that of preventing or lessening smoke, it would deserve careful attention; but it has other and very conspicuous advantages. It requires less attention than the common fire. It is not so variable. It can burn slowly for many hours without becoming extinguished, and is therefore invaluable for a sick chamber, and we believe it effects a decided economy. As by means of the rack the bottom of the grate can be raised to any height before the coal is put in, the amount of coal used to replenish the grate may be so adjusted that the fire will continue to burn without a further supply of fuel for about six, twelve, eighteen, or twenty-four hours. This is a very great advantage; for of course rooms are required to be kept warm during different lengths of time in different cases. There is another smoke-consuming grate of which we have also had experience. This is Young's grate. Fuel is introduced below the fire, as in Mr. Cutler's and Dr. Arnott's, but it is supplied from the coal-scuttle at intervals during the day. As Mr. Young is still engaged in effecting improvements in this grate, we content ourselves with this brief mention of it now, and shall probably give our readers a full description of it on a future occasion.

Many persons, we believe, have adopted the practice of making a fire at the top of a body of coal in an ordinary grate, and of

allowing it to burn gradually for hours. A piece of thick paper or a thin plate of iron has first to be placed on the bottom grate, to prevent the more rapid combustion that would ensue if there were a freer admission of air. The arrangement is a crude one compared with that of the smoke-consuming grate ; but it may often be conveniently adopted with existing arrangements, and give many the benefit of a little experience of some of the advantages attending the proposed method of burning coal. And this brings us to some other suggestions which are applicable to grates used in the ordinary way. Mr. Edwards proposes that a brick bottom, pierced with holes, should be used instead of the ordinary metal grate, and that a pan to receive the ashes, and shut off or regulate the supply of air to the fire, should be carefully fitted below the bars. The object of this is to improve the combustion and increase the vitality of the fire. Another suggestion is an old one, though probably new to many. It is that the register of every grate should have a handle provided in front of the grate, so that the escape of the warm air of the room and the current of air through the fire may be properly checked. This suggestion is very important, for few persons can have an idea what an enormous quantity of air traverses a room in the course of an hour and escapes by the chimney, where there is an unimpeded opening and a good fire burning. The register is now commonly provided, but it is practically useless in consequence of its being a dirty operation to interfere with it ; and it can only be made really effectual by a handle being provided, which any person could use without inconvenience. A third suggestion is that iron should be avoided as much as possible in the construction of a grate, and glazed tile or brick be substituted. There are other suggestions, some of which are of no less importance than those we have mentioned, and which are detailed in Mr. Edwards's book ; but to two of them we desire particularly to give a passing notice. The first is, that a supply of fresh air to a room should be given in winter in close proximity to the fireplace. This is effected by means of a tube fixed between the joists and placed in communication with the external air at one end and with the room at the other, the air being admitted through a regulator at the hearth or at the lower part of the grate. The entrance of air at such points checks instantaneously the rapid flow of air towards the fireplace, and enables the room to be more easily and comfortably warmed. The other suggestion is that double glazing should be adopted in all window sashes, the two panes of glass being separated by about half or three-quarters of an inch. Every one must have observed on a cold day what an uncomfortable sensation is experienced near to a large window. This is but very partially due to the

entrance of cold air, but is chiefly owing to the cooling influence of a thin sheet of glass which is exposed on the outer side to the keen external atmosphere. By the interposition of another sheet of glass, with a space between the two, the intervening air acts as a non-conductor, and the extra protection enables the room to be more comfortably and economically warmed. Some years ago a committee of the Board of Health made several experiments to ascertain the value of this system, which they detailed in a valuable report;\* and so unquestionable was the benefit that they recommended the system for general adoption. We have known it to be successfully applied to existing window-sashes at a very moderate cost.

An important matter which Mr. Edwards has brought forward, and which unquestionably deserves careful consideration, is the question of utilizing the waste heat from the fires of the lower stories for the purpose of contributing warmth to the upper chambers. He has considered this subject in his book on Ventilation in connexion with a combined system of warming and ventilation adapted only for future constructions. There is no doubt a large quantity of hot air escapes from every fireplace, and that we so carefully enclose such air in a mass of brickwork that it can answer no purpose of warming after it has once passed from the room. In large houses, we often have the kitchen, the dining-room and drawing-room, one above the other, all sending their heated air and heated products to waste, while the bed-rooms over them are left perfectly cold. Mr. Edwards believes in the practicability of one main chimney being used for several fireplaces, and he believes the utilization of the heat would be effectually accomplished by this chimney being made of cast-iron, in short lengths, properly connected together, and supported within a large warm-air channel which would be placed in free communication with the external air below, and in communication with the upper rooms by means of openings provided with proper regulators. The chimney would, in fact, supply warm air in the same way as is often done by means of hot-water pipes, so that there seems no reason to doubt that the proposed system would have a considerable success. However this may be, it appears very desirable that some attempt should be made to carry out such a system, that we may have some authentic information as to what is really to be effected by it. Large numbers of houses are built every year which should undoubtedly be provided with such a system if it were proved to be effectual, for it could not be

\* Report on the "Warming and Ventilation of Dwellings," 1857.

applied at a subsequent period without an amount of difficulty and expense that would be practically insuperable.

It is surely time we had an end of smoky chimneys, but to judge by Mr. Edwards's little book having reached a fifth edition, they would still appear to abound. We are quite convinced the chief cause is one that is little dreamt of. Fireplaces are not now large and open, as in the time of Count Rumford, so that is not the fault, but our modern houses are so carefully constructed to prevent draughts, that sufficient air is not admitted to replace that which is drawn off by the chimneys. It is well to avoid draughts. They are not only uncomfortable, but dangerous. The old couplet :—

“ If cold wind reach you through a hole,  
Go make your will and mind your soul,”

taught a useful lesson, but the sensation of “ closeness ” where there is an attenuated atmosphere is not much more wholesome and pleasant. Air will rush in by some means or other wherever there is a deficiency, and the simple consequence of not giving it a sufficiently free access by the usual means is, that it descends some of the chimneys. Hence down draughts often wrongly attributed to the wind, smoky chimneys, sooty and sulphurous smells, and the sensation of closeness when a fire has been in use for some time. Mr. Edwards points out that the way to remedy these evils is to admit sufficient air to each room to replace what passes away by the chimneys, and the way to avoid draughts is first of all to check at the fireplace the unnecessary escape of air, and next to allow the air to filter gradually through fine perforated zinc, or to introduce it close to the fire itself in the manner already described. If we have indicated the chief cause of a smoky chimney, in modern constructions, it is evident how utterly useless must be the great mass of ugly contrivances which are used to surmount the tops of chimneys. Our attention has been called to the circumstance that in Bloomsbury there are very few of these contrivances, while in Bayswater they abound. Upon the houses of Hyde Park-square we are told there are nearly three hundred. The fact speaks volumes. Bayswater might have been as unquestionably free as Bloomsbury if only certain careful and common-sense provisions had been made for securing the health and comfort of the occupants. There appear, nevertheless, to be certain cases where the wind is the agent at fault, but these are cases where chimneys are situated below something near, so that the wind instead of moving horizontally at the particular point, becomes deflected and gusty. Two or three simple forms of protection would probably suffice to meet all that is required in these cases.

We cannot close these remarks without some allusion to Mr. Edwards's book on the "Ventilation of Dwellings." He gives in his first chapter a popular account of the principal systems of ventilation which have been introduced at various times. One of the first inventors was Dr. Hales, who wrote a book on ventilators more than a hundred years ago, which he introduced in this singular fashion:—"Could I but see the immoderate use of spirituous liquors less general, and the benefits of ventilators more generally known and experienced, I might then hope to see mankind better and happier." He saw the fulfilment to a considerable extent of one of his wishes. He introduced a ventilating bellows, which was largely used for a time in prisons and hospitals, and on board ship. About the same time Dr. Desaguliers put up a ventilating blowing-wheel over the chamber of the House of Commons, which remained in use for eighty years—and Mr. Samuel Sutton, a brewer, introduced a system of ventilating ships by means of the fires in use. The dealings of these inventors with the naval officials of the time are both amusing and edifying. Much later, the Marquis de Chabannes carried out a comprehensive scheme for the House of Commons; and Sir Humphrey Davy made an attempt to ventilate the chamber used by the peers. In this he was singularly unsuccessful, and his defeat excited the merriment of some of the small wits of the period. The following lines were discovered somewhere by Mr. Bernan,\* and handed down:—

"For boring twenty thousand holes,  
The Lords gave nothing, d—— their souls."

When Dr. Reid appeared he attained a very great success in the same chamber, which was then used by the House of Commons after the great fire; and he was engaged to ventilate the new chamber and other portions of the present buildings. He attempted to carry out a very elaborate scheme, but he did not succeed as well as he had done before. This may have been partly owing to the unfortunate dissensions between him and Sir Charles Barry, about which the public heard much when the building was in course of construction. The end of the matter was, that Dr. Reid was removed from his post of superintendent of the warming and ventilating arrangements; and his office was subsequently occupied by Goldsworthy Gurney, and is now filled by Dr. Percy.

For the specific remedies recommended in ventilating houses, and the principles that should guide us, we must refer to Mr.

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\* "History and Art of Warming and Ventilating Rooms and Buildings," by Walter Bernan. George Bell, 1845, vol. ii., p. 85.

Edwards's book ; but we will just state that our national custom of using open fireplaces offers us great facilities for obtaining good ventilation ; a fireplace is, in fact, a powerful ventilator. The greatest evils we are exposed to are the want of a proper supply of fresh air, admitted without draught, to replace what passes away—a point we have discussed in our remarks upon smoky chimneys, and the contaminated atmosphere produced by the burning of gas, which is often particularly noxious from its impurity. Mr. Edwards insists on the desirability of removing the products of combustion from the gaslight to the chimney, so that they may have no chance of mixing with the air of the apartment ; and he adopts Dr. Percy's recommendation, that as much fresh air should be admitted as can be borne without inconvenience. This means a very ample supply, for with proper appliances for preventing draught, we could easily bear more fresh air than we commonly get at present.

There is one useful suggestion we have heard of, which is so readily applicable that some of our readers may be thankful to us for mentioning it : it is, to drop a slip of wood, the length of which should be the same as the width of the window-sash, between the beads that confine the sash, so that the slip may rest on the window sill. This prevents the sash from descending to the sill, and enables air to steal into the room imperceptibly in a vertical direction at the part where the lower sash is in front of the upper one.

We hope we have said enough to show the importance of the subjects Mr. Edwards has brought forward, and to give some idea of how much there is to be effected. Mr. Edwards's books are amply illustrated, and it only remains for us to express a hope that as he has devoted himself for some years to his labours, he may have no reason to be disappointed at their final issue.



#### ART. V. ALFRED DE MUSSET.

*Œuvres de Alfred de Musset.* Paris: Charpentiers. 1867.

**I**N 1833 the keenest and kindest critic of our times wrote thus of a young man who had just published his first collection of poems—"This book establishes its author's position among the most vigorous writers of the present day." The young man was not twenty-three ; he had already published a

variety of fugitive pieces in almost every vein—songs, dramatic fragments, satires, and tales, all in verse; and the critic, though tempering his praise with well-deserved strictures, predicted a glorious career for the rising poet, whose chief faults seemed those of youth and genius. Twenty-five years afterwards the same critic ends a few sad pages, written after the funeral of the same poet, with these words—“What a bold and dazzling orbit! What radiance, what excess of light! What eclipse and gloom!”

This was written of Alfred de Musset, now for a quarter of a century the favourite poet of the French people, but who has no general reputation out of his own country. Another distinguished fellow-countryman, M. Taine, says of him—“We all know him by heart. He is dead, yet every day we hear his voice. . . . He has uttered the universal confession. . . . We cannot listen to another; all beside him seem cold, or false to nature.”

Alfred de Musset was born in the year 1810. Besides the advantage of birth he had that of belonging to a family of literary traditions—his father and an older cousin having made themselves a name in that world which may be better called the aristocracy than the republic of letters. He began to write at a very early age. Certain schoolboy successes and his precocious talent and love of study led those who knew him in childhood to expect rapid distinction for him. His first efforts, however, were ephemeral, whatever impression they made at the time upon his friends; and he himself must soon have rated them at their true value, for one looks for them in vain among his collected works. At eighteen he published verses which will last as long as any of his later productions; for though crude and sometimes forced in expression, their genius is undeniable. There is a series of songs on Spanish subjects belonging to this period full of spirit and motion, which, though rather free in tone, are as fresh as a May morning. The longer poems of the same date contain many passages of remarkable beauty and power, but are full of extravagance and exaggeration; not the laboured immorality and cynicism of the themes only, but the style, the metaphors and images, all mark them as effusions of his “*Sturm und Drang*” period. Yet at the height of this youthful ferment, he rode a doughty tilt against the votaries of the Romantic school, then paramount in France, and published his famous “*Ballade à la Lune*,” which raised a hubbub of laughter, groans, and hisses, but unseated his adversaries and soon filled the lists with opponents of sentimentalism, leading the way to its final overthrow. Nevertheless, the influence of this school may be seen in some of his own most charming poems; the echo of Victor



Hugo's "Orientales" rings through the very Spanish songs we have spoken of, and one can hear the tones of Lamartine's lyre in some exquisite verses written much later, "Souvenirs" and "La Nuit de Mai." The poet made his recantation with great grace and generosity in an address to Lamartine, published when his own immense popularity gave such a tribute greater value. But Byron was the chief fountain of his youthful inspiration. In *Portia*, *Nardoche*, and *Namouna* there are reminiscences of *Parisina*, *Beppo*, and *Don Juan*; and the careless cynicism of the latter two and *Mazeppa*, as well as the more sombre misanthropy of the *Giaour*, *Manfred*, and *Lara*, are reflected in many of his compositions. Frank, the hero of "*La Coupe et les Lèvres*," is a specimen of the latter; *Fantasia* and *Octave*, in "*Les Caprices de Marianne*," of the former. Indeed, the vein reappears occasionally in his best years, as in the charming poem "*A la mi-Carême*," which recalls Byron's *Waltz*. In "*Namouna*," a poem written at the age of twenty-two, where some of his most wonderful stanzas lie scattered like jewels in mire, he admits the charge, and in several other passages justifies himself very ably, drawing a keen and just distinction between servile imitation and the inspiration an author or artist may derive from noble works of art, as honestly as from the works of nature :—

"Formerly there were masters in the various arts, and nobody thought the worse of novices of twenty-two for studying and imitating them. . . . To steal an idea or an expression should be regarded as literary felony. . . . but to draw inspiration from a master is not only permissible but praiseworthy. . . . To deny young men the right to such inspiration is to rob genius of the loveliest flower in its crown—enthusiasm; to rob the mountain shepherd's song of its sweetest charm, the echo from the valley."

In a few of his poems there is a trace of *Henri Heine*, especially in the verses to his brother on his return from Italy, and a little sonnet beginning,

"Que j'aime le premier frisson de l'hiver!"

which might be *Heine's* very own; yet though the incomparable German was one of *De Musset's* circle in later years, it is doubtful if the latter knew him or his writings so early as the date of this sonnet. The resemblance, however, is almost as remarkable a literary coincidence as the striking similarity between "*Les Marrons du Feu*," "*Octave*," and others of his early compositions and some of *Browning's* dramatic fragments. *M. Sainte-Beuve* sees the influence of *Shakspeare* upon his young countryman, and attributes to that the striking hardihood of

metaphor and freedom of language in his more serious works, and the fantastic element in his lighter ones. We fail to recognise this. In the proofs M. Sainte-Beuve and others advance, we can see only De Musset's own airy fancy, or the impertinence and defiance of all trammels which is one of the strongest characteristics of his style before twenty-three. In many of his expressions one sees reminiscences of Shakspeare, and in "L'âne et le Ruisseau," a trifle not published until after his death, a very strong reminiscence indeed of Beatrice and Benedick, but of such an influence, in the true sense, as that which Wordsworth, Byron, and Tennyson have had in England, and Lamartine, and De Musset himself in France, we do not see any results. His love and admiration of Shakspeare amounted almost to worship, but that is natural, for his taste was as Catholic as that of genius usually is; his acquaintance with the classics, with Schiller, Goethe, with Dante, his own great fellow-countrymen, and a host of lesser names in the literature of all Europe, if not amounting to actual scholarship, shows his general cultivation, and attests the pleasure with which he drank at all the fountains of pure intellect, whether the great head waters of a country's literature, or those smaller springs which bubble up by the way-side, and which most travellers from foreign lands pass by in their haste. Even at the time of his first success, when, if ever, De Musset showed the vanity and self-consciousness of precocious talent, his love of things for their own sake and for the delight he found in them is very marked. Never was there a man so completely of his own day, more absolutely independent upon intellectual questions, nor had the thought that certain preferences might lend interest or draw attention to himself any part in his pursuit of them. Throughout life, he appears to have loved whatever was best in painting, music, literature, and the drama, without affectation or pretension, because it was good or beautiful, and roused his enthusiasm, or satisfied the demands of his keen critical taste; but when now and then by chance he was pleased by something *second best*, he was neither afraid nor ashamed to say so.

De Musset's entrance into life was marked by several false starts in the choice of a career. The versatility shown in the various styles of composition he attempted with almost equal success, ran through his whole nature, and was a snare to him, as well as a source of strength. He thought at one time of being a physician, and went through a course of anatomy, of which, unfortunately, one finds traces in divers surgical similes in the midst of his finest pages. He had some idea of becoming a man of business, and took steps towards entering a banking-house; he had sufficient talent for painting to incline him to that as a profession,

but before he was nineteen the undisputed genius of his poetry decided his calling. Perhaps greater promise and greater charm were never united than in this boy. Handsome, high-bred, accomplished, joining the fire and youth of genius to the grace and ease of a man of the world, talking as well as he wrote, singing his own songs, as fond of dancing as of poetry, a master of satire, both with tongue and pen, he fairly realizes the mythical heroes of Lord Lytton and Mr. Disraeli, and lends an air of possibility to Godolphin and Vivian Grey. M. Taine says: "he had the most precious of gifts for captivating an aged civilization—youth." Instead of the affectation of premature disgust and loss of illusion, of which Byron had set the fashion that so many followed, De Musset had the greatest eagerness for enjoyment—too great, indeed, for in his hot haste he overleaped his mark. Sainte-Beuve, with his usual grace and gentleness, says that he tore the rose of pleasure to pieces, that he might inhale its perfume at a single breath. Taine paraphrases this more severely when he writes that De Musset crushed the grapes in his haste to taste the wine of life, and the juice was lost, while he remained with thirsty lips and stained hands for ever. His success in society was as rapid and brilliant as his literary fame. His charming *vers de société* show that he often caught the spirit of the drawing-room and the dance, and could even moralize on their follies as only a favourite is permitted to do. The strain was too gay and graceful to offend even when the moral was pointed, as in the "Conseils à une Parisienne," and "A la mi-Carême." There are others of the same sort where the censor disappears, and a vein of sentiment gives a deeper charm to the verse, as in the lines on a flower, the sonnet beginning:—

*"Non, quand même une amère souffrance,"*

and one dedicated to Victor Hugo; though perhaps the last two may be considered too serious for this class.

But it was not to be expected that triumphs of this sort, however brilliant, could satisfy the eager craving of a spirit which was rushing through existence, knocking at every closed door, questioning every silent oracle, and flinging himself with frantic rage upon every abuse, real or fancied. The youthful impatience of inaction and longing for a life of deeds is heard through all his early productions, and rises to a cry in "Ses Vœux Stériles," which he wrote at twenty. In the "Confession d'un Enfant du Siècle," his only prose work of any length, this cry is repeated in the most eloquent language. The opening chapter of this singular book is a picture of the moral condition of France from 1800 to 1830, and of its effect upon the rising generation. It closes thus:

“The disease of the present age rises entirely from two causes; the nation which witnessed '93 and 1814 has two open wounds in its breast. Everything which was has ceased to be; all which is to be does not yet exist. Look no further for the secrets of our sufferings. Here is a man whose house was falling to pieces; he has torn it down to build another. The rubbish lies upon his ground, and he is waiting for new stones to build the new edifice. Just as with sleeves rolled up, and pickaxe in hand, he is about to break rough stone for the foundations, and to mix the mortar, he is told that materials are entirely wanting, and advised to whiten the old ones, and make use of them again. What is he to do, as he does not wish to make a nest of ruins for his brood? The quarry is deep, and his tools are not strong enough to raise the stone. ‘Wait,’ they tell him, ‘it will be hauled up by degrees; hope—work—go on—fall back.’ What is he not told? And meanwhile the man having neither his old house nor his new one, knows not how to shelter himself from the weather, how to cook his food, where to work, to sleep, to live, or to die; and his children are infants. If I am not much mistaken, we are like this man. Oh generations yet unborn! on a bright summer day, as you follow the plough amid the verdant fields of your country, and see the earth in her fresh garb smiling under the cloudless sunshine like a fruitful mother upon the husbandman, her beloved child; when drying your tranquil brows from the sacred chrism of the sweat of labour, you let your gaze wander round your vast horizon, where not one head of wheat overtops another in the human harvest, yet the corn-flowers still bloom among the ripening grain. Oh freemen! when you thank God that you were born to reap this crop, think of us who have passed away, and say to yourselves that we paid very dear for the rest that has fallen to your lot; pity us more than any of your forefathers, for we have many of the woes which claim your sympathy for them, and we have lost that which was their consolation.”

No one can help being reminded of Shelley in reading much of De Musset's poetry, written between twenty and thirty; the opening of “Rolla,” and *L'espoir en Dieu*,” for example. The poignant sympathy with human suffering and wrong, the anguish of doubt, and deep desire for faith—there is none of this in all Byron. De Musset has not fallen upon the days when there are handbooks to make doubt and faith easy; nor perhaps had he been so fortunate, would they have satisfied him any better than they satisfy some of us. He saw deeper than Shelley in that he did not confound the erring human conception of God with God himself, and accuse the Creator for the shortcoming of the creature. But he made a practical error far worse than Shelley's: he tried vice as an experiment to see whether virtue, or happiness, or belief could be evolved from its alembic, and failing to produce any of them, he turned upon the powers given him for so much nobler uses, and gave up

body and soul to derision and desecration. Yet if there had been no such thing as literature these men's names would surely have lived in the history of mankind, and perhaps their fate might have been happier; they might have worked out their inquiries and their indignation in a life of action, and been remembered as patriots or reformers.

De Musset's writings from the age of twenty to twenty-three have all the genius of his later ones, though they abound in crudities and excesses, which gradually disappear, until at twenty-five there is almost no trace of them. Then an influence passed over him, which may have scathed and blasted his life, but which undoubtedly brought his genius to sudden and wonderful maturity. His boyish fancies were succeeded by a real and great passion, which called out all the strength of his nature. With the story of his love we have no concern; it is enough that most people have agreed to consider it the turning-point of his life, and its track lies across his writings, dividing what went before from what came after; the end was disillusion and bitter disappointment. What his future might have been, had he met with a woman like Shelley's wife, no one can say. Perhaps he had already plunged too deep into vice and excess to wash and be healed in any waters of earthly comfort and hope. We cannot forget that the "Confession d'un Enfant du Siècle" was written and read twenty years before the public was scandalized by the appearance of "Elle et Lui," and the recriminative volumes which followed it. He has given us the picture of two men who attempt to sound the depths of evil, intending, when they had wallowed enough, to return to good in Lorenzaccio and the hero of "La Coupe et les Lèvres." The moral is to be found in Lorenzaccio's confession to the virtuous Philip Strozzi, and in these words of Frank's:—

"Malheur à celui qui laisse la débauche  
Planter le premier clou sous sa enamele gauche;  
Le cœur d'un homme vierge est un vase profonde,  
Lorsque le premier eau qu'on y verse est impure,  
La mer y passerait sans laver la souillure,  
Car l'abîme est immense, et la tâche est au fond."\*

\* Putting De Musset's poetry into English verse is as hard a form of translation as we can imagine, but mindful of the rights of minorities we subjoin an attempt.

"Woe, woe to him who suffers vice to write  
The earliest word upon his virgin heart!  
Man's heart is like a deeply hollowed vase,  
If the first drop that falls therein be foul,  
The sea itself could not wash out the stains,  
So deep the vase, deepest of all, the stain."

This is, on the whole, the sum of De Musset's experience and the moral of his life.

His love was torn away and left his faith with a new and incurable wound; his aspirations never ceased, but thenceforward there were no upward steps in his course. But in his career as an author there was a long and brilliant pause after he reached the highest point, not of which he was capable, but which he ever attained. For nearly a year and a half his pen seems to have lain idle, and then poems and plays began to appear in rapid succession, showing how his genius had blossomed and borne fruit during those silent months. The series entitled "Les Nuits," the poems which, with his exquisite "Souvenir," most resemble Lamartine, belong to this period; they have more strength and simplicity than Lamartine, and if they do not quite equal his sweetness and smoothness are wholly free from his occasional mawkishness. De Musset's wit and pith sometimes cause his intense feeling to be forgotten; but we know of nothing, in French poetry at least, to equal his pathos and passion—nothing which surpasses the profound sentiments of some of his shorter pieces, such as the "Adieu," the occasional verses to his friend Alfred Tallet, and the closing stanzas to his brother on his return from Italy:

"Le retour fait aimer l'adieu ;  
 Nous nous asseyons près du feu,  
 Et tu nous contes  
 Tout ce que ton esprit a vu,  
 Plaisirs, dangers, et l'imprévu,  
 Et les mécomptes ;  
 Et tout cela sans te fâcher,  
 Sans te plaindre, sans y toucher,  
 Que pour en rire ;  
 Tu sais rendre grâce au bonheur,  
 Et tu te railles du malheur  
 Sans en médire.  
 Ami, ne va plus si loin ;  
 D'un peu d'aide j'ai grand besoin,  
 Quoi qu'il m'advienne ;  
 Je ne sais où va mon chemin,  
 Mais je marche mieux quand ma main  
 Serre la tienne."\*

Similar passages are scattered throughout his works both in prose and poetry. One involuntarily compares the sentiment of

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\* "The joy of meeting makes us love farewell ;  
 We gather once again around the hearth,  
 And thou wilt tell

all modern French poets with Lamartine, and De Musset gains by the comparison ; his sentiment is less wordy and deeper. There is a certain carelessness of rhyme and rhythm in his verses, especially the earlier ones, a relic of his youthful impatience of the mellifluous harmonies of the Romantic school ; but through it all we see a real master of versification, and in his maturer productions it vanishes entirely save when used for a purpose. No poet ever had his Pegasus more thoroughly in hand ; he is not afraid to give him rein and let him soar, but he can check and curb him, bring him to earth at will, throw him on his haunches, or wheel him short round, spur him through thickets and torrents, and lift him lightly over any obstacle.

De Musset's charming little comedies, called "Proverbes," most of which appeared between 1835 and 1845, are like bits of the lives of those delightful people who throw a veil of grace and tact over our common humanity without hiding it. Many of these were thought at the time of their publication too delicate and fanciful for the stage, but they have all been represented since his death ; even those once deemed most "impossible," such as "On ne badine pas avec l'amour," and "Fantasio," and *Mlle. Brohan*, *Mlle. Favart*, *Madame Allan*, *Messrs. Bressant*, *Delaunay*, and others, have made or added to their own reputations by their acting of these exquisite little pieces. There is one, "Il faut qu'une porte soit ouverte ou fermée," a coarse adaptation of which has become popular with us under the name of the "Morning Call." The wide difference between it and the original is a comment on the distance between French and Anglo-Saxon audiences. It is difficult to cite any portion of these "Proverbes" without destroying its effect ; each is a pearl, perfect only as a whole. "Fantasio," which is the most sparkling, obtains on the whole most favour in France. *Fantasio's* soliloquy at the opening of the last act, in which he gives a

All that thy keen experience has been  
Of pleasure, danger, misadventure, mirth,  
And unforeseen.

"And all without an angry word the while,  
Or self-compassion,—nought dost thou recall  
Save for a smile ;  
Thou knowest how to lend good fortune grace,  
And how to mock whate'er ill luck befall  
With laughing face.

"But friend, go not again so far away ;  
In need of some small help I always stand  
Come whatso may ;  
I know not whither leads this path of mine,  
But I can tread it better when my hand  
Is clasped in thine."

synopsis of the play while reviewing his own position, is worth quoting entire :—

“I do not know whether there be a Providence, but it is amusing to think so. There was a poor little princess about to be married against her will to an unclean beast, a provincial booby, on whose head chance had let fall a crown, as the eagle dropped the tortoise on the pate of Æschylus. Everything was ready, the candles lighted, the bridegroom powdered, the poor little victim shriven; she had dried the two bright tears I saw her shed this morning; nothing was wanting but a few mummeries to endorse the misery of her life. The prosperity of two kingdoms, the peace of two nations were at stake, and what must I do but disguise myself as a hunchback, go and get tipsy in our good king’s buttery, and fish up his dear ally’s wig with a hook and line! Really I think there is something superhuman about me when I am drunk. So here is the marriage broken off and the whole question reopened. The Prince of Mantua demands my head in exchange for his wig; the King of Bavaria thinks the penalty a little too severe, and will only consent to imprisonment. The Prince of Mantua is so obstinate that he would rather be chopped in pieces than recede; so the princess remains single, for this time at all events. If here is not material for an epic in twelve cantos, I am no judge. Pope and Boileau have made verses on far lighter themes. Ah! if I were a poet, how I would describe that scene of the periwig fluttering through the air! But he who can achieve such feats disdains to record them, so posterity must do without it.”

But “*On ne badine pas avec l’amour*” carries off the palm in our opinion; it would be an exquisite specimen of genteel comedy but for the thrilling tragic tones of the last scene, which, together with the human interest of the whole play, raise it to a higher place. De Musset’s attempts at real tragedy are considered failures; we believe the lack of dramatic fitness in his pieces for the stage is admitted in France, despite their success; yet among his posthumous works there is a striking fragment on the story of “*Fredegonde*,” called “*La Servante du Roi*,” and notwithstanding the want of dramatic unity in “*Lorenzaccio*,” a historical drama on Alexander de Medicis, and its manifest inappropriateness for the theatre, it contains passages of so much power that one cannot but believe the man who wrote them to have been capable of producing a fine tragedy. Besides, we consider the question settled by “*Andrea del Sarto*,” though the author only calls it a “play.”\*

It is not easy to choose a passage which shall give an idea of

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\* We observe with great regret in the latest edition of De Musset’s works an important change in the *dénouement* of this drama, which jars painfully on the feelings as well as the taste; and a slighter one in “*Fantasio*” which also leaves a disagreeable impression on the mind.



the power, pathos, and beauty of De Musset's poetry at his best time. Perhaps the opening stanzas on Malibran's death are as fair a specimen as can be detached :—

“ O Maria Félicia ! le peintre et le poëte,  
Laisent en expirant d'immortels héritiers ;  
Jamais l'affreuse nuit ne les prend tout entier ;  
A défaut d'action leur grande âme inquiète  
De la mort et du temps entreprend la conquête,  
Et frappés dans la lutte, ils tombent en guerriers.

“ Celui-là sur l'airain a gravé sa pensée,  
Dans un rythme doré l'autre l'a cadencée ;  
Du moment qu'on l'écoute on lui devient ami ;  
Sur sa toile en mourant Raphaël l'a laissée,  
Et pour que le néant ne touche point à lui,  
C'est assez d'un enfant sur sa mère endormi.

“ Comme dans une lampe une flamme fidèle,  
Au fond du Parthenon le marbre inhabité  
Garde de Phidias la mémoire éternelle ;  
Et la jeune Vénus, fille de Praxitèle,  
Sourit encore, debout dans sa divinité,  
Aux siècles impuissants qu'a vaincus sa beauté.

“ Recevant d'âge en âge une nouvelle vie,  
Ainsi s'en vont à Dieu les gloires d'autrefois ;  
Ainsi le vaste écho de la voix du génie  
Devient du genre humain l'universelle voix ;  
Et de toi, morte hier, de toi, pauvre Marie,  
Au fond d'une chapelle il nous reste une croix !

“ Une croix ! et l'oubli, la nuit, et la silence !  
Ecoutez, c'est le vent, c'est l'océan immense,  
C'est un pêcheur qui chante au bord du grand chemin ;  
Et de tant de beauté, de gloire, et d'espérance,  
De tant d'accord si doux sur un instrument divin,  
Pas un faible soupir, pas un écho lointain !”\*

\* “ Oh Marie Felicia ! the painter and bard  
Leave children immortal as heirs to their fame ;  
Their great, eager natures, from action debarred  
Turn dauntlessly, time and destruction to tame ;  
They perish as victors struck down in the fight,  
Nor vanish forgotten in fathomless night.

“ For one upon brass has engraven his thought,  
Another has breathed it in musical rhyme,  
We hear it, and straightway to love him are taught,  
And Raphael has left it on canvas sublime ;  
That oblivion unscathed shall his memory keep,  
It needs but a child on his mother asleep.

But it is cruel to dismember this poem, which, as a whole, is perhaps the most perfect De Musset ever wrote.

There is a most charming caprice, "Sur trois marches de marbre rose," which reminds one of Dresden china shepherdesses, marquis and marquise in biscuit, Watteau's and Boucher's pictures, and some of the verses in Tennyson's "Talking Oak." M. Sainte-Beuve says it savours of the Regency; but this pretty study in *genre* ends with a noble burst of real poetry:—

“Malgré moi pourtant je suppose  
Que le hasard qui t'a mit là  
Ne t'avais pas fait pour cela  
Aux pays où le soleil brille,  
Près d'un temple, grec, ou latin,  
Les beaux pieds d'une jeune fille,  
En te frappants de leurs sandales,  
Aurient mieux réjoui tes dalles  
Qu'une pantoufle de satin.  
Est-ce d'ailleurs pour cet usage  
Que la nature avait formé  
Ton bloc jadis vierge et sauvage,  
Que le génie cût animé ?

\* \* \* \* \*

Oui, si tes flancs devaient s'ouvrir,  
Il fallait en faire sortir  
Quelque divinité nouvelle;  
Quand sur toi leur scie a grincé,  
Les tailleurs de pierre ont blessé,  
Quelque Vénus, dormant encore,  
Et la pourpre qui te colore  
Te vient du sang qu'elle a versé.

“As the lamp guards the flame, so the desolate halls  
Of the Parthenon guard all undimmed and serene  
The glory of Phidias safe in its walls;  
And Praxiteles' child, Aphrodite the queen,  
Erect in her beauty celestial, still smiles  
On the centuries vanquished and bound by her wiles.

“To the Godhead returns all the glorious past  
Upraised by each age to a loftier place,  
And the echoes of genius in unison vast  
Become the great voice of the whole human race,—  
But of thee, oh poor Marie, just dead in thy bloom,  
Remains but a cross in a chapel's cold gloom!

“Night, silence, oblivion, a cross! and no more;  
Oh list, 'tis the wind, 'tis the voice of the sea,  
'Tis a fisher who sings on his way by the shore,—  
But of beauty, fame, promise, and hope, lavish'd free,  
Of that heavenly lyre's sweet manifold strains,  
No lingering echo, no whisper remains.”

Est-il donc vrai que toute chose  
 Puisse être ainsi foulée aux pieds ;  
 Le rocher où l'aigle repose,  
 Comme la feuille de la rose,  
 Qui tombe et meurt dans nos sentiers ?  
 Est-ce que la commune mère,  
 Une fois son œuvre accompli,  
 Au hasard livre la matière,  
 Comme la pensée à l'oubli ?  
 Est-ce que tourmente amère  
 Jette la perle au lapidaire  
 Pour qu'il l'écrase à sa façon ?  
 Est-ce que l'absurde vulgaire  
 Peut tout déshonorer sur terre  
 Au gré d'un cuistre ou d'un maçon ?\*\*

\* " Yet, despite myself, I trow  
 Other destiny was thine ;  
 Far away from cloudy France,  
 Where a warmer sun doth shine,  
 Near some temple, Greek or Latin,  
 The fair daughters of the clime,  
 With the scent of heath and thyme  
 Clinging to their sandalled feet  
 Beating thee in rhythmic dance,  
 Were a burden far more sweet  
 Than court ladies shod with satin.  
 Could it be for this alone,  
 Nature formed thee in the earth,  
 In whose beautiful, virgin stone  
 Genius might have wrought a birth  
 Every age had joyed to own ?

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There should have come forth of thee  
 Some new-born divinity.  
 When the marble-cutters hewed  
 Through thy noble block their way,  
 They broke in with footsteps rude  
 Where a Venus sleeping lay,  
 And the goddess' wounded veins  
 Coloured thee with roscate stains.

Alas ! and must we hold it truth  
 That every rare and precious thing  
 Flung forth at random without ruth  
 Trodden under foot may lie ?  
 The crag, where, in sublime repose  
 The eagle stoops to rest his wing,  
 No less than any wayside rose  
 Dropped in the common dust to die ?  
 Can the mother of us all  
 Leave her work, to fulness brought,  
 Lost in the gulf of chance to fall,  
 As oblivion swallows thought ?

In most of De Musset's poems, which are not exclusively lyric, or elegiac, there is a strong vein of satire—a vein of satire which sometimes breaks into biting sarcasm, sometimes into wit or humour. The descriptions of love in the little comedy called "A quoi rêvent les jeunes filles" is a good sample of it in the latter form:—

"Avez-vous jamais vu les courses d'Angleterre ?  
 On prend quatre coureurs, quatre chevaux sellés,  
 On leur montre un clocher, puis on leur dit, 'Allez !'  
 Il s'agit d'arriver, n'importe la manière,  
 L'un choisit un ravin, l'autre un chemin battu ;  
 Celui-ci gagnera, s'il ne rencontre une fleuve,  
 Celui-là fera mieux s'il n'a le cou rompu.  
 Tel est l'amour. Silvio, l'amour est une épreuve ;  
 Il faut aller au but : la femme est le clocher.  
 Prenez garde au torrent, prenez garde au rocher ;  
 Faites ce qui vous plaît, le but est immobile.  
 Mais croyez que c'est prendre une peine inutile  
 Que de rester en place et crier bien fort,  
 'Clocher ! clocher ! je t'aime, arrive, ou je suis mort !' "

In two long poems, "Sur la paresse," and "La loi sur la presse," he used his sharper satires with such stinging effect, that some of his friends urged him to devote himself to that style exclusively. But the true poet knew the nature of his art too

Torn away from ocean's rim  
 To be fashioned by a whim,  
 Does the briny tempest whirl  
 To the workman's feet the pearl ?  
 Shall the vulgar, idle crowd,  
 For all ages be allowed  
 To degrade earth's choicest treasure  
 At the arbitrary pleasure  
 Of a mason or a churl ?"

\* "Hast never seen an English steeple-chase ?  
 Four horses and four riders start the race,  
 They show a distant spire and cry, 'Now go ;'  
 The thing's to get there, but no matter how.  
 One takes the high-road, one takes a ravine ;  
 He'll win, provide no river come between,  
 Or he, so be he do not break his neck.  
 Such, Silvio, is love,—love's but a chase,  
 The goal's to reach, the spire's a pretty face.  
 'Ware rock, 'ware river, never brook a check,  
 Choose any road, the steeple will not stir,  
 But take my word that labour lost it were  
 To sit stock still, and gazing, madly cry :  
 'I love thee steeple ! Come to me or I die !' "

well. "He sang, but as the linnet sings," and was grave and gay by inspiration, and not to order.

De Musset's artist-nature made him pre-eminently successful in adapting what one may call the atmosphere of his compositions to the subject, and producing effects by a single stroke of description like a clever painter; he always has the local colouring of his theme. Some of his poems are as breezy as a spring morning, others as languid as an Indian summer afternoon. He had a happy hand at imitation, and has followed Bocaccio in two metrical tales, "Simone," and "Sylvia," of which the smooth and simple diction recalls Lafontaine. This versatility seems to arise from his artistic temperament, and is to be found in his prose, which some people affect to like better than his poetry. His style is, indeed, remarkable for its ease and point, and at times for its nervous power. There is great keenness and delicacy in his art-criticisms, though they are disfigured now and then by a touch of exaggeration, sometimes almost melodramatic, which does not accord with either the style or the subject. Very few Frenchmen of the present day escape *sensationalism*, but it is singular that where there are so few faults of taste as in De Musset's mature writings, there should be any. However, there is but little room for fault-finding in either the manner or matter of his criticisms, and his ideas upon art are remarkably just and true. We cannot resist quoting a simple passage in 1836, but strikingly applicable to a present fashion in painting, or rather to a folly not quite out of fashion.

"I remember once looking at a very carefully painted little battle-piece, and being outraged to find that I could count the very buttons on the soldiers' coats. I asked myself, 'When so wide a space is represented on so narrow a canvas, should not the spectator be allowed to suppose that what he sees is at a distance? For instance, ought not a landscape always to seem distant?—otherwise, what effect of reality can be produced on the beholder? He seems to be in a *camera oscura*, looking at nature through a microscopic contrivance!'"

The essays on modern style in the sensible and humorous "Lettres de Dupins et Cotonet," scarcely apply to the literature of the last ten years, yet there is a passage about big words, and long words, and fine words, which is more pertinent to-day than ever: "Instead of 'surprised,' or 'astonished,' they say 'stupefied'; '*stupifié*,' not *stupefait*,—do you feel the delicate distinction? Take care not to say '*stupefait*,' it is poor and hackneyed; fie! don't mention it, a low word you might catch in a dictionary!" Radical as he was in opinion, in questions of form he was conservative. His writings are full of reflections on the bad taste of recent times, the degeneracy of the stage, the low tone of the press, the exaggerated and unmeaning praise

which has superseded criticism, the loss of elegance, refinement, and distinction in society. In some respects he belonged to a bygone age; perhaps he inherited more than mere intellectual nobility from the distinguished kinsman who bequeathed him his literary taste. His letters to his brother and his "Marraine" are worthy of the great letter-writers, male or female, of the last century.

De Musset's so-called novel, "*La Confession d'un Enfant du Siècle*," is rather a monody than a story; it opens with a chapter, to which we have before alluded, of wonderful force and effect—a sort of battle symphony, rising to sublime bursts. The whole book abounds in passages of the greatest eloquence and beauty, in pithy and pregnant sentences which condense great observation and knowledge of human nature, in chapters which are perfect poems of fancy and tenderness, and interrupt the dreary chant of the narrative like strains of soft music; but as a work of art it is incomplete and incoherent, and as the unveiling of a heart, a terrible revelation.

From time to time he published a number of short stories or sketches, which have been collected under the title of "*Contes et Nouvelles*." They all have his charm of style, and are strewn with gems of poetry; for like Midas of the golden touch, wherever his hand has passed we see the shining trace, and these are written with grace and vivacity, but as a class have less merit than any of his other productions. There is one delicious little satire, called "*Le merle blanc*," which stands alone among them, and without the personal allusions, which give it a spice only to be relished by those who have the key, makes a capital pendant to Hans Andersen's "*Ugly Duck*." There are two striking portraits of grisettes in the collection, *Mimi Penson* and *Bernerette*, and several other pretty studies of female heads; but it is not in depicting women that we think De Musset excels. His men have more individuality, and there is more variety among them. We may detect a little of the author in them all; but he was many-sided enough to create a long procession of heroes all bearing marks of their paternity, yet all differing from each other. The women are nearly all of the same type, notwithstanding superficial differences: the outlines are graceful and characteristic, especially in his portraits of young girls, such as *Laurette* in "*Une nuit Venitienne*," the self-willed heroine of "*Il ne faut jurer de rien*," and *Camille* in "*On ne badine pas avec l'amour*," who is far beyond the rest. The married women are charming creatures—refined, amiable, irrational, amusing, frivolous, bird-witted, with an irresistible perfume of high breeding about them; one could fall in love with any of them; but they are so much alike that one

wanders from Madame de Léry to the Comtesse de Vernon, and on to the Marchioness in "Il faut qu'une porte soit ouverte ou fermée," unable to choose. Yet if any man is able to discriminate between women and describe them, De Musset should be he. The truth is, no man describes women faithfully: men describe women not as they are, but as they appear to them. Even Shakspeare is no exception to this: compare his men and women, and see the difference. Balzac has aspired to be the portrait-painter of women, and the position has been granted him; but after all, among the innumerable studies which he has elaborated so wonderfully, is there one which gives the whole woman as she feels herself to be, as she is seen by her own sex, or even by those of the other who are neither lover, husband, nor admirer? The decisive proof of an anonymous author's sex has been habitually sought for in the male characters, as it has been asserted that no woman can describe a man. George Eliot has invalidated this test, if it ever held good, and since her novels appeared we should be inclined to say it lay in the fidelity of the female characters; for though Tom Tulliver, Tito, Harold Transome, Mr. Jermyn, and a host of minor personages might be the work of a man, none but a woman could have delineated Hetty Sorel, Maggie in "The Mill on the Floss," Nancy Lammeter, and Mrs. Transome. De Musset has attempted to vary his type of woman in Barberine the merry and wise, the honest and true, in Bettine, and the Marchioness del Cibo in "Lorenzaccio"—a fine outline; but there are none of them so finished and real as his fine ladies. Throughout his works, however, especially in his poetry, there is a latent aspiration towards a different kind of ideal, a different companionship from any to which all these bear witness. In "Namouna" there is a reading of the character of Don Juan according to his view, which gives expression to this longing:—

"Toi, croyant toujours voir sur tes amours nouvelles  
 Se lever le soleil de tes nuits éternelles,  
 Te disant chaque soir, 'Peut-être la voici!  
 Et l'attendant toujours, et vieillissant ainsi!  
 Demandant aux forêts, à la mer, et à la plaine,  
 Aux brises du matin, à toute heure, à tout lieu,  
 La femme de ton âme, et de ton premier vœu."\*

From time to time the same thought escapes, like a sigh, from

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\* "Thou! thinking in each latest love to see  
 Arise the sun on thy eternal night,  
 Whispering thyself each eve, 'Perchance 'tis she!  
 And ever waiting thus, with failing sight,—  
 While asking of the forest, ocean, stream,  
 The morning breeze, of every hour and spot  
 Thy spirit's unfound bride, thy life-long dream."

his verse : one feels a conviction that the poet's heart is speaking, and one cannot but think again of Shelley—

“ In many mortal forms I rashly sought  
The shadow of that idol of my thought ;”

but the dream never took substance.

About the time when De Musset's popularity had gained the height at which it still remains, his life was stirred for a moment by an impulse from without. He had been the schoolmate and early friend of the lamented Duke of Orleans. The tones of real affection and grief vibrate through his stanzas on the prince's death ; and there was more personal feeling than mere loyalty in his attachment to the royal family. It is natural, then, to find him with arms in his hands in June, 1848 ; and a short excited letter to his friend, Alfred Tallet, shows that the sense of *action*, for which he had always longed, had given him a new impetus. One cannot but smile, too, to detect the incorrigible, truant-boy nature in his pretty verses entitled “ *Le mie Prigioni*,” written during a time, when the poet was prosaically locked-up for neglecting some part of his military routine. His ardour was none the less real, but the tide of events rushed into new channels, and he returned to his old paths.

Thus far we have followed De Musset through a career which, despite doubt, disappointment, unhappiness, and the irregularity of his life, was constantly increasing in brilliancy, and raising hopes that the wild fires would burn out, and the steady brightness of a better day scatter the mists, and bring all his powers to perfection. Recognition, for want of which so many young talents pine and suffer, had never been denied to him ; from his first steps he had known the delightful stimulus of encouragement ; his books were in everybody's hands, his plays were brought out with great applause ; and now he was the favourite poet of his country. His position was acknowledged by the most honourable tributes. The Duke of Orleans had obtained for him the post of librarian to the Bibliothèque du Ministère de l'Intérieur. He was elected a member of the Academy. On the inauguration of a monument at Havre to Bernardin de St. Pierre and Casimir Delavigne, he was invited to deliver an address in place of M. de Salvandy, who was prevented from doing so by illness, thus being awarded the next place to that eminent orator. His neglect of this opportunity to distinguish himself shows how indifferent he had become to success. The inner darkness was thickening about him ; he was seen less and less in society ; he wrote more and more rarely ; dissipation became the habit of his life ; and his beautiful, brilliant genius was paralysed by the violent means with which he sought to deaden the pain of existence. As we retrace his course, his own



lines from "Rolla," written at its outset, have a prophetic tone:—

"Lorsque dans le désert la cavale sauvage  
Après trois jours de marche attend l'orage,  
Pour boire l'eau du ciel sur les palmiers poudreux;  
Le soleil est de plomb, les palmiers en silence  
Sous un ciel embrasé penchent leurs longs cheveux ;  
Elle cherche son puits dans le désert immense ;  
Le soleil l'a séché ; sur le rocher brûlant  
Les lions hérissés dorment en grommelant.  
Elle se sent fléchir : ses narines qui saignent  
S'enfoncent dans le sable, et le sable altéré  
Vient boire avidement son sang décoloré ;  
Alors elle se couche, et ses grands yeux s'éteignent,  
Et le pâle désert roule sur son enfant  
Les flots silencieux de son linceul mourant.

Elle ne savait pas, lorsque les caravanes  
Avec leur chameaux passaient sous les platanes,  
Qu'elle n'avait qu'à suivre et qu'à baisser le front,  
Pour trouver à Bagdad des fraîches écuries,  
Les râteliers dorés, des luzernes fleuries,  
Et de puits dont le ciel n'a jamais vu le fond."\*

His health failed, and his path began to lead downwards. For seven years before his death there is hardly a poem, play, or even fragment of prose, bearing the name of that fertile talent which for twenty years had charmed the world with such multitudinous and varied proofs of power. His inspiration deserted him ; he lost the faculty of writing ; and if we compare the few utterances of this gloomy era with those of former days, the change is lamentably apparent. The unfortunate poet knew better than any one that his power was gone, and one of the

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\* " Oft in the waste, the Arab mare untamed,  
After three days' wild course awaits the storm  
To drain the rain-drops from the thirsty palms ;  
The sun is leaden and the silent palms  
Droop their long tresses 'neath a fiery sky.  
She seeks her well amid the boundless wilds ;  
The sun has dried it ; on the burning rock  
Lie shaggy lions growling low in sleep.  
Her forces fail ; her bleeding nostrils wide  
Plunge eager in the sand,—the thirsty sand  
Drinks greedily her life's discoloured stream.  
Then stretches she at length, her great eyes film,  
And the wan desert rolls upon its child  
In silent folds its ever moving shroud.  
She knew not, she, that when the caravan  
With all its camels passed beneath the planes,  
That would she follow, bowing her proud neck,  
In Bagdad she would find cool stable-stalls,  
With gilded mangers, dewy clover turf,  
And wells whose depths have never seen the sky."

many agonies of those last years was the vain effort to rekindle the light of his genius. He believed that it had burned out, when he had quenched it at its very brightest. He had plunged headlong into life, first in pursuit of pleasure, then to seek an answer to "the riddle of the painful earth," then because excitement had become necessity; and at last, when pleasure, inquiry, excitement, were all exhausted, and he was left alone with his doubt and his despair, to try and find oblivion and shorten the days he had darkened for ever by his own error and madness.

Of all the names in modern literature, there is none which wakes such melancholy echoes as that of Alfred de Musset. Keats, Chatterton, Hégésippe Moreau, Henri Mürger, and many others are quoted as tragic instances of early promise broken with the cord of life strained too far; but here is a far sadder sight—a promise more than half fulfilled, a life touching its meridian, genius which claims no indulgence on the score of immaturity. Yet what remains? Only incompleteness; a sword snapped and flung away before the fight was over; a noble temple, still unfinished, falling into ruin. Let the youth of to-day who find in his writings the echo of their own thoughts, the reflection of their own hearts, take home the lesson of his life and of his death.



#### ART. VI.—MR. MILL'S SPEECH ON CAPITAL PUNISHMENT.

1. *Mr. Mill's Speech on Capital Punishment.* Hansard. 1868.
2. *Report of the Capital Punishment Commission.* 1866.
3. *Lord Hobart on Capital Punishment.* Parker, Son, and Bourn, West Strand, London. 1861.
4. *The Practical Results of the Total or Partial Abolition of Capital Punishment in various Countries.* By WM. TALLACK. Society for the Abolition of Capital Punishment, 36, Southampton Street, Strand, London, W.C. 1866.
5. *The Substitute for Capital Punishment.* By FREDERIC HILL. Society for the Abolition of Capital Punishment. London. 1866.

"It is a rule, both of justice and of good sense, to grapple not with the absurdest, but with the most reasonable form of a wrong opinion."  
—*Mill's Logic*, vol. ii. p. 545.

**T**HE debate in April, 1868, on Capital Punishment, excited more than usual interest, on account of the part taken in it by Mr. Mill. Though not belonging to the considerable class who believe his arguments in favour of the existing law to be

conclusive, we cannot but regard his speech as an important step towards the satisfactory settlement of the question. The next best thing to having Mr. Mill for a friend is to have him for an opponent. You may not learn from him the full strength of your own case, but you, at least, have all the difficulties to be encountered arrayed in the clearest and most forcible manner, without taint from sophism or exaggeration. His objection to the abolition of capital punishment is admirably expressed in the following sentences :—

“The efficacy of a punishment which acts principally through the imagination, is chiefly to be measured by the impression it makes on those who are still innocent ; by the horror with which it surrounds the first promptings of guilt ; the restraining influence it exercises over the beginning of the thought which, if indulged, would become a temptation ; the check which it exerts over the gradual declension towards the state—never suddenly attained—in which crime no longer revolts, and punishment no longer terrifies. As for what is called the failure of death punishment, who is able to judge of that ? We partly know whom those are whom it has not deterred ; but who is there who knows whom it has deterred, or how many human beings it has saved who would have lived to be murderers if that awful association had not been thrown round the idea of murder from their earliest infancy ?”

In other words, many people who are now kept innocent by the fear of the death penalty, would become murderers were a different punishment substituted in its place. But an allegation involving such important consequences ought not to be accepted without proof. The fact that Mr. Mill is of a particular opinion, creates, we admit, a certain presumption in its favour. Sceptical enquirers, however, would be glad to know on what grounds the conclusion was reached. As far as public discussion has yet gone, the superior efficacy of capital punishment has simply been assumed.

The only evidence applicable to the case would be such as showed that in countries in which the penalty of death had been abolished, murders had increased. And it might have been expected that in support of this contention, many startling facts would have been adduced in the debate. Yet all, it seems, that could be brought forward, was the very imperfectly authenticated instance of a single canton in Switzerland.

On the other side the evidence is overwhelming. Several countries have abolished capital punishment, without finding themselves obliged, either by the increase of crime or by public opinion, to retrace their steps. And many old opponents of the change have been compelled to admit that the general security, so far from suffering, has appreciably increased. Against this

practical testimony in favour of repeal, the *dicta* of prisoners which have occasionally been quoted in Parliament, cannot seriously be weighed. Because a man says, "The fear of swinging prevented me from murdering," it does not follow that the fear of imprisonment, accompanied with a few floggings, would not equally have restrained him. We may presume that a criminal in calculating consequences considers the law as it is. He does not trouble himself with metaphysical speculations as to the possible condition of his mind were the law something quite different. Nor is greater weight to be given to the opinions of jailers and governors of prisons, when, as is not unfrequently the case, they are founded on nothing better than the random assertions of criminals.

The strongest ground for believing that imprisonment with flogging would be a better deterrent than death, is that its infliction would be more certain. Experience abundantly shows that an evil, which though great, is remote and uncertain in its nature, never influences mankind as much as one that is small but certain. A prudent man will not unnecessarily go out, if he is sure to get wet through. But no one bent on either business or pleasure is prevented by thought of danger from making a railway journey, though not a year passes without numbers of people being mutilated or killed by accidents. In like manner the conduct of the multitude is, in the main, unaffected by the possibility of eternal punishment. Yet a man who knew that an early death must be the inevitable cost of a military career, would think twice before accepting the recruiting-serjeant's shilling. Remembering, however, that others have returned safe, he is induced to take a favourable view of the future, and marches on with a confident heart. So it is with the sailor who encounters the storm; and the powder-mill mechanic who ignores the danger of explosion. An unfailing principle of human nature constrains mankind to count the chances in their favour at a higher figure than those against them. And the criminal is no exception. Were punishment, however slight, absolutely certain, criminals would become extinct. A man who was sure that, in addition to losing the thing stolen, he would have to endure three days' imprisonment, would remain honest. Had Palmer known that besides the confiscation of his illegal gains he would have been sent to the treadmill for a fortnight, he would as soon have thought of suicide as of murdering Cooke. If, then, a *certain* punishment would be completely effectual, it seems to follow that in the proportion that any punishment attains certainty, it is effectual, and in the proportion that it fails in attaining certainty, it fails as a deterrent. It may be, indeed, that a criminal does not calculate at all, in

which case, of course, one punishment would not restrain him more than another. If, however, he weighs the possible consequences of his proposed action, he can hardly omit from his estimate what is now sufficiently notorious, that jurymen are exceptionally difficult to convince on capital cases; that even when the evidence is ample, some jurors shrink from the responsibility of giving a verdict involving death; and that others disapprove of a death sentence under any circumstances. How great are the chances of escape from such causes no one can doubt who refers to the Report of the Commission on Capital Punishment, and particularly to the very interesting evidence of Serjeant Parry and Mr. Denman. Serjeant Parry said:—

“It is a common observation in our profession that there is nothing more difficult than to obtain a verdict of guilty from a jury in a case of circumstantial evidence when the charge is murder. As I have said before, juries seize hold of every opportunity, however slight, to prevent a violation of their conscientious feeling against capital punishment. It has frequently occurred, that a jury have said to a judge, ‘Can we find a verdict of manslaughter in this case?’ The judge has said ‘No, you cannot.’ And rather than find a verdict of guilty of murder, the punishment of which would be death, they have acquitted the prisoner altogether.” . . . .

Mr. Denman has a similar opinion—

“The conclusion which I have come to is, that the chief way in which it operates is as a most powerful weapon in the hands of any counsel defending a prisoner, and that it leads to the acquittal of a great many men, who, if there were any punishment but death as the result of a trial for murder, would most certainly be convicted. That, I think, is the chief effect of it.”

And this shrinking from the responsibility of taking life seems to be no passing or exceptional tendency confined to Englishmen. It is a sentiment, or weakness, if the latter word be preferred, which increases with advancing civilization. French tribunals are as timid as our own. Nothing is harder in that country than to obtain a conviction in a form entailing death to the criminal. Many months have not elapsed since the lenient treatment of the husband-poisoners of Marseilles; and still more recently, a lady, whose business was to dispose of infants by boiling them, was found guilty with *extenuating circumstances*. Yet no one can suppose that heinous crime is viewed with less detestation in France than in England.

In Lord Hobart's pamphlet it is stated that the chances which a murderer has of escaping the penalty due to his crime, are four times greater than those of a thief. While such, or anything like it, is the state of the law, no one can be astonished that the details of murder should so frequently fill the columns of newspapers.

What we urge, then, is, not that society should sacrifice a portion of its security to a maudlin philanthropy, but that society should cease to be so careless of its own interests; that by substituting the more certain punishment for the less certain, it should afford a better guarantee for the protection of life. And Mr. Mill confesses himself prepared to take this view, if the facts bear it out. He said—

“If the time comes when jurors refuse to find a man guilty—when judges will not sentence him to death, or will recommend him to mercy—or when, if judges and juries do not flinch from their duty, Home Secretaries, under pressure of deputations and memorials, shrink from theirs, and the threat becomes, as it became in the other cases, a mere *brutum fulmen*, then, indeed, it may become necessary to do in this case what has been done in those—to abrogate the penalty.”

In short, whilst estimating the loss of deterrent force involved in a change of the law, it is not fair to forget the gain. If some atrocious criminals would be less appropriately punished, on the other hand fewer murderers would be at large.

That the penalty of death should still be clung to with such tenacity, may be accounted for on other grounds than its reasonableness. What has been the practice of most countries in most ages, comes to be looked at as an essential part of the social system. That which has always been must always be. Negroes must remain incapable of civilization, women of understanding politics. Further back it was thought impossible to get on without burning witches and dissenters; and later, without prohibiting usury and enforcing protection. Common, and often uncommon minds, are satisfied to take upon trust whatever is generally accepted. However injudicious, then, capital punishment might be, the mass of mankind, unacquainted with any society which had dispensed with it, would continue loyal to the traditions which from childhood they had been taught to revere.

Another source of error is the difficulty of sympathizing with the position of the criminal. The respectable man thinks the loss of life a most serious evil, and he thence infers that anyone about to commit murder is impressed with the same sentiment. This, however, by no means follows. Life is a relative term. It means much, little, or nothing. The legislator understands by it competence, health, the respect of neighbours, the affection of friends, honourable occupation. To lose so many blessings at a blow is indeed a disaster. But, what does life mean to the desperate man, to retrieve whose fortunes some fearful deed seems necessary? The picture before him is painted in very different colours. He may have no friends, no occupation, neighbours who despise or ignore him. Not a week passes

without some one committing suicide because a burden is cast upon him greater than he can bear. If to such a man an opportunity of regaining his position were offered, the condition being the risk of his own life, would the peril seem so very appalling? With luck, he might gain a great advantage; and, at the worst, he could only lose what he did not value. It may be said that criminals are not always in so bad a case; but, at least, it must be conceded that the life of a man about to commit murder for gain, is comparatively uneasy, and that legislators who argue from their own feelings and circumstances, as most people do, instead of from the feelings and circumstances of the person who is tempted to commit murder, are reasoning from false premises. They are guilty of what might be called confusion of position.

A third fallacy is founded on confusion of time. "How livid with fear that ruffian looked when the jailer led him to the gallows." The question, however, is not what his feelings were when his eyes were being bound by the executioner, but when he was still in the possession of liberty, and counting the possible cost of the offence. The scaffold is then only a possibility wrapped up in the hazy dimness of the future. His deed may never be known; if known, he may never be suspected as the author. If he is, he may escape the police, if not the police, the jury, if not the jury, a respite may be obtained through pressure on the Home Secretary. And such considerations will have the greater weight with him if he thinks in the same sense as Mr. Mill's very candid admission:—

"Is death, then, the greatest of all earthly ills? *Usque adeone mori miserum est?* Is it indeed so dreadful a thing to die? Has it not been from of old one chief part of a manly education to make us despise death—teaching us to account it, if an evil at all, by no means high in the list of evils; at all events, as an inevitable one, and to hold, as it were, our lives in our hands, ready to be given or risked at any moment, for a sufficiently worthy object?"

Hitherto we have rested the case on the ground taken by our opponents, the security of society. And here, perhaps, the more prudent course would be to stop. For, when abolitionists say anything based on consideration for the criminal, certain people, as in the debate of last year, are sure to assume that humanitarian arguments are all that can be brought forward; and then it is urged that honest men ought not to be put in jeopardy to please philanthropists. But, having shown that capital punishment may be repealed with advantage to the respectable portion of society, it is surely permissible to strengthen our argument by a word or two on the irrevocability of the death penalty. Juries, though straining every nerve to discharge their duty, are occasionally mistaken. Within the last six years there have

been two wrongful convictions in capital cases. An experienced magistrate now living has within the last twenty years authenticated at least as many mistakes in criminal trials. In several instances large portions of the sentence had been served before the error was discovered. The merest accidents brought these failures of justice to light. It obviously follows that punishment is sometimes administered to honest men, whose innocence is never suspected.

Where the penalty is secondary, truth, though tardy, is not necessarily useless. A prisoner may receive such compensation as may make him rejoice in the misfortune which deprived him of liberty. But the dead can receive no reparation. Nor does the evil end there. For juries, reminded by defending counsel of the fallibility of human judgment and the grave consequences of error, let guilty men loose again upon society.

Then, let the grievous inequality of capital punishment be borne in mind. Imprisonment and flogging, it may be answered, are also unequal. No two men are equally able to bear pain of any kind. And this is true; but in no case is the inequality so glaring as in that of death. We have already dwelt upon this consideration for another purpose. It will be sufficient, therefore, to point out here, that while imprisonment with hard labour and flogging, is very disagreeable to everybody, loss of life is to some people the greatest of evils, to others little more than relief from pain.

Such defects do not by any means disprove the right of society to take life, if this is necessary to the general safety; but they unquestionably throw the burden of proof on those who assert that the necessity exists.

Lastly, we should get quit of executions. Their evil is twofold. They have been known to suggest murder to morbid imaginations; and they never fail to collect an assemblage of roughs too numerous to be controlled by the police. The last objection will in future be obviated by resorting to private executions; but these, again, though an improvement on the old system, have defects of their own.

There remains the difficulty of creating a substitute for the penalty of death. On this topic it is hardly possible to make any suggestion which will not appear dangerous to minds so constituted as to shrink from all procedure not sanctioned by custom. If, as is asserted, imprisonment for life is really impracticable, the sentence might be detention for, say, five-and-twenty years, accompanied with a certain number of floggings.

A man who had gone through this would not be more likely to commit murder than any one else; while the prospect of such a fate would appear more dreadful to some minds than death



itself, especially when coupled with the consideration that juries would not evade their part in its infliction. Some will insist on the inhumanity of what they are pleased to term "torture." We may observe by the way that here it is not the abolitionists who take the "humanitarian" view. But, as garroters are flogged amidst general approval, that philanthropy is surely inconsistent which would deal more leniently with murderers. As Mr. Mill very truly remarks, though with reference to another point, "To deter by suffering from inflicting suffering is not only possible, but the very purpose of penal justice."

We may add that the difficulty as to secondary punishment has not only been surmounted in other countries, but by ourselves. In the frequent cases of commutation, we have contrived to imprison for life without prisoners either escaping or becoming mad. If it were found, as some have anticipated, though not without contradiction from experienced persons, that prisoners could not be controlled without the fear of the death penalty, it might be retained in their case, without extension to any other class of the community.

In the same way, it is often contended that burglars, knowing themselves liable to long terms of imprisonment, would not be restrained from committing murder if they were not in fear for their own lives. This objection, like that of the difficulty of managing prisoners, is founded upon the assumed incapacity of criminals to appreciate gradations in the severity of secondary punishment. In the case of the prisoner, moreover, such precautions might be taken as would deprive him of any opportunity of attacking his keepers.

To resume. The main strength of the argument for abolition, is increased security against murder. The alleged danger of resorting to secondary punishment rests upon an assumption, the general acceptance of which may easily be accounted for. Having established these positions, and not before, we have touched on the irrevocability of the death penalty, the impossibility of reparation, the inequality to different persons, the evil of executions, the practicability of enforcing adequate secondary punishment.

That the line of reasoning we have followed cannot be met, we will not venture to insist: but we are not aware that any answer has yet been given either in Parliament or out of it.

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ART. VII.—THE PHILANTHROPY OF THE AGE IN ITS  
RELATION TO SOCIAL EVILS.

1. *Sessional Proceedings of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science:*  
Thursday, December 3, 1868. "*On the Fundamental Reform of the English Poor-Law.*" By W. B. RICHARDSON, M.D., F.B.S.  
Thursday, December, 31, 1868. "*Pauperism, Charity, and the Poor-Laws.*" By Dr. STALLARD.  
Thursday, January 7, 1869. *Discussion on ditto.*  
Thursday, January 14, 1869. "*On Misdirected Philanthropy as an Economical Question.*" By THOMAS BEGGS.
2. *Times*, March 11, 1869. "*A Synopsis of Reports of some of the Metropolitan Charities.*"
3. *Our Unemployed—An attempt to point out some of the best Means of Providing Employment for Distressed Labourers, &c. &c. &c.* By ALSAGER HAY HILL, LL.D.

THE subject of pauperism and crime, which is now so earnestly debated, is perhaps as uninviting as any that can fall to the lot of a writer. It is not only that the subject is painful in itself, but it is worn threadbare. It has been treated so often, by so many able men, and in such a variety of aspects, as to leave little more to be said, nor the prospect even of grouping the facts in a new and more striking light. Nevertheless, its importance forces it upon us, and it has again become a leading topic of public discussion. Within a few months from this time an influential meeting was held in London, presided over by the Lord Bishop of London (now Archbishop of Canterbury) to consider what could be done with the destitute and criminal classes. Several distinct propositions were offered to that meeting by the gentleman who opened the question, none of which met with acceptance from the auditory. After a lengthened debate, in which there appeared a more than ordinary discordance of view, the meeting separated without coming to any conclusion, after having referred the whole business to a committee appointed for the purpose of taking it into consideration. Since then an attempt has been made by the promoters of the meeting to form a new voluntary association in order to find employment for the indigent and pauper classes, and this was manifestly the design at the outset. That attempt has hitherto met with no general nor warm support, but it supplies us with a text for the argument we propose to submit to the reader.

The proposers of the scheme strengthen their appeal by showing an increase of pauperism and crime, and such increase in the midst of great material prosperity and the growth of civilization is the most serious social anomaly of our times; is an indication of weakness, and must be a source of danger. It demands treatment, but we apprehend that the treatment must be of a very different kind to that suggested by the sciolists of the day. The pauperism of England and Wales is represented by an expenditure in the shape of poor-rates of nearly 6,000,000*l.* per annum, and the whole cost of our criminal classes cannot be much less than half that sum, viz., 3,000,000*l.* This is the normal condition of things, going on year by year, and under ordinary circumstances it excites little notice or remark. The mind becomes reconciled to what it sees every day, and soon begins to regard as inevitable that which is common. When an epidemic makes its appearance, or a commercial panic brings disturbance to trade and industry, then the evils of pauperism and crime in their more aggravated form excite attention, and the community are hurried into hasty and spasmodic action. The financial disasters of 1866 have been felt through the whole community, but more severely by the humbler orders who have to depend upon precarious employments. The ranks of the pauper classes have been swollen, and the burthens upon the rates and upon every kind of public and private charity are heavier than they have been for many preceding years. As one of the consequences we are inundated with schemes for the amelioration of the evils, and they are so many and so various that the mind is bewildered by the conflict of counsellors. We have before us a pile of pamphlets, the production of the last twelve months, and with one or two exceptions, the writers betray an ignorance or disregard of the primary causes of vice and poverty. As they start from no properly proved premises, there is of course no harmony in their conclusions; they agree only in one particular, they attack the symptoms and not the disease itself. In looking at their proffered remedies we are reminded of a passage in Michelet in which he cites Herodotus to show that it was the practice of the Egyptians in the infancy of science to employ different physicians for every part of the body; one attended to the arms, another to the nose, and so on, with all the other members of the body. "They cared little whether their remedies harmonized; each of them worked apart without disturbing the others; if, each separate member being cured, the man still died, that was his own affair." Michelet applied this to the circumstances of France in 1848, and it applies with equal force to the England of 1869. It fairly represents our treatment of social maladies. We have not studied the constitution of the

patient, and therefore most of our remedies increase the virulence of the disorder, and have not even the merit of soothing any of the irritation. We cannot conceive that a successful treatment would be so difficult; the difficulty is that of not being able to obtain a hearing for any reforms based upon plain practical and philosophical principles. In the present article we propose to show why most of the plans of amelioration now before the public must necessarily fail, and we enter upon the task not for the purposes of criticism, but with the desire to point inquiry in the right direction.

In prosecuting such a labour we must first try to dispel the delusion which is so common, that we can deal with pauperism, crime, or any other form of social evil, by any summary process. Acts of legislation and voluntary efforts will alike bring disappointment if they are expected to realize large results within a single generation. The excess of pauperism of the last two years will subside with the return of confidence in the money market and the revival of trade, but the average quantity will still remain to distress and perplex us. These evils have grown up with our growth as a people; they are so complex—the causes acting and reacting upon each other—and are so much the results of a low and deteriorated physical condition, that the work of improvement must be slow, however wisely planned the agencies may be, however well or vigorously they may be carried out. The man who is prostrated by a single debauch may under skilful hands recover in a few days, but the frame exhausted by a long course of dissipation will require a much longer time and more rigid treatment to bring it back to a healthy tone. This is our case. Civilization has brought with it the means of affluence to certain classes, but in its wake have followed the vices of overgrown prosperity. The aggregation of wealth in a few hands has created a powerful money class, and has had the tendency to keep back and press down that class which must always be the most numerous, those who have nothing to depend upon but their skill and ability to labour; so that it may well be doubted whether the extremes of rich and poor are not more marked than at any former period of our history, whether the gradations between them are not fewer and more abrupt, and whether the causes of these disparities are not still in active operation. The condition of the poorest classes cannot be measured by the Poor-Law returns, for there is always outside of pauperism, crowding the frontier ground, masses of a struggling population—sickly, scrofulous, feeble in body and inert in mind, improvident, intemperate, and reckless. On the first attack of an epidemic—to which attacks the condition of their dwellings and their habits of life render them peculiarly susceptible—or

when interruption takes place to their usual employments, they succumb and fall into the ranks of pauperism. The destitute classes are also recruited from other sources. Among the artisans and mechanics who are in the receipt of good wages, and who rarely lack employment, there are many who never think of making any provision for sickness, old age, or any of the casualties to which, in common with the rest of mankind, they are liable. It is therefore no matter of surprise that the first gloom of a commercial crisis should be followed by an increased poor-rate, for it finds thousands without resource. If this state of things is carefully looked into, it becomes obvious that the remedy does not lie in supplying palliatives of any kind. We must go much beyond amendments in the administration of the Poor-Law, or a revision of the Poor-Law itself, and very far beyond improvements in prison discipline or the establishment of reformatories. It is trifling with a solemn subject to talk about organizing, with Government aid, systems of employment for the able-bodied poor. What is not vicious in these suggestions, what is really good in them, forms a very subordinate part of a remedial machinery. We must go into the inquiry how paupers are made. It is an act of simple humanity to treat the pauper and the criminal with due consideration, and one of policy to endeavour to restore them to society with the inclination and the ability to earn an honest livelihood; but most of our social reformers can see nothing beyond that. They rush to save the man who is struggling in the water, but pay no heed to those who are in imminent danger upon the slippery bank. We must look to some means of cutting off the supplies. If we go to the neglected districts of our large towns, we shall find there numbers of young children graduating in vice and growing up to people the workhouse or the prison just as certainly as the fruits of the earth are grown to be eaten. They are mostly the victims of hereditary taint, and are still further debilitated by idleness and irregular habits, by exposure to cold, hunger, and nakedness, and they are so inured to wretchedness as to have lost a sense of degradation. They have no aspirations for the future. For them, "sufficient for the day is the evil thereof." They are as much cut off from the amenities of our civilization as if they were in the deserts of Arabia. Our national beneficence succeeds in making their outcast lot barely tolerable. We add to their debasement by a Poor-Law and by a profusion of charities, benevolences, and doles. This class, short-lived and thinned by fever and disease, keep up their numbers; they are precocious in propensity and passion, and prolific above any other class, and are continually recruited, as we have said, from without. They are always before us—a standing rebuke to that fashion-

able philanthropy which has talked so much and effected so little.

There is one class of philanthropists of whom we shall have something to say hereafter, who eagerly catch at any occasional increase or any accidental publicity that may be given to an evil which they have taken under their special patronage, and forthwith make an appeal for additional aid in an old direction, or they propose to open some new field of benevolent operation. This class are very active at the present crisis, and it must be expected that they will make the most of the opportunity. Unfortunately the gloomy statistics which they publish tell much beyond their real value upon numbers of well-intentioned and benevolently-disposed people. There is a strange tendency in certain writers and speakers, who can have no selfish aim or sinister motive, to exaggerate the evils of the present state of society and overlook those of the past. They take up the cry of decadence and deterioration, and seem unconscious that if the data upon which their vaticinations are founded be unsound they libel the age in which they live, and to some extent embarrass the labours of those who are earnestly and thoughtfully engaged in useful investigations and in devising practical measures of relief and reform. The desire for sensational effects creeps in upon our sober literature, and although it may be harmless in some cases, it is always mischievous when it obtrudes into discussions where a correct appreciation of facts in their relation to each other is indispensable to sound deductions. These writers have a vivid perception of the evils among which they live, but seem to close their ears to the voice of history. It may be, as we have already said, that improvements have not reached all classes of the people in the same degree, that all ranks have not marched in the same ratio of progression, and that the distance between each—and especially between those in the fore rank and those in the rear—is greater and more distinctly defined. It may be that we have become more sensitive to the evils which surround us. Michelet says, "In a moral and physical aspect, this society has beyond all others an affliction peculiar to itself: it is become infinitely sensitive. That the ordinary ills of humanity have decreased is my own opinion, and history sufficiently proves it. But they have diminished in a finite, while sensibility has increased in an infinite ratio." We concur in this sentiment, and regret that so much time should be wasted in idle speculation and in frivolous repining, for under the predominance of that feeling the real question becomes obscured.

Looking at the facts under this light, we are better able to estimate the present increase of crime and pauperism. Nothing

can be based upon the returns of two years of exceptional commercial panic, and in fact the comparison of one quinquennial period with another does not cover a sufficient space for accurate observation. Without troubling the reader with statistical returns, which may be readily obtained by looking over the Reports of the Poor-Law Board, it will suffice to state that there have been periods within the time dating from the passing of the Poor-Law Amendment Act, 1835, when pauperism has been much greater than in the years which are the subject of present observation, as for example in 1849, when the number of paupers of all classes amounted to 1,088,659 in an estimated population of 17,534,000, and with wheat at 49s. 1d. per quarter. This must be compared with 1867, when the number of paupers was 931,546 in a population of 21,320,000, and wheat at 53s. 7½d. per quarter. There are other periods intervening which contrast in favour of the present time. There can be no doubt that at all times the amount of pauperism is excessive, and that it might by judicious treatment be greatly reduced, and presently we will indicate the kind of treatment; but it is most important that we should show the groundlessness of that alarm upon which so many interested in building up systems and associations rest a plea for support to hastily got up schemes, and through them work upon the credulity of the general public. A glance at former periods of the present century will enable us better to understand the condition of the present.

The present century opened gloomily enough. We were engaged in that long and ruinous war with France which yielded to us the laurels of victory and an immense burthen of debt, and threw us back in social and moral progress. It is worthy of notice here, that our determined hostility to Napoleon and to the spirit of the revolution, affected the civilization of the world. The infatuation which possessed alike the rulers and the people of this country had the effect of re-establishing upon the thrones of Europe worn-out dynasties, the representatives of which were not prepared to advance with the spirit of the age, and were not even able to understand it. We restored the Bourbons to France and to Spain, placed the Pontiff once more upon the seven hills, and in fact gave to the Catholic rulers of Europe a new lease of power. We warred, as it had ever been our wont, against the spirit of freedom at home and abroad; and while our Cabinet was exhausting the resources of the people to maintain this struggle it was resisting the claims of the Roman Catholics in these islands to the right of citizenship, and this even to the danger of revolution; and up to this time we have sustained a Protestant and alien church in Ireland, as a bulwark against the spread of Roman Catholicism. This marvellous persistency in a

course of wrong and flagrant disregard of the principles of justice, not even consistent in ill-doing, brought its appropriate fruits, and exercised in many ways a baleful influence upon our legislation and upon our progress. At the present moment, when the Ministry are about to repair, as far as they are able, the injuries of centuries by disestablishing the Irish Church, such a reference will be excused, but it is not impertinent to our argument, for the social and political reformer must go back to that period to gather data that will enable him to estimate the signs of the present. During that protracted struggle which obtained a short-lived ascendancy for bigotry and despotism, grew up that manufacturing system, which besides supplying the means to carry on the war, altered the conditions under which large masses of our population lived. The countries of Europe, intent upon military operations, became customers for our goods, and paid no attention to processes of manufacture within themselves; and thus we had very much our own way in the markets of the world. The war occupied the attention of the higher classes, and enriched a host of contractors, speculators, brokers, and jobbers, but impoverished the great bulk of the people. Intent upon prosecuting a war which was a financial gain to an unscrupulous set of men who had acquired power in both branches of the legislature, no attention was paid to education, to political or social reforms, or to ameliorations of any kind. The grievances of the humbler orders were unheeded; and if they became clamorous, they were met by measures of coercion and repression. The population, attracted by employment and higher wages, rushed to the rising towns; and it was the business of no one to attend to their social, moral, or physical condition. The dwellings, hastily erected for their accommodation, were destitute of all the comforts and conveniences which are associated with the name of home. Sanitary conditions were in no way thought of—in truth, sanitary science was unborn. The workshops and factories were destitute of ventilation; and all the conditions of life were unfavourable to the growth of a healthy or vigorous population. As to intellectual teaching, there was none. The Church, receiving large revenues, had relapsed into a state of supineness that became a national reproach. The different sectaries which had sprung up, although animated by much zeal, appealed only to the religious sentiment. They had not learnt that which a large portion of society have yet to learn, that the physical is the basis of the moral man, and that it is in vain to attempt to raise up a moral, intellectual, and religious population out of a physically degraded one. At the same time, public-houses and taverns were allowed to multiply without limit. The history of the first thirty-five years of this



century is full of sad and mournful passages. We read of bread-riots, starvation, agrarian tumults, and parliamentary inquiries into agricultural distress. Our criminal code informs us how Parliament dealt with lawlessness and crime; and the political pamphlets of the time will show the desperate nature of the struggle in which the people were engaged, to secure a free platform and a free press. Since the Reform Bill of 1832, one reform has followed another in rapid succession, until electoral power is given to the people, and the protection to the voter is inevitable. Great social ameliorations have accompanied the political changes. All these things must go to the credit of the account when we balance up the advantages and disadvantages of this present time with any other that has preceded it, but the evils we suffer under indicate that our intellectual has far outstripped our moral progress.

It will be seen by even a cursory review that we have to deal with the accumulated abuses of generations, and therefore our remedies must be various, well considered, working in harmony, and converging to one central point. In every great work where a multitude of men are engaged, much confusion and delay arises from the impatience of those who put themselves forward as leaders. The sanguine mind is ever ready to grasp at that measure which promises immediate results, and turns away from the slow processes by which great ends can alone be attained. They look for seedtime and harvest in the same season. Do what we will, we cannot banish evil from the world. There will always be vice and weakness, avarice and intemperance, and these will generate an evil offspring—but we can abate that which we cannot entirely remove. One serious impediment to the calm discussion of remedies is found in the number of claimants to public favour, each offering a panacea. The importunity of these gentlemen can only be equalled by the extravagance and impracticability of the majority of their schemes. In an article upon *The Law*, Bastiat says, "I cannot avoid coming to the conclusion that there are too many great men in the world: there are too many legislators, organizers, institutors of society, conductors of the people, fathers of nations, &c. Too many people place themselves above mankind to rule and patronize it; too many persons make a trade of attending to it." This class of agitators abound in England as well as in France and in the United States, and it would be no easy matter to count their numbers, or their cost. The ostensible object is the instruction of the people, the redress of special grievances, or the suppression of particular evils, the real and perfectly transparent one is that of living at the public expense. Since this article was commenced, we have from pure accident, taken down from the shelf a neglected and

almost forgotten book, "Lectures on the Elements of Political Economy," by Thomas Cooper, M.D., President of the South Carolina College and Professor of Chemistry and Political Economy, Columbia, 1829; and on page 344 we find the following passage.

"At present (1830) we have 13,000 clergymen in the United States, whose salaries amount on the average to thirteen millions of dollars; besides the value of the edifices (churches and meeting-houses) exclusively dedicated to the convenience of those men, to enable them to work and labour for pay, and to earn money in them on a Sabbath day, by performing services that are expressly prohibited—absolutely forbidden in plain language in the Scriptures, or rendered unnecessary by the Bible itself. By Governor Lincoln's message to the legislature of Massachusetts, the clergy of the above state had levied on the citizens of Massachusetts alone for religious societies upwards of thirty millions of dollars. No wonder a mortmain-act became necessary. According to the present ratio of increasing population, the salaries of the clergy, exclusive of Bible, missionary, tract, union, and other societies of shameless mendacity, will in thirty-five years from hence amount to forty millions of dollars per annum, equalling the actual amount now paid to the hierarchy of England."

We cite this passage as showing an evil to which free states are particularly liable, and may notice in passing on how it grows up without comment, and apparently without any calculation as to the burden laid upon industry by such a host of teachers. It is no matter whether they bask under the sunshine of a state church, or depend upon the voluntary contributions of their flocks, the economical results are the same—it is so much abstracted from the fund which keeps trade and employment in motion. In addition to the clergy of all denominations, new sects springing up every year, we have the agents and lecturers of various associations, each working in their own way to the attainment of their own ends; and it is with this latter class and not with the clergy that we are at this moment concerned. Agitation has become a profession. The effect is mischievous upon the public mind and morals. It distracts attention to sectional and partial reforms—besides nurturing the parasites who feed upon society. For want of a better term we must designate it as trading philanthropy.

The philanthropy of the age appears under many names, and assumes many disguises. Much of it originates from generous impulses and honest intentions, but many of the public institutions are kept up for the imperfectly concealed purpose of making places for people who cannot find occupations anywhere else. The synopsis of reports of some of the Metropolitan Charities in the *Times* of February 11, is an instructive and

startling document, and shows how little good may be effected, nay, how much evil may be done by a lavish, unsystematic, and diffuse benevolence. In looking from that report to the state of society, we are driven to the conclusion that the evils sought to be removed are altogether incurable, or that the treatment is unfitted and unsuitable. The history of human progress corrects the former impression, and therefore the latter conclusion is the right one. As it is the nature of evil to propagate its kind, we find that the multitude of charities augments the amount of distress; and if we take it for granted that there is an increase of that poverty which is on the very threshold of destitution, we find that it has grown side by side with increased measures of relief. This is what Dr. Stallard says:—

“The charities of London, in extent, variety, and amount, are perfectly stupendous. There is not a want, or form of human wretchedness, for which provision is not made in a more or less degree. Every malady of the body has its hospital or dispensary; every disorder of the social system, some provision for its mitigation. From the cradle to the grave, benevolence steps in to offer aid.”

In the eloquent words of the Rev. W. Stone, long rector of Christ Church, Spitalfields, and now canon of Canterbury,

“The poor in London may be born for nothing, educated for nothing, clothed for nothing; they may be put out apprentice for nothing, and have medicine and medical attendance for nothing. The pauper is thus born, nursed, clothed, fed, educated, established, and physicked all for nothing. He begins a pauper and dies a pauper, and at the expense of the parish he is provided with shroud, coffin, pall, and burial-ground.”

He (the Rev. W. Stone) says further—

“I wish it to be understood that I am giving an *ordinary*, and not an extraordinary case. I might have included details of a more aggravated and offensive nature, but I have contented myself with describing the extent to which relief may be, and actually is, made to minister to improvidence and dependence.”

As to the cost of this extensive machinery, Dr. Hawksley has calculated the charity of London at 7,000,000*l.*, but Dr. Stallard, not content with this statement, makes it 8,500,000*l.* They do not give us the details upon which they base their calculations, but we should take it that even the lesser sum is much beyond the actual amount, unless they include an amount for indiscriminate almsgiving. The sums wasted in this act of weakness and folly it is impossible to estimate, but they would doubtless raise the total much above the larger sum stated above. It is easy to perceive how this machinery is first made and then kept in motion. One unfortunate tendency of our time is the separation of

classes—the rich are rarely ever brought face to face with the poor. The express speed with which trade is carried on, renders it impossible that those engaged in it can pause for a sufficient length of time to conduct a work of inquiry into the distresses of those who reside within a short distance of large manufactories and splendid offices. The merchant and tradesman therefore compromise the matter by contributing largely to some half-dozen or dozen institutions, and by annually subscribing to a distribution of coals, blankets, soup, or bread. The selection of the institutions they support is not determined by any personal knowledge, but on the ground that some one whom they seek to follow, or on whose statements they place dependence, are patrons or patronesses. All they really know of the working of the institution, is from the annual report and the speeches made at the annual dinner. It is a part of their religion to be good to the poor, and this is the way they discharge the obligation. Modern pharisaism is no improvement upon that which was condemned in the ancient Jerusalem. The pharisee against whom woe was denounced, gave one-tenth of his goods to the poor, and although he did it ostentatiously in the sight of men, he distributed it personally to the objects of his bounty. In our day the subscriptions are given to charities, and are largely dependent upon the publicity given to the names of the donors, or under other adventitious influences.

The way these institutions are got up is at once painful and instructive. Many of the oldest of them are really beneficent institutions, and deserve a much larger share of public favour than they receive. In a large community, where its members are subject to inevitable casualties, sudden bereavements, and unexpected disappointments, hospitals for the sick and the helpless are a public good; but the acknowledged value of such institutions furnishes a plea for the formation of others, weakening the resources of the older institutions, and creating temptations in the way of the poor. In the best managed of them it requires constant care and the greatest vigilance to guard against imposture; but the majority of them have either survived the uses for which they were designed, or they have degenerated into rank abuse, existing for the purpose of paying salaries to a staff of officers and servants. In some cases the establishment expenses bear the same relation to the sums spent for the legitimate uses of the charity as Falstaff's sack bore to his bread. The manner in which new charities are got up is patent to all. In a paper read before the Repression of Crime department of the Social Science Association at Birmingham, the process is thus described:

“We have all witnessed the formation of some new association. The process is very much the same in all cases. A number of zealous

men are brought together at some great emergency, and they listen to some tale of woe, some narrative of distress; and on inquiry it appears that there is no special provision to meet the particular kind of distress, or if there be it is not done in the right way, or the institution is in the wrong neighbourhood, or is not able to meet all the demands made upon it. Upon this a committee is formed, and that committee appoints a staff of officers whose business it is to attend to the duties laid down for them and to collect subscriptions, and then that institution takes its place among the permanent institutions of the day."

This is merely the outline of a picture that might be filled up greatly to the disadvantage of our modern philanthropy. In the committee there is invested an amount of authority and patronage exceedingly pleasing to small minds; and in many instances the patrons nurse the belief, which is sedulously instilled by the promoters, that they are meeting a great want and dispensing innumerable blessings. It is a pleasant thing for the chief of an official staff to receive a snug salary for directing the operations; the only difficulty of his position is to reconcile how not to do it with the appearance of doing it. The puzzle to the outsider is to understand the reports, which generally show a large amount of success attendant upon the labours of the missionaries and agents employed by the society, but always an undiminished amount of evil to subdue; nay, however much they have been able to do, it is so small a proportion of that which remains to be done, that they invariably end by an appeal for increased funds to sustain increased exertions. Those who have had a glimpse behind the scenes will admit that Dickens' vivid picture of the Anglo-Bengalee is scarcely a caricature.

Unfortunately, the evils of our present condition are sufficiently numerous and severe to supply arguments to a host of adventurers, and the public ignorance and credulity so great that they find it tolerably easy to prey upon society. We have again numbers of men of fair education, but without occupation—the professions are filled to repletion, and the present notions of parents are in favour of gentility, and thus they encourage an ambition in their children which teaches them to despise the drudgeries of business or trade. Bulwer somewhere says "that talents unhonoured are at war with men;" and it will and must happen that, if deprived of legitimate employment, as educated men must live, they will find some other by which society must suffer. The door of every department of the public service is besieged, and the lives of every one who has influence to obtain patronage, or power to dispense it, is made uncomfortable by the number of applicants for office and place, so that if any evil attracts particular attention—if it should appear desirable to appeal to public opinion in relation to any

public object, there are always a number of ready-made philanthropists to take up the case, and work it to a successful issue. It is not assumed that in all, or even in the majority of instances, the promoters of such efforts are influenced solely by motives of self-interest ; but whatever may be the motive at the commencement, their interests are so mixed up with the permanency of the institution to which their services may be given, depend so much on the favour of the chairman of the Board, and the members of the Board itself, that a corrupting influence is regularly at work. The benevolent institutions are only one phase of the question. We find adventurers of this class in various other speculations, the most insidious of which are those which are announced under the plea of philanthropy. Among these we may cite as an example the number of life-assurance offices which have appeared, and after a short existence have disappeared, bringing loss and disappointment to thousands. There is no class of business requiring more accurate knowledge of details, a more scientific calculation, than this one ; and yet we see them started and flourish for a time by men who manifest the greatest ignorance as to the principles of life assurance. The mind of the public has for the last few years been so fixed upon the failure of gigantic undertakings like that of Overend, Gurney, and Co., that many smaller ones, which have nevertheless been attended by wide-spread ruin, have almost escaped notice. The ruin in this case falls upon the thrifty and the saving of the humbler class of tradesmen. It is amazing how credulous these industrious people are : they work hard, deprive themselves of comforts, and sometimes even necessaries, in order to make provision for the future. Their course of life is most exemplary, and exhibits the presence of much high resolve, and strength and persistency of purpose, but with the weakness of children they invest their savings in the most shallow undertakings. While they rely upon their own energies in the acquisition, they ask the advice of others when they seek to invest. The magnitude of the interests involved will be seen from the following figures. There are now 150 life-assurance offices in the United Kingdom, the annual revenue of which is not less than 20,000,000*l.*, while the sums assured do not in the aggregate amount to less than 400,000,000*l.*, a sum equal to that which is invested in railways, and to one-half of the national debt. The testimony of experienced men, who have made life assurance a study, is that certainly one-third of the number are founded upon a wrong basis, or are otherwise insecure, and that they must, as a measure of safety, amalgamate with well-established offices, or come to a more ignominious end. There are more offices than are required to meet the demand ; and thus, to secure business, they

are competing with each other by expensive agencies, increasing the costs of management and consequently the premiums the members have to pay. This is a serious aspect of the case, and the efforts of new offices are temporarily successful, because the public are not instructed enough to check the balance-sheets and the reports submitted to them. The men who are able to expose the rottenness of many of these undertakings are deterred by the feeling that any general warning might injure respectable offices, and shake the public faith in a really valuable principle; and if they particularize they are liable to an action for libel. It is one of the privileges of an Englishman that he can be dragged into a court of law upon almost any pretence if another person, under a sense of real or supposed injury, can find money to pay the first costs, or make out a case to the satisfaction of a solicitor that costs can be obtained from the alleged offending party. A case is before us where a respectable man is threatened by the solicitor of a life-office under the process of winding-up, he having made a statement which impugned the professional conduct of that solicitor. None are so prone to talk about reputation as those who are conscious that the little they possess is rather tarnished, and it is one of the easiest things imaginable to find a man skilled in all the chicanery of the law, an adept in all the tactics of legal warfare, who will conduct any case, however flagitious, which promises to yield costs, and who has no more "feeling of his business" than the gravedigger in "Hamlet." Many of the life-offices which are now no more have been commenced under the high plea of philanthropy, sometimes as connected with religious sects and sometimes related to the popular movements of the day; but whatever may be the ostensible ground of action, the course pursued and the ultimate results are much about the same: a brief and showy career for the first promoters of the scheme, and a loss to their dupes. In a number of a new publication we find recorded the career of a man of very inferior abilities, and of no reputation but what he had acquired on the platform of a popular movement, but who had succeeded in starting some sixteen or seventeen companies. The whole of them broke down, and with ruin to thousands; he escaped, however, from London, as it is understood, with competent means for a life of leisure, and if he have grace enough, for repentance and atonement in another land. A melancholy part of the business is the facility with which men of respectable position, and with a desire to render useful service to humanity, will lend their names to undertakings of which they know nothing, and at the importunity of some lecturer or agent of whom they know little more than that he is a zealous promoter of a cause in the success of which they are interested, and which

cause he calls a great one, and by the advocacy of which he manages to obtain a livelihood. A respectable man would not give a character to a discharged and dishonest servant, but he often lends his name where it may lead to far more mischievous results. The formation of companies and societies has become a trade under such auspices as those referred to, and the disasters of 1866, which brought so many limited liability companies and other rotten enterprises to an end, will not be without its profit if it teaches a permanent lesson of prudence and caution to the saving classes.

There is another class of institutions which spring up like mushrooms wherever the ground is ready for them, and these are the voluntary associations for instructing the public mind, or according to the jargon used by their leaders, creating an enlightened public opinion upon great questions. It seems now that the public mind is not able to arrive at correct conclusions upon any rule of private conduct, or any measure of public policy, without some large committee to conduct the work of instruction. Thus we have Leagues, Associations, Alliances, Societies, Brotherhoods, &c. &c. without stint or limitation. If we venture at any time to suggest a doubt whether the existence of so many societies may not be an evil rather than a good, we are met by the retort that agitation is wholesome, and we are asked triumphantly whether we might not still be groaning under the Corn Laws if it had not been for the Anti-Corn-Law League. The work of that great League is used to justify the formation of a similar league for every possible and impossible purpose. We assent most cordially to the proposition that agitation is wholesome; but it must be an agitation that encourages free inquiry, that diffuses knowledge, and that liberates the mind from partisan feeling and sectarian bias. We do not undervalue the labours of the Anti-Corn-Law League when we say that probably the great and devoted men who conducted that agitation might have succeeded if they had been unfettered by the councils of the League. We might not have had so much paid agency, but we should have had more voluntary effort. We know that Richard Cobden accomplished a good work in completing the French treaty without the aid of any association, and we have seen a powerful feeling grow up in favour of disestablishing the Irish Church without any national organization to promote or foster it. It has been the growth of opinion instructed by events, and it is not unlikely but that the existence of a Catholic Association specially organized to obtain this act of national justice, might have retarded and embittered the settlement by importing into it much vehemence and passion, and the introduction of issues which do not belong to the question. We demur entirely [Vol. XCI. No. CLXXX.]—NEW SERIES, Vol. XXXV. No. II. H H



to the assumption that agitation by large and pretentious associations is in any important degree conducive to the public good, or that it trains men in those habits of thought which fit them for the discharge of the duties of life. Such agitation has a tendency to discourage individual effort, to absorb the individual in the mass, and make him an unit in a collective body of men. While such associations frown upon any effort that does not emanate from themselves, they appropriate all the credit for any advance of public opinion in the direction of their own course of action. Like religious bodies, they form a creed, and every adherent is expected to conform to it, to cry up the shibboleth of his party, and to glorify the few chosen and presumptuous leaders, who have very often by unscrupulous means worked themselves into that position. No officialism is so offensive as the officialism of our voluntary associations. The officers are usually men of strong selfwill and determination of character, of imperfect education, and who, by looking intently at one question, have lost the power of vision in relation to every other. All facts are distorted to the aid of their own views, and such as cannot be distorted are suppressed. They flatter their own admirers and the large subscribers, but adopt a tone of insolence to a humbler order of co-workers who may upon any point of policy exercise an independent judgment. In all these associations the men of modest merit, of sterling talent and honest purpose, are kept back or obscured by fussy, vain, and ambitious men. The instances are very many where men who have been labouring in a good work for many years, who have brought to it much valuable suggestion and the results of laborious thought, whose motives are above suspicion, and who have nothing to gain but the reward which earnest industry always brings, who, besides toil and talent, are devoting pecuniary means to the same end, have been publicly rebuked and insulted by some hireling who lives out of the movement he is assisting to conduct; and this arises as often as the paid official is thwarted in any of his plans, or admonished as to any part of his general conduct. It is an offence for a man to work in the same direction unless under the sanction of the association which claims a monopoly of the right of agitation on that particular question. If the observer would desire a closer glance at the inside of these associations, he will find on a small scale all the intrigue, finesse, jobbery, and scramble for place and pay which has distinguished the worst governments in the most venal times. No higher estimate than Dr. Johnson formed of the patriotism of his time would be formed of the philanthropy of this if its secret workings were laid bare. There are exceptions to this censure, but they are so few as to prove the case. The

Reform League will at once occur as one of the honourable exceptions. With every wish to accord to it all due merit for the moderation and prudence with which the executive of that body acted under difficult and trying circumstances, we are not disposed to think that the efforts made by them very much hastened the Reform Bill. If it did, that is no reason why every object sought to be obtained from Parliament should form the basis of a league. In a country with a free press and a free platform, all reforms may be safely left to the growth of intelligence among the people. The march of progress will be more steady if more slow, and the people will acquire a spirit of independence, of self-reliance, and a freedom of action that is all but impossible so long as they are led on by powerful organizations or popular leaders.

We have entered into this somewhat desultory discussion for a most practical reason, that of showing the burthen that our restless philanthropy throws upon the taxpayer, and also the impediments which are created by it in the way of efficient action. We suffer from this cause more than a slight survey of the subject will reveal. When any evil is forced upon public attention, we have one class of persons who rush to the legislature to demand a new law, and another who forthwith convene a number of people and form an association. The latter course we have said enough upon, and regard to space forbids that we should do more than briefly refer to the former, the spirit of law-making. It was a complaint by Lord Bacon that the laws in his time were too numerous, and then they were contained in two volumes. What would he say now, when every session of parliament adds a volume to the statutes? Our young legislators seem to regard it as a special business to introduce a bill, and the effect of this ambition to be law-makers is seen in the number of abortive measures which have received the royal assent during the last twenty-five years. Amongst the many measures of really doubtful advantage was that of the Health of Towns Act. After the first appearance of Asiatic cholera a spirit of inquiry arose in England as to the condition of our towns and populous villages in all matters affecting the health of the inhabitants, and to their honour a number of medical men came forward and offered instruction upon sanitary principles. A public opinion was forming that promised the best results, when a number of philanthropists took up the question with the single aim of obtaining an act of parliament. It was in vain that more prudent men tried to defer such an attempt on the ground that the public were not sufficiently instructed to give effect to law. The importance of the subject and the earnestness and amiability of Lord Morpeth, enabled him to carry a measure under which a Central Board of Health was established. What

happened when the men who had taken the most active and earnest part in preparing the bill, and inciting members of the legislature to promote it became possessed of power, and had seats at the newly-formed Board? The result is matter of history: crude experiments were carried out in several places— incompetent men were employed, and after a few years of a struggling existence the Board of Health was extinguished, and its powers lodged in a department of the Home Office. Sanitary legislation and sanitary reform were thrown back for many years. The effect is so far disastrous that it interferes with judicious effort. Another instance may be named, that of the Artisan and Labourers' Dwellings Act of 1868. At that time public attention had been called to the overcrowding and other evils connected with the dwellings of the poor, and a disposition existed which might have been turned to good account. Several practical men who had for years given attention to the subject were prepared with a measure, which would have in a large degree met the evil, by giving to the people, under certain guarantees and conditions, power to obtain sites on terms which are inadmissible under the present state of the law. This would have opened a field to private enterprise. A few more zealous men hurried through the House of Commons a Bill which gave powers to vestries to erect dwellings and pay for them out of the rates, and with many other objectionable provisions. The Act came from the hands of the Government still-born. Thus we go on from session to session, passing laws to meet particular emergencies, and without reference to any general principle. There is an ignorant faith in the power of the law, and a false idea as to the paternal character of government. Slow progress is the order of nature, but our popular notions are all in favour of forcing. Our publicists seek to be wiser than what is written.

It is time that we looked this evil fairly in the face, and inquired what a misguided and sanguine philanthropy has done for us, and whether it is able to effect more in the future than it has accomplished in the past. It does not seem to occur to those reformers whose fertile brains are engaged in plans which if adopted would add new departments to the Government or new voluntary societies to the numbers already existing, that eventually the burthens of expense fall upon the taxpayer. How many non-producers in the shape of administrators, secretaries, collectors, agents, lecturers, &c. &c., has he to sustain? As a matter of fair calculation, every worker has to support two non-workers, besides those for whom by relationship he is called upon to provide. He is a Sindbad, not with one Old Man of the Sea fastened upon his neck, but with two, one on each shoulder. Whether the money comes in the shape of a payment to the tax-

gatherer or to the collector of a voluntary association, it is so much abstracted from the fund which has to keep labour and production in motion. We have to seek from a Reformed Parliament a reduction in taxation by lessening our army and navy, and by economy in every branch of the Civil Service, and it is due to posterity that we should do something towards the reduction of the National Debt. But, in order to make the most of our resources, we must not be content with that—we must lessen the number of those parasites who under various pretexts are preying upon the public. Without uttering one word of disparagement to the honest and well-meaning philanthropist—for really our animadversions are intended to apply not to him but to the self-seeker who assumes the name—we ask that the lessons of the economist should be listened to. It is clear, from the statements made, that philanthropy has not managed to keep certain evils in check; then let us try whether the principles of economic science may not be tried with better effect. We want education among our people extended to every class—that which will enable them to discriminate the influences of human law upon human well-being—that which will enable them to define the proper sphere of government, and especially the operation of those social and moral laws which govern the individual conduct. In the language of Michelet, “Fewer laws, I beseech you, but strengthen the principle of laws by education; render them applicable and possible; make men, and all will be well.”

It is clear that society will fail, as it has hitherto done, if it continues to rely upon palliatives—if it relies upon any other principle than that of the development to the fullest extent of individual character. Most of our social reformers seek to rule men as a general governs an army, and this has been the error of governments from the beginning. The true policy is to individualize the individual, and not to treat him as the component part of a huge machine. In one of the essays read before the Social Science Association, “On Misdirected Philanthropy as an Economical Question,” we find that the writer pointedly refers to several agencies all of equal importance—an improvement in the homes of the people—an extension of useful employments by a reduction of taxation, and economy in the national expenditure—a check to intemperance, and the spread of education; but he repudiates the attempt to form new associations for the purpose. Our limits preclude the possibility of discussing these measures, although we have much to say upon them, and therefore we must leave it to another occasion. The writer referred to says—

“To turn from the suggested remedies, is there not an obvious means of stimulating employments of all kinds by a reduction of the national expenditure, by a strict but by no means niggard economy in

every department of the Government? There are public works, and works of great utility, waiting execution, and which would find employment for a much larger population than we possess, if the capital was ready. Suppose we could reduce our expenditure to the extent of five millions: that amount would be left to fructify in the pockets of the people; and if employment was found for all those able and willing to work, the treatment of the unable and the unwilling would be less difficult. The line of duty, at any rate, would be more clearly defined. If we could feel assured that every willing labourer had a fair chance of employment by seeking for it, it would simplify the application of a strict rule in workhouses. I ask, as an act of justice to the ratepayer, that his case be considered, for in dealing justly with him, we deal fairly with all who have to depend upon trade and commerce for existence. It would be an accumulative saving, for a reduction in the general taxation would be followed by a reduction in the poor-rates and in the cost of crime.

“Our condition requires for its treatment statesmanlike capacity to grasp the details, and boldness and vigour in dealing with them. We want rigid economy in our administration, and perfect freedom to labour, capital, and production; facilities of communication from town to suburb, and from nation to nation, so as to secure in the one case better home accommodation, and in the other more abundant supplies of food, and by the greater facilities of intercourse to promote feelings of amity and peace among the different families of men. With economy and freedom of trade the progress of the people may be safely left to themselves, and the extent of pauperism and crime would at no distant date cease to alarm us.”

With the spirit of the article from which this is an extract we entirely concur. The author contends for freedom instead of constraint as the policy of the future, and for imposing upon each individual the responsibility of his own actions, in order to raise up a reliant and independent race of men. Such counsel at this time is most opportune and valuable, for we see in the success of courts of arbitration and industrial partnerships the opening of a new era for the working classes; but that work is one which requires patience and prudence in order that it may not be stunted, or weakened by a hurried growth. There will of course be failures and mistakes, as such occur in all human undertakings, but there will be the fewer of these in proportion as the official duties are committed to the care of practical and business men; and one thing is above all essential to complete and speedy success, and that is that each member of co-operative or industrial partnerships should study and understand the commercial principles upon which manufactories and trading concerns are carried on. They must guard against exaggerated hopes and expectations, and equally against unreasonable jealousies and distrust. When we look back upon the many miserable failures in abortive land schemes and in co-operative

effort—failures which have brought ruin and disappointment to thousands of honest men—we are more than ever anxious that the experiments afterwards to be carried out should follow careful preparation. Above all other work in which the industrious classes are interested does it require the exercise of steady industry, calm judgment, and sound knowledge. There is a fair and bright prospect before us, but some dangers; and among these dangers none perhaps greater than that of the workmen of this country being drawn into ill-concerted schemes and immature action by the representations and persuasions of professional agitators and sanguine philanthropists, men who by their studies and pursuits are unfitted to be advisers in matters of grave importance. We are rejoiced to find, amidst a chaos of suggestion as to the treatment of our social maladies, that there are a few writers who base their conclusions upon sound economical principles. Such men may, perhaps, at the outset obtain only scanty audience among a crowd of more noisy claimants to attention, but their views will ultimately prevail. Upon no subject is there more general ignorance or more serious misapprehension than upon that of political economy, and none upon which it is of greater consequence that the public mind should be enlightened. The duty of the economist is clearly defined, and as his teachings find acceptance, so will the people acquire confidence in the virtue of individual effort, and lose faith in the efficacy of those large and pretentious voluntary associations of which we have spoken, and which, however useful or necessary they may have been in a former generation, have the tendency in this one to retard rather than quicken the march of human progress.



## INDEPENDENT SECTION.

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*[Under the above title a limited portion of the Westminster Review is occasionally set apart for the reception of able articles, which, though harmonizing with the general spirit and aims of the work, contain opinions at variance with the particular ideas or measures it may advocate. The object of the Editor, in introducing this department, is to facilitate the expression of opinion by men of high mental power and culture, who, while they are zealous friends of freedom and progress, yet differ widely on special points of great practical concern, both from the Editor and from each other.]*

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### ART. VII.—PRIMARY EDUCATION.

1. *Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the state of Popular Education in England.* 1861.
2. *Reports of the Manchester and Salford Education Aid Society for the years 1864, 1865, 1866, 1867, and 1868.*
3. *Report of the Birmingham Education Society.* 1868.
4. *Proceedings of the Education Conference held in Manchester, January 15th and 16th, 1868.*
5. *Compulsory Education. The Manchester Scheme, is it applicable to Liverpool?* By GEORGE MELLY. Liverpool, 1867.
6. *Statistics from Liverpool and elsewhere produced by Mr. MELLY in support of his motion for the appointment of a Select Committee of the House of Commons to consider the state of Education in Large Towns, 12th March, 1869.*

**T**HAT the education of the people is essential to the real well-being and progress of a nation, is an axiom now so generally admitted as hardly to require enunciating; but unhappily the great majority of those who are prepared to accept this doctrine to its fullest extent, have so little knowledge of the fearful amount of ignorance in this country, of the failure of our present system of combined legislative and voluntary action to remedy the evil, and of the measures which are necessary to bring about a more satisfactory state of things, that their support of those who are labouring in the cause is weak and wavering. Not knowing the difficulties in the way, hardly appreciating the close

connexion between ignorance and crime, and not recognising the necessity of a resort to strong remedies to eliminate a disease at once chronic and infectious, the majority of Englishmen, imbued with a worship for "the liberty of the subject," are not prepared for the sweeping measures which alone afford a prospect of dealing successfully with the mighty cancer now eating away the nation's heart; they are inclined to oppose, or at least to stand aloof from, those who, regarding liberty with at least as great a veneration as themselves, yet distinguish it from licence, and demand that the State shall interfere to prevent the misconduct, ignorance, or negligence of a few of its members from injuring the vital interests of the whole body. It is then with great satisfaction that we notice the subject of Primary Education (that is to say, the education necessary for the real welfare of even those classes depending for their support on daily or weekly wages), coming at last into the prominence it merits; and it is to be hoped that the debate in the House of Commons last month on the motion of Mr. Melly, the member for Stoke-upon-Trent, calling attention to the existing state of ignorance in this country, will bring home its importance to many who have hitherto regarded it either with a vague sentimentality, or as a battle-ground for the prejudices of variant, and therefore unfortunately hostile, religious sects.

The intimate connexion between ignorance and crime cannot be thoroughly appreciated excepting by those connected with the repression of both; and statistics such as could be put in a few lines to carry conviction to the general public are not to be obtained.\* The evidence, however, taken before the Duke of Newcastle's Commission, 1861, bears out the conviction felt by all men of experience, that the spread of education in a district very materially diminishes the amount of crime; while it is a notorious fact, testified to by every gaol report throughout the country, that the proportion of criminals who cannot read and write to the whole number, is very much greater than exists in the bulk of the classes from whom they spring. Thus, in Liverpool, Manchester, and Leeds we find that of the total number of persons apprehended in 1868, 50,270, only 1022, or about 2 per cent., could read and write well, while 19,189, or about 38 per cent., were unable to read at all. It is impossible, with the means at our disposal, to estimate accurately the proportion of the whole population who are able to read well, so as to compare it with the above figures; but in Birmingham an examination of the

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\* The following figures, however, serve to show the coincident increase of crime and decrease of education in Liverpool, Manchester, and Birmingham. In 1861 there were apprehended in these three towns 31,193 persons, of whom 1244 could read well: in 1868 were apprehended 52,098 of whom only 1039 could read well.



young persons between thirteen and twenty-one years of age, employed in twenty-six manufactories, showed that 42 per cent. of the males, and 28 per cent. of the females, were able to read well, as against 2 per cent. of the criminals in the three towns specified above. Without endorsing the opinions of those who apparently consider that a spread of education would put a complete stop to crime, the evidence before him must convince every student of the question that the two will vary, more or less exactly, in an inverse ratio with each other; and that as by education more fields of action, and more opportunities of gaining a livelihood, are opened to the bulk of the population, the temptation to crime will obviously be diminished, to say nothing of the moral restraints on evil doing inculcated and brought out by an efficient education. Connected with this branch of our subject is a not uncommon fallacy,\* that if you educate criminals you make them more dangerous, and the horrible crimes perpetrated by educated men are brought forward as an argument. Now as there is something specious about this suggestion, it may be well to look into it. There is no attempt made to deny that education will diminish the number of crimes, which is the really important point. A certain amount of truth there undoubtedly is in the remark as to the especially dangerous nature of the crimes committed by educated men. They are principally four in number: embezzlement, forgery, obtaining money under false pretences, and poisoning. The first three are educated methods of thieving, and are peculiarly bad, since in addition to robbing a man of his money, they tend to destroy in him that confidence in his fellow men so essential to the good of the world. Poisoning, the educated form of murder, is, from the difficulty of detection, and from its effects on the *morale* of society, perhaps the form most to be dreaded. But we find that these are the very forms of crime for which there is least sympathy or forgiveness; so that not only does education tend to diminish the spread of crime, and to lead to due appreciation of it, but the very crimes of educated men are those which, being most abhorrent, are especially certain of severe punishment.

The purpose of the present article is to sketch as briefly as possible the state of education in England at the present day; the admixture of the voluntary and legislative elements; the intimate connexion now existing between education and religion; and the various attempts that have been made to remedy the evils of the present system. We have also to ascertain the end at which to aim, to see what has been done to attain this end, and what are the causes of failure; whether anything, and if so,

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\* Since this was written Lord Salisbury has advocated this fallacy in the House of Lords.

what more can be done with our present laws ; what additional legislation is required, and how it will attain the desired result. There can be little doubt as to the end we wish to gain : *Every person in the British Empire should possess an efficient primary education.* To obtain this :

I. All children must go to school, and remain there in regular attendance for a sufficient period to lay the foundation of a knowledge which should be afterwards kept up and extended by evening-schools and cognate institutions.

II. The education given must be more efficient and consequently more lasting in its results than is the case at present. This is what is required ; what has been done to obtain it ?

Before proceeding to discuss the steps necessary to be taken for the attainment of the desired result, it will be well to review briefly what has been already done both by the legislature and by voluntary effort. The subject of education was one of the first to attract the attention of the Reformed Parliament of 1832 ; and from that year till 1839 the sum of 20,000*l.* was voted annually, which was expended by the Treasury in grants to assist in the erection of school-buildings. In 1839 the grant was increased to 30,000*l.* ; and since then the amount annually granted by Parliament for the education of children has increased, until in 1868 it was about 625,000*l.*, expended by a special department of government, which it is now suggested should be controlled by one of her Majesty's principal Secretaries of State. About one-half of this amount is spent in school-buildings and on pupil-teachers, who are regularly apprenticed to the profession, and after a certain period of instruction in a Training College, become certificated schoolmasters and mistresses, receiving their salaries partly from school fees, but in part too from a special provision of the grant, and also from the capitation grant, which varies in amount according to the attendance of the scholars and the report of the inspector of schools upon their proficiency. The management clauses of these public schools are intended to enable any parents who may object on religious grounds to the teaching of the Bible and the Catechism, to withdraw their children from that portion of the instruction ; but as a matter of fact, the much-debated Conscience Clause is comparatively seldom called into operation. The reports of the assistant-commissioners employed in the inquiry of 1861 are unanimous upon this point ; the so-called " Religious Difficulty " does not really exist on the part of the parents ; whenever objections are made, they arise from the influence brought to bear by the ministers of religions different to that taught in the school, and not from any feeling on the part of the parents themselves. Everywhere it was found that what the poor looked to was whether the school supplied good teaching in reading, writing, and arithmetic ; and when these conditions

were fulfilled, children of Church parents were found in Dissenting schools, and *vice versa*, the only foundation for the raising of this terrible bugbear being that Protestants, as a rule, avoided Roman Catholic schools, and Roman Catholics did not attend Protestant schools; but even to this there were very many exceptions. It is, however, worthy of notice, that the poor exhibit a strong preference for private schools over public ones, even though the former are generally dearer and less efficient. About one-third of the income of public schools is provided by endowment and annual subscriptions, the remainder being drawn about equally from school fees and the government grant; private schools, as a rule, are entirely dependent on the payments of the children. The class of private schools attended by the poor children is generally wretched in the extreme; the school-room is often a hovel or a cellar, and the teacher some half-educated or even almost uneducated person who has failed to earn a living in any other way. The Commissioners, in their Report, find the same difficulties in the way of education as have been experienced by the Education-Aid Societies, to which we shall refer later on; the parents are ignorant, apathetic, or too poor to dispense with the children's wages, and consequently unless the legislature steps in to protect what the respectable parents readily allow to be the real interests of the children, voluntary effort cannot succeed in getting more than a certain portion of them to school.

This fact being to some extent realized by Government, a series of measures have been introduced and carried through Parliament, with the object of securing that in certain industries children shall not be employed without receiving education; but it has not hitherto been considered expedient or possible to carry this principle to its legitimate and consistent conclusion, by preventing all children from earning wages unless some part of their time is spent at school. The principal of these measures are the Factory Acts, by which it is provided that no child under eight years of age can be employed in a factory at all, and no child under the age of thirteen can be employed more than six hours and a half in a day, or ten hours on alternate days; while if working every day, it must attend school for three hours daily, or if working alternate days, for five hours on the spare days. It is further enacted that no woman or "young person" (*i.e.*, anyone between thirteen and eighteen years of age), shall work for more than ten hours a day; but no provision is made for the education of these young persons. On the whole, this act is found to have done much good where the schools are efficient; but it does not provide with sufficient stringency for efficiency. In certain districts, moreover, it is found that the restriction of the hours of labour for children is leading to the employment of adult women,

to the great detriment of domestic morality; this is especially the case in the Potteries. Another Act provides that no male under the age of twelve shall be employed in any mine or colliery unless he can produce a certificate from a competent schoolmaster that he can read and write, or unless he shall each month produce a similar certificate that he has attended school for three hours a day two days a week (exclusive of Sundays) during the preceding month. In addition to this, similar or stronger compulsion is often exercised by private employers of labour, and with very good results. The conditions of the Factory Act have lately been extended into every workshop where more than six children are employed. Another very important piece of legislation is the Certified Industrial Schools' Act, under which a magistrate *may* send to a Certified Industrial School any child under the age of fourteen found wandering in the street not having any home or settled place of abode, and without proper guardianship or visible means of subsistence, a certain amount being paid by the Treasury towards the support of such child. It will be observed that this Act is merely permissive, and the supply of Industrial Schools bearing no proportion to the number of homeless and destitute boys, the law as it at present stands is quite incapable of dealing with the evil.

Having thus reviewed what has been done by the Legislature of this country for the encouragement and support of education, we now come to the consideration of the support derived from voluntary aid. And foremost in this class, both chronologically and with regard to the amount of money subscribed, come the various charitable societies more or less intimately connected with one or other religious sect. The two largest of these societies are the National Society for the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church, and the British and Foreign School Society, both of which were established at the beginning of the present century, and to the operations of which a great deal of the spread of education among our poor is due. Besides these, most religious bodies have a more or less central organization; while almost every church and chapel has its own school attached, which is generally connected in some way with one or other of the central bodies. Of these schools the great preponderance, as might be expected, are connected with the Established Church, the following being the proportions of public week-day schools of each sect in England and Wales, as reported by the 1861 Commission:—Total number of schools, 22,647; total of scholars, 1,549,312. Per centage of scholars in Church of England schools to the total number, 76·5; in British schools, 9·7; in Roman Catholic schools, 6·2; in Wesleyan schools (Old Connexion), 3·9; the remaining 3·7 per cent being made up of Congregational, Unitarian, Baptist, Calvinistic

Methodist, Jews, Society of Friends, Presbyterian Church in England, Primitive Methodist, Presbyterian (undefined), Methodist (New Connexion), and United Methodist Free Church. There are also in connexion with the Church of England diocesan boards of education, established for the promotion of education in the dioceses in which they are situated, and generally presided over by the bishop. They principally occupy themselves with the establishment and superintendence of training colleges for masters and mistresses, and with the organizing of schools. In addition to these central bodies there are schools in almost every parish, supported by voluntary subscriptions, and generally connected with some religious sect.

To deal now with the assistance given to the cause of national education by bodies not distinctively connected with any religious denomination; we come first to the consideration of the action of the Manchester and Salford Education Aid Society. This society, the first of its kind established, was to some extent raised from a nucleus due to Mr. Le Mare, where a few gentlemen had privately subscribed funds to assist poor parents in the educating of their children. It was first started in the beginning of 1864, the committee being formed of forty gentlemen representing fairly both political parties, and every religious opinion, who had been convinced—probably reluctantly convinced—by the failure of their individual efforts to cope with the gigantic evil of widespread ignorance among the wages-class, that some system of combined action was necessary, and that it behoved each one to lay aside those prejudices which would interfere with the harmonious working of the scheme. They state the object of the society to be “the general education of the children of the poor upon such principles as may unite members of all religious denominations in a common effort,” by, firstly, paying for the children such portion of the school fees as may be needful; secondly, by aiding (or establishing) free schools. The parents receiving grants may send their children to any school on the Society’s list, which includes all schools in receipt of annual Government grants; and also others, provided they are schools in connexion with some recognised religious denomination, or in which, besides secular instruction, the Scriptures are read daily from the authorized version; and provided also that their efficiency be satisfactory to the committee. Before any grant is made a form has to be filled up by the parent (or guardian), stating the number of the family, their weekly earnings, &c. A visitor is employed by the Society to inquire into all applications for grants, and canvassers have also been made use of, to whose reports we shall refer anon, to ascertain the state of education throughout the borough, and to induce parents to

avail themselves of the assistance so freely offered. The committee are authorized to pay the whole, or part, of the school fees of an eligible child, provided such payment do not exceed fourpence per week. Provisions are also made for the inspection of the schools, and the revoking of grants where found necessary. Basing our calculations on the last quarter of each year, we find that the Society sent to school in the year

1864—3701 children at a cost for the <i>half year</i> of	£463	15	0
1865—7200 " " " <i>whole year</i> of	1399	1	2½
1866—9490 " " " "	2022	0	0
1867—7689 " " " "	2408	4	0*
1868—3630 " " " "	1265	6	5*

This shows an average cost to the Society of about 4s. 9d. per annum for each child educated; the parents paid in addition about one-third of the amount granted by the Society, and the Government grant supplied the remainder of the funds. The Society estimates that in 1865 there were in Manchester and Salford 100,000 children of the school age, three to twelve years, and of these 40,000 were not attending any school, of whom many may have been at work; but on the other hand, a large proportion of those on the school-books attend so irregularly as to derive little or no benefit from the teaching. A careful and systematic canvass of those districts of Manchester and Salford inhabited by classes likely to require assistance to enable them to send their children to school has been made by the Society in 1865 and in 1866. Everywhere a majority of children of the school age are found neither at school nor at work; growing up, that is, without any mental training, without any habits of application, without any vestige of that discipline necessary to make them other than a curse to the community. And this occurs in a district where, thanks to Factory and Printworks Acts, comparatively few children can earn money without attending school. Of these young things thus left to ignorance and probable crime, fully one-half belong to parents who are able to pay the school fees. With such a fact staring us in the face, it is impossible to believe that voluntary effort can reach the root of the evil, especially in large towns. Out of 2516 children sent to school by the Society in 1866 between the ages of six and fourteen, 2070 were quite unable to read, and only 54, about nine per cent. of those more than ten years old, or little more than two per cent. of the whole, were able to read well. These few figures may serve to show

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\* These figures are not exactly accurate, as during the first three years the number of children was increasing every quarter, and during the last two (for want of funds) diminishing; the average, however, will be very nearly correct.

the terrible lack of even the most rudimentary education prevailing in the largest and richest centre of that manufacturing interest to which England owes so much of her greatness. But these statistics show only a very small portion of the disgraceful truth. Of the 60,000 children whose names appear on the books of some school or other, a very small proportion ever receive anything approaching to a sound primary education; some of them only attend school for a year or two, and then going to work, quickly forget all they have learnt; others attend with such irregularity that they derive little if any benefit from school teaching, and it appears impossible to convince either parents or children that regular and punctual attendance is necessary if any good is to be effected. During the cotton famine 963 young women from sixteen to twenty-three years of age passed through one sewing school. Of these only 199 could read and write, yet as they had almost all been employed in factories they must have been scholars in the factory schools as "half-timers." The following figures may serve to indicate the state of education among the poorer classes in Manchester:—1916 families were visited, to most of whom the Society afforded assistance. Of these it was found that 28 per cent. of the fathers, 46 per cent. of the mothers, and 47 per cent. of the children between the ages of twelve and twenty, were unable even to read—were, that is, utterly destitute of education. The conclusions come to by the Manchester Education Aid Society are, that if well supplied with funds (which unhappily is far from being the case), they could get about two-fifths of the neglected children in their district to attend school; but "they give it as their deliberate and unanimous conviction, that such is the apathy and indifference of a large proportion of the parents, that nothing but compulsion in one form or other will bring their children within the pale of education."

We thus find that a system under which any parents who desire education for their children, can obtain it either free of cost, or by the payment of such small sums as they can afford, a system moreover, which, not content with offering assistance to such as might come to seek it, sent messengers throughout the town to induce parents to accept the boon offered to their children, a system managed by gentlemen of great experience and untiring energy, has failed completely, leaving, however, this great result behind it;—the knowledge that with every opportunity, and without being affected by that bugbear of educational reformers "the religious difficulty," a voluntary system cannot educate in our large towns more than two-fifths of the neglected children. It now remains to examine the causes of this failure. In the first place a large proportion of the parents, uneducated

themselves, have no knowledge or appreciation of the blessings and advantages of education. They themselves have got along somehow, and they cannot see why their children should not do the same. Even when they have a vague glimmering consciousness that it would be better for the children to go to school, they are unaccustomed to exercise that control over them which appears to the higher classes a matter of course. If a child refuses to go to school, or plays truant, preferring to run about the streets, in nine cases out of ten the mother takes no more trouble about the matter. Besides this class of apathetic parents, there are those who would gladly send their children to school, but are unable to do so for want of decent clothing. These, however, can be provided for, excepting in the very worst cases, by the institution of "ragged schools." Among another set, the children, generally girls, but not unfrequently boys also, are kept at home to mind the house, or nurse the baby; one respectable working man, for instance, having taken his girl from school, "because his wife would not get up in time to light the fire and make his breakfast." A very large class again, keep their children from school because they are able, in one way or another, to earn wages which, though very trifling, make a perceptible difference in the family income. Below all these come the criminal classes, who prefer that their children should beg and steal as occasion offers, rather than go to school; and the "Street Arabs," without parents or home, who earn their living more or less criminally, and who can never be reached excepting by an unflinching enforcement of the Industrial Schools Acts. The report of the society for 1865, says:—"The statistics of canvassing show that about 37½ per cent. of the whole of the children neither at school nor at work, are those of parents whose income would enable them to pay the school fees;" that is, whose income is 3s. or more per week for each member of the family, after paying rent. A further canvass made in 1866, led to the conclusion that fully 50 per cent. of the children neither at school nor at work belonged to parents able to pay the school fees. It is found, moreover, that a very large proportion (in some cases more than one-half) of those children for whom the Society's grants have been accepted, are not at school, and this in almost all cases through the apathy and negligence of the parents. The Society's statistics having been impugned, a very careful investigation was made under the superintendence of the Manchester Education Bill Committee, which thoroughly confirmed these figures. A house-to-house visitation of two of the largest wards in the borough of Manchester, was made by competent persons, with the following results. The population of the district visited [Vol. XCI. No. CLXXX.]—NEW SERIES, Vol. XXXV. No. II. I I



was 92,517; of the children between the ages of three and six years, 51 per cent.; of those between six and ten years of age, 12 per cent., of those from ten to fourteen, 8·3 per cent., *had never been to a day-school*. It thus appears, that in these wards only a small proportion are returned as never having been to school; but when the period of their attendance is investigated, it is found that only a very small number remain long enough to receive anything that can be called an efficient education. In order to carry away permanent advantage, a child ought to attend a day-school regularly for at least four years, and even then, unless the opportunities offered by evening schools are availed of, the amount of knowledge retained at the age of twenty is very problematical. Thus it was found that in this district, out of 6773 youths of over fourteen years of age, 24·8 per cent. were unable to read, and 58·4 per cent. unable to write, facts which are not surprising when we see that the average attendance at school is now only two years, and that at a given date, 27·5 per cent. of the children at school were assisted by the Education Aid Society, which has not been in operation long enough for its influence to be seen on more than a small proportion of the youths over fourteen. The latest statistics procurable with regard to the position of the Society, are contained in its report for 1868 published last month. Funds having fallen off considerably, it became necessary for the Society to diminish to a proportionate extent the amount of assistance afforded, and in what manner this should be done was a problem to which they devoted great attention. Two methods were adopted: in the first place, a reduction was made in the rate of grants, children formerly aided at the rate of 3*d.* a week being reduced to 2*d.*, those at 2*d.* to 1½*d.*, and those at 1½*d.* to 1*d.* Such a step could not of course fail to drive a large number from school; but it is very satisfactory to remark, that owing to the efforts of many of the parents, and the generosity of the managers and teachers of schools, this number is much smaller than might have been anticipated. The second method adopted was to pass a resolution—"That at the end of each quarter, the names of such scholars as may not have made 60 per cent. of the possible number of attendances be erased from the Society's list, unless satisfactory reasons for the absence of such scholars be furnished to the Committee." The effect of these two new rules has been to reduce the expenditure for the year 1868 to 1265*l.* 6*s.* 5*d.*, and the number of children sent to school to 3630 in the last quarter, the cost per head being reduced to 4*s.* per annum. The total number of children thus deprived of education was 4876, who are thus classified;—

Reduction of amount of grants . . . . .	304
Dismissed for irregular attendance . . . . .	1539
Gone to work . . . . .	921
Paying their own fees . . . . .	168
Removed to other districts . . . . .	943
Gone to other schools . . . . .	121
Pupil teachers . . . . .	7
Paid for by guardians . . . . .	65
At home nursing . . . . .	87
Dead . . . . .	201
Lost sight of by the teachers . . . . .	525
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Total . . . . .	4878

Although in this diminution of children at school there is much to regret, yet that with so small an expenditure so many children are kept at school is a fact of very happy omen, especially when we find that in the last year the attendances made by the children were 74 per cent. of those possible, against 65 per cent. in the previous year.

In 1867 a society was formed in Birmingham, mainly through the efforts of Mr. George Dixon, M.P., called the Birmingham Education Society, the rules and procedure of the Manchester Society being adopted with few modifications. This Society has thoroughly canvassed the town of Birmingham, or, to be exact, that portion of the town inhabited by the classes likely to require assistance; the number of children visited between the ages of three and fifteen being 45,056. Of these it was found that 22.5 per cent. of the boys, and 21.75 per cent. of the girls, over the age, eight years, could neither read nor write. Nearly one-half the boys, and more than half the girls of the school age are neither at school nor at work. Of the children at work, and earning weekly wages, it was found that only 35 per cent. could read and write, while 16 per cent. had never been to any school, even a dame's school, no matter for how short a time. The state of education among those at work cannot be better shown than by quoting from the report of Mr. Long, of the Saltley Training College. The report itself is so interesting that we give it in full at the end of this article. Mr. Long visited twenty-six establishments by permission of the masters, and examined 908 young persons between the ages of thirteen and twenty-one, of whom 529 were males, and 379 were females. The examination consisted in reading a moderately difficult passage, writing a sentence from dictation, arithmetic up to, and including the compound rules, and general knowledge as to the principal facts of English geography and history. The result

showed that in reading and writing nearly one-half of those examined did nothing, or next to nothing, while only a third did at all well. In arithmetic and general knowledge three-fourths fail, and only 1 in 20 show anything like a satisfactory degree of attainment. Of those examined, only 45 per cent. had been at a day-school more than four years, and these alone, therefore, could have been expected to do well, but even they proved very unsatisfactory. Mr. Long concludes his report with a very strong demand for the establishment of night schools to continue and keep up the education given in the day schools.

With regard to Liverpool, a large number of statistics have been collected by the police for Mr. Melly, but unhappily this great town does not possess an education aid society, though a field for their exertions is open quite as wide as in Manchester or Birmingham, and it is therefore difficult to say with certainty what might be done there by a large and well organized system of voluntary effort.\* The temptations offered by miles of docks open to the street for petty pilfering, and a position as a seaport town, gathering together the worst scum both of Northern England and of Ireland, make Liverpool a very breeding-place of the dangerous classes, and it is estimated that 25,000 children (some say 30,000, or even 35,000) are growing up utterly without education, devoid of any moral, religious, or intellectual training to a probable future life of pauperism and crime at the expense of the community. These neglected children may be divided into two classes, those who play about the courts and back streets and do not come under the notice of strangers, and the class of "Street Arabs," as they have been called, who, under pretence of blacking shoes, hawking newspapers, and selling fuses, take every opportunity of begging, and frequently of stealing. How large this class is may be gathered from the following figures:—During the hour from half-past ten to half-past eleven on the morning of 12th January, 1869, the police counted 4868 children of both sexes, apparently under fifteen years of age, at large in a comparatively small number of streets; all these should have been at school, unless a few of the elder ones might have finished their education and gone to work.† At all events the street was not their proper place. In an hour, along the line of docks where sugar and fruit were being unloaded, 713 children were counted, and no one conversant with what goes on at the Liverpool docks will doubt that almost all these were there with the view of picking up whatever they could. During one hour in the evening, 415

\* Since the above was written, efforts are being made in Liverpool to establish an Education Aid Society.

† Those apparently going errands, and girls with babies were not counted.

children were found selling fuses in the streets, gaining no moral good themselves, and being an intense nuisance to the passers by. A large proportion, almost all indeed, of these 6000 children, might be advantageously dealt with by an extension and an enforcement of the Industrial Schools Act, how advantageously both to themselves and the community at large it is hard to say. But it would be necessary to increase enormously the number of industrial schools to provide accommodation for this class, there being in Liverpool and the neighbourhood only accommodation for 945 children in the certified industrial schools and reformatories, including the two ships in the Mersey. There is in Liverpool surplus accommodation for 6553 children in schools inspected and receiving the Government grant, and for about as many more in other schools, and it is estimated that an Education Aid Society efficiently conducted on the Manchester plan might, if well supported, calculate on filling up the vacancies in the former, so as to reduce the number of children who ought to be at school and are not, in Liverpool, to about 20,000. How to deal with these we shall see further on.

The general conclusions then to which the above facts and figures lead are as follows :—

I. In our large towns (for Leeds as far as is known gives similar results, and there is no reason to anticipate variation in other great centres of population) a majority of the children of the school age are neither at school nor at work.

II. Of those thus neglected voluntary effort cannot calculate, however well organized, on getting more than two-fifths into the schools, by paying part or even the whole of the school fees, and by using personal influence ; many refuse the grants, and of those who accept, a large proportion never employ them.

III. Thus there is left a residuum of considerably over one-fourth of the children of school age in our large towns, who are neither at school nor at work, or in ten of the principal centres of English industry (not including London, which probably equals all the others together), more than *one hundred thousand children are growing up without the slightest education.*

IV. The education given is so inefficient, and is continued for so short a time, that not one-half of the young persons of the age of twenty-one who have attended schools are able to read and write with ease and correctness.

To sum up then the state of affairs existing in England as to the education of the manual labour class, it appears that the question has occupied the attention of thoughtful and practical men for many years, that certain legislative measures have been passed, and that benevolent persons have endeavoured to assist by voluntary efforts. What the law has done is practically to

provide that no child shall be employed for wages in any factory, printworks, mine, or other large establishment without attending some school; but no proviso has ever been made that such school shall be an efficient one. Juvenile offenders, and young vagrants whose parents cannot be found, may be sent by the magistrates to a reformatory or industrial school; but, as we have seen, the provision of these is quite inadequate. Schools complying with certain general conditions may receive from Government an annual grant, varying according to the report of the inspector, the regularity of attendance, and amount of knowledge shown by the children under examination. Sums of money may also be granted to the masters, mistresses, and pupil teachers; the amount of all these grants to be limited to a certain proportion of the sums voluntarily subscribed. What voluntary effort has done for education is to endow schools, to subscribe for their maintenance, to superintend and in some cases to teach, to pay part or the whole of the fees for those parents unable to pay, and to use personal influence to induce the children to go. In the last case, that of the Manchester and Birmingham Education Aid Societies, a free education is practically offered at any school selected by the parents, and visitors go round to induce people to take advantage of the proffered assistance. Voluntary effort can do no more than this; but even backed up by the legislative enactments mentioned above, it fails to reach more than three-fourths of the children of our large towns. The reasons of this failure have been indicated above; they are, briefly, the ignorance, apathy, and poverty of the well-disposed, the avaricious, brutal, and wicked desires of the criminal parents, and the preference of the homeless children for the lawless life of the Street Arab.

The present Government having announced that they are unable to deal thoroughly and efficiently with the requirements of the country in the matter of education during the present session, and all hope of immediate legislation being thus destroyed, we are thrown back to an investigation of the measures recently proposed, and those which ought to be brought forward. The bill introduced by the Duke of Marlborough last year, not inaptly described by the *Times* as a piece of "imbecile optimism," was such as might have been looked for from the Conservative Government then in power, or perhaps it would be more correct to say, in *office*. A Cabinet whose chief spoke of the state of Ireland as satisfactory, and some of whose supporters have since declared that "what Ireland required was to be let alone," could hardly be expected to take a very wide or a very deep view of the question of national education, and it is scarcely surprising to find the Duke of Marlborough, by a most ingenious confusion of misleading, if not fallacious, statistics, setting forth

that the state of education in England was really not unsatisfactory, and that all that was required was to call the Vice-president of the Council "one of her Majesty's principal Secretaries of State," and give him an increased salary, with more subordinates, to bring more schools under inspection, and to make the "conscience clause" apparently more forcible in its application. All these may be, and are, desirable alterations in the existing laws; but it was little short of an insult to endeavour to persuade any rational body of men, with even the knowledge of the subject possessed by the House of Lords, that such petty trifling would be considered as a mode of dealing with the greatest question of the day, worthy of the great party who, whatever their faults, are generally not deficient in administrative power.

A very different bill was the Manchester scheme introduced into the House of Commons in 1867 by Messrs. Algernon Egerton, Bruce, and Forster, into which it was understood Mr. Bazley had undertaken to insert, if possible, in committee, clauses rendering attendance at school compulsory; and it is of good omen to all interested in the question, that Mr. Bruce and Mr. Forster are the members of the present Government to whom we have to look for action in the matter. The main principle of this bill was the permissive imposition by the community upon itself of a rate not exceeding sixpence in the pound to pay school fees for the children of a district, such fees not to exceed weekly 3*d.* for infants, 5*d.* for girls, and 6*d.* for boys. The bill was to come into action by the vote of a majority of the ratepayers present at a meeting specially convened by the mayor of the borough (or corresponding authority in non-corporate districts), a school committee was then to be elected, with very extensive powers both as to paying fees and building schools (they should also, as has been suggested by Mr. Melly, have power to assist in the erection of other schools), and in dealing with the managers of those schools connected with them. The compulsory clauses were as follows:—

"After the adoption of this Act in any locality it shall be illegal for any child under thirteen years of age to be employed for wages, unless provision be made by the parents or guardians, or by the employer, for the attendance of such child at a public school during two and a half days in each week.

"After the adoption of this Act in any borough or school district, parents who neglect either to provide for the education of such of their children as are between the ages of five and thirteen years, or to send them to some public free school, may, after *fourteen days'* notice in each case, be summoned by the school committee, and may be fined in any sum not exceeding 40*s.*, if satisfactory reasons for absence be not given, and if the children are not in the meantime sent to school."

A great deal of opposition has been raised by the suggestion

of compulsory attendance, and the usual ignorant howls of "un-English," "Interference with the liberty of the subject," have been loudly heard. Whether is it more disgraceful to a free and enlightened country that a few of its least satisfactory inhabitants should be subjected to a little gentle pressure, or that a large portion of the rising generation should be allowed to grow up in ignorance and crime? How is it a greater interference with liberty to say to a parent, "You shall be compelled to send your child to school lest his mind should grow up diseased, and he should with his ignorance infect and poison the community," than to say, "You shall be forced to have your child vaccinated lest his body become diseased, and he should assist in spreading a terrible epidemic throughout the community?" The principle upon which the whole of our legislation is founded is, that the State has the right to impose upon its individual members such restrictions as may be necessary for the good of the whole community; and much of the error and dimness of vision which has grown up on this matter is due to a misapprehension of the true significance of the word "State." By "State" is to be understood the whole community—Crown, Lords, and Commons as they are popularly divided, while for legislative purposes we are obliged to take Parliament as representing (not as *being*) the State. The Crown and the Lords represent themselves, the House of Commons appears as the representative of the remainder of the nation. But the looseness of application of the phrase extends still further: for as we are accustomed to regard the Government of the day as setting forth, at least administratively, the will of the community expressed through Parliament, it has become common to confound the Government, that is, merely the leaders and servants of the State, with the State itself, and to this confusion in great measure is owing the objection so often expressed to any compulsion exercised upon the non-criminal classes. In dealing however with criminals and with the non-productive or pauper element, the principle of compulsion was so obviously necessary that no objection has been raised; and it is to be hoped that before long the public mind of England will have become so far educated as to admit the necessity of compulsory education. If this comes to pass, the next generation will find little need of compulsion in the matter. Again, it is universally considered one of the first principles of government that it shall protect the interests of those unable to take care of themselves—as in the case of lunatics, for example—and it would not be easy to find a class so perfectly helpless, and therefore in such urgent need of Government interference, as are young children in the hands of ignorant, apathetic, or brutal parents. Given then the duty of Government to protect the interests of children, if need be,

against unnatural parents, and it will hardly be denied that there is nothing more important to the highest and truest interests both of the little ones themselves and of the community of which they are hereafter to form for good or evil so important a part, than that they should be efficiently educated. All who have practical acquaintance with the subject in our large towns have come more or less reluctantly to the conclusion that a system of compulsory attendance at school is the only one which will meet the necessities of the case, and we have ourselves no doubt that their conclusion is the inevitable and the correct one : at the same time we do not now propose what is commonly understood by compulsory education ; the country is as yet hardly ripe for it ; for while Englishmen deal severely enough with the parent who neglects or illtreats the body of his child, any one who proposes that he who follows a similar course with the soul or intellect of the child whom God has committed to his charge shall be similarly treated, is looked upon as crotchety and unpractical. Unhappily the ordinary Briton is not yet prepared to take the simplest and most effective measure of sweeping out the degrading stain of ignorance and crime from his country's escutcheon.

Without, however, going to the extent of compulsory attendance, there are means which would result to some extent in securing the ends in view. Those ends are :—

I. All children must be forced or induced to go to school.

II. The education given must be made more efficient or more lasting in its results than is at present the case.

There are conceivable two ways of attaining the first result—inducement and force. The former has been tried in every legitimate way (for we do not defend bribing and pauperizing alike children and parents by dinners *gratis*), and the conclusion established is, that when schools are founded by private benevolence, a good education given without charge, and the personal influence of visitors brought to bear, twenty-five per cent. of the population of our large towns are unreachable ; and that of the remainder, the majority attended so short a time, and so irregularly, leave school at such an early age, and never attempt to keep up their learning afterwards, that it is probable that not more than one-fifth of the manual labour class retain at the age of twenty-one any education worthy of the name. It is thus apparent that *inducement* is not sufficient to gain the attendance of children at school even when supported by such an extent of compulsion as is obtained by preventing children who do not attend school earning wages at certain specified trades. We have been obliged to relinquish for the present any hope of seeing a consistent scheme of compulsory education carried. It thus remains



to see by what indirect means we can apply *force*, so as to get children to schools.

The preponderance of the evidence collected from various sources shows that where the factory-schools, or those attended by the "half-timers," were efficient and satisfactory, the result of the Factory Act was good, and tended to the interests both of employer and employed. The child had less time to give to labour, but its work was of more value, and it became a skilled labourer sooner than would otherwise have been the case. The clauses of the Act relating to efficiency are so vague, that practically almost any person professing to keep a school can give a certificate of attendance; and the children thus often acquire habits of idleness which leave them in a worse position than if they had learned to be industrious, though ignorant. In any extension of this Act it would be necessary carefully to study the requirements of the trade affected, the demand for labour in some being constant, and best supplied by half time or alternate day-work, in others varying from week to week, or month to month; while in such cases as agricultural labour it depends entirely on the season of the year. Now, although it is of course desirable that the attendance at school should be as regular and uninterrupted as possible, the work of the country must still be done; and it is clearly undesirable to substitute for child-labour that of adult women. Such clauses must then be introduced into the bill as will allow for a variation in the arrangement of the hours of attendance according to the calling in which the child is employed. As the Factory Act recognises already the difference between "young persons" and adults, only allowing the former to be employed for ten hours a day, there would be little difficulty in providing that these should attend an evening school to such an extent as at least to keep up the knowledge they had gained at the public school. We would then suggest, as a first step for the alleviation of the present degrading state of national education—

I. An extension of the Factory Act, making it punishable (on the part both of employer and parent or guardian) to employ any child under the age of fourteen for wages, unless he or she attend an efficient school for, say, fifteen hours a week; or any young person between the ages of fourteen and eighteen unless he or she attend an efficient evening school for four hours a week; in the latter case, the young person might also be held responsible if the law was broken. In order to secure the efficiency of the school, no certificate of attendance should be valid unless the school attended was under Government inspection, and was pronounced efficient by the inspector. It is often, however, hard on the private schoolmaster to insist on his having been trained

at a regular training college; and it would be well to grant a certificate to any one passing a certain examination, and being pronounced efficient by the inspector.

The object of this suggestion is of course to secure that no child shall be employed for wages without *ipso facto* being educated; and although of course any acts that could be brought into operation would be evaded in innumerable isolated instances, a considerable amount of obedience could be enforced, and the mere moral effect of making any course of action illegal is found to be considerable through its operation on public opinion. The compulsory attendance of young persons at evening schools, moreover, could not fail to be very beneficial, for while it would secure that they should retain the education gained at the public school to an age when it would have become, so to say, a part of themselves, an opportunity would thus be afforded them of gaining further knowledge than mere reading, writing, and primary arithmetic. The great difficulty with which voluntary effort has now to deal is the carelessness of the parents, and the poverty, which makes the small earnings of the child necessary for the support of the family. By thus providing that the child shall earn no wages unless it goes to school, this temptation is in a great measure removed, and a strong inducement is thus offered to both parent and child. It is, however, obviously impossible to enforce attendance, unless schools are provided. And this brings us to our second suggestion.

11. Power should be given to the local authorities, or to the majority of the rate-payers (or, failing action on the part of both these, the rate should be established by parliament, if convinced of its expediency), to impose a local or district-rate, to be supplemented by payments from the general revenues of the country, which should provide free education for those children whose parents could afford nothing, and assist those who were only able to pay a portion of the school fees. The administration of the funds thus raised might be left in the hands of a school committee, to be appointed as proposed by the Manchester Bill, who would of course have power to build, or assist in building, fresh schools where necessary, such schools to be under their management, and to be non-denominational. Perhaps the best method of payment from the general funds of the country would be found in a continuance of the present system of grants in aid, capitation grants, salaries to masters and mistresses, &c. The principle of rating in aid of education has already been established in particular districts, such as Liverpool, where a library and museum rate is regularly collected, and it is obviously unfair to inflict upon the large centres of population, already over-

taxed for local expenses, the whole burden of educating the children of the vast masses of migratory poor which flow to them in search of employment. It is often urged that the existence of such a rate would tend to pauperize the population, and to induce those who now pay for their children's schoolings to throw them on the rates. The latter difficulty might in great part be got over by an efficient system of inspection of the circumstances of those who applied for education tickets, and it is also probable that a large number even of the labouring classes would prefer to pay the school fees themselves rather than accept parish relief for the purpose. While care would be necessary to guard against imposture on the part of those able to pay, it is even more desirable that the system should be so administered as not to destroy the feeling of independence, which is one of the most hopeful symptoms amongst the poorest class. Again, there is no doubt that any system of charity, or of Government relief, tends in some degree to pauperize the recipients; but this is less so in the case of grants for the education of their children than under any other circumstances, as it is not the parents but the children who gain the advantage, and the latter are not likely to be degraded by being paid for by the State, any more than if the funds were provided by the parents. Such a system, combined with a law obliging the poor-law guardians to make it a condition of out-door relief that the children should be sent to school, would remove the excuse of poverty, and thus enable all parents who were desirous to do so, to secure an efficient education for their children. These two remedies would seem to dispose of the difficulties thrown in the way of voluntary effort by the avarice or the poverty of parents, for if the children can earn no wages, there is little object in keeping them away from school, and if the fees of the destitute are provided for them, poverty ceases to be an excuse for ignorance, and we have only to deal with the lowest class of all, degraded and dissolute parents, and homeless children, who prefer begging or stealing to education and work. To get hold of these, we would suggest—

III. An enforcement of the Industrial Schools Act as it now stands, and, if it should be found necessary, an extension of it; with the necessary consequence of an obligation on districts to build, with the assistance of the State, as many Industrial Schools as may be required. At present, magistrates are unable to employ the powers they possess, from the paucity of Industrial Schools. In Liverpool there is accommodation for 945 children, while, as Mr. Melly's statistics show, there are at least 6000 running wild about the streets. The magistrates should be obliged to commit to an Industrial School, all children begging (either openly

or under pretence of selling fuses, &c.), or found in the streets without any satisfactory means of livelihood, provided that parents or guardians could not be found, or that, when found, they were convicted criminals, habitual drunkards, or otherwise unfit to have the care of their children; and in the case of a child brought up three or more times for begging, the magistrate should be required to commit it to an Industrial School as incorrigible, without reference to the position of its parents. Any child convicted of stealing should be committed to a Reformatory, and not brought in contact with the non-criminal children at Industrial Schools. These may appear harsh measures, but that if thoroughly carried out, they would be for the good of the children themselves, and, therefore, for the ultimate advantage of the whole community, there can be little doubt in the mind of any unprejudiced and thoughtful man. It is surely better to accept a sharp remedy than perish of a lingering and painful disease.

“Let us be keen, and rather cut a little  
Than fall and bruise to death.”

So much for the means of getting the children to school; it behoves us now to consider in what way we can make the education of the children more efficient and more lasting in its results than is the case at present. The first great difficulty now experienced is the short time during which children remain at school, and the irregularity of their attendance while on the books. As far as can be gathered from the statistics at our disposal, the average attendance of a child at school, in the classes we are dealing with, is about two years, while experienced teachers say that at least four years are required to give a sound knowledge of reading, writing, and the earlier rules of arithmetic; and even then, if they do not attend an evening school afterwards, the knowledge acquired at the day school is soon lost. It also appears that the children who have been at infant schools learn much more readily than others. Evening schools are found to be of great service if well conducted, and by a good teacher, they serve not only to prevent the knowledge acquired in the day school being forgotten, but also enable the pupils to extend their study into the regions of general information, history, geography, science, &c.; while it is found by experience that the scholars generally show a great and intelligent interest in their studies, and thoroughly appreciate the advantages offered. Great difficulty, however, is experienced, especially in country districts, in obtaining good teachers for evening schools. The masters and mistresses of the day schools have too much to do: in addition to the usual school work, they are obliged to

devote considerable time each day to the education of the pupil-teachers, and it is impossible for them to undertake the conduct of evening schools as well, with justice either to themselves or their pupils. It has been suggested that the best method of dealing with this difficulty would be to shorten the hours of work in the day school, which are often too long for real utility, or the difficulty might be overcome by the appointment of an assistant-master for some part of the year. It thus appears that what is necessary for the efficiency of a system of primary education is, that children should first attend the infant school, say from the age of four to six, then the day school as whole timers till ten, and as half timers till thirteen, and afterwards till the age of eighteen attend an evening school for at least four hours a week. Until some system of this sort is attained, our working classes will grow up in ignorance and degradation, and England must stand in the front rank of civilized countries for ignorance, crime, and pauperism.

To sum up then very briefly the state of primary education in this country, we come reluctantly to the conclusion that England is far behind such countries as Prussia, Saxony, and the United States of America; that when voluntary effort has done all that it can, in the present state of our laws, there is left in our large towns a residuum of about twenty-five per cent. of the children of the school age who are neither at school nor at work; that these could only be thoroughly reached by a system of compulsory education for which the country is not yet prepared, but that awaiting this much might be effected by indirect compulsion; and we have suggested that:

1. No child be allowed to earn wages without going to school for fifteen hours a week till fourteen, and afterwards for four hours a week till eighteen years of age.

2. That a system of district or local rating be established to educate the poorest children and to build schools, such local rating to be supplemented out of the general funds of the State. All pauper children to be sent to school as a condition of relief.

3. The whole class of street Arabs to be sent to industrial schools, at the expense partly of the district, partly of the State.

Most of the above remarks have reference more to town than country districts; the two are widely different, and the former most urgently claims attention. Surely in this enlightened age all men might lay aside their petty differences of opinion and aid in the good work, and none the less that as education is opposed to crime, they will save themselves money in the end.

The following is the report of Mr. Long alluded to above:—

*“ To the Committee of the Birmingham Education Society.*

“ GENTLEMEN,—I have the honour to lay before you the following information respecting the state of education amongst young persons of both sexes, between the ages of 13 and 21, employed in various manufactories in the town of Birmingham.

“ *Number Examined.*—The time at my disposal was two weeks, and the number of ‘permits’ placed in my hands ninety. Twenty-six establishments have been visited, and 908 candidates examined, of whom 529 were males and 379 females.

“ A much larger number might have been examined, and with no greater labour, if the order of visits had been pre-arranged. In most cases two journeys to each factory have been necessary, the first having resulted merely in appointing the time for a second visit. Moreover, ‘Saint Monday’ has hindered the progress of the inquiry in the early part of the week, while pressure of business has, in many factories, interfered with it on Friday and Saturday.

“ All that could be done was to select, in different parts of the town, establishments that might be considered representative, both as to the several branches of industrial occupation, and the various numbers of workmen employed. From all that I can learn, therefore, the accompanying statements may be taken as approximately true in respect of the young factory workers generally, and as giving, therefore, a fair indication of their educational condition.

“ *Standard of Attainment selected.*—The test applied has been similar to that made use of in examinations under the ‘fourth standard’ of the Committee of Council on Education. This is the lowest standard in which money ‘accounts’ and writing on paper are required, while it is the highest at present attained in elementary schools by the majority of the children of working men.

“ In marking the handwriting and arithmetic some allowance has been made for nervousness and want of practice. The reading has not needed this to the same extent, and the spelling marks have been kept separate.

“ *System of Marks Employed.*—A ‘blank’ or ‘dash’ (thus ‘—’) indicates complete failure.

“ *‘Bad.’*—Reading: Merely monosyllables, or perhaps easy disyllables, with the aid of a little spelling.—Writing: Only the name signed, or if more, done so slowly and so illegibly as to be worthless.—Spelling: More than four mistakes in twenty-four words.—Arithmetic: Nothing beyond adding up two or three days’ wages at a few shillings and pence per day.—General Knowledge:—Nothing more than perhaps the name of this country; that London and Yorkshire are in it; and that Oliver Cromwell battered down some castles in fighting against a king.

“ *‘Good’* has been given for reading which was fluent, even if not expressive; for writing, fairly regular, and done with ease; for spelling, with only one mistake in twenty-four words; for arithmetic, when, of three examples given in the compound rules, one was worked

accurately, and the 'principle' of working the other two shown to be understood; in general knowledge, for a fair acquaintance with the names of the chief towns of England; their position, and why important; the principal countries of the world, with their more important productions; and a few leading facts in the history of England.

"'Moderate' denotes reading without fluency or accuracy; writing 'with difficulty and labour,' and so on.

"*Results of Examination.*—The percentage of attainment is as follows:—

		Read.	Writing.	Spelling.	Arithmetical.	General Knowledge	
(A)	Males . . .	Good . . . . .	42	34	18	8	7
		Moderate . . . . .	18	22	11	8	19
		Bad or Fail . . . . .	40	44	71	84	74
(B)	Females . . .	Good . . . . .	23	16	9	1	1
		Moderate . . . . .	24	20	5	4	10
		Bad or Fail . . . . .	48	64	86	95	89
(C)	Both Males and Females	Good . . . . .	36	27	14	5	4
		Moderate . . . . .	20	21	8	6	16
		Bad or Fail . . . . .	44	52	78	89	80

"The lower (c) part of this table shows that in reading and writing nearly half of the whole number examined do nothing, or next to nothing, and only one-third (*i.e.*, 36 per cent.) do at all well. In arithmetic and general knowledge more than three-fourths fail, or nearly so, and only 1 in 20 shows anything like a satisfactory degree of attainment. In these two latter subjects, however, the males, taken separately, average one 'good' mark out of 12; the females, only one out of every 100.

"The higher average, under the head of reading, points at once to the work of the Sunday school, and the abundance of cheap newspapers and periodicals. When, however, it is compared with the average obtained for general knowledge, the difference between 'instruction' and 'education' becomes painfully apparent. These youths have acquired the mechanical art of reading, but not the habit of thinking. With minds untrained to attend, memories to retain, and reason to reflect, they read only for pastime and temporary gratification, and have no taste for any but the 'trashiest' kind of literature that comes in their way. With the key of knowledge laboriously furnished to them, they care to open no door but that of a play-room.

"Many of the passes in writing proved upon inquiry to be due, in great measure, to the instruction given on Sundays in certain Non-conformist Sabbath schools. Nearly 30 per cent. do not write at all; about 20 per cent. just manage 'to sign their name.' This is, in my mind, as bad as nothing at all. Unless a person can write well enough to set down his thoughts on paper—as in a letter—or to make notes of what he reads, or sees, or hears, his signature is only the old 'mark' or 'cross' under another form, conventionally elaborated, in order to save appearances.

“*School-stay.*—The following table shows the per centage of attendance at school for various periods :—

Time at	Day School.	Night School.	Night School.
Four years or more . . . . .	45	37	2
Less than four years . . . . .	38	47	45*
Not at all . . . . .	17	16	53

\* Of these 25 less than 1 year.

“From this it appears, that out of every 100 examined, only 45 have been in day schools long enough to be expected to reach the fourth standard. By reference to the table previously given it will be seen that of these 45, only 36 passed in reading, 27 in handwriting, 14 in spelling, 5 in arithmetic, and 4 in general information. Of those who failed altogether, or are marked ‘bad,’ one-half have never been at a day school, one-fourth have been less than three years, and the remaining one-fourth more than three years.

“*Conclusions.*—The general conclusions to which these facts seem to lead are, that we need some far more comprehensive system of education than we at present possess, in order not only to bring all children into school, but to make them attend with regularity, and remain after they have learnt the arts of reading, writing, and cyphering, long enough to become accustomed to the use of them as instruments of self-culture.

“Then, when children left the primary school, there would be some chance of success in imparting to them technical instruction. The night school would become a ‘Fortbildung’—continuating school—affording to them what would then be a relaxation after physical labour, and a mental recreation, in the place of what is now a toilsome struggle to overtake the days gone by.

“At present they are not prepared for a step in advance. Most of them have as yet no footing, and I fear that it will be in vain to form them into classes for the study of special higher subjects. The lecture is but the handmaid to the treatise, the class-room (except in the case of drawing, is but the ante-room to the ‘study,’ and ‘technical instruction’ will make but little way amongst the artisans of this country until they are better prepared for it by a more thorough system of ‘primary education.’

“I have to express my best thanks for the courtesy with which we were everywhere received, and for the facilities afforded to us in carrying on the work of examination.

“I have the honour to be, gentlemen,

“Your obedient servant,

“JOHN LONG.

“Saltley Training College, February 24, 1868.”

“The following was the sentence in which the young persons were examined by Mr. Long, in writing from dictation :—‘A miller dreamt [Vol. XCI. No. CLXXX.]—NEW SERIES, Vol. XXXV. No. II. K K



that under a certain part of the foundation of his mill there lay concealed a huge pan of gold and diamonds.' A similar passage—each being taken from the fourth standard book used in schools—was employed in the examination for reading. The fourth standard in arithmetic is the lowest in which money is reckoned. The number of 'full passes,' or of those who passed this simple test in each of the three subjects, reading, writing, and arithmetic, were:—Males, 86 out of 529; females, 5 out of 379; total 41 out of 908, or about  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent."

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#### ART. IX.—NATIONAL DUTY.\*

WE hear a great deal now of *national duty* and *national responsibility*, but these terms, like many in popular use, have but vague ideas attached to them. Mr. Ruskin's little book, "Sesame and Lilies," affords a good illustration of the confusion, not so much in language as in thought, which commonly prevails on this subject. In the first of the two lectures of which that work is composed, he says, that "the English nation despises science, despises literature, despises art, despises nature, despises humanity." He then proceeds to prove his assertion, clause by clause.

One is naturally startled by the statement that science is despised in the country of Lyell and Darwin, Herschel and Tyndall; but Mr. Ruskin cuts the matter short by telling us that whatever is done for science in this country is done by private individuals, and that the nation does next to nothing. The nation only values science for its immediate practical utility. "We are obliged to know what o'clock it is for the safety of our ships, and therefore we pay for an Observatory;" but nothing worth doing is done for the higher branches of science. In proof of this assertion he adduces an instance of a collection of fossils which Professor Owen wished the trustees of the British Museum to purchase, but about which they hesitated, and only agreed to at last on his making himself responsible for part of the money. Had it not been for his sacrifice the collection in question would now be in the Munich Museum. The narrow escape which we have had from this loss is put forward as a conclusive proof that the nation despises science; so that, in this case, it is evident that the nation means the people, as represented by its govern-

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\* See note in brackets, preceding Art. VIII., at page 458.

ment. Consistently with this idea, Mr. Ruskin proceeds to prove that the nation despises literature. The flourishing condition of the book trade, the number and size of our circulating libraries, all count for nothing in our favour; we are condemned on the simple evidence that there are many towns in the kingdom which have no free public library. In like manner he proceeds in his attempt to prove that we have no humanity, by relating a melancholy tale of a poor man who died of starvation rather than comply with the rules of a local workhouse. In all these cases it is clear that he considers the duty of the nation to be identical with the duty of the government. According to this theory, however much superior the Zoological and Botanical Gardens of London may be to the Jardin de Plantes of Paris, the English nation can claim no merit for the former, for they are the result of private enterprise, while the French nation may claim merit for the latter, for it is supported by the State. Natural history may reap more benefit from the English system, but the French nation is attempting to do its duty, while the English nation is not. When, however, the lecturer, in following out the argument, has to show that we despise nature, he tells us that we make railways which spoil the most beautiful valleys in Switzerland.

This is the point to which we particularly call attention, for whatever Englishmen do abroad they do as private individuals. If an English railway company spoil an Alpine view, a charge of Vandalism cannot justly be brought against our Government, the simple reason being that it has no power to prevent the act complained of. Here Mr. Ruskin holds us responsible for acts not committed by our Government, although in the other cases, nothing that was done by private individuals was allowed to count in our favour. It might, indeed, be answered that the character of the nation is shown both in the acts of its individual members, and in the negligence of its government; but if this be so, it is obviously absurd, when considering the national love of science, to leave out of account the labours of scientific societies and individuals. We think, then, it is clear Mr. Ruskin uses the word "nation" in two different senses: in one case signifying the people, and in the other the Government. It is this confusion which lies at the root of the political difficulties of our time; and until our political reformers have freed themselves from its influence very little real progress will be made. Consciously, or unconsciously, people are ever arguing somewhat in this manner: this thing is the duty of every individual, therefore it is the duty of the whole nation, therefore it is the duty of the Government. Now, the essence of government is compulsion, and the fallacy lies in the assumption that because it is the duty of A, B, and C

to do a certain thing, therefore it is the duty of A and B to compel C to do it. The argument will be rendered clearer by a detailed illustration. We select first the case of religion, both on account of its own intrinsic importance, and of its connexion with the politics of the hour. Few will object to the proposition that it is the duty of every one to support his own religion ; but this just and natural proposition has, through the fallacy just adverted to, been made to support the enormous amount of religious persecution under which mankind have so long suffered, and are still suffering. On the plea that what is the duty of every individual is the duty of the State, almost every government gives some support to religion. During the early life of a nation, when its subjects are all united in one common faith, little harm is done when the only organization which the country contains is employed for the performance of the sacrifices considered as an imperative duty by all. Ancient Rome and Athens were for some centuries in this happy condition, but there is scarcely any part of the world of which the same can be said at present, and when the time comes—as in the history of every progressive nation it must come—when its members are divided into hostile sects, the fallacy begins to produce its baleful effects. As the essence of government is compulsion, it follows that if it be the duty of the government to support religion, the stronger sect is bound to compel the weaker to abjure its heretical opinions; and accordingly this has been attempted by various governments—Pagan, Christian, and Mahomedan. Generally, however, some sturdy heretics have been found whom no threats or persuasions can induce to abjure their opinions. The extermination of these dangerous characters by the government is the only logical conclusion of the argument. This has, accordingly, been attempted. Some governments have resorted to a wholesale massacre like that of the priests of Baal at the command of Ahab, and of the Hugonots by the order of Charles IX. But, in general, executions have been preceded by some form of trial. In the pursuance of this practice, the Spanish Government has far surpassed all the other governments of Europe. The well-known maxim of Philip II., “better not to reign at all than to reign over heretics,” thoroughly expresses the spirit of his policy ; yet the zeal which he displayed has earned for him—not the admiration—but the hatred of mankind ; and it is probable that at the present day not even Spain contains a Catholic prepared to imitate his conduct.

Partly in consequence of our increasing humanity, and partly of the increasing numbers of dissenters thus become more formidable, the practice of burning heretics has been allowed to die out ; but people, unable to see that this toleration is really an

abandonment of the principle that the State is bound to support religion, still maintain, to a greater or lesser extent, the system of excluding heretics from the employment of the State. Even at the present day an oath is required on entering parliament, and on other occasions, in England, which is intended to have, and may have, the effect of excluding atheists. In our country, as is usual with us, the door has not at once been thrown wide open, that all may enter, but has been unwillingly opened a little way—first to admit one, and then another throng of applicants. The fear of a revolution in Ireland compelled parliament to open its doors to Roman Catholics forty years ago, but it was not till more than thirty years afterward that the Jews were admitted also. It is curious that Dr. Arnold, one of the most strenuous advocates of Catholic Emancipation, was a vehement opponent of the emancipation of the Jews. His was one of those singular minds which make us wonder how they can reason so ably within certain limits, and yet cannot pass beyond them. He broke off his connexion with the unsectarian University of London, in consequence of the rescinding of a resolution which had been carried on his proposal, that a knowledge of the principles of Christianity should be required as a qualification for a degree; so that he was condemned at the same time in London as a bigot, and in Oxford as a latitudinarian. In his mind, Church and State were so thoroughly identified, that he was quite unable to discuss the propriety of their separation. He would say—if you do so and so, England will lapse into the state of America, where there is no public provision for teaching Christianity at all. He never seems to have considered—though he must have known—that Christianity was, as it is now, far more powerful in America than in many countries of Europe in which it is supported by the State. He had convinced himself that it was the duty of the State to support religion; and, therefore, never thought about its utility. In his opinion every nation was bound to support *some* form of Christianity, and to employ in its service the members of every Christian sect (the Unitarians perhaps excepted), but Jews and infidels were to be peremptorily excluded. This exclusiveness is the more remarkable, as many of Dr. Arnold's own opinions were considered very heterodox in his own day. That a man who himself rejected three of the Gospels as incredible narratives should wish to exclude from civil employment all who rejected the fourth also, is a singular example of the narrowing effects of dogmatic education. So illogical a compromise between the principles of persecution and toleration was, by its very nature, transitory; and accordingly the Jews have been admitted to the civil rights of English citizens, although not till many years after Arnold's death. Political exclusion is less cruel than torture and

execution ; but it is also less logical. If it be the duty of the State to support any form of religion, the extermination of heretics must be more effectual than their simple exclusion from civil employment, while they are still allowed to disseminate their opinions. Yet, whatever may be said to the contrary, it is really persecution to deprive a man, on account of his opinions, of any office or emolument which he might otherwise obtain, and such a system would never have been introduced into any Christian country if Christian *faith* had been understood to mean *fidelity* to the *spirit* of the Gospel, and not *belief* in the *letter*. With the exception above referred to, in the case of atheists, the system of exclusion has now been abandoned in England, as well as to a greater or less extent in all other countries of Europe,—and most justly abandoned—for in truth the duty of the State is not to support religion, but to employ the best men it can procure, quite irrespective of their opinions, in protecting its subjects—not from the divine wrath—but from human oppression ; and those rulers who, like Achar and Frederick the Great, have acted on this principle, have richly deserved, as they have earned, the gratitude of their own subjects and of posterity.

Though penal edicts have been abolished as cruel, and political exclusion as unjust, a stand is still made in defence of established churches. Mrs. Partington has been compelled to yield her ground-floor and staircase to the advancing tide, but she still employs her mop to keep it from the upper storeys. Although the State is not now considered so infallible that it can be allowed to punish heretics, it is still thought to possess sufficient wisdom to select the form of religion which its subjects may be justly compelled to support. This last stronghold has now been attacked ; the abolition of compulsory church rates just ordained by the legislature, gives a flat denial to the theory that any one may be justly compelled to pay for the support of religion ; and although Mr. Gladstone himself does not see that in attacking the Irish Church he is attacking the principle of Establishment, the Conservatives know better, and prepare themselves for a death-struggle. Mr. Gladstone and some of his followers argue, that the positions of the Irish and the English churches are so different, that no argument can be drawn from one to the other ; and their connexion has been compared to the case of a swimmer with a heavy weight attached to him, who would certainly be able to swim better without it. No doubt the Irish Church is far more unpopular than that of England, but their position may be more aptly compared to that of a town ; and a bank which defends it from inundation. *The bank is in the more exposed situation, and will be swept away first, but after its destruction, the town will be in a more dangerous situation than before. When the*

time comes for our politicians to discuss the disestablishment of the Church of England, the example of Ireland, without an establishment, will prove a valuable fulcrum for the lever of progress. It will bring home the voluntary system to the minds of the people more forcibly than the example of America can possibly do, and it will show that we have not considered the maintenance of the State Church as a duty which can in no case be evaded. It may indeed, and we hope it will produce important results on the Continent; it may encourage liberals in Austria, and strengthen the hands of Garibaldi. Only when all governments have been completely separated from religion—when Protestant and Catholic—Sonnee and Shiayee—Brahmin and Buhddist—have learned that their duty to their God does not require them to force their opponents to adopt their creed—will the pernicious sophism which we have been endeavouring to expose, cease to trouble the world: and that day is far distant; but

“Tho’ the mills of God grind slowly,  
Yet they grind exceeding small.”

The subject of education, to which we now turn for illustration, is in one respect broadly contrasted with that of religion. Governments have undertaken the control of religion throughout historic and pre-historic ages; but, at least in Europe, they are only beginning to turn their attention to education. The opponents with whom we have to contend are not the Conservatives, who are anxious to preserve, but the Radicals, who are endeavouring to set up. But though the National School is a more modern institution than the National Church, it is founded on the same error, and beset by many of the same difficulties. It is true that it is the duty of every parent to educate his children; it is also true that it is the duty of the rich to promote the education of the poor. Education, therefore, may be said to be the duty of the nation—if by the nation be meant the people; but the inference that it is the duty of the State to provide for the education of its subjects, involves two assumptions:—first, that those who think a certain thing to be their duty, are bound to compel those who do not, to act as if they did; and secondly, that State interference is the best means of attaining the proposed end. The best way to ascertain this will be to examine the state of the country where the theory has been most consistently carried out. It is obvious that if it be the duty of the State to provide for the education of its subjects, it must be its duty to prohibit all private teachers from acting without its control. *This has accordingly been done in China, where every child is ordered to attend, and does attend, the elementary schools established by the State, where it is taught reading and writing, is*

made familiar with the works of Confucius, &c. For those who show superior ability, a higher instruction is provided, and those who most distinguish themselves in competitive examinations are selected for the service of the State—the *summum bonum* of Chinese aspiration. This system has been in use for so long a period that in a Chinese work composed before the Christian era, it is spoken of as “the ancient system,” and its results are to the Chinese mind completely satisfactory. But to the European observer, it appears in a very different light. As it is administered by men who have all been trained under it, and as there is no other system in the country with which comparison can be made, innovation is almost impossible; and it is the principal instrument in preserving China in that deadly sleep from which it will only be roused, and that with difficulty, by European conquest. We do not anticipate such melancholy consequences from the introduction of a similar system into England; and indeed the disadvantages resulting from the exclusion of competition, and the injustice of preventing any man from setting up as a teacher who can obtain pupils to teach, are so manifest, that the system finds hardly any advocates in this country. Even the Prussian Government was obliged to permit the establishment of private schools, and French reformers are now agitating for the abolition of the official authorization required in their country for the establishment of a private school.

Of the various schemes for national education that have been proposed, we will mention two suggested by Mr. J. S. Mill. In his work on Liberty, published ten years ago, he proposed that the State should establish examinations, fixing certain ages at which children were to know certain things, and leaving it to the parents to determine where and how they should be taught. The State should not be entrusted with the power of forcing any disputed opinions on the pupils, but should confine its compulsory instruction to reading, writing, and facts in positive science. The proposal is moderate enough; but compulsion is always objectionable, and there is too much reason to fear that boys and girls of the lower classes who have been compelled to learn reading in the disagreeable way in which they are now taught, will never look at a book again after they have left school, just as nine out of ten upper class boys who have had Latin and Greek flogged into them cease to study them as soon as they are their own masters; and when this result follows, education so received is worse than useless.

Mr. Mill's second proposal, made in a speech on the Reform Bill, in 1866, is that there should be “a school rate in every parish, and the school door should be open to all.” But such a rate would be open to the same objection as a church rate.

There would, almost certainly, be many persons who, on religious or other grounds, would consider the school a bad institution; and to compel them to pay for a school which they disapproved, would be quite as much persecution as to compel them to pay for a church which they detest. This induces us to offer the suggestion that the ingenious device by which Mr. Gladstone has solved the church rate difficulty might be applied to the school rate—if ever established. If the parishioners are allowed to levy a school rate without powers of compulsory collection, the power of employing an already-existing organization would often be a great advantage in the rural districts. A school would probably be better managed when the hostile or indifferent were excluded from its control.

Before we quit the subject of education, we may observe that there is one important province in which our Government is certainly bound to interfere. As it is the duty of the State to protect property, it is its duty to carry into effect the disposition of property made by will; and where—as in many parts of England—lands and money have been bequeathed for the express object of supporting education, the State is bound to see that the intentions of the dead are carried out—not according to the letter, but to the spirit. The negligence which our Government has shown in this respect is a strong indication of its incapacity to deal with education on a large scale, and shows how, in going out of its way in matters which do not properly concern it, it is prevented from attending to its own duties. While parties are wrangling over bills for supplying the public with cheap telegraphs and a metropolitan cattle market, the grammar schools are still left unreformed, and the abolition of tests in our universities has to be deferred from year to year, from a simple want of time. Let the State see to this, but let it leave everything else to be done by volunteers. Education will never be in a really satisfactory state till it is carried on upon the purely commercial principles of demand and supply. When the stock phrases—“people do not know the difference between good and bad education—private schoolmasters are compelled to teach down to the level of the parents”—are put forward as arguments for Government interference, they simply show that the person who uses them has some opinions about education differing from those of other people which he thinks the public officials will adopt. It is perfectly true that the standard of education in England is scandalously low, and that great ignorance and indifference prevails on the subject; but no one outside the Privy Council Office will believe that the officials congregated there are the least likely to originate a reform. Even if they did, the mere “pressure of public business” would present



a serious obstacle to its passage through Parliament. But, in truth, every reform has to be forced on officials from without, and it is absurd to suppose that people are incapable of doing directly what they are capable of doing indirectly, through the medium of an indifferent Parliament, and an obstructive bureaucracy. It is not much use to attempt to teach till the people are willing to learn, or let their children learn; but volunteer reformers may do something to rouse popular attention; the National Education Society does a good deal, and might do more, if established on an unsectarian basis. Some such society would be a natural rallying point of educational reformers, and having but one object to attend to, could do its work well, while annual subscriptions rising and falling with the amount of good it was seen to perform, would impose a proper check on the governing committee; and ceasing altogether when its work was done, would prevent it from surviving its uses, as public boards and endowed institutions invariably do.

There is, however, too much reason to fear that the first reformed Parliament will extend, instead of contracting, the sphere of Government action in this respect. As, in America and Australia, protection has been established by legislative assemblies elected by universal suffrage, so it seems highly probable that the admission of the working classes to political power in this country will be followed by the adoption by the Government of many measures in defiance of political economy, for the supposed benefit of the poor; and among these, the extension of national education is most clamorously demanded. Although we shall regret such a step, we shall not think it a sign of retrogression; it will be, at all events, a symptom of that awakening interest which will give it apparent success, and of which it will be thought to be the cause. As, moreover, the theory which we have been combating is very generally believed, its trial and failure will be a most effectual means of disproving it. It may be well it should be tried; but it is far better that it should not be tried. We would urge those who are desirous of promoting advanced opinions in education, to consider that legislation is always in the hands, either of the majority of the people, or of a single class. In the former case, advanced opinions will find very little favour—while in the latter none will find favour which are opposed to those of the dominant class. It is no answer to say that the State education would be confined to things about which there can be no dispute; for if it be once admitted that it is the duty of the State to educate children on undisputed points, there is no logical reason why it should not go on to disputed points, respecting which it is important to know the truth. Nor is there any reason why it should not superin-

tend the morals and religion of the children, nor why it should confine itself to children, and not go on to develop the characters, minds, and bodies of all the men and women under its control. The principle once admitted, leads inevitably to a system of government as thoroughly paternal as that of the Peruvian Incas.

We take next the case of charitable relief. The duty of relieving poverty is enjoined by every religion, and is certainly, in one sense, a national duty, but the inference that it is the duty of the State, involves the monstrous proposition that people are bound to relieve distress with money taken from other people. The principle has not been acted upon by governments so generally as in the cases before cited; according to Mommsen, State charity owes its origin to Julius Cæsar, who converted the annual largess of corn, which had been formerly considered as a tax paid by the subject provinces to the sovereign burgesses, into a provision for the destitute Romans. In England, during Catholic times, the task of relieving the poor was left to be performed by monasteries and private individuals. Whether in consequence of the dissolution of the monasteries, or of the extension and rapid enclosure of commons, which took place at the same time, our Government in the sixteenth century undertook the relief of the poor.

In the reign of Elizabeth an act was passed compelling each parish to maintain its own poor. It is probable that the Government of that time could not adopt any other than the parochial system—communication between different parts of the country being so difficult. But however this may be, its evil effects have been but too painfully apparent from that time to our own. As every parish was compelled to maintain its own poor, the local authorities opposed obstacles, often insuperable, to the entrance of any person who was thought likely to become chargeable on the rates; so that it became difficult for unemployed labourers to move to any part of the country where work was to be had.

The Settlement Act of Charles II. recites that "by reason of some defects in the law, poor people are not restrained from going from one parish to another; and therefore do endeavour to settle themselves in those parishes where there is the best stock," that is to say, where there is most profitable employment. With the Legislature in such a temper, we can imagine how much impediment was thrown in the way of the industrial development of the country; and if this had been the only evil effect produced by the Poor Law, it would have been a questionable boon to the poor. But the injustice perpetrated by the Legislature has brought down a heavier retribution,—not on its

authors, but, unhappily, on those for whose benefit it was committed. As each parish is charged with the maintenance of the poor whom it contained, a great inducement was held out to landlords who possessed all or most of the land in any one parish, to drive all the poor off their lands, and thus free themselves from the burden of the rates. Many landlords, therefore, have allowed the cottages on their estates to fall to ruin, refusing either to repair the old or to build new ones; and many *noblemen* and *gentlemen* have not been ashamed to pull down cottages, sometimes to the extent of depopulating a parish, to save themselves from certain or possible burdens. The fearful consequences of a long continuance of this system have now become too painfully apparent; and by the passing of the Union Chargeabilities Act, its cause has now been removed. But the overcrowding of the country towns, and the misery imposed on poor children by the long distances they have to walk to their labour, will long survive their original cause, and are quite sufficient to counterbalance whatever advantages the Poor Law may have produced.

All this suffering has been the consequence of the introduction of compulsion; for neither landlords nor parochial authorities would have troubled themselves to keep the poor out of their districts if they had not been obliged to support them. But when Parliament substituted a compulsory rate for a voluntary collection, it converted the cheerful giver into a grudging taxpayer.

A great change was introduced in 1834, by the passing of the new Poor Law, which, like many other changes, met, on its first introduction, with great opposition; principally due, in this case, to the great restriction imposed on out-door relief. This change was an absolute necessity; for under the old system people in the receipt of relief were allowed to marry and bring up families; so that the country was paying for the support of hereditary paupers. Under the new system, applicants for relief are generally compelled to reside in the workhouses, where, of course, the sexes are separated, but where life is rendered so uncomfortable that many persons have died of starvation rather than enter them. By this same Act unions were formed of several parishes, and each parish was ordered to send its poor to the common workhouse of the union, and to pay their expenses there. Had Parliament, instead of waiting for thirty years, adopted at that time the proposal to throw the whole expenses on the whole union, a great deal of the misery described above would have been avoided, and perhaps by this time the effects of the system of pulling down cottages might have been effaced. The most important feature of the act was the establishment of the Poor-law Board, sitting in London, supervising the action of the board of guardians

throughout the country, and responsible to Parliament. These two latter changes, as well as many others which have been carried out, or proposed, are all in the direction of centralization. The demands for a metropolitan rate and a national rate have for their object to distribute the burden more *justly*, and to secure a more generous treatment for the paupers. It is probable that the larger the area of rating, the less carefully would the expenses be scrutinized by the ratepayers; but in the long run by imposing a heavier burden on the taxpayers, and by providing more comfortable residence for the paupers, it would tax industry and thrift for the benefit of idleness and improvidence. The medical journals, which have done so much to expose the evils of the present system, propose to remedy them by appointing medical men for poor-law inspectors, and by giving them greater power. But the Poor-law Board has not given the public any proof of its capacity for discharging the duties at present entrusted to it, and it certainly would be foolish to increase them. If it cannot exercise sufficient control over Lambeth workhouse, in its own immediate neighbourhood, how can it properly supervise the actions of boards of guardians in Northumberland or Cornwall? Even if it had the *power*, its conduct in the case of the Cheltenham workhouse seems to show that the *will* is wanting; for by its orders the medical officer, Mr. Fleischmann, was dismissed for the use of strong language in describing the infirmary, which was in a condition worthy of the prisons in the time of Howard. We have read of a man who, after he had had his foot cut off, still felt a pain in his toe, and insisted upon having his leg cut off at the knee. The pain still continued, and he had his leg cut off at the thigh, without, after all, obtaining any relief. Poor-law reforms are somewhat similar to the amputations suffered by that unfortunate man; do what we will, local self-government and centralization will be equally powerless to relieve poverty so long as the principle of compulsion is retained. The Poor Law encourages the apathy of the rich, and the improvidence of the poor; thus, at the same time, increasing poverty and weakening that feeling of benevolence which is the best means of relieving it. Its relief is given without kindness, and accepted without gratitude. On every moral ground its abolition is necessary; but its abolition will, undoubtedly, be a work of great difficulty, as must always be the case when a system has been employed for so long a period and on such a large scale. To turn out a million paupers into the world would be an act of heartless cruelty; but the casual wards might be at once abolished, and a time might be fixed after which no person should have a right to ask for relief, and any person might be permitted to refuse to contribute

toward the expense of the maintenance of paupers admitted after that time. Surely the people who supported half a million cotton operatives by public subscription has sufficient benevolence and power of organization to undertake the work without the assistance of the State. However this may be, an immense amount of suffering has been caused by the mistake of the legislators who supposed that the duty of the people was identical with the duty of the State.

These illustrations are sufficient to show the nature of the fallacy which we are endeavouring to expose—so far as it affects the *domestic* policy of governments. They are all founded on the same error, defended by similar arguments, and productive of similar evils. An argument has been set up in each case that interference of the State in that particular department tended to diminish crime ; yet no satisfactory evidence has ever been adduced to show that either the priest, the certificated teacher, or the relieving officer, produces any perceptible effect of the kind alleged. The interference in each case fosters that very indifference which is sometimes alleged as its excuse, and by accustoming the people to submit to the orders of its government, or to allow their government to act for them, unfits them for liberty, and prepares the way for despotism. The proverb about “giving an inch and taking an ell,” is nowhere more true than of a bureaucracy by whom every concession is used as an argument for fresh encroachments, and whom nothing would content but a Chinese despotism. The *Pall Mall Gazette*—one of the best conducted of our daily papers—is perpetually calling on Government to extend its sphere of action. The most ridiculous proposal which we have seen in its pages was, that Government should prohibit the erection of a monument to the memory of any person whom it did not consider deserving of that honour, and should preserve the best sites in the country for the benefit of the national heroes of the future. But the most distressing example of the spirit of that journal was an article (we have forgotten the date) in which it is gravely stated, as a matter of complaint, that an Englishman is never *compelled* to discharge any public duty except payment of taxes. When a Liberal paper can seriously complain of freedom as essentially an evil, it is time for the friends of freedom to bestir themselves.

It has been comparatively easy to trace out the proper course for a government to pursue in its domestic policy ; but with regard to foreign policy it is more difficult. As justice and expediency alike prescribe “let him alone,” in the former case, so they prescribe “non-intervention” in the latter ; but this latter term is more difficult to define. Yet a full perception of the distinction between a people and a government will prove a great

assistance in solving the problem. It is sometimes asked whether an individual who sees another ill-treated is not bound (supposing he is able) to go to the rescue. Certainly he is; but when it is hence inferred that a state is equally bound to assist oppressed foreigners, there is, evidently, a fatal misconception. A state is not an individual; and, as a man who sees another ill-treated is by no means bound to compel a third person to join him in attempting a rescue, so a party which desires to give any assistance to foreigners is by no means bound to compel those who do not, to join in their enterprise; and this is what really takes place when a state engages in war on behalf of foreigners. It is clear that governments are instituted for the protection of all within their own territories; it is generally held that they are bound to protect their own citizens when abroad, but it cannot be seriously maintained that they are bound to protect foreigners, least of all, when already under the protection of other governments.

If the English government were to act on such a principle, we should never be at peace for a day, for we could never obtain for foreigners all the liberty which we ourselves enjoy, as we should on supposition be bound to do; and foreign governments would unite to crush so tyrannical and meddlesome a power. The French Government in the time of the first Republic sometimes invaded foreign countries in order to confer liberty upon them, but these attempts to establish artificial liberty have always failed, and are now discouraged. Yet, though no one would propose to carry out the theory to its logical conclusions, politicians still speak and act as if it were in some part true. Take, for instance, our own attempt to suppress the slave trade. No argument has ever been adduced to show that our action in this respect promotes, in any way, our own interest. Indeed, such an insinuation would be scornfully repudiated. If any government ever acted on purely disinterested and philanthropic motives, the British government did so when it commenced its strenuous efforts to suppress the slave trade. Whether we consider the fearful state of internecine war which it keeps up in Africa—the immorality which it produces in Asia—or the Civil War which it has recently caused in America—Slavery is the greatest curse of modern times; and those who have induced so many governments in Europe and America to order its abolition, are fully entitled to the gratitude and admiration which they have always inspired. But the Abolitionists, who were right in demanding the abolition of slavery in the British West Indies, committed a great error when they induced the British government to suppress the slave trade between Africa and other countries not under its own dominion. The

Abolitionists, although they had themselves a right to attempt its suppression, had no right to compel others to assist them, as is of necessity done when it is undertaken by a government. We doubt whether any good will be done by the use of force; but if there are any Abolitionists so enthusiastic as to desire to assist the Negroes on the coast against the slave hunters—let them by all means go. They will probably find it necessary to establish some government over the natives; and some good might be done by any Englishman who would act the part of Rajah Brooke. However this may be, the present system is a failure, and the sooner it is abandoned the better.

Some slavers have, indeed, been captured, and the prisoners liberated, but the good done in this way has been quite outweighed by the cruelties practised on the slaves in consequence of the difficulties and dangers of the slave-hunters' trade, and it is quite possible that quite as many Negroes have been carried off as would have been if the trade had been free—more being taken to compensate for those who are rescued. Surely, too, the death of thousands of Englishmen on the poisonous coast of Guinea, ought to be considered as something in the balance.

Equally futile have been our attempts to persuade the governments of slave countries to assist us in suppressing the slave trade. Livingstone accuses the Portuguese officials in Africa of secretly conniving at its practice; and though the Spanish government professes to prohibit it, the governorship of Cuba has long been considered as the greatest prize within the reach of Spanish politicians, on account of the heavy bribes which unscrupulous governors receive for their connivance at this inhuman practice. A similar secrecy and hypocrisy are everywhere the only results of our meddling. The Egyptian government professes to prohibit the slave trade; yet it really continues in its southern provinces; and Sir Samuel Baker met with great obstruction to his journey, on the part of the Egyptian authorities, who were prompted by a well-grounded fear lest he should discover the state of things, and report it in England. Sir Samuel, indeed, was forced to obtain permission to accompany a slave-hunting party, in order to proceed on his enterprise. He has thus seen something of its practical working, and is strongly in favour of its forcible suppression; but his complaint that the inaction of the Egyptian government is fostered by the jealousies of the European powers, shows how little is to be expected from them.

Mr. Palgrave, again, found in Oman, an Armenian employed as British Consul for the suppression of the slave trade. This personage, he tells us, gave the slave merchants to understand—not by vague hints, but in the plainest Arabic—that if they carried on their trade in the open market, his official position would compel him to interfere, but that he can know nothing of what

went on in private houses ; so that the trade is carried on as briskly as ever, with a mere cloak of secrecy. Mr. Palgrave further tells us that England is obtaining for herself both hatred and ridicule by such attempts to suppress the slave trade ; and without giving an opinion on the justice of such attempts, advises that at all events they should be made in a more rational manner. The fact is that it is high time for it to be abandoned. Neither force nor diplomacy can be used with effect from so great a distance, and over so vast an area, while the slave trade cannot be abolished before slavery itself. And even if we had the power, it would be as unjust on our part to make war on any nations in order to abolish slavery, as to force upon them any other customs or institutions of ours. In the long run, the wisest and most humane course will be—not to attempt an artificial mitigation of its evils—but to let it run its own course to its certain destruction—whether it is to end in a gradual transition to freedom, as in mediæval Europe—in a sudden but peaceful abolition, as in the West Indies—or in a terrible catastrophe, as in the United States.

The same argument applies to all attempts to protect the subjects of foreign governments. Under the pressure of fear, a weak government may make temporary concessions, but it will always withdraw them when it has the power—while the strong government is more likely to be encouraged than dissuaded by foreign dictation. Let us leave the Jews in Roumania to the gradual progress of their government, and to the noble exertions of Sir Moses Montefiore. Let us abandon all attempts to protect the Christians in Turkey ; for if we do anything to secure a better treatment for them, we are only labouring to prolong the existence of the hopelessly rotten Ottoman Empire. The most impolitic of all such attempts has been diplomatic interference in behalf of Poland ; for if Poland is ever to regain its independence, and stand alone, in the midst of powerful neighbours, it must be capable of defending itself.

The ill-judged admonitions of the Western Powers have, on the one hand, stimulated the Poles to a hopeless resistance, and on the other stimulated the Russian government to those determined measures for destroying the Polish nationality which it is now carrying out. We, above all others, ought to think of Ireland, and to consider how we should like to be lectured by foreign ministers with regard to our policy toward that island. There are, indeed, many points of resemblance between Poland and Ireland. Both were in a state of chronic anarchy before they were conquered by more orderly neighbours ;—both have been treated as conquered provinces—cut off from sympathy with their conquerors by difference of race and religion. Both

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have shown how impotent are even the most powerful governments to secure obedience without administering justice;—finally the patriots of both countries still cling, in spite of all their defeats, to a wild hope of national independence, for which the past and present history of both foreshadow a similar disappointment.

In such a case as Poland, volunteers may, of course, take part with either side, but the only case in which a government is justified in aiding a rebellion in any other State is, when the rebels desire annexation to the former. In such a case, the government, when it takes on itself the office of protector, assumes also the responsibility of a ruler. It is not stepping out of its sphere, but permanently enlarging it. The war undertaken by Italy for the purpose of annexing Venetia, deserves, not censure, but praise; and the Greek government is only to be blamed for not giving more open and hearty support to the rebels in Candia. Suppose that our Colonial Office should succeed in driving Nova Scotia into rebellion, the government of the United States would be perfectly justified in assisting the rebels if it had any reason to understand that they desired annexation.

The great question of foreign policy is, under what circumstances a State ought to take part in a war between two other states—as to which various theories have been set up. A writer in *Blackwood*, commenting on the inaction of Lord Palmerston's ministry in regard to Denmark asks, "Who" (if their example be followed) "is to guarantee the independence of small States—Belgium, Holland, or Portugal?" Who, indeed? What real reason have we for believing that the map of Europe cannot be further improved, or that the small States in question would not be better for annexation to France, North Germany, or Spain? Mr. Goldwin Smith thinks that we ought not to be tame spectators of wrongdoing, and that, in particular, we ought to protect Italy against the Emperor of the French. No censure can be strong enough for the policy of the French Government, by whom the State-religion theory is degraded to its lowest form. It uses religion as a mere political instrument, and while believing neither the Gospel nor the Koran, supports churches in France and mosques in Algeria. But though every friend of progress would rejoice to see the French troops expelled from Rome, and the Papal territory annexed to the Kingdom of Italy, it would neither be just nor politic for the English Government to interfere. A great number of British subjects would not merely not approve, but bitterly detest any such interference, and it would be unjust to compel them to take part in it. What should we do with our Irish regiments? On the other hand, although it might, for the time, be a benefit to Italy if it were successful, yet it would teach Italy to trust to foreign assistance—a very bad lesson for any nation to learn. If, again, it were not successful, it would revive

the dying hostility between ourselves and the French, without producing any compensating benefit. With regard to the question of Denmark—although all must regret the vacillation of the British Government and people—a vacillation produced by the conflict between the theories of intervention and non-intervention—we hold nevertheless that they came to a right conclusion.

The "Monroe Doctrine" is commonly stated to be—that whenever any European Government attempts to overthrow any American republic, the Government of the United States is fully justified in interfering to protect the latter. This theory is wholly erroneous, and seems to be founded on a superstitious reverence for Republicanism. The volunteers who assisted the Spanish Colonies in throwing off the yoke of the mother country were right in assisting what they believed to be the cause of Liberty; but more than forty years of experience shows that Spanish-America is only capable of assuming the *forms* of republican government, while it remains in a state of chronic anarchy. It is quite possible that foreign conquest may be the only means of introducing order into those unfortunate regions. But however this may be, a government which cannot protect its subjects against foreign aggression, fails in its first duty, and ought not to be artificially upheld by political superstition.

More moderate than the Monroe doctrine is the theory elaborated by Mr. Mill, in his essay on *Non-intervention* (contained in the third volume of his *Dissertations and Discussions*). England, he thinks, ought to intervene in those cases, and those only, where a sovereign who has been defeated by a popular insurrection, calls in the aid of a foreign despot to restore him to power. If, he argues, foreigners interfere on the side of despotism, it is fair they should interfere on the side of liberty also. He instances the case of Hungary, which, after having obtained its independence, was forced by a Russian army to return to its allegiance to the emperor. In this case, although perhaps England was not strong enough to act alone, he contends that England and France together might, and ought, to have prevented Russia from interfering. Moderate as this theory is, it is, we venture to assert, unsound. It is quite as great a mistake to support constitutional government in any country by foreign arms as to introduce it. It is, in both cases, supporting an artificial state of things, and, on the part of the intervening power, an overstepping of its duty; unless, indeed, there is any reason to believe that the safety of its own subjects is concerned. As all the governments of Europe are bound to protect their subjects, it may often be their best policy to unite their forces, and not suffer themselves, one by one, to fall a prey to a common foe. At the time of the Reformation all Protestant countries

were exposed to a common danger, and it is only to be regretted that they did not support one another more firmly. If our statesmen believe in the reality of the danger which Mr. Mill does not regard as very improbable, that the despotic powers of the Continent may form a confederation to crush liberty in England, they will be acting wisely and justly if they give active support to republican movements all over Europe; because, in such a state of things they will expect assistance in return. An alliance, to be beneficial, must be on equal terms, and not between a giant and a dwarf.

We have spoken several times of volunteer expeditions, and the last point now to be considered is—what course the State ought to pursue towards them. As the State ought to preserve strict neutrality in foreign disputes, so it should allow its subjects to quit its territories, and take part on either side. This is what we have done with regard to Italy, where English volunteers have joined Garibaldi, and an Irish legion has gone to defend the Pope. As neither the Pope nor the Sultan could possibly send a force to England to attack any volunteers preparing to set out for Rome or Candia, they could not complain of our allowing recruiting to go on without hindrance.

But the case is somewhat different as regards the American War, when it was right for Englishmen to be allowed to go and join either North or South, but not openly to build ships of war. Men who did so could claim no right to our protection; for if we gave it them, we should really be assisting them; as without it the Federal government could easily have destroyed the *Alabama* in Birkenhead Docks. Such a violation of our territory we could not possibly have allowed; and it was therefore necessary to prohibit the building of ships of war.

Southern sympathizers could not justly complain of this prohibition, for they could have done nothing without our protection. On the other hand, our American critics cannot justly hold us responsible for the words or acts of one party; for we can only control the acts of our government, and in relation to foreign powers the acts of the government alone are the acts of the nation.

Many more illustrations might be added, but these are quite sufficient for the object of this article. It has been argued that it is the duty of the State to suppress gambling and intemperance, to encourage literature and science, and to undertake the control of railways, cabs, and omnibuses, and there have been many cases beside those cited in which intervention in foreign affairs has been practised or recommended. Volumes would be required to do full justice to this subject; it is enough if this article has convinced any reader that whatever meaning may be given to the word "nation," the duty of the people is one thing and the duty of the State is another.

## CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

*The Foreign Books noticed in the following sections are chiefly supplied by Messrs. WILLIAMS & NORGATE, Henrietta-street, Covent-garden, and Mr. NUTT, 279, Strand.*

## THEOLOGY AND PHILOSOPHY.

THE volume of Essays entitled "Principles at Stake"<sup>1</sup> may be taken as a deliberate manifesto on behalf of a moderate low Church party against Ritualistic excesses in the Church of England, or more strictly speaking, against Ritualism as an exponent of certain sacerdotal and Eucharistic doctrines which are presumed to be forbidden by the ecclesiastical law. Mere æsthetic Ritualism is not contended against. In other words, here is a literary counterblast to the notorious volumes edited by Mr. Orby Shipley entitled "The Church and the World." The contributors are of sufficient ecclesiastical and academical standing and distinction, including among them a Dean, an Archdeacon, and two Regius Professors of Divinity, the editor being Chaplain to the Bishop of Winchester. The writers prefix the usual assertion of individual responsibility for their several papers. Comparing this production with other collective volumes which have preceded it, we cannot say that it exhibits either the intellectual ability or the literary spring which distinguished the "Essays and Reviews;" it does not put forth the ponderous club-force of the "Aids to Faith," nor indeed were there at command here the same mental powers or an equal amount of learning. Comparing this volume with a slighter and more recent publication, it does not present to the reader so much clearness, precision, and finish as is met with in "Church Politics." Nor finally, can we say that it displays so much antiquarian knowledge, such fertility of imagination, or such resources of theory as are found in

<sup>1</sup> "Principles at Stake. Essays on Church Questions of the Day." Edited by Geo. Henry Sumner, M.A., Rector of Old Alresford, Hants, and Chaplain to the Lord Bishop of Winchester. London: John Murray. 1868.

CONTENTS:—I. Ritualism and Uniformity. Benjamin Shaw, M.A., late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge.—II. The Increase of the Episcopate of the Church of England. Lord Arthur Hervey, M.A., Archdeacon of Sudbury, and Rector of Ickworth with Horning.—III. The Powers and Duties of the Priesthood. R. Payne Smith, D.D., Canon of Christ Church, and Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford.—IV. National Education. Alexander E. Grant, M.A., Rector of Hitcham, Suffolk, late H.M. Inspector of Schools.—V. The Doctrine of the Eucharist considered in connexion with Statements recently put forth respecting that Holy Sacrament. The Editor.—VI. Scripture and Ritual. T. D. Bernard, M.A., Rector of Walcot, and Canon of Wells.—VII. The Church in South Africa. Arthur Mills, M.A., of Balliol College, Oxford.—VIII. The Schismatical Tendency of Ritualism. George Salmon, D.D., Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Dublin.—IX. The Revisions of the Liturgy considered in their bearing on Ritualism. W. G. Humphry, B.D., Vicar of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, London; late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge.—X. Parties and Party Spirit. John S. Howson, D.D., Dean of Chester.

the "Church and the World." It is, however, especially distinguished by the manner in which controversial questions are discussed, considerate, never ungentle, so different from the overhearing, contemptuous, and offensive tone which are so discreditable in the last-named publication.

The first Essay sets forth that the present opposition to Ritualism is grounded upon the doctrinal aims which are proclaimed by Ritualists themselves, and in order to counteract it as a movement of acknowledged hostility to the Reformation Settlement of the Church of England. The objection that variations from the authorized Ritual are chargeable also upon the Evangelical clergy is met by the plea that where these occur they are distinguished from the Ritualistic variations by not being systematic, by not being directed to a dogmatical purpose, and by being covered by the principle of *mos pro lege* and long-continued usage. The best part of the Essay is that in which the author adduces evidence "to show that the Church of England stands in an entirely different attitude towards Protestant Churches from that which she holds towards the Church of Rome." This is a subject which might well have been treated in an essay by itself. So far as Mr. Shaw has dealt with it, the extracts from Bishop Cosin are telling, but enough is not made of the relations between Archbishop Wake and the Dutch and Genevan Churches, while it is quite right to say that the correspondence with M. Beauvois implied no preference of the Roman Church; in fact the project, so far as there was one, was for a friendly communion with the Gallican Church, in case it should become sufficiently independent of Rome to admit of it. But the discredit is very great which rests upon all the English Primates who have succeeded Wake, for not having kept up an amicable intercourse with the Reformed Communions of the Continent. The second Essay is intended to point out a way for the Church of England through some of the difficulties which are said to beset it in consequence of a supposed deficiency of discipline and supervision of its ministers and members. The remedy for these evils is imagined by many to consist in an increase of the Episcopate—and so valuable a specific is this supposed to be, that if it may not be had otherwise it should be sought for through a separation of Church and State. Lord A. Hervey suggests that the existing Archdeacons might be appointed as assistant bishops, to relieve the central bishop of confirmations and other heavy outdoor work, and the additional expense might be met by giving them 300*l.* per annum each in addition to the 200*l.* which they now receive from the Ecclesiastical Commission. This is a short Essay directed, without theorizing, to a practical object. The third Essay is perhaps the feeblest in the book; it is diffuse and confused. We should have expected it to have been entitled "Office or Functions of the Ministry," rather than "Powers of the Priesthood." There are good observations here and there, as in the notes at pp. 86, 87, but seldom expressed with sufficient definiteness. The fourth Essay concerns the question of education; the only suggestion of any value that we have remarked in it is, that it might facilitate the building of proper schools in some places where they are especially needed

if the local rates could be legally pledged to the repayment of the cost or a portion of it. The Essay on the whole is weak, and shows the poor material of which H.M. Inspectors of Schools are made. The fifth Essay, on the "Doctrine of the Eucharist," by the Editor, directs attention to the real issue at present between the two great parties in the Church of England, namely, as to the nature of Christ's presence in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper—whether it be a spiritual presence in the heart of the believing recipient, or an objective presence outside the recipients, but local, in, or with, the consecrated elements. There does not seem to be much difficulty in setting forth the doctrine for which the Ritualists contend; at least some of them, as Mr. Bennett of Frome, express themselves clearly and without any reserve. The language of others, as of Dr. Pusey, has usually been unintelligible. The doctrine affirmed by Mr. Bennett appears to be substantially the same with that which was condemned by the late Dr. Lushington in the case of "*Ditcher v. Denison*," known as the Bath Case, but which was not argued before the Privy Council on its merits, the sentence of the Court below having been reversed on a purely technical ground. In the sixth Essay, Canon Bernard, in answer to the question—on what principles should the Ritual of the Church be settled? replies, on the principles supplied by the Bible. These, however, are only general or guiding principles, and the example of the Old Testament is not necessarily to be followed in matters of ceremonial merely because having once been divinely appointed they have not been in many particulars expressly repealed—a rule for which some of the opposite party appear to be contending. The seventh Essay treats of the history of the South African Church, and traces the course of the legal decisions in the case of the Bishop of Natal. It is written without any reference to the theological grounds of difference, and is simply intended to show the advantage in the case of Colonies, scarcely able as yet to manage their own political affairs, of some controlling central authority to regulate their ecclesiastical disputes. This is undoubtedly one of the best Essays in the collection—close, clear, entirely dispassionate, with nothing superfluous. A little further reference, we think, might have been made to the Long Case (p. 204, note). The decision of the Committee of Council reversing the deprivation of Mr. Long turned upon the proper legal interpretation of the promise of "canonical obedience" from the priest to the bishop, and which was held to mean only a promise to obey the bishop "in those things which he could by law require." The eighth Essay is perhaps the best in the book, very clear and straightforward. The relations of the Ritualists to the rest of the Church of England and of all Anglicans to the Church of Rome are well appreciated. The comparison of the position of the Ritualists with that taken up formerly by Dr. Newman is exceedingly good.

"While he could conscientiously maintain that Rome was deeply corrupted with error, he remained a member of the Church of England; when he could no longer defend his protest against Rome he made his submission to her; but he was not so inconsistent as to rail at the Reformation and still remain apart from Rome after he had owned that separation from her had been without excuse."—p. 243.

Dr. Salmon writes not only with clearness, but with pungency and *verve*. After describing what he calls the schismatical and disorderly conduct of the Ritualists, of which he gives instances, he concludes in these words:—

“Men who act thus, are most unfairly accused of Romanizing tendencies, because none are less likely to submit themselves to the Church of Rome, which they could not join without exchanging self-will for obedience, and coming under the dominion of a fixed code instead of being allowed to devise one for themselves.”—p. 253.

The Essay of Mr. Humphry is likewise a very well written one. To a certain extent he goes over the same ground with Dr. Payne Smith, Mr. Sumner, and Canon Bernard. He does so with a definite purpose of comparing the Eucharistic doctrines of the Ritualists with the Communion Service of the Church of England, and of showing that the existing Liturgical Order is, preponderatingly at least, adverse to the views of the dogmatic Ritualists. It is a very conciliatory Essay, or rather, to use a word of the author's, a “halting” one. The changes in the Communion Service in successive Revisions are here traced from 1549 to 1662, at which latter period it was fixed as it now stands; the effect of the changes having been—

“Almost entirely to suppress the doctrine of the local or objective presence and of the eucharistic sacrifice, leaving those doctrines to be found by those who seek them in a few expressions which are of doubtful or disputed interpretation. The suppression may be lamented, may be attributed to vacillation on the part of Cranmer and those who acted with him, or followed after him. But the fact remains and speaks for itself. At the same time, it must in fairness be acknowledged that there is not anything in the Liturgy which amounts to a negation or prohibition of the doctrines in question.”—pp. 289, 290.

Certainly Mr. Humphry is no iconoclast; perhaps he stands a little in awe of the idol, perhaps he a little loves it. So again—

“We may be thankful that our Service contains phrases of ambiguous meaning in which these disputed doctrines are believed to have found a refuge, like the prophets in the caves of the earth.”—*ib.*

Which seems rather more complimentary to Mr. Mackonochie and Mr. Bennett than to their prosecutors. On the other hand he had said, of the rubrical additions of 1662—

“If they can be regarded as any evidence of a reaction towards the sacrificial view of the Eucharist, they are at the utmost a very halting, timid, and ambiguous evidence of such a reaction.”—p. 288.

But the most curious circumstance, indeed inexplicable considering the tendency of the other Essays in the volume, is Mr. Humphry's treatment of the “Declaration,” or “Black Rubric,” at the end of the Communion Service. He says—

“As altered in 1662, it declares that no adoration is intended or ought to be done, either unto the sacramental bread or wine there bodily received, or unto any ‘corporal presence of Christ's natural flesh and blood.’ It no longer therefore denies, though neither does it affirm ‘any real and essential presence,’ but it still seems to deny ‘any corporal presence of Christ's natural flesh and blood,’ however that term may be defined.”—p. 279.

And then Mr. Humphry takes no notice whatever of the concluding words which immediately follow—

“For the Sacramental Bread and Wine remain still in their very natural substances and therefore may not be adored (for that were Idolatry to be abhorred of all faithful Christians); and the natural Body and Blood of our Saviour Christ are in Heaven, and not here, it being against the truth of Christ’s natural body to be at one time in more places than one.”

Thus, first, *transubstantiation* is excluded by the declaration that the bread and wine remain in their very natural substances; and secondly, *consubstantiation* or *impanation*, by the assertion that Christ’s body is “not here;” and we should rather say that whatever “the Body being in Heaven” may mean, its “not being here” is intelligible enough. The Editor has taken care to add to Mr. Humphry’s Essay the Liturgies for the Communion from 1549–1662, for purpose of comparison. We regret that our space will not allow us to notice at any length the Essay of Dean Howson. It is characterized by the best possible spirit, and in some respects deserves more attention than any other contribution to the volume. We do not say this because the author has ventured to admit that in a Great Church Party the influence of “free thought,” or “German thought,” cannot be left out. Such an observation proves a good intention, which, however, might soon come to wreck upon any dogmatic rock whatsoever. And as to many signs of the future which the Dean considers hopeful, we should differ as to their importance; such as the appearance of men like Döllinger and Passaglia in the Roman Church: or as to a prospect of reunion of the English Church with the Greek Church, if more is meant by “reunion” than “mutual recognition.” But we hope we are not wrong in taking this Essay as supplying to some extent a key to the rest of the book, in that it points out the necessity for those who would really prove themselves the spiritual successors of the Reformers of the 16th century, laying less stress than heretofore on the particular doctrines of those Reformers, and more upon the principle of Reform itself. It may be said, and may to a certain extent be true, that the main object of the Book having been to make an anti-Ritualistic demonstration, it was not to be expected that we should meet therein with any reference to Justification by Faith, or the necessity of Conversion, with any theory of the Atonement, or of the utter corruption of the human race. Yet it is well worthy of note that nothing whatever of the kind is to be found in it even incidentally. Here and there only is a faint echo of the cry—“the Word of God,” meaning the Bible: but it is the only Shibboleth we have met with. And we are sure that some at least of the contributors must now see, that it is no more legitimate to infer from the metaphor “Word of God” the miraculous inspiration of the Bible, than it is from the metaphor “the Lord’s Body,” to deduce the miracle of Transubstantiation, or of Impanation, in the Eucharist. We have allowed more space to this volume than would ordinarily have belonged to it—because it is the first sign of intellectual life which a great party has manifested for many years: “the Evangelicals are nowhere” has long



passed into a proverb in Clerical coteries. It is something that a certain section of them, if not the party as a whole, has asserted a right to take part in ecclesiastical and theological debates, and that they seem disposed no longer to allow judgment to go against them by default on all Church questions in which they are concerned; nor will be content merely to exist for the purpose of adding their signatures to Manifestoes and Declarations against unpopular persons, at the bidding of those who desire to employ them for the crushing of a third party, in order more easily to subjugate them in their turn afterwards. Perhaps they have remembered the fable "Cervus equum," &c. in time. And if this present volume cannot be said to rank so high as might have been wished as an intellectual or literary product, it may be fairly hoped that on some other occasion the same persons or their friends may do something considerably better.

We proceed now to notice a movement of a much more thorough kind.<sup>2</sup> The discouragement of the modern theology by the civil and ecclesiastical authorities in Germany has been of late years as determined and as systematic as it has been in England. There, as well as here, high ecclesiastical places and Professorial Chairs have been constantly bestowed on its opponents; and whatever their other differences, or shades of difference, governments have acted uniformly in this—to give the moderns, as far as possible, and without actually tampering with the course of public justice, no stage and no favour. Hence has arisen a cry, repeated on both sides the water—that Rationalism has died out in the land that gave it birth, and has failed to naturalize itself here. Nevertheless, the bark of progress has been advancing in the teeth of the wind. But it is not to the credit of more free England that Germany should have anticipated her in the formation of such a body as the "Protestanten-Verein." We will not venture upon any prophecy as to the future of that particular Association, much less upon any assertion that a society formed upon precisely the same model would prove successful in England. Nevertheless, it is to be regretted that readily as Englishmen associate and combine together for the promotion of all kinds of objects, political, social, eleemosynary, and denominationally religious, it has not been found feasible to form any organization for the promotion of religious liberty in the proper sense of the word—that is, for the liberation of the religious life in England from the oppression of dogmatical Christianity. We cannot stop here to inquire what are the special causes which operate as an impediment to this end, but will proceed to sketch the proceedings of the German Union as given in the pages of Dr. Schenkel. The principles adopted by the Union will appear from the history of the transactions of the Association at several successive annual meetings. The first of these, or rather a preliminary conference, was held at Durlach in the year 1863. The resolutions come to, on the motion of Dr. Schenkel, related principally to the necessity of the formation of an association to protect and advance the interests

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<sup>2</sup> "Der Deutsche Protestantenverein und seine Bedeutung in der Gegenwart nach den Akten dargestellt." Von Dr. Daniel Schenkel. Wiesbaden. 1868.

of German Protestantism, which were not sufficiently represented at the so-called Church Conferences held annually in succession at Berlin, and other principal cities. Invitations were subsequently issued to about 120 persons, clergymen and laymen, to meet at Frankfort-on-the-Main, Sept. 30, 1863. These attended, with few exceptions. This meeting also was not more than preliminary. The actual formation of the Union may be dated more properly from an assembly held at Eisenach, June 7, 1865, under the presidency of Dr. Bluntschli and Dr. Schwarz. The two principal addresses were delivered on the 8th and 9th by the late Professor Rothe and Dr. Schwarz. The former treated the question of the causes of the alienation of the German people from the Christian Church, and its remedy. He found the cause in the dogmatical and hierarchical principles which oppressed the ethico-religious life of the Church, and in the influence of a traditional theology at variance with the scientific acquirements of the present age. He maintained that the only possible remedy must consist in a renewing or recasting the Church in freedom from dogmatic and priestly bondage; and in bringing its teaching into unison with that conception of the Universe which belongs to our present stage of culture. Dr. Schwarz, starting from the assumption of the necessity of freedom from the bondage of the old Confessions, proceeded to inquire whether there must not be some boundaries or limits to the freedom of the Christian minister's teaching; and if there be, whether such is to be found in the authority of Scripture? He laid down that Protestantism was grounded in a repudiation of the principle of ecclesiastical authority in matters of faith; and maintained that in consistency with this principle the Protestant Confessions themselves can lay no claim to be binding on the teacher's conscience (*Sie können kein das Gewissen der Lehrer bindendes Ansehen haben*). They were not so treated originally. They were considered merely as evidences, acts, monuments, valuable historical documents, justificatory pieces of great importance, as showing the course actually taken by the Reformers, and the points at that time in issue between them and the Roman Church. Now, they may be looked at as sign-posts pointing out where the old and the new roads parted, and as consecrated memorials of a formal leave-taking of the past: they close the door against the past, but keep it open wide for all developments in the future. Does, however, the Scripture limit the freedom of the Protestant teacher? Certainly not the authority of Scripture in its letter. Free inquiry *within* the Scripture was an original claim of the first Reformation; free inquiry *concerning* the Scripture is a necessary consequence of the development of the Evangelical Church. It is only by means of it that we can arrive at the mind itself of the Redeemer, at the Christianity of Christ. Passing on to the next gathering of the Union, which took place at Neustadt-on-the-Hardt, Sept. 25-27, 1867, the two important subjects of discussion then treated were—1. To define further the principles of the Protestant Union; and 2. The position taken by the Protestant Union relative to the historical Christ. The former was treated by Dr. Schenkel. He contended that the so-called Evangelical Union of Prussia was merely shadowy and deceitful; and, moreover, that it had conduced by means of an interpretation in

1834, and again in 1850 (see Schenkel, p. 49), rather to perpetuate the Lutheran and Evangelical Separatisms, than to put an end to them. The effect of the "Consensus Union" has been to declare the Lutheran and Reformed Churches free relatively, but bound respectively to their several doctrines of the Eucharist, and to leave them in all other respects bound altogether to the orthodox Church dogma. The dogma, as lying at the root of all Christian differences, cannot possibly be the essential basis of true Christian Union. Nevertheless, the Association admits and recognises what may loosely be called different dogmatic views, because they are reduced in its judgment to matters of opinion. So the second of the above questions—namely, concerning the historical Christ—was treated by Dr. Holzmann, who insisted that the Christian Church can only be rightly founded on a true view of the historical humanity of Jesus, and that it is only as human that He is historical. Dr. Baumgarten also dealt with the same subject from the supernaturalist point of view, yet maintaining that the Church is not to be bound by dogma, but by ascertaining of the facts. In the course of this discussion, Dr. Schwarz cautioned the assembly against laying down the denial of miracles as a principle; because the occurrence of miracles, he said, is itself a matter of historical investigation (Schenkel, p. 57). Finally is to be noticed the assembly in Bremen (1868), at which Dr. Bluntschli's exposition of the proper relations of Church and State received unanimous assent. Among other propositions he laid down, that the State is a legal association for civil purposes, creed-less itself, but not therefore God-less, within which may co-exist various religious associations, which can have no proper relation to the State in their theological, but only on their moral side. If the State is incompetent to dictate a Creed to any Church, so again no Church has a right to dictate any Creed to the State. The second important subject treated of at Bremen was that of the authority of the Bible by Professor Hanne, of Greifswald. Rejecting a false claim of authority made for the Bible in connexion with a miraculous Inspiration and Infallibility theory, he represented it—notwithstanding numerous errors and weaknesses to be met with in it—as the most venerable Collection of records of Divine Revelation, and as still having authority, so far as it exercises, and because it still exercises, a spiritual influence. The Assembly did not unanimously adopt all the propositions on this subject which were set forth by Professor Hanne; but unanimously agreed to the following Declaration—

"Any conception of the Divine Revelation and of the origination of Holy Scripture which has formed itself in the course of historical development in a scientific search after truth, and has secured itself a footing in the conviction of the Christian conscience is admissible within the Protestant Union (p. 62). Consequently the representatives of the supernatural, as well as of the rational conception, are entitled in the Union, as well as in the Church, to co-operate harmoniously together, and neither party is entitled to deny the right of the other."—*ib.*

A very excellent paper was also put forth by the Committee of the Union (3rd July, 1868) in reply to various charges brought against

it by the "Pastoral Conference" held at Berlin (10th June previous), declaring the members of the Union to have "broken with the Evangelical Church, and to have forsaken the faith in which they were baptized." In reply to the charge of no longer believing the Bible "as the Word of God," they retort the incalculable mischiefs which have followed from the currency of the phrase "Word of God"—palpable contradictions of science, gross misinterpretations of the Bible itself, and inferences injurious to true religion. Again, they meet the presumption of the Berlin pastors who affected to try their orthodoxy by the test of the old Trinitarian doctrine by the frank statement that, on the principles of the Union, those questions are out of place with its members; opinion respecting them is free, but they are not considered by them as touching the centre of religion. Further, they repel with indignation the slander that they deny a Creative Deity; but they distinctly disallow the right of the pastors to interrogate them, whether they believe that Jesus Christ is "very God;" and still more their right to answer the question for them. We cannot follow through some other particulars of this telling Declaration, which was signed by Dr. Bluntzschli, Baumgarten, Holzmann, Schenkel, Professors of Theology; v. Holzendorff, Professor of Law; Bulle, Manchet, Rosenhagen, Schiffman, Sydow, Pastors and Preachers; Schwarz, Court Preacher at Gotha; Zittel, Dean in Heidelberg, and several private persons who constituted the committee.

In close connexion with the same subject may be taken Dr. Carl Schwarz's "Contribution to the History of the latest Theology."<sup>3</sup> The first edition was published in 1856, the present, the fourth, is greatly enlarged and improved, and we can strongly recommend it as giving a thoroughly intelligible account of the variations of theological opinion in Germany since the year 1835—intelligible perfectly even to an English reader. Dr. Schwarz has the merit, so rare with German authors, of not beginning before the beginning. With just sufficient reference to Hegel, he passes on as soon as possible to the epoch-making criticisms of Strauss, and thence to what he calls the Radicalism which ensued upon the pure humanism of Feuerbach, and occasioned a reaction to the New-Lutheranism, ultimately developed into that which he calls hyper-Lutheranism. Nothing can be better than the description of Stahl, the ultra politico-theologico-ecclesiastical conservative. The chief interest, however, is in those parts of the book wherein are traced the various phases of the reaction against the domination of the confessional and hierarchical party. We have first the description of the "mediating theology" of Nitzsch, J. Müller, Ullman, Dorner; afterwards the "transition" to free theology, in Rothe, Bunsen, and Schenkel. Of these three last, Bunsen made the least progress in his own person. Nothing can be better for the author's immediate purpose than the appreciation here given of the work of Bunsen, for the attempt would be as yet premature to estimate it both tho-

<sup>3</sup> "Zur Geschichte der neuesten Theologie." Von Dr. Carl Schwarz, Oberhofprediger und Oberconsistorialrath zu Gotha. Vierte sehr vermehrte und umgearbeitete Auflage. Leipzig. 1869.

roughly and fairly: the affection with which he was regarded by so many persons renders it in reality impossible. Nevertheless few persons have attempted so much and accomplished so little as Bunsen, thoroughly illustrating the French proverb, *Qui trop embrasse mal étreint*. Accordingly, says Dr. Schwarz, his *Bibelwerk* did not altogether answer expectation, any more than correspond to its title: it shows a want of clearness and simplicity of method, and is defective in due limitation of its contents to that which was necessary and incontrovertible. So, says our present author, it has not found its way to the people for whom it was intended, but has proved fruitful of suggestions to theologians. Bunsen vaunted himself upon the weaker part of his performances—namely, upon his reconstructions, which are fantastical, rather than on his critical or destructive work—in this respect resembling Ewald—as also in his hostility to Baur and his school, and in the contemptuous declamation which he poured forth on opinions differing from his own; as, for instance, relatively to the genuineness of the Johannean Gospel. R. Rothe belonged to the party of advance and freedom by his identification in principle of religion and morality, by his recognition of the congregational church theory in opposition to the hierarchical, and by his theological axiom of the inconceivableness of any break in the Divine Universe; he applied this last axiom to Inspiration, Revelation, and Creation; but was not always consistent with himself—as, for instance, in his acceptance of the supernatural Incarnation (*ohne Mitwirkung des männlichen Factors*) as an event in divine economy (*theonomisch*). As in Bunsen, so in Rothe, the pietistic element was strong; and they both felt a mystic attachment and a Moravian affection to the person of Christ. Schenkel, however, has in his own experience exhibited more “transition” than either of the preceding. If he ever belonged to the “mediation” party he early broke bounds. As long ago as 1847 he published his “Essence of Protestantism” (*das Wesen d. P.*), of which the key-note is, that Protestantism is not a finished affair belonging to the past, but a living, ever-active principle; not a system of doctrines or a compromising accommodation, but a problem continually re-stated to be from time to time brought nearer to its solution; it is the principle of the common Evangelical or Christian consciousness (*Evangelischen Gemeindebewusstsein*) (p. 461). The renewal of church life must be derived from the Conscience (*Gewissen*), for both Religion and Morality have their tap-root (*Lebenswurzel*) in the Conscience. It was only by slow degrees that Schenkel released himself entirely, or nearly so, from dogmatical prepossessions and the influence of a mediating theology; nevertheless in him the Transition to the “free theology” may be said to be now complete. There had also been formed already in Berlin itself, under the influence of another reaction against the Prussian Ecclesiasticism, a Society under the title of the “Antidogmatical Union,” and the “Protestantische Kirchenzeitung” was founded in 1854 to represent its principles. The editor was H. Krause, since dead. Jonas and Sydow were among its earliest supporters, but shortly Schweizer, Schwarz, Hase, Redepenning, Credner, Hitzig, Knobel, Hilgenfeldt, men of most various shades of opinion, became contributors to it,

thereby uniting practically in a protest against hierarchical and dogmatical domination. The "Protestanten-Verein" itself aims at a reconstruction of the German Church on the basis of the Christian life, allowing the widest possible divergence of opinion as to the contents of the creeds and the inferences from the Biblical histories. Its opponents reproach it with its recognition of the democratic principle; but for the present we do not understand the *Verein* to be constituting a new Church or Sect, only to be working for the regeneration of all German churches, by endeavouring to persuade them to substitute the moral for the dogmatical principle as the basis of Christian Union, and the congregational for the hierarchical constitution; not that we suppose by "Congregation" is meant a mere collection of units. No doubt, as these principles are diffused and tend to be brought into practice, some difficulties will increase, with respect, for instance, to forms of worship, old or new. For the present, however, we imagine there is no intention of setting up a new church, but of endeavouring, so far as may be possible, to infuse fresh life into the old. Some of our readers are no doubt acquainted with Dr. Schwarz's sermons, which follow the usual course of subjects suggested by the Christian calendar. In few words we can only refer to the closing chapters of Dr. Schwarz's most interesting and instructive volume. Nothing can be better than the impartial estimates given of the famous works of Strauss and Renan. And the notices of H. Lange (editor of the *Zeitstimmen*), of Alexander Schweizer, both of Zürich, of Keim, Weizsäcker, and Hausrath, show that the cause of religious freedom in Germany is well sustained under the greatest external discouragements; and we are convinced that if once the partisan support given by the Prussian Government to the hierarchical party be withdrawn, which it must be sooner or later, the victory will be won with a shout, on all points of the line simultaneously.

The abridgment of Dean Alford's Greek Testament is likely to be useful for the purpose for which it is designed.<sup>4</sup> No one who is acquainted with the larger work will expect to meet with any very bold criticisms in the abridgment. But there are a few frank recognitions of facts long since admitted by all competent scholars which deserve to be pointed out. For the first time that we are aware of, in any edition of the Greek Testament designed for the use of public schools and colleges, the passage, 1 John v. 7, concerning the "three heavenly witnesses," is fairly thrown out of the text, which is done with the following accompanying note (the italics are the author's):—

"There is no reason whatever for supposing these words genuine, for (1) they are omitted in all Greek MSS. previous to the beginning of the 16th century; in all the Greek Fathers; in all the ancient versions, and many Latin Fathers. (2) They come in quite irrelevantly between two steps of the argument. (3) They form an unworthy play on words, for what is there really correspondent between the unity of the blessed Trinity, and the concurrence of testimony to one fact?"—p. 593.

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<sup>4</sup> "Dean Alford's Greek Testament with English Notes (intended for the upper forms of Schools and for Pass-men at the Universities). Abridged by Bradley H. Alford, M.A., Vicar of Leavenheath, Colchester; late Scholar of Trinity College, Cambridge." London: Rivingtons. 1869.

We also give the note appended to Mark xvi. 9-20, which is very properly bracketed in this edition:—

“We observe that (1) these verses are wholly wanting in two of our chief MSS.; in many they are marked with an asterisk. Several of the Fathers, beginning with Clement of Rome (fl. A.D. 91-101), take no notice of the passage: others, down to Jerome (fl. A.D. 378-420), speak of it as absent from the majority of codices. (2) Internal evidence is very weighty *against Mark's being the author*. No less than twenty-one words and phrases occur in it—some of them several times—which are never elsewhere used by Mark, whose adherence to his own diction is remarkable. . . . (3) On the other hand, the passage is cited as early as the time of Irenæus (fl. A.D. 178), and appears in three of our great MSS. (4) The *inference* is that it is an *authentic fragment* placed in very early times as a completion to our Gospel, which for some unknown reason had been left unfinished.”

One can hardly be surprised that Mr. Alford abstained from pointing out to the junior students, that in this *authentic fragment*, as he terms it, not being a part of the Gospel itself and claiming no name, is the only place in the Gospels where such words as “he that believeth not shall be damned,” are attributed to Jesus; the only place where the promise of wonder-working is made to believers; and the only place where any confirmation is given to the account of Luke in the Gospel of that name and in the Acts, of the taking up of Jesus visibly into heaven. Mr. Alford indeed understands the words of leave-taking, Matt. xxviii. 20, “And lo!” &c., as “implying the Ascension,” “the manner of which is not related” by that Evangelist; but even if they do, it is admitted by Mr. Alford that the whole passage, vv. 16-20, is “fragmentary on the face of it.” So that if we keep our eyes steadily fixed on the original conclusion of the first Gospel, as well as upon that of the second, we find no trace whatever of a bodily assumption of Jesus into heaven. Another considerable passage, John viii. 1-11, the history of the woman taken in adultery, is also bracketed in this edition, and apparently rejected by Mr. Alford as not only not genuine, but not authentic. In the instances cited, and in a few observations in the Prolegomena and notes, some concessions are made, which it is to Mr. Alford's credit that he has understood could no longer be honourably withheld as between tutors and pupils; and though comparatively small in themselves, these matters give the book a peculiar value as intended for schoolboys and students, and augur something better still in the course of a few years.

The errors or dangers which Dr. Beard undertakes to meet and to neutralize in his “Manual of Christian Evidence,” are thus described by himself in his preface:<sup>5</sup>—

“The Bible has been lowered, first to the position of other sacred books, and then to that of books in general; the Lord Jesus Christ, its central figure, denuded of his scriptural features and functions, is reduced to little more than

<sup>5</sup> “A Manual of Christian Evidence, containing, as an Antidote to current materialistic tendencies, particularly as found in the writings of Ernest Renan, an outline of the Manifestation of God in the Bible, in Providence, in History, in the Universe, and in the Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. By John R. Beard, D.D. London: Simpkin, Marshall, and Co. 1868.

the proportions of a second Socrates; and his Resurrection, together with the miracles ascribed to him in the Gospels, is undervalued if not disowned. Christianity thus stripped of distinctive features, is in danger of sinking into a theism, having either a deistical or a pantheistical basis."—Pref. p. iii.

We cannot say that Dr. Beard has given us much more than a reproduction of very old arguments which used to be called Evidences, together with old authorities from Lardner, and some observations or rather tirades of his own upon Strauss and Renan.

Mr. Blunt's notion of the Church of England appears to be, that it is a corporate body, possessing a perpetual continuity by reason of a supernatural life belonging to it.<sup>6</sup> If, he says, the divine principles of Baptism, the Eucharist, and the Ministry are preserved, which are essential to a Church, liturgical variations do not break its continuity. Therefore two axioms are laid down for guiding the student of the history of the Reformation in England. 1. The Church of England has had a continuous and never-ceasing vitality in every stage of its ancient and modern existence; 2. Such variations as are apparent between the ancient and modern Church of England do not necessarily indicate error in either. So that the English Reformation should be defined, according to Mr. Blunt, as a re-adjustment of doctrine and ritual, not as the commencement of a new Church. And by no means does the mere breach between England and Rome sum up the English Reformation. Mr. Blunt is, in fact, a very high Churchman in many senses, but an adherent of the national principle as distinguished from the monarchical Roman one. The ecclesiastical changes in England, so far as they were carried in the reign of Henry VIII., and by his tyrannical will, had little to do with religion, or with public policy. The progress of the suppression of the abbeys, and of the confiscation of their lands, is well described; and how, when once it was obvious, after some cruel executions of old men, that the spoliation would be carried through, people of all ranks became demoralized with greed and covetousness, striving for some share in the spoil—from the Suffolks and Russells, who obtained the fat lands of the abbeys, down to the meaner sort, who made good bargains for the lead and materials of the buildings of the suppressed monasteries. Mr. Blunt is, however, somewhat too high a Churchman to be always reliable through such an agitated period of history. He depreciates the earlier attempts at Reformation by Wycliffe and his followers; finds fault with the efforts made to spread versions of the Scriptures in the vernacular, if they were not "authorized;" and an ill-concealed anti-Protestant *furor* is evidently boiling in his veins as he describes, towards the close of this volume, the first beginnings of Puritanism or Dissent.

The "History of the Inquisition,"<sup>7</sup> by Dr. Rule, is a survey of some

<sup>6</sup> "The Reformation of the Church of England. Its History, Principles, and Results [A.D. 1514-1547]." By the Rev. John Henry Blunt, M.A., F.S.A., Vicar of Kennington, Oxford, author of "Directorium Pastorale," &c. London: Rivingtons. 1868.

<sup>7</sup> "History of the Inquisition in every Country where its Tribunals have been established, from the Twelfth Century to the Present Time." By William Harris Rule, D.D. London: Wesleyan Conference Office. 1868.



of the principal doings of that atrocious body from the time of its institution. Happily for England it was never planted here; it did not take deep root in France; the chief scenes of its operation were the two Peninsulas. It may be hoped, as Dr. Rule says, that the tale is now told; although the Inquisition appears to have been resuscitated in Spain since the year 1813, in a milder form no doubt than of old, under the name of the Tribunal of Faith. But even without the intervention of this tribunal, the provisions of the public law itself, as defined by the Cortes on the expulsion of the French from Spain—and which we believe is not in that respect as yet repealed—constitute the “Catholic Apostolic Roman religion the only religion of the Spanish nation, and prohibit the exercise of any other” (p. 218). The ecclesiastical tribunals are the judges of heresy, the secular tribunals are to inflict the punishment which the laws assign to heretics; and every Spaniard is at liberty to accuse of the crime of heresy at the ecclesiastical tribunal (p. 223). There is no exaggeration in Dr. Rule’s manner of telling the terrible history of the Inquisition.

It is impossible to understand the Bible without antiquarian knowledge. Biblical archæology is not mere matter of curiosity: it serves as a necessary appliance to the history of events. The work of Haneberg<sup>8</sup> is valuable principally for the illustrations which he adduces from Rabbinical sources. See particularly on the topography of the Temple (pp. 260 ff.); the ceremonies of the great day of Atonement (pp. 659–670); the Paschal Lamb (pp. 621–649).

The “Ecclesiastical History” of Professor Hagenbach,<sup>9</sup> previously issued in separate volumes at different times and in no regular order, is now coming forth in a revised form, to be completed in seven volumes. Hagenbach is very temperate and reliable.

The seventh and eighth volumes of Newman’s Sermons complete the new edition.<sup>10</sup> Dr. Newman’s scheme as developed in them was completely illusory, having no better basis than a sacramental theory incapable of the slightest proof. The child is supposed by the care of the Church to be brought to Baptism, to receive therein a supernatural gift, which, reinforced by other aids which the Church will supply, will enable it to carry on, as it grows up, the warfare against man’s great enemy the Devil. This Dualism underlies the whole of his appeals and gives them their force. It is a theory of the constitution of the moral universe but too common we fear among the clergy of the Church of England. A more sensible view is, however, capable of

<sup>8</sup> “Die Religiösen Alterthümer der Bibel.” Von Dr. Dan. Bonifacius von Haneberg, Abt des Benediktinerstiftes St. Bonifaz und o. ö. Professor d. Theologie. München. 1869.

<sup>9</sup> “Kirchengeschichte von der ältesten Zeit bis zum 19 Jahrhundert.” In Vorlesungen von Dr. K. R. Hagenbach, ordentl. Prof. d. Theologie in Basel. Neue durchgängig überarbeitete Gesamtausgabe. Erster Band. Die ersten sechs Jahrhunderte. Leipzig. 1869.

<sup>10</sup> “Parochial and Plain Sermons.” By John Henry Newman, B.D., formerly Vicar of St. Mary’s, Oxford. New Edition. Vols. VII. VIII. London: Rivingtons. 1868.

being consistently carried through, as it is, in a little Catechism by the Rev. R. B. Kennard,<sup>11</sup> which certainly exhibits the possibility of a rational application of the Formulary which he illustrates. This little manual is specially adapted for the use of the more intelligent young people, or for supplying hints to the clergyman himself.

The first issue of Messrs. Clark's "Aute-Nicene Library"<sup>12</sup> for the present year consists of two volumes; one contains a completion of the works of Irenæus and of the works of Hippolytus, to which are added various fragments of interest. Among these is included the celebrated *Canon Muratorianus*, so-called from its discovery by the Italian antiquarian Muratori; the manuscript itself belongs to the seventh or eighth century, but the original from which it was taken appears from internal evidence to have dated from the latter part of the second; and thus, although not a "Canon" in any sense, or at all authoritative, and altogether anonymous, it is extremely valuable as the earliest extant list of the books of the New Testament. There are also given in this volume translations of the false Decrees and Letters of the Popes which belong to the period which it embraces. The other volume contains part of the works of Origen, especially his book *De Principiis*, in which are found expressed the opinions of that celebrated Father concerning Resurrection, future punishments, and final restoration (see particularly Book iii. pp. 260—272). There is also included in this volume the first book of *Origen contra Celsum*, a very valuable remnant of the primitive apologetic literature, but of little use to the Christian apologist of the present day.

M. Adolphe Monod is acknowledged to be a most amiable and excellent man, as well as one of the most eloquent of preachers. The four discourses now published were delivered as long ago as 1853,<sup>13</sup> and are now printed from the same motive which originally occasioned their composition, namely, a desire to fortify the French Protestants, or rather the dominant party among them, against the invasion of doctrines at variance, as the author judges, with the true evangelical religion delivered to man in the "Word of God" itself. The harsher features of Calvinism are not here presented.

The author of a little book entitled "If the Gospel Narratives are Mythical—What then?"<sup>14</sup> complains that a few copies having been printed a twelvemonth ago for circulation amongst friends, its object

<sup>11</sup> "A Manual of Confirmation: being a Practical Explanation of the Church Catechism, adapted to the use of Candidates for Confirmation." By the Rev. R. B. Kennard, M.A., Rector of Marnhull, Dorset; Author of "Sermons on the Evidences of Religion," &c. &c. London: Macintosh. 1868.

<sup>12</sup> "The Writings of Irenæus." Translated by Rev. Alexander Roberts, D.D., and Rev. W. H. Rumbaut, A.B. Vol. II. "The Writings of Hippolytus, Bishop of Portus." Vol. II. "Fragments of Writings of Third Century." Translated by Rev. S. D. F. Salmond, M.A. "The Writings of Origen." Translated by Rev. Frederick Crombie, M.A., Professor of Biblical Criticism, St. Mary's College, St. Andrews. Vol. I. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark. 1869.

<sup>13</sup> "Doctrines Chrétienne: Quatre Discours." Par Adolphe Monod. Paris. 1868.

<sup>14</sup> "If the Gospel Narratives are Mythical—What then?" Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas. 1869.

has been misunderstood. We do not think an author who adopts a more catching and naturally misleading title has much reason to find fault if his work is not duly appreciated. Nor is there anything of such substantial value or cogency in this production as to oblige us to say that those who have not read beyond the title-page have sustained any very serious loss. The author assumes a certain consciousness of sin in man, implying the necessity of conversion by the Divine Spirit, and he sums up:—

“Such, so far as I have been able to ascertain the facts of the case, is the characteristic consciousness of the Christian—such the peculiar nature of the struggle which must be gone through in order to become one. The conclusion which I draw from the whole is, that Christianity is simply the disclosure of the great law of our moral and religious life, and that in the struggle I have described that law is realized. The certainty of this conclusion is no way affected by the consideration whether the book in which it was first announced be inspired or uninspired—whether the narrative of Christ’s life be historical or mythical—or whether Christ himself was a real or merely an imaginary personage.”—p. 73.

The republication of Mr. Carlyle’s works commences rightly with the “*Sartor Resartus*.”<sup>15</sup> It is an inimitable satirical rhapsody, Rabelaisian without coarseness. Yet it is sad to note the lapse of time by observing how some parts even of so recent a satire require notes, or soon will. The Dandiacal Body, and the universally read Pelham, do not tell even now as they once did. New forms of vestments and new materials have come into use. We should have liked, if he had yet lived, to have had Teufelsdröckh’s opinions concerning Shoddy and its applications. Not indeed that we have to thank him by any means for all that he left behind him. Ponderous vindicators of miraculous stories have availed themselves of his hypothesis concerning a possible deeper law of spiritual force brought to bear on us with its material force, when the rising of one from the dead would be no violation of law but its confirmation (p. 247); and we owe it probably to him that clerical theologians, mystical rather than metaphysical, have puzzled their heads with the “*Everlasting Now*.” (p. 253.)

“*Dawning Lights*”<sup>16</sup> is intended as a sequel to “*Broken Lights*,” published some three years ago. Its object is to give confidence to those who feel anxious as to the future of human society under the change of religious conviction which is now passing over us. It seems to us rather too early to speculate at present on the issue. We may be overrating the force and depth of the current which appears to have set in. At various points free inquirers may seem to draw back, and some may be necessarily reticent, because they do not see their way either to the solution of ultimate problems in the abstract, or as to their practical consequences. It may be requisite for the process of disintegration to be carried further still, for as yet it seems impossible for any

<sup>15</sup> “*Sartor Resartus: the Life and Opinions of Herr Teufelsdröckh*.” In three Books. By Thomas Carlyle. [1831.] London: Chapman and Hall. 1869.

<sup>16</sup> “*Dawning Lights: An Inquiry concerning the Secular Results of the New Reformation*.” By Frances Power Cobbe. London: E. T. Whitfield. 1868.

co-operation to take place in order to any reconstruction. Among ministers of religion many are far in advance of their congregations, and, which is even more deserving of attention, still more in advance of their schoolmasters. The large proportion of schools to which public money is annually granted is denominational. The history of the Fall, of the Deluge, of Pharaoh's plagues, of the Miracles of the New Testament, are read daily in these schools and examined in by the Government Inspectors. This is an influence affecting large masses of the population; here is an inner rampart for the defence of dogmatism, even if the outer lines of public preaching in the Established and non-Established Churches could be carried. In a pleasing little anecdotal volume by Dean Ramsay, of Edinburgh, entitled "Pulpit Table-Talk,"<sup>17</sup> in which, however, it must be said some of the stories are very old acquaintances, a calculation is given of the number of sermons delivered every Sunday in the pulpits of all denominations in Great Britain. The total of places of worship is reckoned at 37,520, and not less than two sermons on an average are preached in them every Sunday, which gives 75,040 weekly, or nearly four millions of sermons every year. Considering what a small number of these pulpits are occupied by preachers of anti-dogmatic sects, or by liberal-minded men in advance of the tenets of their denominations, there is an immense mass of inertia to be overcome before the questions will come to be discussed for any practical purpose affecting the country at large, which Miss Cobbe has treated in her little volume. We must not infer, because old creeds are esteemed no longer tenable by a considerable number of literary and scientific persons, that the mass of the people are at all about to surrender the prepossessions in which they have been brought up; and therefore—much as we agree with many things here said—it seems to us somewhat premature to be settling a new basis for the religion of the future. The Intuitionists and Inferentialists will still carry on their contests—possibly always. The removal of supernatural interference from the history of religion will not give *gain de cause* to the *à priori* people; nor will all the adherents of a reformed Christianity feel constrained to set the personal union and communion with the Deity first in the order of religious experience, any more than all believers in Christianity as it now exists are Quakers or Methodists. Nor need those who are not Intuitionists be alarmed at the giving way of the ground of the old "Revelation," as if they would have no method left wherewith to deal with that which Miss Cobbe has called, with some exaggeration, "the most tremendous of all the questions which torture the souls of living men—Is it HE, or is it IT?"—They will continue to *infer* the nature of the First Cause from that which can be collected from observation of effects produced. The above is only a grammatical way of putting the question, and rather too much reminds us of the dictum of the Eton Latin Grammar—"the masculine is more worthy than the feminine, and the feminine more worthy than the neuter."

<sup>17</sup> "Pulpit Table-Talk: containing Remarks and Anecdotes on Preachers and Preaching." By Edward B. Ramsay, M.A., LL.D., F.R.S.E., Dean of Edinburgh. London: Cassell, Petter, and Galpin. 1868.

## POLITICS, SOCIOLOGY, VOYAGES AND TRAVELS.

**A**MONG the numerous pamphlets to which the Irish question has given birth, an anonymous one styled "The United Kingdom and the Disunited Church"<sup>1</sup> deserves special attention. Starting from the assumptions that disestablishment is an imperious necessity and disendowment scarcely less so, the writer grapples with the real difficulties in the way of carrying out the latter in a truly statesmanlike spirit.

"The disendowment," he says, "of a long established and richly endowed body, such as the Irish Church, in a land circumstanced as Ireland at present is, is not a work like the felling of a forest tree, to be done by a stalwart backwoodsman with a heavy axe, with merely a compensating rope or two to guide it in its fall; the removal of such an establishment from among the existing institutions of a civilized state is rather analogous to the removal of a hard and jagged foreign body long lodged within a human subject, and the operation should be performed by a skilful surgeon acquainted with the strength of the patient, and with the properties and shapes of similar bodies, with the most finely-tempered knife, with as little cutting and as much coaxing the said body as may be."

For practical purposes there is no doubt whatever that unless the operation is likely to be performed in this way, neither the patient nor his friends will submit to its being done at all. The writer recognises the relevancy of the circumstances under which the Irish Church became endowed, but escapes in a great measure the commonly deduced consequences by an important historical analysis. "Irish history may," he says, "be divided into three periods. The first is the pre-Reformation period, when every Irishman who was not a heathen was a member of one or other of two rival organizations of the one only Church." In this case a donor could give to only one Church, and that Church embraced every Christian Irishman within its members; and since there is now no Church which fulfils the last condition, it does not seem to the writer that any existing Church can claim these endowments as of right. "The second period was that of Ascendancy and Penal Repression, when there were two Churches, but endowment of the Roman Church was prevented by law. In this period the choice of the donor was limited not by want of objects but by the injustice of the law." Since then a donor during this period could endow one Church only, while endowment of the other Church was stopped; it does not seem to the writer just, that a righteous State, such as England is, should give the descendants of the persecuting Church property acquired under such a law. The third Period was that of the "Dawn of better things," when a Presbyterian, a Roman Catholic, or Nonconformist was free to choose among the Churches and endow which he pleased. The writer holds it to be just to distinguish property acquired by the Irish Church during this last period and to respect the intentions of all donors, both those who gave and those who did not give to the establishment.

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<sup>1</sup> "The United Kingdom and the Disunited Church." London: Longmans. 1868.

It is suggested that a commission of three lawyers should be appointed to define the boundaries of these periods and to fix the dates authoritatively. Using this principle or "three-period rule" as a sieve, the writer would throw into it all the property of the Establishment, whereby only the accretions or additions acquired during the third period would pass through and remain to the clergy and laity of the Irish Church under some such title as Private (Irish) Church Endowment, as opposed to the rest withdrawn by the State for general national purposes and designated as General National Endowment. For the purpose of working this sieve and vesting the funds belonging to the General National Endowment, it is suggested that thirty-two corporations, one for each of the Irish counties, should be instituted, which should consist of persons nominated by the Crown, the grand jury, the clergy or ministers of the Roman Catholic Church, the Irish Church, the Presbyterian Church, and of Nonconformist bodies in due proportions. The duties, rights, and formalities appertaining to the exercising of all powers entrusted to these corporations would be strictly defined by law. This pamphlet is especially interesting, as it has anticipated the leading principles of Mr. Gladstone's measure.

The full title of the Loyal Irish Protestant's<sup>2</sup> "Great Trial in the Court of Equity" speaks for itself. There is a savour of the trial at Vanity Fair in the "Pilgrim's Progress" about the whole, but the examination and answers of some of the numerous witnesses called from all periods of the world's history are really well done. Thus Mr. Moses is examined by Mr. Amphinos with the view of discrediting the alleged analogy of the Church and State union among the Israelites to anything existing in these days. "Would you be good enough to state to the Court and gentlemen of the jury the nature of those laws which were given in such a miraculous manner? Your people were indeed a favoured race, for, in having their laws made by God, there would be no class legislation, the evils of which they would not, therefore, have to endure." Later on Mr. Moses replies to a question, "Yes, we received all our laws, civil and religious, from God Himself. But the phrase, State legislature, is new to me, and I do not well understand it; may I ask you to explain?" Other witnesses called on both sides are Mr. Samuel, Mr. Peter, Bishop Jeremy Taylor, Dr. Hook, Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Disraeli, and Mr. Horsman. The sentence passed by Lord Chief Justice Upright is, "That on the meeting of the new Parliament you, Irish Established Church, be disestablished and disendowed, reduced to a position corresponding to your character, and placed on a level with other Churches in this country, and may God grant you repentance unto life."

Any one who still hankers after the Act of Union, and will persist in perplexing the discussion of political measures with the abusive importation of legal analogies, will find some lively arguments ready to

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<sup>2</sup> "The Great Trial in the Court of Equity, in which the Irish Established Church was found Guilty of being Unscriptural in Character, of injuring Protestantism, and of exciting Discontent and Disloyalty among the Irish People." By a Loyal Irish Protestant. Dublin: Moffat and Co.

his hand in Mr. Foster's letter to Mr. Gladstone on the "Irish Church Question."<sup>3</sup> One argument that appears rather cogent to its author is that no Parliament elected under the provisions of the Act of Union *can* attempt to impair the force of that Act. This is a good instance of the confusion noticed above. A supreme political authority, whatever persons it is composed of, has no point of similarity whatever with a subordinate authority created by itself. It is controlled by nothing else whatever but political right or duty.

In Mr. Martin's two tracts on Ireland<sup>4</sup> he investigates the prospects of improving the condition of the country by facilitating the transfer of land. He holds that the great shortcoming of the Encumbered Estates' Act was confining the indefeasible title thereby to be granted exclusively to selling, and denying to owners the power to take advantage of it in borrowing directly on the security of their estates, "which thereby placed selling and mortgaging on exactly opposite principles."

An article of Count Cavour's on Ireland,<sup>5</sup> written in 1844, and recently reprinted and translated, is well worthy of being carefully read and studied at the present day, not only on account of the authoritative value of the great statesman's opinions, but also of the complete grasp it displays of all the conditions of the Irish problem. It is marvellously temperate and well balanced, and yet is none the less ruthlessly decided with respect to the extensive measures of reform needed for Ireland, short of repeal of the Union, in which the Count sees no hope for the country. Popular education, the promotion of commerce and industry, public works, the organization of public relief and emigration, and, above all, the amendment of the civil laws affecting the distribution of property and the relations of the landowners and their tenants, are measures for improving Ireland, which the Count believes to be at once indispensable and not likely to be promoted by a separate Parliament sitting in Dublin. This work, it will be remembered, was quoted by Mr. Bright in the recent debate.

The special problems attending the reconstruction of the Irish Church on its approaching disestablishment, as well as the general problems really involved, though often neglected, in the very nature of a union of Church and State, have scarcely yet been so much as approached from a strictly legal or political point of view. The subject has been violently wrested in different directions, now by rhetorical politicians, now by ignorant or over-fervent churchmen, now by milk-and-water writers in daily papers, whose only purpose it is to persuade their fashionable readers that whatever is, is—not altogether wrong. What is wanted is hard law, hard history, and hard scientific politics.

<sup>3</sup> "The Irish Church Question: a Letter to the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, M.P." By Arthur H. Foster. Dublin: Moffat. 1868.

<sup>4</sup> "The True Solution of the Irish Question." By Thomas Martin, Esq. Dublin: Moffat. 1868.

"A Plan for the Complete and Final Settlement of the Question of the Sale and Transfer, Mortgage, and Registration of Land." By Thomas Martin, Esq. Dublin: Moffat. 1868.

<sup>5</sup> "Thoughts on Ireland: its Present and its Future." By the late Count Cavour. Translated by W. B. Hodgson, LL.D. London: Trübner. 1868.

So little of any one of these requisites is to be found in this country at the present moment, that it is scarcely to be wondered at that in a question peculiarly liable to be inflamed in its treatment by party and religious passions, those requisites should, every one of them, seem to be universally wanting. All the greater is our gratitude to Mr. Joyce<sup>6</sup> for his learned, acute, and exhaustive investigation of one particular branch of the subject, that of the actual and proper constitution of appeal courts in matters affecting religious faith and discipline in England. Mr. Joyce's careful and lucid argument may be treated as a *reductio ad absurdum* of the whole notion of Church establishment as it is contemplated in this country. The Reformed Anglican Church is bound up with the State on the ground, presumably, of its possessing some merits or other, whether of popularity, traditional fame, moral force, or religious truth, not equally shared in by other competing religious bodies. Notwithstanding this, every other religious body in the country—Roman Catholics, Unitarians, Methodists, Baptists, Independents, and the rest—are trusted with an infinitely greater amount of freedom to construct their own laws and to interpret and define their own dogmas than the Church which the State especially credits with unapproachable moral excellence and concentrated intellectual power. There is no doubt that the current doctrines of the Church of England are, for all purposes of discipline and the holding of Church property, at the present time, liable to be entirely modified and reconstructed by the Judicial Committee of her Majesty's Privy Council. Mr. Joyce has proved irrefragably that from the time of the establishment of the Court of Delegates by the 25 Henry VIII. 19, up to the transfer of jurisdiction to the Privy Council by 2 and 3 Will. IV. 92, "in all matters touching the king," the supreme court of appeal was the Upper House of Convocation. In all matters "not touching the king" an appeal was given from the Archbishop's Court to the Crown, and upon every such appeal a commission was directed to issue to "such persons as should be named by the King's Highness to hear and definitely determine such appeals." Mr. Joyce further enters upon an interesting investigation of the mode in which this commission was in fact constituted. He points out that this very statute originated a series of protracted labours with a view to the preparation of a revised code of ecclesiastical law. This code, well known as the *Reformatio Legum*, was not completed till the reign of Edward VI., and, on account of the early death of that king, never received royal ratification. Mr. Joyce, however, thinks it calculated fairly to throw light upon the intentions of the legislature to which the whole statute 25 Henry VIII. c. 19 was due, and upon what would have been the authoritative rules of ecclesiastical law and polity if these intentions had been fairly carried into effect. In this code the appeal from the Archbishop's Court, as settled by the statute 25 Henry VIII. 19 is mentioned as lying to the Crown, and then these words are put into

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<sup>6</sup> "The Civil Power in its Relations to the Church: considered with Special Reference to the Court of Final Ecclesiastical Appeal in England." By James Wayland Joyce, M.A. London: Rivingtons. 1869.



the sovereign's mouth: "And when the cause shall have been referred hither we desire to conclude it by a provincial synod, if it is an important case, or by three or four bishops to be appointed by us for that purpose." Thus in every case, whether the matter touched the king or not, or was an important case or not, the ultimate appeal lay to Church and not to State authorities. Mr. Joyce brings a mass of most interesting evidence to bear upon the historical, ecclesiastical, and constitutional aspects of the question. He establishes, as we think conclusively, that both by the most ancient manifestoes of Roman emperors, as well as by the most learned jurists and English text-book writers, the principle has been uniformly laid down that spiritual matters belong entirely to spiritual judges and civil matters to civil judges. This same principle is confessed by the current practice of the Russian and Greek Churches, the Roman Catholic Churches in Belgium and France, the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, and the Presbyterian National Church of Scotland. England, in fact, is a solecism in the civilized world in the way in which she affects to cement artificially the unnatural adhesion to each other of Church and State. Some superficial thinkers may indeed be led off from the main issue by supposing that the court of final appeal is a guarantee for liberty of thought in the Church, and that its recent decisions have justified its existence in this character. Such persons will do well to remember that it is only because of traditional State favouritism and interference that any assumptions on the part of the English Church more than of other religious bodies have ever seemed dangerous to liberty, and, in a state of complete liberation from the State, the English Church would then, just like any other religious community, stand or fall simply by its own intrinsic merits, among which the simplicity and purity of its doctrine would obviously be exposed to the first and sharpest tests. There are some matters, such as abuse on the part of ecclesiastical officials of vested rights of property, or of the general personal rights of members of the religious community, which must always come under the direct cognizance of the civil courts, as through the process of the French *appel comme d'abus*. Where points of doctrine are involved, the obvious mode is to consult skilled witnesses, on the principle *cuique in sub arte credendum*.

"On this principle," Mr. Joyce observes, "the civil courts of the United States sustain by their judgment the faith of each religious society as that society holds it, so it be not contrary to public law and decency. They do not inquire what is or is not orthodoxy, but what does the society in question hold to be orthodoxy? Thus a civil court would uphold on the same day a Presbyterian tribunal in punishing a minister who enforced the necessity of Episcopal ordination, and an Episcopal tribunal in punishing a clergyman who denied the value of that ordinance; a Unitarian society in punishing a teacher who maintained the doctrine of the Trinity, and a Trinitarian society in punishing a preacher who opposed it."

The history of the English Constitution in relation to the present political wants of Continental countries has often been studied by foreign jurists and scientific politicians with a thoroughness and acuteness which may well put to shame the thin and party-spirit-ridden

treatises of Englishmen themselves. The exhaustive and accurate analysis of the whole current and past facts of the English Constitution by Dr. Rudolf Gneist<sup>7</sup> is an excellent instance of the unrivalled power of German investigators in the region of the moral sciences. Dr. Rudolf Gneist has for his object to teach his fellow-countrymen in Prussia that they must, in their political organization, keep clear of the Scylla and Charybdis of worshipping, on the one hand, a phantom and nominal "State," and, on the other, an equally fallacious image of a mass of incoherent and competitive interests. Dr. Gneist conceives the national temperament in Germany is in favour of cherishing the idea of state unity as opposed to that of fragmentary social dislocation, and that a great willingness is universally entertained to confide largely in state authorities. By those who would, in spite of these tendencies, revolutionize the national habits, the example of English "self-government" is largely quoted, and it is the purpose of the doctor to trace the real meaning of this term as it presents itself in the history and the present form of the English Constitution. He considers that this principle of "self-government" is indeed the leading fact at the bottom of that constitution, that it was exhibited in the military, judiciary, police and fiscal obligations existing before the Norman Conquest, recognised and controlled by Magna Charta, and forming the origin of the growth of parliamentary power. The national peculiarity, however, of this idea of "self-government" was that it was always in direct connexion with the central government, and that it performed a most valuable function in acting as a kind of bridge to bring independent and narrow class interests into the view of the larger state life in which they all had equally a share. A close argument is entered into with Mr. Mill, which brings into the field the whole problem of political philosophy, whether a State is merely an ideal construction resulting from a mass of separate and contending interests reaching such a degree of amalgamation or reconciliation as best they may, or whether it possess a distinct and intelligible unity of its own, representing the past and future as well as the present, into harmony with which the wills and interests of the subject persons have to be brought either by moral discipline or the physical force of law.

Of all the social questions which peculiarly belong to the present age, those touching the true relations of Capital and Labour are among the foremost and the most pressing. Mr. Thornton's investigation of all the elements that enter into the labour problem is a really valuable contribution to the discussion of the subject.<sup>8</sup> He has an acute sense of the real evils calling for remedy, as set out with no small power in his chapter on "Labour's Causes of Discontent," and yet he is very far from precipitating a solution by any one-sided sympathy either in favour of labour or of capital. The number of facts accumulated,

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<sup>7</sup> "Verwaltung, Justiz, Rechtsweg, Staatsverwaltung und Selbstverwaltung nach Englischen und Deutschen Verhältnissen." Von Dr. Rudolf Gneist. Berlin: Springer. 1869.

<sup>8</sup> "On Labour: its Wrongful Claims and Rightful Dues: its Actual Present and Possible Future. By William Thomas Thornton. London: Macmillan. 1869.

both historical and statistical, make an especially valuable portion of the work ; and all Mr. Thornton's writing displays a degree of thoughtful impartiality and subdued earnestness, which sets a good example to all future speculators in a field only too favourable for the exercise of strong passions or ignorant prejudices. Mr. Thornton is at great pains to point out what he holds to be the only legitimate "rights" of capital and labour, and in the course of this part of his argument is led into a curious controversy with some celebrated opponents on the true comprehension of the term "justice." Mr. Thornton insists that the term should be severely limited to doing "simply all which one is bound in duty to do, and abstaining from all which one is bound in duty not to do." We are told that some of Mr. Thornton's friends, as Mr. Mill, Professor Cairnes and Mr. Morley, have taken exception to this sense of the word, and consider the term "justice" to be coextensive with "social virtue." We have not space here to plunge into this interesting controversy, in which we partly agree with and partly differ from the disputants on both sides. First of all, Mr. Thornton is necessitated to retain in his definition the word "duty," and his opponents are entitled to reply that if that word means anything it is every man's duty quite as much to exhibit every "social virtue" towards his fellows as to provide niggardly for their barest and narrowest claims. But again, there is no doubt that in common parlance, which, in a matter of language, can never be safely overlooked, a constant distinction is drawn between doing what is said to be merely just, and what is said to be benevolent or philanthropic. Probably this distinction is only provisional, and is a kind of tribute to human frailty. There are some acts, the omission of which shocks bystanders far more than the omission of others does. This is all. The application of all this to the labour question is direct and important. "A labourer," says Mr. Thornton, "offering his services for hire is simply offering labour for sale. No one is bound to accept the offer. No one is under any obligation to buy, nor *à fortiori* to buy at any particular price. There is, therefore, no particular price to which the labourer has a right, or by not obtaining which he can be wronged. No price can be proposed either to him or by him which can be one whit more fair or just than any other price. Any price is just which he agrees to take, and another to give, and this, and not one tittle more than this, constitutes his due." We consider that the old logical error crops out here of confounding law and morality as well as persons and things. It is a symptom of the peculiarly morbid action which has universally infected political economists when they have travelled out of their true province into questions of social philosophy and general politics. It is on this account that the really precious functions of political economists are neglected in some quarters, and have fallen into disrepute in others. If it is a question of *law*, a capitalist *ought* to give the greatest price for labour he can, by effective pressure brought to bear upon him in one way or another, be ultimately compelled to give. If a labourer receives less than this he is wronged, and the wrong will speedily be avenged. This of course leaves it quite open whether the law be or be not an expedient one, and who the authorities are who make it. If

it be, on the other hand, a question of *morals*, a capitalist *ought* to give as much remuneration to the labourer as a due regard to his own fair profits and to the claims of all other persons enable him to give. Any payment short of this is immoral, and had best be at once called unjust. Mr. Thornton's analysis of capital as the produce of past labour and his defence of the moral claims of capitalists even in the interests of labour itself, is as accurate as could be wished. He recognises the necessity and value (especially educational) of Trades Unions, while he deploras the excesses and enormities into which they have been tempted. To decry such combinations on the ground of these abuses would be about as reasonable as to remonstrate against the existence of all governments, because most governments have made bad laws and waged cruel and unnecessary wars. In investigating the prospects of co-operative societies for productive purposes, Mr. Thornton is led into an interesting debate of the same nature as the previous one, with Mr. Frederick Harrison. The whole argument seems to us to supply another proof of the impossibility of treating, with a view to social action, economic questions apart from moral and political ones. The whole positivist theory of the final relations of capital and labour which Mr. Harrison supports is based on the assumption that every capitalist will feel himself invested with all the responsibility attaching to one of Mr. Thornton's "paid managers," only with a great deal more besides, and of a much more elevated kind. Mr. Thornton should recognise this, even if he rejects the whole theory.

It is a great treat to get hold of a really honest and able exposition of the principles on which conscientious members of the Conservative party rest their position. The mere analysis of personal convictions and sincere grappling with political problems implies a semi-conversion to Liberalism; and we believe it only needs some more continued thought, warmed with the same energy of purpose Lord Lindsay displays in his pamphlet on "Conservatism,"\* to make his lordship shortly write a fiery polemic on the other side. According to Lord Lindsay, England has now reached the third inevitable period in all national history—that of decline. It is no longer the People, comprising the Aristocracy and the Commons, who combine in their struggles against the Crown, nor is it the two parties of Liberty and Order who are arrayed against each other. These two periods are those of "growth" and "maturity." "The period of decline commences from the moment when one of these two great parties begins to obtain a permanent ascendancy in the councils of the nation; and it is always the Whig or Liberal party that ultimately does so, supported and pushed forward by the increasing influence of the masses of the people, gradually sharing (as they have a right to share) in the intellectual life diffused by education from the central focus of the national intelligence." It is the main purpose of good Conservatives to delay the inevitable course of this fatal progression. It is the duty of good men

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\* "Conservatism: its Principle, Policy, and Practice. A Reply to Mr. Gladstone's Speech at Wigan, 23rd October, 1868." By Lord Lindsay. London: John Murray. 1868.

to ally themselves with the Conservative party in this patriotic aim. It was no other aim than this which dictated the policy of Mr. Disraeli's government in their extension of the suffrage, and in their attempted maintenance of the Irish Church establishment. Necessarily a melancholy pathos hangs about such a treatment of contemporary politics. It is difficult to shake off the stifling gloom in order to breathe once more the sunny atmosphere of truthful criticism, and of an unflinching faith in the absolute identity of order and progress, of knowledge and freedom, of universal education and moral enlightenment, not tending to chaos, but bringing about a social and political harmony such as the world has not yet dreamt of. That the present epoch in modern history is a critical one we should be the last to dispute. But it is a belief in progress and in man, not a Conservative scepticism, however honest, that will alone supply the panacea.

Mr. Matthew Arnold<sup>10</sup> is one of those perplexing writers of whom it is difficult to say whether they do infinite good or infinite harm. It would cost no more trouble to support the one view of his recent papers in the *Cornhill Magazine*, now republished in a very elegant form, than it would to support the other. Without quarrelling about the different meanings that may be attached to the word "culture," it is a great service to draw the attention of Englishmen to what is no doubt at present the weakest side of the national character. There is plenty of political energy in many quarters, plenty of impetuous pushing, plenty of mechanical contrivance and special knowledge. But Mr. Arnold is quite justified in his complaint of a universal want of mental suavity, genial toleration, love of ideas, thoughtful sympathy with past and alien modes of thought and feeling. Every profession has its pet prejudices and works itself to death, or at least, intellectual stagnation, in its own narrow region, and even politics are taken up not as the summation of all sciences and all arts, but in the same temper as any other confined work is taken up, and are therefore universally handled in the "Philistinist" way of which Mr. Arnold so constantly complains. So far Mr. Arnold's facts are undeniable, and his mournful elegy only too justly called for. But Mr. Arnold, we hold, becomes just as much a "Philistine" in the cause of "culture" or "sweetness and light," as any of those whose conduct and character he most nervously shrinks from. To shut out all the political landscape except one narrow sunny spot just before one's eyes, is surely "Philistinism," if this word means anything; and none the less so, because that sunny spot is described in the most exquisitely refined language, and all other fields of human action are contemptuously sneered at. Everybody is agreed that knowledge, taste, high moral feeling are the most precious things in the world, and it is the main end of all education and political organization to bring about their universal prevalence. But it is only children who try to catch birds by laying salt on their tails. The Liberals of whom Mr. Arnold

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<sup>10</sup> "Culture and Anarchy: an Essay in Political and Social Criticism." By Matthew Arnold. London: Smith, Elder, and Co. 1869.

complains see no more good than he does in anarchical riots and popular declamation for their own sake. But they recognise, what he does not, that a nation must sometimes be stirred into life by beginning with what are its lowest wants before it can even become conscious of the higher, and that the best fruits of knowledge and taste will perish and be frittered away without the stern supporting beams of a wisely and firmly-constructed system of political organization.

The subject of education, which is the politics of the young, has quite a different class of obstructions to contend with from those which beset the scientific treatment of politics in the larger sense of the word. No one thinks of denying that some modes of bringing-up children to manhood are preferable to other modes, and that observation, experience, and precise reasoning are all-sufficient methods of infallibly distinguishing the best from the worst modes. Nevertheless, though this is admitted with far more explicitness here than in the case of general politics, and though the vision of truth is far less exposed to obscuration by passion or self-interest, yet, in fact, in no department of human affairs is so much left to haphazard as the treatment of the young. Mr. Quick,<sup>11</sup> in his extremely interesting volume of *Essays on Educational Reformers*, gives us repeated opportunities of noticing how very slowly the best accredited doctrines become applied to practice in the matter of education. This is not to be wondered at when the ignorance and unconscientiousness of the generality of parents is considered in connexion with the real perplexities of the subject, and the amount of moral and intellectual qualities called for in every really efficient educator. To those who really do intend either to secure the effective training of those dependent upon them, or to promote the adoption of the wisest plans for systematic instruction throughout the country, Mr. Quick has rendered a great service in bringing into clear relief some of the best things said on the subject by such men as Locke, Rousseau, Pestalozzi, Jacotot, and Mr. Herbert Spencer. Each of these eminent men made important contributions to the foundation of a science of education. However much they may have differed among themselves, all the points of doctrine in which they agreed were far more rational than those theories which still maintain a firm footing in this country. Thus they refused one and all to look at learning as an unnatural process by which, as by a series of violent artifices, one and another child might be metamorphosed into a monster of cleverness, while the generality must be dwarfed and ruined. In their eyes learning was only the fulfilment of the child's truest nature: it was the awakening to life and exercise of real and present faculties, not the abnormal conjuring up of absent and abnormal ones. In this spirit they held that everything that associated teaching with harshness, cruelty, dulness, or over-exertion, was a sure mark of the utter incompetency of the teacher. It may be that some of these great speculators over-estimated the

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<sup>11</sup> "*Essays on Educational Reformers.*" By Robert Herbert Quick, M.A. London: Longmans. 1868.

natural energy and rectitude of the infantine mind, and therefore scarcely provided enough for its solicitation and proper discipline. Thus Rousseau in his "Emile" was for keeping the intellectual faculties inactive as long as possible, even to the period of twelve years old. "Look upon every delay as an advantage: it is gaining a great deal to advance without losing anything. Let childhood ripen in children. In short, whatever lesson becomes necessary for them, take care not to give them to-day if it may be deferred till to-morrow." Another passage of Rousseau's well deserves being quoted in the present day:— "What dangerous prejudices do we not begin to instil, by making children take for knowledge words which to them are without meaning! In the very first intelligible sentence with which a child sits down satisfied, in the very first thing he takes upon trust, or learns from others without himself being convinced of its utility, he loses part of his understanding: and he may figure long in the eyes of fools before he will be able to repair so considerable a loss." Perhaps the most valuable part of this book, as well as the most interesting, is the account of Pestalozzi and his educational system. It was with a warm patriotic zeal that he devoted his life to educate the humblest of the Swiss peasantry, and it was not till after his fiftieth year that he became famous. He drew an important distinction between accustoming a child to regard learning as an evil and to regard it as an exertion. He held the view which we believe to be eminently sound, that whenever children are inattentive and take no interest in the lesson, it is the teacher who is in fault. "We must adopt a better mode of instruction, by which the children are less left to themselves, less thrown upon the unwelcome employment of passive listening, less harshly treated for little excusable failings; but more roused by questions, animated by illustrations, interested and won by kindness." We think this is an advance upon Rousseau's *laissez-faire* principle, though the latter proceeded from a like deep and generous insight into all the conditions of the problem. Mr. Quick does justice to Mr. Herbert Spencer's speculations, especially to his general theory of education, that "lessons ought to start from the concrete and end in the abstract," and that teachers should proceed from the simple to the complex, should "begin with but few subjects at once, and, successively adding to these, should finally carry on all subjects abreast." We certainly rather incline to Mr. Quick's class of subjects to be taught at first, than to mere physical facts as recommended by Mr. Herbert Spencer. Mr. Quick would have a child's powers of actual observation exercised as fully and pleasurably as possible, but would accompany such exercise with the discreet employment of three reading books at the same time: one about animals and things, a poetry book, and *Æsop's Fables*. "With the first commences a course culminating in works of science; with the second, a series that should lead up to Milton and Shakspeare; the third should be succeeded by some of our best writers in prose."

Some of the most unpretending books often turn out the most valuable. Nothing could be simpler in form and treatment than Mr.

Norris's *Occasional Essays on Education*,<sup>12</sup> and yet, owing to his long experience as a Government inspector, and the clearness of his style as well as his laborious exactness in collecting facts, this work deserves a special share of attention at the present time. All the main problems are approached, such as compulsory education, night-schools, middle-class schools, higher education for women and technical instruction, and light is thrown upon all. Mr. Norris is only in favour of such indirect compulsion as would result from extending the Factory Acts to agricultural and other labourers, and giving increased effect to the Industrial Schools Act and the Out-door Paupers Act. Mr. Norris's objections to direct compulsion are, (1) That from the school point of view, it would necessitate an entire revolution in the constitution of our schools, the rate and voluntary system killing each other; (2) from the parents' point of view, it would involve (as he explains in some detail) a great amount of hardship on the families of our labourers; (3) from the legislative point of view, the feeling of the country not going with it, such a law would be practically inoperative. This he says is the case in Massachusetts and Prussia.

The "Personal Experiences" of Ubiq<sup>ue</sup><sup>13</sup> in the hunting and shooting field form a very pleasant, lively book. Many of the facts are valuable, such as the prevalence of oysters on the coasts of China and their neglect by the inhabitants. There is an airy, wholesome tone about the descriptions of hunting in the American prairies, fishing in China and Gibraltar, shooting in Barbary, which betrays a genial love of exercise and of natural objects, without any of the coarse brutality which so often defaces books on sporting. Indeed the main charm of Ubiq<sup>ue</sup>'s writing is the care and love of animal life it displays throughout.

The election of General Grant to the Presidentship of the United States has given a personal no less than a political and historical interest to the story of the suppression of the Rebellion in the Southern States. In Mr. Cannon's work<sup>14</sup> on the history of the last year of the war the reader can refresh his memory about the general course of the "Army of the Potomac" and of "Sherman's Army," the latter composed of three armies rolled into one and exhibiting a total strength of 98,797 men and 254 guns. Some interesting particulars are supplied us about the early life of General Grant. He was born in 1822 and brought up first at a village school in Ohio, and then at the Military Academy at West Point. He afterwards rose to be a lieutenant in the 4th United States Infantry and assisted in a victorious campaign in Northern Mexico. "Captain Robert E. Lee," then in his thirty-ninth year, while Grant was in his twenty-fifth, also did gallant service on the same occasion. Grant withdrew from the army in 1854 and retired to St. Louis, where he seems to have endeavoured to do

<sup>12</sup> "The Education of the People our Weak Point and our Strength. Occasional Essays." By J. P. Norris, M.A. London: Simpkin, Marshall, and Co.

<sup>13</sup> "Gun, Rod, and Saddle. Personal Experiences." By Ubiq<sup>ue</sup>. London: Chapman and Hall. 1869.

<sup>14</sup> "History of Grant's Campaign for the Capture of Richmond." By John Cannon. London: Longmans. 1869.



something for a living by supplying the vicinity with wood, and many of the citizens of Carondelet, a village adjoining St. Louis, are said to remember Grant dressed in a plain farmer's garb, delivering a load at their outhouses. On the breaking out of the rebellion, Grant, with other trained soldiers, rose at once to importance.

The history of the Australian colonies, and especially Victoria, might suffice to writers on economics and the science of government as a series of illustrations of every one of their principles. There are three periods in the history of Victoria in which the political problems and the state of society have been entirely distinct. The great value of Mr. Booth's work on "Another England"<sup>15</sup> is in calling to mind the events of the first two of these periods, that before the gold discoveries and that extending over the ten years following. The more recent politics of Victoria are familiar to Englishmen, though their actual nature is still much misapprehended. The first difficulties in the way of the development of Victoria were its dependence on New South Wales and the constant influx of convicts with tickets-of-leave, accompanied with a real want of sufficient population. In general respects the country was prosperous. Money was not made rapidly, but comfort abounded; and to this day, we are told, "the old settlers look back with regret to the old days before the gold, when they had neither troubles nor cares, save such ordinary ones as always attend humanity." The trades of the colony prospered; hides and tallow had a good market, and in Melbourne all the appliances and conveniences of a second-rate English country town were easily obtainable. Hotels and publichouses abounded, and whenever a ship came from England, or the wool came down the country, Melbourne held high holiday. Churches multiplied, and religious feeling on certain occasions became intense. Mr. Booth gives quite a vivid description of the state of things, or rather the paroxysm of things, during the first few years after the gold discoveries. Every ordinary interest was suspended, every employment, trade, and profession merged into that of gold-digger. Swarms of foreigners wholly unadapted for a life of colonization infested the country, and a very unequal combat was waged between the feeble forces of government insisting upon the payment of the licence of 30s. a month and endeavouring to maintain order, and the wholly lawless and reckless habits of the heterogeneous strangers, who had only the most slender and transient concern in the welfare of any one but themselves. Side by side, however, with this spasmodic movement new sources of interest far more wholesome and promising were gradually making themselves felt. After a time gold was not absolutely to be had for the asking. "The majority of those who went to Victoria for a 'spell' at gold-digging found it incumbent upon them to put up with very little gold and a great deal of hardship." The main problem now for them as for all the native population was how to make themselves "homes." The squatting interest was naturally opposed to the growth of an agricultural interest, as the long

<sup>15</sup> "Another England: Life, Living, Homes, and Homemakers in Victoria." By E. Corton Booth. London: Virtue. 1869.

“runs” for sheep would have to be broken up and restricted in favour of farms, should such be multiplied. The main political question was now how to construct a wise and just land-law, so as to provide equitably for the claims of (1) those who were already in recognised possession of nearly the whole land of the colony, (2) those who wished to cultivate small portions of this land, and (3) the Government. The last attempt made in this direction has been the Act of 1865, which, following out the joint allotment and selection policy of previous acts, by the 42nd section carries further than any previous acts the principles of free selection of land in the neighbourhood of a gold-field to the extent of twenty, and afterwards eighty, acres. Already 400,000 acres of land are held by settlers under the 42nd section of the Land Act, and the result has been, in Mr. Booth’s opinion, all that could be desired. This work is full of information, but when Mr. Booth touches on politics he shows himself to be a sympathizer with the M’Culloch ministry, a fact which must be borne in mind in criticising his views on matters which have become violent party questions.

There is something peculiarly charming in the partly historical, partly gossiping nature of an antiquarian book when written by one who loves and thoroughly understands his subject. Such a book is eminently “*Feudal Castles in France*.”<sup>16</sup> Architecture, feudal history, royal and familiar names, little tales of love and finesse, and greater ones of war and politics, all have centres of interest in such names as the Castle of Amboise, Loches, Chaumont, Chambord, Rambouillet (Napoleon’s favourite residence, and where in 1811 he organized a plan for breeding and rearing Merino sheep in France) and Blois. There is no pleasanter way of imbibing desultory history than in connexion with such places as these.

We are so accustomed in Western Europe to hear unscrupulous abuse of Turkish administration, that it is rather refreshing to meet with a bold and thorough-going defence of the Turkish and Mahomedan rule and social state, as contrasted with what is found among the Russians and members of the Greek Church. Captain St. Clair and Mr. Charles Brophy have given us a very interesting volume,<sup>17</sup> containing an account of some time passed in a Christian village amongst the hills of the Balkan, where they learned to know “the Bulgarian royah better than if they had resided for twenty years in a town.” The chief argument of the book has for its object to prove that the Christian inhabitant of Bulgaria is a lazy, worthless, dissipated wretch, and owes all his misery to his own vices, and not to the Turkish Government. “In our opinion one of the gravest economical faults, or perhaps even crimes, of the Turkish Government is the unbounded licence which its mistaken generosity has granted to its Christian subjects. Work is the law of humanity: yet the twelve

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<sup>16</sup> “*Feudal Castles of France (Western Provinces)*.” By the Author of “*Flemish Interiors*.” London: Chapman and Hall. 1869.

<sup>17</sup> “*A Residence in Bulgaria; or, Notes on the Resources and Administration of Turkey*.” By S. G. B. St. Clair, Capt., and Charles A. Brophy. London: John Murray. 1869.

millions of Christian subjects of the Sultan escape this elsewhere universal necessity by the lenity of a government which Europe has been taught to consider tyrannical and oppressive." If the rayah is not rich, we are told that it is the fault of his own laziness, and of the 185 feast days of the Greek calendar. The Christian Church in Turkey is described as being what that of Europe was during the darkest ages before the Reformation, and a comparison between the morals, education, and honesty of the two peoples, Turks and rayahs, is said to be most unfavourable to the latter. It is not true that the Bulgarians have any wish to be united to Russia. What has been alleged on this topic, even when proceeding from genuine Bulgarians, is said to be only the exponent of the views of a small party who are themselves interested in propagating such sentiments. Independence such as that of the Principalities, union with Servia, annexation to Greece even—such are only political cries of small bands of agitators, and not changes for which the rayah does really wish. The true wishes of the rayah are confined to the removal of a few petty grievances which equally affect his Mussulman fellow-subjects. "What his friends wish for him is sufficiently well known in England from the newspapers of Russia, and one or two other countries, and diplomatic reports."

Any fresh and lively account of travels in a foreign country, however well known and often described, is always readable. Mr. Smith has contrived to make his two little volumes on what he calls, perhaps by an euphemism, "The Attractions of the Nile,"<sup>18</sup> especially so. Among these attractions he includes the formidable rebellion which blazed out in Upper Egypt during the months of February and March, 1865, and with which he came into rather inconvenient personal contact. The facts of this rebellion are little known in England, and what Mr. Smith tells us about its causes and the mode of its suppression, tend to throw considerable light on the existing social state of the disaffected population. The primary cause seems to have been a severe cattle-plague, which had destroyed to the amount of 98 per cent. of the whole cattle in Egypt. This not only implied the loss of a material portion of the wealth of the people, but also prevented the working of the *saktias* or water-wheels used for irrigating the land. Then there being no longer enough men for drawing the primitive ploughs, the inevitable consequence was that a very large proportion of land was thrown out of cultivation, and famine, or at any rate extreme scarcity, was the result. Another cause of dissatisfaction was the system of tenure of land, of which the Pasha owns the fee-simple, and dispossesses the hereditary occupier at his will. The system of forced labour, which is only another name for slave-labour, is also one of which the labourers have reasonably the greatest abhorrence, and which leads in practice to iniquities and destruction of human life which might well justify as well as cause a revolution. The more immediate occasion of this revolt was a quarrel between the Muslims and the Copts, brought about by the alleged attempt of a Copt to convert a

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<sup>18</sup> "The Attractions of the Nile and its Banks." By Rev. Charles Alfred Smith, M.A. In two vols. London: John Murray. 1869.

Muslim slave to Christianity. The excitement attending the close of the fast of Ramadan and the preparations for the pilgrimage to Mecca, further wrought up the spirit of the people to fanatical frenzy. The Pasha's mode of suppressing the revolt was unique and effective. He set off in person with several thousand troops, and, on arriving at the spot, at once executed five hundred men, two hundred of whom were shot, two hundred beheaded, and one hundred hung. He fired the villages and gave directions to shoot the rebels, as, compelled by hunger or thirst, they approached. The oppressed condition of the Egyptian peasantry is further confirmed by Mr. Hopley, who, together with much other entertaining matter gathered during Egyptian travel,<sup>19</sup> speaks of the harsh and excessive taxation enforced by the Pasha, and the greater apparent rigour of it due to the taxes being levied in kind, there being no coinage in the country.

The story of the captives in Abyssinia<sup>20</sup> is one that has many important relations over and above the particular sources of pathetic interest that gather round every tale of human suffering and wrong. Mr. Stern, who gives an afflicting enough picture of the physical suffering and mental agony to which the captives were subjected, is not unaware of the aspects of nobleness by which even Theodore was marked off from common men. He was born in 1822, and in early life, like King David, organized a band of freebooters, consisting of seventy men. After a time, disgusted with a freebooter's precarious vocation, he left "the feverish wilds" in the undisturbed possession of the natives, and reappeared on his own native soil, from which he had fled. The squabbles and conflicts between the ruling chiefs inflamed the towering ambition of the retired robber, and he began to cherish the schemes of aggrandizement which finally won him his kingdom. Mr. Stern's work is full of stirring and interesting details, but the question still remains to be answered whether Theodore was not an important link in the chain of Abyssinian civilization, which could not be violently displaced without that civilization being indefinitely retarded.

Herr Jobler's work on Nazareth is a curious specimen at once of the peculiarities and the advantages of the German notion of intense specialization of labour.<sup>21</sup> We have here the picture of a man deeply interested in the associations of Palestine, and who, he tells us, has published speculations on the birthplace of Christ, and on the site of the Crucifixion and of the Holy Sepulchre, who now selects one particular district of the whole country, and devotes a book to giving every possible detail, physical, social, and political about that special district. It affords a kind of photographic portrait of the existing condition of Syria, the value of which is immense, and yet which none but a laborious German could supply. Thus we are told that the language of the district is Arabic, but rather varying from that spoken in Damas-

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<sup>19</sup> "Under Egyptian Palms; or, Three Bachelors' Journeying on the Nile." By Howard Hopley. London: Chapman and Hall, 1869.

<sup>20</sup> "The Captive Missionary: being an Account of the Country and People of Abyssinia." By the Rev. Henry A. Stern. London: Cassell and Co.

<sup>21</sup> "Nazareth in Palestina." Von Titus Jobler. Berlin: Reimer, 1868.

cus. The Franciscans introduced the *lingua franca*. The customs of the country, as well as the government, have undergone many distinct changes. Nazareth is now a district in the pashalik of Akka, and contains nineteen inhabited villages. Christians form the majority of the population, and so enjoy more freedom than where they are outnumbered by Mahomedans. There is much curious historical information in this little book.

The war in Paraguay has made very acceptable the experiences of any intelligent traveller in the republican provinces of South America. Mr. Hadfield's work on Brazil and the River Plate<sup>22</sup> tells us a great deal about the commercial and social condition of the countries he visited, which is of extreme interest both for the politician and the intending colonist. Mr. Hadfield has a strong opinion about the character of Lopez II., upon whom European attention has been recently concentrated. His father, Don Carlos Lopez, a lawyer, succeeded the Dictator Francia in 1840, but "if any difference existed between the position of Lopez and Francia, it was simply that the iron rod of the latter was gilded and painted in the grasp of the former." The government of Lopez II. has been equally despotic with that of his father, and a policy of isolation and monopoly has been persistently observed. Public opinion has no existence, and the only paper published in Paraguay is the official organ edited by the Dictator himself. Mr. Hadfield goes on to say that the greater part of his reign has been devoted to the steady accumulation of military and naval stores, the organization of an army out of all proportion to the number of the inhabitants, and the erection of strong fortresses. The object was to bring the whole of the River Plate under the terror of a Guarani-Indian subjection.

A guide-book is never a cheerful book for those to look into who are not thinking of moving from home. But it is quite necessary that those at home should criticise such works, or they might run a risk of escaping this bracing discipline altogether. Mr. Ball's "Guide to the Eastern Alps"<sup>23</sup> seems as if it could court any amount of the most leisurely investigation, as it is full of most precise and detailed information, given in a very compressed space, and accompanied with excellent maps and diagrams. We cannot conceive what a guide-book could want more.

Major Bell<sup>24</sup> prefaces an important investigation of the claims and alleged injuries of the living representatives of the Nawabs of the Carnatic by saying, "If India, by common consent of all political parties, is a great Parliamentary bore, the greatest possible Parliamentary bore must surely be the case of Prince Azem Jah." It is Major Bell's object to establish that the East India Company took possession of the

<sup>22</sup> "Brazil and the River Plate in 1868." By William Hadfield. London: Bates and Co. 1869.

<sup>23</sup> "A Guide to the Eastern Alps." By John Ball, M.I.R.A. London: Longmans. 1868.

<sup>24</sup> "The Great Parliamentary Bore." By Major Evans Bell. London: Trübner and Co. 1869.

Carnatic territories under the treaty of 1801, solely for the purpose of civil and military administration and exclusive management, and that no annexation of territory took place under that treaty, nor has rightfully taken place since. A certain share of the revenues was guaranteed to the Nawab for his maintenance and the support of his dignity. Major Bell gives a large mass of evidence to prove that in spite of this engagement, the uniform policy of the English Government in reference to the representatives of the Nawab has been one of dethronement, defamation, and pillage. The latest act complained of is, that after the sum of 150,000*l.* for the payment of Prince Azem Jah's debts had been granted as a concession to public clamour in favour of justice, four-fifths of this sum was appropriated to the payment of "unsecured debts," the payment of which devolved properly upon the English Government, and which never produced nor could produce the slightest pressure on his Highness or any member of his family.

The history of the construction of railways in India, and of the difficulties, financial and geographical, they have had to contend with, forms an instructive contribution to the solution of the whole modern railway problem. Captain Davidson has done good service by the precise and extensive information he has collected on the early obstacles which beset railway enterprise in India, and on the actual condition of the main systems of railway communication at the present time.<sup>25</sup> From his vantage-ground as deputy-consulting-engineer for railways to the Government of Bengal, Captain Davidson has bestowed attention upon a vast number of seemingly minute matters, the engineering and commercial importance of which might well have escaped the notice of a less practised eye. On the first official recognition, in 1845, by the Court of Directors of the desirability of railways for India, certain peculiar difficulties, we are told, presented themselves not common to railroads in other countries. Such were (1) periodical rains and inundations; (2) the continued action of violent winds and the influence of a vertical sun; (3) the ravages of insects and vermin upon timber and earthwork; (4) the destructive effect of the spontaneous vegetation of underwood upon earth and brickwork; (5) the unenclosed and unprotected tracts of country through which railroads would pass; and (6) the difficulty and expense of securing the services of competent and trustworthy engineers. A committee of engineers pronounced these difficulties not insuperable, and pointed out how they might be successfully encountered. With respect to the financial obstacles, it took no less than four years and a half to bring the Board of Control to terms with the Court of Directors. The result was, that the East India Company agreed to guarantee 5 per cent. on all sums paid with their permission into their treasury as long as a railway company should continue to possess the railway: that if there should be any loss in working the line the railway company should bear it, but should be at liberty to give it up to the East India Company at any time they pleased on giving six months' notice of

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<sup>25</sup> "The Railways of India; with an Account of their Rise, Progress, and Construction." By Edward Davidson, Captain R.E. London: Spon. 1868.

their intention, and should then obtain repayment of the actual capital expended on the construction of the line, plant, and rolling stock. The Indian railways were almost exempt from parliamentary and legal expenses, and the land was given by Government. Thus the main cost was determined by the rates at which labour could be obtained and material purchased. It appears that the great cost of freight from England and of the inland transport of iron work, the difficulty and expense of procuring sleepers, and the high rate of wages and salaries to European superintendents and artisans, have disappointed the expectations of the probable cheapness with which the lines could be constructed.

In reconsidering the proper policy of England towards such countries as China, it is well that every view of the question should be adequately represented. It cannot be said that Mr. Sinnett has been unequal or unfaithful to his mission as an advocate of the strictly English and European interests involved.<sup>26</sup> His appeal is indeed free from the transparent vulgarity, selfishness, and brutality which distinguished the champions of forcible commerce in the Palmerstonian period. Nevertheless, it is Mr. Sinnett's opinion that the Chinese must be ready, in spite of themselves, to adopt the European type of industrial civilization with as little delay as possible. The mandarins and the present Government, rather than the main body of the people, are alleged to be the main obstacles in the way of commercial renovation. Mr. Sinnett notices that the assistance rendered by the English and French during the late rebellion has established an irresistible claim to the submission of the Chinese authorities. "An essential part of any comprehensive scheme for the internal development of the Chinese empire will be the establishment in that country of a moveable field force within our own control." "An Indian force, 5000 strong, officered by Europeans, could do anything in China." We believe it could.

The "Narrative of the Cruelties inflicted on Friends" in North Carolina because of their persistent refusal to bear arms on the secession of that State, is interesting on many accounts.<sup>27</sup> It displays magnificent instances of personal heroism, which encountered death and the most vindictive and torturing persecutions rather than abjure principles—peculiar, and, as we believe, mistaken as those principles are. The pamphlet contains much curious and first-hand evidence on the condition of North Carolina during the war, and on the historic relations of the Quaker body to the slave question.

The struggle between the two parties in favour of having the New Law Courts on what is called the "Carcy-street Site" and the "Thames Embankment Site," is helped on its dreary way by Mr. Cochrane, in a letter to Mr. Layard, M.P.<sup>28</sup> It seems to us chiefly a question for

<sup>26</sup> "Our Policy in China." By Alfred Percy Sinnett. London: Longmans. 1869.

<sup>27</sup> "A Narrative of the Cruelties inflicted upon Friends at North Carolina Yearly Meeting, during the Years 1861 to 1865, in Consequence of their Faithfulness to the Christian View of the Unlawfulness of War." London: Edward Newman. 1869.

<sup>28</sup> "The Thames Embankment and the New Law Courts: a Letter addressed to the Rt. Hon. A. H. Layard, M.P." By Alexander Baillie Cochrane. London: Harrison. 1869.

architects, and it is to be regretted that such a matter of public taste and convenience should be torn in pieces by rival petitioners or self-interested corporations.

A "Statistical Examination of the Decrease of Drunkards"<sup>29</sup> goes to prove that a great social reform has recently been brought about in the matter of intemperance. We trust it has, and are even willing to give the teetotalists much of the credit of it, for whatever evil attaches to their method, their self-denying energy is beyond praise.

There are many points of view from which the civic and political history of the City of London may be regarded, according as the purpose of the investigation is that of the antiquarian, the social philosopher, or the general politician. In his account of the History, Constitution, and Chartered Franchises of the City of London,<sup>30</sup> Mr. Norton has contrived to satisfy most agreeably the wants of all these classes of readers. A very interesting part of his work is his enumeration and precise account of all the charters granted to the City of London, commencing with the very limited one of William the Conqueror, which merely promised the citizens "they should be law-worthy as they were in the days of Edward, and that each child should be his father's heir after his father's days." "And I will not suffer that any man command you any wrong. God keep you." Mr. Norton explains the word "scot," of which we have heard a good deal of late, to signify "a rateable contribution," and especially that which was levied for the common purposes of the borough. Paying "scot" became the distinguishing criterion of a full and complete citizen. But it is vain now to inquire, says Mr. Norton, what the ancient *scot* rates in cities specifically were, since, in the reign of James I. and in subsequent reigns, when the nature of these rates first began to be in question in order to establish the common-law rights of voting, Parliament could not discover their precise meaning. In reviewing the history of the civic elective franchises this work contains much interesting information on the modes in which the franchise became extended to persons neither trading nor residing within the limits of the City, through the companies acquiring the habit of admitting "to the freedom of such associations, and eventually to the rank of liverymen, whomever they thought fit, without regard to his being either a tradesman or a householder, either within the City or elsewhere."

Those who prefer a lighter work than Mr. Norton's, and yet one equally good and even valuable in its own way, will find it in Mr. Howitt's "Northern Heights of London."<sup>31</sup> They will be surprised how much of English history and of the lives of the most cherished Englishmen is associated with the immediate neighbourhood of

<sup>29</sup> "A Statistical Examination of the Decrease of Drunkards in the United Kingdom." By Joseph A. Horner. London: 1869.

<sup>30</sup> "Commentaries on the History, Constitution, and Chartered Franchises of the City of London. By George Norton. Third Edition. London: Longmans. 1869.

<sup>31</sup> "The Northern Heights of London; or, Historical Associations of Hampstead, Highgate, Muswell-hill, Hornsey, and Islington." By William Howitt. London: Longmans. 1869.



London. For instance, it is not known to every one how very real and emphatic a character was Sir Richard Whittington, who, in the reign of Edward III., made the king a present of 10,000*l.*, and entertained Henry V. and his queen at Guildhall, himself discharging the king's debts for the payment of his soldiers in France, to the amount of 60,000*l.* He furthermore built almshouses, a library, church, and college; rebuilt Newgate, repaired Guildhall, and endowed Christ-church with a considerable sum.

The political and social history of the Isle of Wight,<sup>32</sup> together with a descriptive view of the present state of the island, illustrated with excellent photographs, is an interesting contribution to our patriotic literature. Mr. Ware seems inclined to the belief that, so far from the island having been inhabited by savages in the time of the Roman invasion, it was then in a state of very advanced civilization, and had been the first place peopled by civilized colonists from Southern Europe.

The "Statesman's Year-Book" for 1869,<sup>33</sup> is a most useful book to have at hand, containing as it does in a brief space all the outer facts, statistical, political, mercantile, and historical of every country in the world.

In Professor Latte's essay<sup>34</sup> which gained the prize of the Milan Institute of Science and Literature, the author treats at considerable length the subject of land mortgage banks, more especially with reference to Italy, attributing the scanty results of these institutions at present to the principles of protection there prevalent, and the ignorance of the agricultural classes. He insists that the greatest possible development should be given to these institutions, and that while full liberty is secured to them of issuing paper to the full amount of the loans effected, the two functions of the banks, as mortgage banks and banks of issue, should be kept distinct; and the borrower should receive the amount of his loan in cash. He recommends also that Government and private individuals should take every means of multiplying guarantee societies and savings banks for the farmers in connexion with the chief town of each province. The latter half of the work contains a collection of documents and statistics relative to the banks of Switzerland, England, Prussia, and Russia, and a sketch of a Savings Bank Bill embodying the author's views.

We have always thought that geography, apart from its strictly physical or historical relations, was either an impossible science (if it be one) to teach, or not worth teaching. However, good and comprehensive books of reference are absolutely needed both for young and old. Such a book is Mr. Bevan's "Student's Manual,"<sup>35</sup> which is full of all

<sup>32</sup> "The Isle of Wight." By J. Redding Ware. London: Provost and Co. 1869.

<sup>33</sup> "The Statesman's Year-Book." By Frederick Martin. London: Macmillan. 1869.

<sup>34</sup> "Studii Critici e Statistica sopra il miglior modo di Ordinare il Credito Fondiario." Del Prof. Elia Latte. Milano. 1868.

<sup>35</sup> "The Student's Manual of Modern Geography, Mathematical, Physical, and Descriptive." By W. L. Bevan, M.A. London: Murray, 1869.

kinds of facts, political, religious, commercial, no less than strictly topographical. Another very useful work is Mr. Keith Johnston's Shilling Atlas,<sup>36</sup> which for many purposes serves just as well as the most unwieldy and expensive charts. Cassell's "Primary Series," and "Technical Series,"<sup>37</sup> are also a very improved kind of elementary educational works—cheap, simple, and copious.

## SCIENCE.

**M.** DE FONVIELLE'S "Astronomie Moderne"<sup>1</sup> is a curious book as a French production. The Minister of Public Instruction, as is well known, commissioned certain *savants* to prepare reports on the progress which their respective sciences had lately made in France; our author's anger seems to have been excited by this piece of exclusiveness, and he not only maintains that such a treatment is unworthy of such subjects, as science is cosmopolitan, and its votaries "citizens of the universe," but that, in astronomy, at all events, France is at present far behind other nations. He illustrates his views of the shortcomings of modern French astronomers by certain examples, into the consideration of which we need not follow him.

We can do no more than call the reader's attention to the publication of a seventh revised and enlarged edition of Professor J. Müller's well-known "Text-book of Physics,"<sup>2</sup> originally founded upon the great French work of Pouillet. As a text-book it must be regarded as exhaustive, and it deals so fully with all experimental and practical points, and these are so admirably illustrated with figures, that the student could hardly wish for a better book of reference.

M. Becquerel's "Treatise on Light"<sup>3</sup> is also one which deals chiefly, indeed almost exclusively, with the experimental side of the subject. The author takes the undulatory theory for granted, and devotes his attention solely to the sources and properties of light, and its effects upon various bodies. The first volume of the work treats of the former class of phenomena, describing the various means by which light is produced, and the methods of its analysis, especial prominence being given to the spectroscopic results of recent investigations. The second volume is devoted to the effects produced by this agent, especially its chemical and physiological influence. The phenomena of vision

<sup>36</sup> "Keith Johnston's Shilling Atlas of Modern Geography." Edinburgh: Johnston. 1869.

<sup>37</sup> "Cassell's Primary Series." London: Cassell.

"Cassell's Technical Series." London: Cassell.

<sup>1</sup> "L'Astronomie Moderne." Par W. de Fonvielle. Small 8vo. Paris: Baillière, 1869.

<sup>2</sup> "Müller-Pouillet's Lehrbuch der Physik und Meteorologie." Siebente Auflage. Two Vols. 8vo. Brunswick: Vieweg, 1868.

<sup>3</sup> "La Lumière, ses Causes et ses Effets." Par M. Edmond Becquerel. Two Vols. 8vo. Paris: Firmin Didot, 1868.

are also explained under this head. The work is illustrated with numerous good woodcuts, and with several plates, the latter including some excellent representations of various spectra.

The seventh volume of the collected works of M. Verdet,<sup>4</sup> contains the first portion of his treatment of the mechanical theory of heat, and forms a most valuable treatise upon this interesting and important subject. It consists in the first place of two lectures delivered by M. Verdet before the Chemical Society of Paris, and these are followed by a formal treatise compiled from the notes of his lectures at the Sorbonne by his pupils MM. Prudhon and Violle. In this, certain preliminary notions on the principles of mechanics and of the study of the phenomena of heat are first laid down, the principle of the equivalence of heat and work is then fully developed, and this principle is then applied and illustrated by an analysis of the phenomena presented by gases. In a subsequent section Carnot's theory is explained, with the demonstration given of it by Clausius, and this is followed by the discussion of various applications of the mechanical theory of heat. Elaborate equations are given throughout the work.

We can only call attention to the publication of the first part of a new edition of Dr. Bremiker's "Logarithmic Tables,"<sup>5</sup> containing the logarithms of the simple numbers from 1 to 100,000.

The multitude of new chemical manuals and new editions of old ones which have recently been issued, must render the student's choice somewhat embarrassing, especially as each writer has usually a favourite theory of his own as to the constitution of chemical compounds, which pervades all his teaching, and sometimes separates it widely from that of other writers of equal eminence. Professor Williamson's theoretical views are moderate, and his little text-book,<sup>6</sup> of which a second edition has recently appeared, may be used with great advantage by young students.

It may be a question with many how far the system of getting up subjects specially for examinations, so common in the present day, is a beneficial one, but if it called forth many such excellent elementary treatises as Professor Guthrie's "Elements of Heat and of Non-metallic Chemistry,"<sup>7</sup> we should be inclined to answer the question in the affirmative. Professor Guthrie's little volume is designed "especially for candidates for the matriculation pass-examinations of the University of London," and contains, he says, little more information than is "required for the chemical branch of that examination." It is, however, so clearly expressed, and so judiciously arranged, that it will form an admirable manual for the young student in all that relates to the laws

<sup>4</sup> "Théorie Mécanique de la Chaleur." Par E. Verdet. Publié par MM. Prudhon et Violle. Tome I. 8vo. Paris: V. Masson et fils. 1868.

<sup>5</sup> "Logarithmisch-Trigonometrischen Tafeln, mit sechs Decimalstellen." Von Dr. C. Bremiker. New Edition. Part I. 8vo. Berlin: Nicolaische Buchhandlung. 1868.

<sup>6</sup> "Chemistry for Students." By Alex. W. Williamson, F.R.S., &c. Small 8vo. London: Macmillan & Co. 1868.

<sup>7</sup> "The Elements of Heat and of Non-Metallic Chemistry." By Frederick Guthrie, B.A., Ph.D., &c. Small 8vo. London: Van Voorst. 1868.

and properties of heat and the chemistry of the non-metallic elements. The explanations and exemplifications of the equations employed in working out problems relating to the effects of heat are especially clear.

In Mr. Bristow's English edition<sup>8</sup> of M. Simonin's "Underground Life" we have a very elaborate and popular account of matters connected with mines, miners, and mining. About one-half of this large and handsome volume is devoted to the very important subject of coal, the origin and distribution of which are described and illustrated by woodcuts of fossils, and by maps of various districts, geologically coloured. The modes of working for coal, the arrangements of the mines, the manner in which the workers live in different districts, the means by which they ascend and descend in the shafts, and the nature of their employments in the mines, are all described in considerable detail, and profusely illustrated by means of beautifully-executed engravings; but, unfortunately, the taste for what are now-a-days denominated "sensation" incidents has led the author into dwelling, somewhat unnecessarily, upon the accidents to which colliers are so especially liable, and to devote several of his most striking illustrations to them. We may notice the representations of an explosion of fire-damp, that of the falling in of the roof of a coal-mine, and especially that of a flooded mine, as fancy pictures which might have been suppressed with great advantage. In a second section of his book the author treats of metalliferous mines, and the modes of working them, and of reducing the ores; but in this he follows rather a historical and geographical arrangement of his subject-matter than one founded upon the different metals treated of. In a third part he treats of the sources of gems and precious stones. The whole work is interspersed with anecdotes and details, which render it exceedingly interesting, without detracting from its scientific value. The illustrations, as already stated, consist chiefly of woodcuts representing mining scenes and apparatus, and the people engaged in mining pursuits, and coloured geological maps and sections; but besides these there are several coloured plates of minerals of various kinds.

Dr. Haughton's "Three Kingdoms of Nature"<sup>9</sup> is an attempt, and not altogether an unsuccessful one, to fulfil what, in the present state of science, must be regarded as a somewhat ambitious design, namely, to give a general outline of the sciences of mineralogy, botany, and zoology, within the compass of a small volume of about 400 pages. The treatises are necessarily very brief, but by judicious management a very fair sketch of the principles of mineralogy and botany is given. The zoology is less satisfactory, and contains some very queer statements, especially in that constant stumbling-block for the general zoologist, the entomological portion.

<sup>8</sup> "Underground Life; or, Mines and Miners." By L. Simonin. Translated, adapted to the present state of British Mining, and edited by H. W. Bristow, F.R.S. 8vo. London: Chapman & Hall, 1869.

<sup>9</sup> "The Three Kingdoms of Nature briefly described." By the Rev. S. Haughton, F.R.S., M.D., D.C.L. Small 8vo. London: Cassell, Petter, and Galpin, 1869.

We are somewhat puzzled to understand on what principle or for what purpose the two portions of Mrs. Somerville's work "On Molecular and Microscopic Science,"<sup>10</sup> have been brought together. Under the first head she treats of the molecules of matter, the relations of force and matter, spectrum analysis in all its ramifications, the atomic theory, and the utilization of waste substances; whilst under the second we have a description of the vegetable and animal kingdoms, with especial reference to their lower forms and to those portions of their structure which require the microscope for their investigation. This second portion occupies at least three-fourths of the two volumes. It is not always perfectly accurate in its statements, which is to be regretted, as the work contains a great amount of highly interesting matter. It is abundantly illustrated with good woodcuts.

There are few parts of the world of which we know less, but of the beauty and interest of which we have higher ideas, than that remarkable chain of islands stretching across the Indian ocean from the south of the Asiatic continent nearly to the northern point of Australia. By most of us these islands are regarded as presenting in their different parts scenes of almost unequalled grandeur and of the most fairy-like beauty, but of the human inhabitants of this earthly paradise our notions are generally far less favourable, the common impression being that they are for the most part either cheats, thieves, cut-throats, or pirates, from the cradle to the grave. Mr. Wallace, whose eight years' experience in the Eastern Archipelago entitles him to speak with authority, fully confirms<sup>11</sup> our popular notion as to the beautiful scenery and the luxuriant abundance of vegetable and animal life presented by these splendid tropical islands; but his account of the human inhabitants is by no means so favourable. His volumes contain a very pleasant if rather gossiping account of his personal adventures and experience, interspersed with many references to natural history subjects, the study of which constituted the principal object of his journey to these "uttermost parts of the earth." It was upon this journey, as is well known to scientific naturalists, that Mr. Wallace arrived at those conclusions upon the origin of species which, when embodied by him in a paper communicated to the Linnean Society, proved to be so near akin to the theory of Mr. Darwin, that the latter great naturalist was urged by his friends to lose no time in the publication of his own views, lest the results of his labours of long years should be forestalled. All, or nearly all the more important matters of natural history treated of by Mr. Wallace bear more or less in the same direction; as, for example, his observations upon "mimicry" in animals which have already been published by him in an admirable article contributed to this *Review*,—his remarks upon the distribution of animals in the two great provinces into which he divides the Indian Archipelago, and his researches upon the magni-

<sup>10</sup> "On Molecular and Microscopic Science." By Mary Somerville. Two Vols. 8vo. London: Murray. 1869.

<sup>11</sup> "The Malay Archipelago: the Land of the Orang-Utan and the Bird of Paradise." A Narrative of Travels, with Studies of Man and Nature. By Alfred Russel Wallace. Two Vols. 8vo. London: Macmillan. 1869.

ficent Papilionidæ of this region, with their curious representative forms in different islands, and the singular polymorphism which prevails in the sexes of some of them. Of all these matters, which have already been discussed by our author in papers published in scientific periodicals, we find a more popular account in his volumes of travels, as also of some other matters of interest, such as the natural history of the great man-like ape, the orang-utan or mias of Borneo, and the magnificent birds of paradise of the more eastern islands. Mr. Wallace concludes with a chapter on the ethnology of these islands, which contains much interesting information.

The young entomologist ought to thank Mr. Newman for the "History of British Moths,"<sup>12</sup> which he has now nearly completed, for we presume that the author does not intend to carry his work beyond the limits of the larger moths. Mr. Newman describes all the species both in their perfect and preparatory states, at least when the latter are known, and enters into considerable details upon their natural history and variation. The description of each species is illustrated with a figure on wood, and these figures are generally exceedingly well executed, and perfectly recognisable, especially in the case of the large and middle-sized species, for it must be confessed that they hardly suffice, in certain extensive genera of very nearly allied, small, and obscure species.

There are few matters of which mankind in general are more ignorant, and of which a knowledge is of more importance to them, than the structure and functions of their own bodies. As a mere matter of curiosity the knowledge of the mode in which the complex machinery of life is kept in motion cannot but be of the highest interest, whilst in a sanitary point of view such knowledge, if sound as far as it goes, can hardly fail to be beneficial. Professor Huxley, at all events, seems to think that an acquaintance with the principles of human physiology is very desirable for everybody, and acting upon this opinion he has produced what is unquestionably the clearest and most complete elementary treatise on this subject that we possess in any language.<sup>13</sup> In this admirable little work, the second edition of which is now before us, the outlines of the physiology of the human body are set forth in the plainest English, without any of the endeavours after fine writing in which a French author would certainly have indulged, but with a simplicity and earnestness of purpose which command our highest admiration, and an avoidance of technicalities which is truly wonderful, considering that the results of the most profound modern researches into the structure and functions of such organs as the eye and the ear are here brought together for the edification of the ordinary reader. An interesting addition to the present edition is a table of "Anatomical and Physiological Constants," prepared by

<sup>12</sup> "The Illustrated Natural History of British Moths." By Edward Newman. 8vo. London: W. Tweedie.

<sup>13</sup> "Lessons in Elementary Physiology." By Thomas H. Huxley, LL.D., F.R.S. Second Edition. 12mo. London: Macmillan & Co. 1868.

Dr. Michael Foster, and showing at a glance the vital statistics of a healthy human body.

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The Royal College of Physicians of London has accomplished a useful public work by the preparation and publication of a nomenclature of diseases.<sup>14</sup> The absence of a general and uniform nomenclature has been injurious by interfering with the exact statistical registration of diseases, and the supply of what has been so much wanted cannot fail to lead to the framing of more complete and accurate statistics of disease. This is probably what the editors really mean to express in the first paragraph in their preface, when they say, oddly enough, that "the want of a generally recognised nomenclature of diseases has long been felt as an indispensable condition . . . for perfecting the statistical registration of diseases." It is surely not the want, but the supply of the want, that is the indispensable condition. The members of the Committee to which the preparation of the nomenclature was entrusted have evidently not spared time and labour to render it complete; indeed, the work has been in hand for more than ten years, and the result is creditable to the public spirit of the College. To each English name of a disease they have supplied on the opposite page the corresponding Latin designation, and the equivalent terms in the French, the German, and the Italian languages. Of course as, many diseases had no name at all, not being known at the time when the Latin language flourished, it has been necessary to make a Latin version as little barbarous as possible. In some instances the German names appear to be translations from the English rather than the terms commonly used in Germany to mark the disease; or at all events, there is an omission of synonyms. In the English list of names there has, for obvious reasons, been as little deviation as possible from those employed by the Registrar-General; but although it is easy to perceive the advantages of not making a break in the system of registration which has been in use for many years, it is difficult to feel satisfied with the authoritative sanction thus given for the future to certain names of so-called diseases. The classification adopted is based upon anatomical considerations, and is so framed as not to imply any doubtful theories, but it is certain that this advantage is only gained at the cost of some sacrifices. In avoiding the recognition of theories supposed to be erroneous or doubtful there are some important omissions of diseased states concerning which there is positive and well-established knowledge. Take, for example, the strangely incomplete classification of mental disorders; it is the simple truth that the most distressing and most dangerous forms of mental disease find no place in it. Notwithstanding defects, however, we believe that this nomenclature of diseases is an important work, and will prove useful; but it stands in need of some revision, and will in a few years probably require considerable modification.

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<sup>14</sup> "The Nomenclature of Disease." Drawn up by a Joint-Committee appointed by the Royal College of Physicians of London. (Subject to Decennial Revision.) London. 1869.

During the last fifteen years the so-called insane colony at Gheel, in Belgium, has been visited, reported upon, and discussed by men interested in the care and treatment of the insane. Some, seeing only its merits, have praised it enthusiastically, and held it up as the model for a future reform in the treatment of the insane; others, blind to all but its bad features, have condemned it unreservedly; and a few, more temperate-minded, have recognised the lesson of improvement which it is calculated to teach, not ignoring at the same time the faults of the system. The author of a popularly written book on "Gheel, the City of the Simple,"<sup>15</sup> is therefore under a mistake in imagining that he or she has made the discovery of a valuable secret—the secret that insane persons "need not be subjected to incarceration, restrictions, coercion, and, we fear we must add, violence." This was certainly an odd discovery to have made in any case at Gheel by one who informs us at the same time that patients are to be met with there with their ankles chained together, and with their wrists closely strapped to a belt round their waists. There is also at Gheel a central asylum very much like other asylums, except that visitors have the opportunity of inspecting through grated windows poor manacled creatures locked up in their cells. The author, for instance, saw in this way a poor young woman whom it was thought necessary to keep locked and manacled in her cell:—

"The case was a peculiar one, but she seemed fully conscious of the loss of her liberty, and was making a most melancholy wailing noise. The doctor told me she had been in this condition many weeks. She had been brought in with delirium, resulting from milk-fever, and it was evident he considered her condition serious. He did not open the door, but took me round to the corridor, communicating by long grated windows with each of these cells, so that doctors and nurses can at any time see what is going on within. She had risen from her bed, and was standing close to the door, crying piteously. She wore only an under-garment and stockings, without shoes, and had on the light soft manacles in use here—an admirable substitute for the straitwaistcoat, almost ignored in Gheel."

It may be deemed certain that such a sad spectacle of maltreatment could never have been seen in any English asylum; the case really illustrating the evil effects of mechanical restraint and inefficient nursing. But the author has glanced at Gheel with the eyes of an enthusiast, and has not investigated the real working of the system; having spent a few hours there, seen one or two of the best patients, and listened credulously to certain wonderful stories concerning the success of the system of management, she has rushed off on her travels home, and forthwith rushed into print. Though the work, then, contains no information whatever about the actual working of the Gheel system, it may nevertheless be useful in directing attention to it, and as it contains some stories of the witty things madmen are reported to have said or done and of the extravagant delusions which they had, it may amuse those whom such tales do amuse. The author appears

<sup>15</sup> "Gheel, the City of the Simple." By the Author of "Flemish Interiors." London: Chapman and Hall. 1869.



to have visited lunatic asylums from motives of curiosity, and displays superficial notions regarding the nature of insanity.

Dr. Powell believes that a concise and practical work embracing the opinions of the best authorities on the subject of the medical employment of electricity would be acceptable.<sup>16</sup> In this opinion we agree: but it is hard to conceive what evil inspiration has moved him to undertake a task to which, in almost every page of his book, he discovers himself so unequal. Take, for example, such a sentence as this, which occurs in the first page of the preface—"Electricity, either derived from galvanism or electro-magnetism, is now recognised by the most enlightened of the profession." If this were not sufficient to excite profound distrust, it would be only too easy to bring forward other passages from the book showing how unsafe it would be for any one, wishing to become acquainted with the subject of it, to accept Dr. Powell as a guide.

Dr. Duncan has adopted from Virchow the terms perimetritis and parametritis to denote respectively inflammation of the uterine peritoneum, and inflammation of the cellular tissue in connection with the uterus.<sup>17</sup> He desires to define more exactly the diseased states which are described vaguely as pelvic cellulitis, pelvic abscess, inflammation and abscess of the uterine appendages. He maintains, in opposition to received opinions, that perimetritis and parametritis are never idiopathic or primary, but that they are always produced either by mechanical injury or by disease, inflammatory, malignant, or tubercular, of the ovaries, the ovarian tubes, or the uterus. In successive chapters he discusses the causes, general and individual, the signs and symptoms, the seat and nature, the diagnosis, and the treatment of the diseases. Where very little is known definitely there is obviously much room for differences of opinion; and it does not seem improbable that those who devote themselves to the study of diseases of women will hesitate to accept Dr. Duncan's conclusions until they have been confirmed by the results of further observation and research. Whether, however, they are ultimately accepted or not, there can be no question that Dr. Duncan has produced an instructive book, containing the results of large experience, and one which cannot fail to constrain future writers to endeavour to substitute more exact teaching for the vague semblance of information hitherto too commonly given.

The addresses which were delivered at the meeting of the British Medical Association at Oxford, in August last, have been published in one volume, with the title "Medicine in Modern Times."<sup>18</sup> They are by Dr. Stokes, Dr. Acland, Dr. Rolleston, Professor Haughton, and Dr. Gull. The volume also contains a report on the action of mercury, by Dr. Hughes Bennett. The address of Dr. Stokes is short, con-

<sup>16</sup> "The Practice of Medical Electricity." By G. B. Powell, M.D. Dublin: Fannin & Co. 1869.

<sup>17</sup> "A Practical Treatise on Perimetritis and Parametritis." By J. Matthews Duncan. Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black. 1869.

<sup>18</sup> "Medicine in Modern Times; or, Discourses delivered at the Meeting of the British Medical Association at Oxford." London: Macmillan & Co. 1869.

taining a few valedictory words as retiring president, in which he speaks simply and practically concerning the aims of the Association and the good work which, by virtue of its large dimensions and complete organization, it may justly be expected to accomplish in the future. The address of Dr. Aclaud, which is great in length and wide in scope, is on the "General Relations of Medicine in Modern Times." In the first part of it he reviews in a general way the relations of modern medicine to modern science, indicating how far medicine yet is behind the exact sciences. In the second part he discusses rather vaguely the relations of modern medicine to the wants of man in the complex state of modern society. Dr. Rolleston discourses at an unmerciful length "On the Relation of Physiology to Medicine in Modern Times." The obvious fault of an address suggestive and instructive in many respects is a want of grasp of leading principles and the due subordination of details. There are many acute theoretical applications of physiological conclusions to questions of practical medicine, and the author is happy in pointing out how scientific researches, which at first appear speculative and barren, may ultimately be found to bear upon the commonest rules of medical practice. Professor Haughton's address is occupied with a subject to which he has given much attention, "The Relation of Food to Work, and its bearing on Medical Practice in Modern Times." It is a bold attempt to apply the results of physical researches to the interpretation of the processes of vital activity. We should be loth to pass any judgment on so learned a discourse, although we cannot withstand a conviction that the problems of physiology are not such plain problems of physic only, but problems of physics and something more. Dr. Gull treats, in an eminently suggestive though desultory manner, of "Clinical Observation in relation to Medicine;" and Dr. Bennett reports the results of numerous experiments in order to test the action of mercury on the livers of dogs, his conclusion being that mercury rather diminishes than increases the flow of bile. If these addresses be compared with the addresses delivered on a similar occasion some years ago by Dr. Sharpey, Dr. Walshe, and Mr. Paget, they stand on a lower philosophical level.

Dr. John Harley has published the results of his useful researches into the physiological action and therapeutical use of conium, opium, belladonna, and hyoseyamus.<sup>19</sup> His observations have been made both on the lower animals and on man. They will have been sufficiently fruitful if they really justify the statement which he makes, that an exact counterpart of every variation in the effects of a particular drug on man may be found in its effects on some one or other of the lower animals, and consequently that experiments on the animal series will elicit the whole of the phenomena which may result from the action of the same drug in human beings. As different animals represent different degrees of development of the nervous system, and as it

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<sup>19</sup> "The Old Vegetable Neurotics, Hemlock, Opium, Belladonna, and Henbane: their Physiological action and Therapeutical use, alone and in combination." By John Harley, M.D. London: Macmillan & Co. 1869.

has long been remarked that different drugs seem to concentrate their action on different nervous centres, there is no doubt some truth in the statement; but that it is true in the absolute way in which it is put by Dr. Harley is by no means beyond question, and it is not satisfactorily proved so by the results of his experiments. These, however, constitute laborious and important inquiries into a difficult subject, on which there is yet very little definite information. Similar vague, and not seldom erroneous, statements regarding the action of medicines are repeated by the writers of manuals on materia medica from which students derive their knowledge; and the consequence is that indifference and scepticism prevail, and that, as Dr. Harley observes forcibly, "the profession includes numbers of men who, if they have faith in their practice, evince an ignorance discreditable to an Anglo-Saxon leech, and who, if they have not, are the basest of charlatans." We trust that the author's careful observations may be the beginning of a better state of things, and that they may be an example which others will soon follow.

Dr. Schmidt's abridgement of diseases of the nervous system<sup>20</sup> is so truly what it professes to be, that it must, we fear, presuppose a complete knowledge of the whole subject, in order to be of real use to the student. It certainly contains a great deal of information closely packed, but the packing is not done as well as it might have been, and the information on some important points is very scanty. Why nearly one quarter of the book should have been occupied with an account of the physiology and anatomy of the nervous system, when there was so much to be done, and such little room to do it in, it is not easy to understand.

We have received the fourth edition of Dr. Ragle's "Treatise on Medical Diagnosis," edited by Dr. Blachez.<sup>21</sup> The success of the work is sufficient evidence of its value to students. It is only necessary to add that the present edition contains additional matter concerning the use of the laryngoscope, the ophthalmoscope and the sphygmograph, and the state of the temperature in disease, which bring it up to a level with the knowledge of the day.

We can do no more than mention the second and much enlarged edition of a voluminous work by Dr. Meyer-Ahrens on the mineral springs and water-cure establishments of Switzerland and the adjacent states.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>20</sup> "Compendium der Nervenkrankheiten." Von Dr. H. Schmidt. Leipzig: 1869.

<sup>21</sup> "Traité de Diagnostic Medical: Guide Clinique pour l'étude des Signes Caractéristique des Maladies." Par V. A. Ragle. Quatrième Edition. Par le docteur Blachez. Paris: Baillières. 1868.

<sup>22</sup> "Die Heilquellen und Kurorte der Schweiz und einigen der Schweiz zunächst angrenzenden Gegenden der Nachbarstaaten." Zweite Ausgabe. Von Dr. Meyer-Ahrens. Zürich. 1867.

## HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

**P**LEADING, as a reason for the construction of an improved and comprehensive Oriental history, the modifications and accessions which have corrected or enriched our knowledge of the Eastern empires and nations of a remote antiquity, Dr. Moritz Busch has produced a "History of the East in Ancient Times,"<sup>1</sup> embodying the results of learned research and scientific and archæological inquiry, in the case of the Egyptians, Israelites, Assyrians, Babylonians, Medes and Persians, Phœnicians, and Carthaginians, in two informing and agreeable volumes, written in a beautifully lucid style. In compiling this serviceable work he has consulted the most recent sources of information in general, while drawing particularly on the "Manual of Ancient History" by M. Lenormant. His own travels in the East, and personal acquaintance with the subject which he has undertaken to illustrate, afford him the means of controlling the representations of his original, and in some instances of completing its imperfect delineations. The radical defect of Lenormant's work is, in Dr. Moritz Busch's opinion, his uncritical use of the statements in the Biblical records. Thus, a freer spirit, and a closer approximation to historical truth, are the intended characteristics of his own treatment of the subject. The defect of Dr. Busch's work is, that evidently designing it only for the world in general, he gives no references such as the sceptical intellect of reflective men constantly demands, and does not exhibit the process by which he arrives at his conclusions, nor adduce any justificatory criticism in their favour. This defect is of course inseparable from the nature of his history, which aims at a graphic reproduction of the past, and makes no pretensions to the character of a formally philosophical exposition. As a picture of the thought, action, manners, knowledge, art, and religion of the leading ancestral nations of the East, this contribution to the history of the Old World is very valuable. To an instructed and sympathetic mind the pleasure which is derived from observing, as it were, the procession of the men that peopled the ancient world passing through the dim avenues of time is of no common kind. The cradle of mankind in Bactria, the origin of Chaldæa, the Aryan and Turanian dynasties, the art of Syria, the gorgeous luxury of Babylon, the primitive navigation of Phœnicia, the foundation of Carthage, the mysterious river of Egypt, the Pyramid builders, the epic talent and diplomatic ability of the old inhabitants of the land of the Nile, are all seen in their appropriate significance by the light reflected from our author's uplifted torch. In his outline of the history of the Israelites, whose exodus he assigns to the reign of Rhamses II., Dr. Busch retains an attenuated faith in the traditions of that people as recorded in the Bible, in the old patriarchal story, though mainly as myth, in the long residence in Egypt, in the wandering in the wil-

<sup>1</sup> "Abriss der Urgeschichte des Orients bis zu den medischen Kriegen. Nach den neuesten Forschungen und vorzüglich nach Lenormant's 'Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne de l'Orient.'" Bearbeitet von Dr. Moritz Busch. Leipzig. 1869.

derness, in the heroic deliverance, and in a rudimentary legislation by Moses. Though he is of opinion that Jahve was probably a sun-god, like the Ra of the Egyptians and the Baal of the Syrians, and that the monotheism of the elder period had a rude elementary character, and transmitted its barbarous accompaniments to the time of Moses, he acknowledges the high antiquity of their belief in one great natural God, and the power of that belief to work out their liberation from Egyptian bondage, and to raise their spiritual consciousness to a recognition of the moral greatness and the supernatural glory of the Divine Being, who, as they conceived, had reconquered their lost nationality. The tendency to monotheism was not confined to the Israelites. Among the élite of the Assyrians, Ilu, who corresponds to the Hebrew god El, and among the Persians, to mention no other nations, he notes a certain stage of their intellectual progress in which monotheistic institutions manifested themselves. At a later period Ormuzd held so unapproachable a position among the Persians, as the single supreme object of their worship, that, as the Rev. George Rawlinson points out, a religious sympathy seemed to have drawn together the two nations of the Persians and the Jews.

The second volume of the English translation of Ewald's "History of Israel" consists of the concluding portion of the second volume of the original, the opening portion having already appeared in the first volume of the interpreted work.<sup>2</sup> We have thus a complete history of Israel down to the institution of the Monarchy. Commencing with the victories of Joshua, the historian travels over the period interposed between the great Captain of the Invasion and the last hero of the period of the Judges—between the conquering Joshua and the statesmanly Samuel. In this historical progress we note the gradual occupation of the land by the invading tribes, their consolidation into a stable community, the decay of pure theocracy, followed by the commencement of an imperfect *human* government ultimately terminating in the establishment of the sovereignty, prematurely attempted in the troubled times of the Judges by the ambitious son of Gideon—the bastard Abimelech. In dealing with the ancient narratives incorporated in the Books of Joshua and Judges, Ewald admits their composite, discrepant, and legendary character, and dwells on the vivid poetic colouring of such a recital as that which records the stopping of the sun and moon at Joshua's bidding, as a valuable memorial of the earliest conception of a great day of battle and victory under that doughty warrior's leadership. The Book of Joshua is regarded by Ewald as having had two editors, one of whom is called the Fifth Narrator, the other being the author of the Book of Deuteronomy. The Fifth Narrator first collected and combined the fragments of the earliest document with the later authorities, and thus prepared for the Deuteronomist an ample treasury of materials. Holding such a

<sup>2</sup> "The History of Israel." By Heinrich Ewald, Professor of the University of Göttingen. Translated from the German. Edited, with a preface and appendix, by Russell Martineau, M.A., Professor of Hebrew in Manchester New College, London. Vol. II. Joshua and the Judges. London: Longmans, Green, & Co. 1869.

theory of the composition of the Biblical Books, Ewald seeks to extract their historical essence, picturing to us the Hebrew life in masses, and bringing out the spirit of the heroic past of the Israelitish people. In his historical reconstruction we seem to miss the severe cross-examining process by which the legendary is distinguished from the actual, and to feel that a magnifying mist is substituted for the sober certainty of a clear sky. Yet with all this indistinctness and hesitation, Ewald is very decided in his view of some controverted passages in the Mosaic writings. Thus in a certain famous prediction it is, he contends, Judah that is to come to Shiloh and have the obedience of the nations; and herein, he adds, is expressly embodied the ancient tradition that Judah has been especially helpful in securing a safe position for the tabernacle. So too there is no evasion of the difficulty in the story of Jephthah and his daughters—"She accepted the sacrificial death from the hand of her own father, who, in her, sacrifices all that is dearest to him." Looking on Samson as a real personage, our author admits that his story has passed into the domain of legend. On the whole, the glowing picture of the Hebrew people given by the German historian is striking and truthful in its general aspect; but in special phases we feel that the historical sense is lost in the imputed ideal significancy. For it is undeniable that Ewald maintains the constant intrusion of fable into the narrative; and that he dilutes the supernatural into the natural, as when he writes—"That Divine encouragement and impulse seemed to give answer, even from the material world, when Israel beheld the haughty foe assailed and annihilated by sudden floods, or tempests, or fearful thunders." And yet, with all this latent antagonism to the miraculous, we find him asserting that on the glorious festival days, during the forty years' wandering in the desert, "the Divine grace was bestowed on the people no less abundantly, and the great prophets justly appeal to this to prove all such sacrifices non-essential:" thus seemingly identifying his own view with that of the Jehovah-worshippers! He accepts here the not very credible story of a forty years' wandering in the wilderness; yet he denies, and quotes Amos to support his denial, that the Israelites brought flesh-offerings to their God during all that time, except perhaps on some important holy days—a time, he adds, when they had hardly the barest necessities for their own subsistence. Again, Ewald tells the story of Gideon's sacrifice as if he believed it, yet at the end comes the characteristic remark—"No more fitting expression could be well found of the overpowering might with which a great thought may seize and possess even him who thinks himself weak." Of course we have no quarrel with Ewald for rejecting the prodigies of Jewish history. What we dislike is the *character* of his narration, floating in a mist of fine words, presenting a legend as if it were a fact, and then quietly substituting the symbolical meaning. It must be conceded, however, that what is censurable on critical grounds, has a compensating advantage from the constructive point of view. This florid language, this charming poetic picturing, to borrow Ewald's own phrases, helps us to realize the *legendary* Hebrew foretime, and to sympathize with the temper and

spirit which created the legends now "fitted into careful series with artfully-compacted lines." The other merits of the veteran Professor, his renown as the first Hebrew scholar now living, his profound research, his extensive learning, make an English translation of a portion of his great historical work a valuable acquisition. The somewhat turgid style of Ewald inevitably reappears in the translation, which seems carefully executed, but which is deficient in simplicity. The editor, Mr. Russell Martineau, contributes a learned essay, in an appendix, on the Divine name. The Divine name was represented in Hebrew by characters having their English correspondents in *Jhoh*, and the question is what vowels must be attached to these consonants to restore the old pronunciation. Rejecting the form *Jehovah* as impossible, and tracing the etymology of the name to the future of the Hebrew word *to be*, which he compares with other instances of a *future* nomenclature (Isaac, Joseph, Jacob), Mr. Martineau decides for the form *Jahveh*, the *J* being pronounced as a *Y*, and the name implying indeterminate or eternal duration. In deriving the word from the *Kal* conjugation, he is opposed by such authorities as Fürst and Gesenius, who prefer the derivative causative, or *Hiphil*, in the sense of *He who causes to be*—a derivation that meets the difficulty about the first vowel, since it at once gives the form *Jahveh*, whereas the *Kal* future gives only *Jihveh*, and we are unable to explain the substitution of an *a* for an *i* in the first syllable of, it would seem, this really *ineffable* name. A useful index follows the appendix in which this knotty problem is discussed.

In the "History of the Manners and Customs of the Etruscans"<sup>3</sup> we have an attempt to reproduce the national life of another archaic people. In Mrs. Hamilton Gray's pleasantly reading translation of the third volume of K. O. Müller's work on Etruria we have the concluding chapter of its history, properly so called, succeeded by chapters on the manners and customs, religion and arts, of the Etruscans, containing a great deal of curious information, with an attempt to reconstruct the past of Etruria, and even of Rome. Müller's theory has been described as an ingenious modification of the Lydian tradition of Herodotus, accommodated to the view which recognises the Pelasgic origin of a considerable portion of the Etruscan population. It seems to be allowed that the language of the ancient Etruscans contained a Greek element; and that, while the Etruscans were a mixed people, the bulk of the population, at all events of Southern Etruria, was Pelasgic. In reviewing the traces of Etruscan influence which are preserved in the Latin legends of Rome, O. Müller observes that the names of the three tribes, constituting the whole nation for more than a century, were Etruscan; that Celer, the tribune of the Celeres, was Etruscan; that the lictors prior to Numa were Etruscan; that the nine great thunder-gods worshipped by Tullus Hostilius were Etruscan; and that Terminus, the god of boundaries, the Lares of the guilds and patrician houses, the three Flamens, and the three

<sup>3</sup> "The History of Etruria." Part III., &c. Translated from the German of Karl Otfried Müller, by E. C. Hamilton Gray. London: Hatchards. 1868.

Vestal Virgins, Janus of the double gate, Censur, god of the Cirsensian games, were all Etruscan. The name Romulus was, he thinks, derived from the Etruscan Rannes, and that of his associate Tatius, from the Etruscan Titius. Finally, he refers the boasted Roman institution of the Feciales to the Etruscan Falerii. The translator of this interesting work seems to have done her part with spirit and intelligence. In another edition, however, it may be as well to substitute the English form of the German adjective, *Acherontische*.

A high historical antiquity is claimed by Sister Frances Clare for her native country, Ireland. More sceptical than the authoress of this "Illustrated History of Ireland"<sup>4</sup> as to the value of her pro-Christian annals, and believing her to be sometimes incapable of a discriminating criticism, we are still of opinion that her account of the old legendary annals and traditions of her native land constitutes a pleasing and even profitable introduction to the more authentic portion of her history. We cannot believe in the personality of Scota, the daughter of Pharaoh, but we can admit that Sister Frances Clare has discharged her task of reporter of old traditions with taste and judgment. The portion of her history, however, with which we have been most satisfied consists of the narrative and descriptive chapters which relate the events or portray the manners of the period, from the dawn of the true historic era to the Stuart times. The impression produced on our mind by a hasty perusal of these chapters is favourable to the literary character of the work. Written with clearness, with purity and simplicity, the story is intelligible, interesting, and not passionately partial. In the latter portion of the history the authoress not unaturally becomes excited, and in her excitement screams a little more than is necessary, and the historian occasionally is displaced by the pamphleteer. Cromwell, of whom it has been said that by a merciful severity he terminated a nine years' war in nine months, whose hope it was "to see Ireland no burden to England, but a profitable part of the Commonwealth," is described as a compound of hypocrite and fanatic—as little less than a demon of cruelty; and Mr. Carlyle is said to be past criticism, and by implication to be another demon of cruelty. Daniel O'Connell, on the other hand, who really deserves grateful recognition from all Irish men and women, is the subject of extravagant eulogy. The great defect of the history, however, is not in details, but in philosophical breadth and comprehension. It is really an indictment—and often too true an indictment—against English misgovernment, English incapacity, English injustice; but without any corresponding admission of Irish savagery, Irish ignorance, Irish insurgency, or of the great embarrassments with which in a revolutionary period a conquering country, in the midst of a defiant population, has to struggle. But we have no essential difference of opinion with Sister Frances Clare; rather, we re-echo the sentiment of the wise and witty

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<sup>4</sup> "An Illustrated Popular History of Ireland from the Earliest Period." By F. C. With coloured illustrations by Henry Doyle. Irish National Publications, Kenmare Convent, County Kerry. New York: Catholic Publication Society, 126, Nassau-street. 1868.



friend of Ireland, Sidney Smith—"We admire the Irish, feel the most sincere pity for the state of Ireland, and think the conduct of the English to that country to have been a system of atrocities, cruelty, and contemptible meanness." We trust that the speedy downfall of the Establishment in Ireland, followed by an improved tenure of land, may usher in better days for the sister island, and that the discord of the past may be practically forgotten in the realization of Cromwell's dream of a united commonwealth, with common interests, common aspirations, a common prosperity, and a common culture.

Mr. Longman, in his valuable contribution to English history, "The Life and Times of Edward the Third," has devoted a whole chapter to an exposition of the Royal Government in Ireland, and its fatally mischievous character.<sup>5</sup> The settlers, to whom Irish lands were granted, became attached to the people and the country, and attempted to make themselves independent of England. To secure the fidelity of his officers in Ireland, Edward endeavoured to govern that country by separating the governors entirely from the governed, and by prohibiting intermarriage:—

"It is beyond dispute," sums up the historian, "that the land of Ireland was held according to Breton law, in a way peculiar to that country, by which every Irishman was considered to possess a certain proprietorship in it; that the English settlers, by order of the English kings, systematically disregarded that law and acted as rapacious conquerors; and that when they showed symptoms of ceasing to do so, the English kings stepped in and forbade any approach to friendship with the Irish."

The history from which we have extracted this passage evinces research, industry, judgment, and an ability to narrate events and incidents which is of more than average excellence. The reign of the third Edward is to us one of great interest, for it abounds in striking events and distinguished and picturesque persons: the Black Prince, John of Gaunt, Chaucer, and Wycliffe, the English Luther. The brilliant battles of Crecy and Poitiers, which on our part were unnecessary and wicked transactions, but which covered our countrymen with a military glory that shines down on us through vanished centuries, are told with considerable effect in Mr. Longman's attractive pages. But we have not only the martial and chivalrous annals of that resonant period ably recited, we are also made to feel that amidall the glitter of armour, and blaze of trumpets, the age was one of transition, of growth, and decay. It was in the fifty years' reign of Edward III. that the Parliament began to exercise a more direct influence in government. On its consent or refusal to grant supplies depended, in great measure, the decision of the questions of peace and war. Towards the end of the reign, says Mr. Longman, the Commons dared to remonstrate against wasteful expenditure, and asserted their power in a way till then unheard of. Thus arose the first Parliamentary struggle recorded

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<sup>5</sup> "The History of the Life and Times of Edward the Third." By William Longman. In two volumes. London: Longmans, Green, and Co. 1889.

in history. The commercial prosperity of England, notwithstanding unwise restrictions, was greatly increased during this reign. Merchants became so rich, and attained to such social importance, that Edward the Black Prince, the Kings of France, Scotland, and Cyprus were entertained in 1363 by Picard, Mayor of London, at his house in the Vintry, where the foreign wine-merchants carried on their business. Another noticeable feature of this reign, which, as Mr. Longman remarks, possesses a peculiar interest at the present time, was the struggle between labour and capital; the attempt, on the one hand, to lower wages by the force of law; and on the other, to allow of their natural rise. The depopulation consequent on the ravages of the plague known as the Black Death, naturally resulted in a rise of wages; but the employed were forbidden by the Statutes of Labourers to seek for higher remuneration; and an attempt was made to fix the day's wages by Act of Parliament. Of course this and all similar statutes proved inoperative, except in mischief, for "the labourers combined together to resist these unjust attempts to deprive them of their wages; and the habit of combination and resistance to interference with the rights of labour thus engendered had much to do with the rebellion under Wat Tyler, which broke out in the following reign." From this reign dates the first recognition of the English language, and its use in courts of law. To this reign we must also refer the origin of our national literature. The prestige of chivalry during this period suffered a great abatement, owing partly to the successful assault of British yeomen on the French nobles at Crecy, but still more in the invention of gunpowder, before which feudalism surrendered the castles which had so long protected and supported it. The dawn of the Reformation—which Mr. Longman well defines as "that noble assertion of the right of man to use his reason even in spiritual matters, which can never be given up without the simultaneous loss of political freedom"—also distinguishes this reign. The doctrinal opposition of Wycliffe was reinforced by the resistance of Parliament to the Pope's encroachments; and the annual subsidy procured by John, but refused by Edward I., was again refused by that great king's stalwart grandson. The reign was disastrously marked not only by the terrible pestilence already mentioned, but by the frightful religious mania of the Flagellants, or Brethren of the Cross, an order which had existed in the previous century, but was now revived with renewed energy. The superstition produced by fear of the plague led to the persecution and destruction of thousands of Jews, accused of poisoning wells; and with this religious exaltation and fanatical animosity to an unhappy race a general demoralization overspread the land. All this historical matter; all this decomposition and recombination, social, intellectual, and political; all the warring in France, and campaigning in Scotland; all this commercial activity, and plutocratic legislation, supply Mr. Longman with abundance of incident and illustration, which he has not been slow to turn to good account in the construction of his circumstantial, instructive, and entertaining history.

A Collection of Treasury Papers, comprising all the extant documents thought worthy of preservation by the Administrative Department,

brings us down to a much later period, commencing with 1556 and ending with 1696. "The great divisions into which these papers fell are," says Mr. Redington in his serviceable analytical preface, "Domestic, Irish, and Colonial."<sup>6</sup> They furnish information on the fine arts, finance, coinage, laws, manufactures, statistics, trade and commerce, topography, travelling, and the state of the roads, history and biography. The papers dated before the Revolution are very few; many of these relate to the settlement of the claims of military men; some illustrate the working of various legal enactments; others supply materials for the compilation of memorials of the lives of public personages. Among other notices of Sir Isaac Newton is one complaining that his salary was only 400*l.* per annum, with a house of 40*l.* per annum, and an allowance of 3*l.* 12*s.* per annum for fee coals, and that is was insufficient to support his office. In the reign of William III., the finances were in a deplorable condition. Poor sick seamen and prisoners were in imminent danger of starving in the streets. In 1694 the officers of the Royal regiment of horse, under the command of the Earl of Oxford, were paid part of their arrears in tallies; Mr. Aaron Smith, the Treasury Solicitor, complained that his credit had become bankrupt, and that his salary had been three years in arrears. Mr. John Phelps, one of the seven revenue auditors, was in a still worse case, for he had received no salary for fifteen and a half years. The birds and beasts in St. James's Park were fed for seven years by William Story, who received nothing all that time for their food or his salary, and persons employed about the king's gardens had waited for payment for their work and for goods supplied for more than six years. It was the custom in those days when a highway robbery was committed to sue the district for damages, which were not always allowed. Thus the receiver of taxes for the county of Worcester having sent up 6500*l.*, the waggon, at a place near Gerard's Cross, Bucks, was robbed of 2343*l.*, upon which he sued the hundred, but the verdict was against him. Their lordships, however, allowed him 2500*l.* for his loss and charges. Mr. Redington's Calendar contains various other illustrations of the social condition and the manners and customs of the age. A copious index assists the search for personal and local information.

Near Gerard's Cross, the scene of the tax-collector's misadventure, is the fine park of Bulstrode, the possession before the Conquest of the Shobingtons, a name eclipsed, and in the end superseded by that of Bulstrode, which had its origin in a somewhat mythical incident. This is one of the old domains which has preserved its character, for the fair eight hundred acres which constituted a beautiful park in the time of William of Normandy, still continue the same verdant and unfading inheritance of sweeping valleys and rising hills. The vicissitudes of Bulstrode is a pleasing chapter in Sir Bernard Burke's

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<sup>6</sup> "Calendar of Treasury Papers, 1556-7—1696." Preserved in her Majesty's Public Record Office. Prepared by Joseph Redington, Esq., one of the Assistant Keepers of the Public Records. Under the direction of the Master of the Rolls, &c. London: Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer. 1868.

history of the fortunes and fate of great families,<sup>7</sup> a remodelled and compressed edition of which has been recently given to the world. The theme of the Ulster King of Arms is the greatness that has gone by, the "Vicissitudes of Families," the wondrous changes effected in the ranks of the titled and untitled aristocracy. In England the first conspicuous cause of the disappearance of historic houses, is found in the exterminating struggle known as the Wars of the Roses. In modern times old families disappear before the gold of the aspiring merchant or prosperous trader. This clearance is especially noticeable within what, in an extended sense, we may call the metropolitan circle, within a distance, that is, readily accessible to the ambitious Dives of the great city where the wealth with which he buys out the needy proprietor of some coveted estate in his own neighbourhood is accumulated. Thus the more distant a county is from London, the more lasting are its old families. In Middlesex, Surrey, or Essex few old resident families are to be found, "while in Northumberland, Cheshire, Shropshire, Devon, and Cornwall, all remote from London, many a stem is still flourishing planted in the Plantagenet times." Striking alternations of fortune are not, however, confined to England. Scotland points the same moral of change and discontinuance, brought about by national and civil wars, religious strife, and chivalric devotion to the losing cause. In Ireland the chief landowners were dispossessed by the repeated process of confiscation, till the FitzGerald, the O'Neils, the O'Donnells, the O'Briens, having too much spirit to remain passively at home, transferred their courage and intelligence to the contending armies of Catholic Europe, and in some instances achieved a distinction in the service of a foreign sovereign which was denied them in the service of their own. In this connexion it is worth repeating the observation of our author, that the heirs of some of the illustrious exiled houses became extinct by failure of male issue, or have been altogether lost sight of, so that it may be fairly inferred, for example, that there is not any portion of the lands of O'Neill of Clanaboye, or O'Neill of Tyrone, of which a peasant could be said to be the *de jure* inheritor now. In England some of the instances of family vicissitudes enumerated by Sir Bernard Burke are startling and impressive. Thus in 1637, the great great-grandson of Margaret Plantagenet, daughter and heiress of George, Duke of Clarence, was a cobbler at Nowport, in Shropshire. Two of the lineal descendants of the Earl of Kent, sixth son of Edward I., were Joseph Smart, a butcher, of Hales Owen, who died in 1855, and George Wilmot, a toll-collector, at Cooper's Bank, near Dudley, who died in 1846. Mr. Stephen James Penny, too, the late sexton at St. George's Hanover-square, deduced his birth from Thomas Plantagenet, Duke of Gloucester, fifth son of Edward III.; and of the male descendants of Cromwell, "our chief of men," one was a grocer on Snow-hill, and another, his son, the last male heir of the family, an attorney of

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<sup>7</sup> "Vicissitudes of Families." By Sir Bernard Burke, C.B., LL.D., Ulster King of Arms. Author of the "Peerage and Baronetage," the "Landed Gentry," &c. &c. &c. Remodelled edition in two volumes. London: Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer. 1869.

London. Still more striking was the fall on the female line. The remote daughters of the Lord Protector's house died, one, the wife of a shoemaker, another the wife of a butcher, and a third a pauper. To the various true romances of some of England's traditional families—the Perceys, the Nevilles, the De Veres, the De la Poles—are added interesting narratives of the rise and fall of old untitled families, and stories of memorable changes, as those of the Bonapartes, of the Laws of Lauriston, of the Prime Minister Ward, &c. To these strange recitals is attached a curious account of testamentary eccentricities, including the wills of Sir John Soane, who left the nation 120,000*l.*, and bequeathed 40*l.* per annum to his own son; of Peter Thellusson, the occasion of an Act of Parliament to limit the accumulation of property; and of old Jarvis, whose circumscribed disposition of his money appears to have resulted in the demoralization of the parishes it was intended to benefit, and the bewilderment of the trustees who administer the funds of the Jarvis charities. Sir Bernard Burke has thus brought together an amount of material which will amuse and attract those who, in an age of inevitable and beneficent but often vulgar progress, sympathize with the faded splendours and glories of England's younger and more adventurous day.

The physical enjoyment that attended the steady, rapid, unswerving motion of the old and almost obsolete stage-coach, is one of those natural and simple pleasures which even "a civil engineer" recalls with a poetical regret, while he enumerates the delightful accompaniments of the merry bugle, the fresh morning air, the fragrance of the wide hedgeless bean fields, the distant rugged outline of the great Malvern range, clear in the early morning before you, and the purple glory of the sunshine bursting over the Cotswolds behind! The ground occupied by this travelling epicurean, who while living in the present can sympathize with the past, is, as he points out in the preliminary chapter of his "Personal Recollections of English Engineering," quite a different domain from that which Mr. Smiles has so triumphantly appropriated.\* His recollections of Robert Stephenson, Brunel, and other members of the great engineering order, are mostly anecdotal, and do not make the most distant approach to a systematic biography. The volume, however, in which they are recorded is entertaining, and here and there almost original, from the curious delineations of uncouth but stalwart character, and adventurous though sometimes unsuccessful ability, with which it presents us in contractors, own correspondents, and the like. The sketch too of the general consternation of the rustic population when their fields were invaded by the industrial railway regiments, and men in leathern leggings, and labourers with bill-hooks, committed unwarrantable trespasses on pasture land, standing crop, copse and cover, is amusing. The land arrangements of the railway companies in the United Kingdom have as a rule, our author reminds us, been made on principles which enlist the

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\* "Personal Recollections of English Engineers, and of the Introduction of the Railway System into the United Kingdom." By a Civil Engineer. Author of the "Trinity of Italy." London: Hodder and Houghton. 1868.

instincts of human nature against, instead of on the side of the purchasing corporation. Hence the indignant remonstrance of outraged proprietors, when anonymous heads peeped in at their windows or fortuitous legs were descried stalking on roofs of houses; or the blank look of petrified astonishment which crept over the furious face of a farmer who swore to shoot the intruder, and whose threat of instant death was met by the calm rejoinder that, "that was *his* look out." At the commencement of the railway system, the demand for engineers was incessant, and military men, mathematicians, and draughtsmen, readily answered to the call. Engineers in fact were extemporized: they were made such, as was suggested on one occasion, by divine inspiration. Those who wish to learn how the process was effected, to ascertain what were the proprietary and engineering difficulties that had to be surmounted, to get information about contractors,—their rise and progress, about railway canals, government inspectors, and the social circumstance and interest opposed to the triumph of the railway, will find satisfaction for their desire in the light and agreeable pages of these personal recollections. The volume concludes with a chapter on railway finance, and another on the future of engineering. It appears from a statement by Mr. H. E. Bird, cited in these pages, of the expenditure on 258 railways up to the close of June, 1867, that a total of 487,905,167*l.* has been incurred for 14,000 miles of line. Our civil engineer strongly censures the enormous waste in the construction of English railways, 42,000*l.* per mile. His severest animadversion is brought to bear on the reckless contest for custom of the directors of existing railways, on the selfish demands of builders and contractors, and on the eager greediness of the gamblers in scrip and shares, and their wicked conspiracy to depreciate an undertaking in order to thrive on the ruin of unsuspecting victims. Our author draws a melancholy picture of the present state of the profession. "Offices are closed, public works are discontinued, draughtsmen and pupils are unemployed." So great a depression is almost or altogether without precedent, he adds; but he encourages us to hope that the civil engineer has a bright future before him, not on the railway of course, but in the drainage of land, the storing up of water, the distribution of the rainfalls, and the application of his science to agriculture, and in general to the physical advance of the human race.

The greatest of pioneers, the discoverer of a new world and the route to it, was Columbus.<sup>9</sup> His life, gathered out of the Spanish Conquest of America, prepared under the author's superintendence by Mr. Herbert Preston Thomas, is a condensed memoir of the illustrious navigator, which gives us the wonderful tale of that noble sea-exploit in simple yet animated language, and with adequate comprehension of material. In his preface, Mr. Helps seems anxious to prove that Columbus was not, in any proper or pre-eminent sense, the son of his age, which is true only with certain limitations. Like many very

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<sup>9</sup> "The Life of Columbus, the Discoverer of America." Chiefly by Arthur Helps. Author of the "Spanish Conquest," &c. London: Bell and Daldy. 1869.

great men, Columbus was, it is true, in some respects in advance of his age, and in some respects superior to his age; but his life fell in a period when "the imaginations of men were filled with grand images of the suddenly extended boundaries of the known world." Prince Henry had projected his African voyages; a glimpse beyond Cape Bojador had been granted to expectant mankind. Madeira and the Azores had been added to the dominion of the King of Portugal; adventurous mariners had settled on the gold coast and discovered Congo, and the Cape of Good Hope had been doubled by Diaz. All this new discovery, all this hope of further discovery, the change that had come over the geographical mind, the invention of the mariner's compass, all prepared the way for Columbus, a ripe product of the world's age, if ever man was. The pious and romantic spirit of Columbus were not confined to him; nor did he stand alone in his position of investigator, for Toscanello the Florentine astronomer shared his theory of the accessibility of the East Indies by sailing to the west, and Leonardo da Vinci, to say nothing of Copernicus, was distinguished by philosophical and scientific achievements, as well as for his conquests in art. Columbus too, though he was above all ignoble self-seeking, had an eye to the main chance, shrewdly stipulating with his royal patrons, that if he succeeded he should have the title of Admiral and Viceroy, and one-tenth of all he discovered. To prove himself in the right and reduce the expenses of the new Indian possessions to the Catholic sovereigns, he lent himself to the promotion of Indian slavery. The soul of Isabella here seems to have been a juster soul than that of the pious Columbus. The great sea captain, however, did a glorious day's work for an ungenerous return. About eight years after his fourth and last voyage, he died poor and neglected, at Valladolid, A.D. 1506.

In the reign of Elizabeth, illustrated by a new volume of Mrs. Green's "Calendar of State Papers,"<sup>10</sup> a colony called Virginia was planted in the new world that Columbus had discovered. Sir Francis Drake sailed round the globe, and Sir John Hawkins, following, with an infamous excess, the precedent of the discoverer of America, transported a cargo of three hundred negroes to Hispaniola, and sold them there. Of both the great English seamen whom we have now mentioned many notices occur in the fresh instalment of the Elizabethan Calendar. Including the interval 1595—1597, it abounds in memoranda relating to the Cecils, Bacon, and the Queen's wayward favourite, Lord Essex. Within the space of two more volumes the Calendar of the Domestic State Papers of Queen Elizabeth's reign will be included.

Without the Commentaries of the Yncas, says Mr. Markham, their translator and editor, our knowledge of the civilization which they created and administered, the most interesting and important

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<sup>10</sup> "Calendar of State Papers. Domestic Series of the Reign of Elizabeth, 1595—1597." Preserved in her Majesty's Public Record Office. Edited by Mary Ann Everett Green. Under the direction of the Master of the Rolls, &c. London: Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer. 1869.

feature in the history of the New World would indeed be limited.<sup>11</sup> The Ynca Garcilasso de la Vega died at Cordova in the year 1616, at the age of seventy-six, having lived to complete his *Royal Commentaries* of Peru. The author of this singular production was a kinsman of the famous Spanish poet. In 1531 his father started for the lately discovered continent as a captain of infantry, in company with Don Alonzo de Alvarado, governor of Guatemala, and shared all the hardships and sufferings of his march to Riobamba. He afterwards went to Lima, where Pizarro was besieged by the insurgent Indians, and then to Cuzco, where he settled, became enamoured of a young Inca princess, and married. Their son was educated by a kind-hearted canon, Juan de Cuellar, and after a course of travel and military adventure, devoted himself to literary pursuits. He collected papers, amassed Indian traditions, noted the laws and customs which still survived the splendour of the Ynca empire, and in due time produced the work which Mr. Markham has undertaken to translate. The first authority on the civilization of the Yncas and on the conquest of Peru, "the Ynca," says his discriminating translator, "will be found a pleasant though rather garrulous companion. His long historical narrative of the battles and conquests of the early Yncas often become tedious, and of this the author is himself well aware. He therefore intersperses them with more entertaining chapters on the religious ceremonies, the domestic habits and customs of the Peruvian Indians, and of the advances they had made in medicine, poetry, music, astronomy, and other arts." To this brief synopsis of the *Commentaries* by their translator we shall not add a word of our own.

A sudden transition from the religion of the Indians of Peru to the religion of Protestants brings us into the presence of the renowned Gustavus Adolphus. Herr Droysen has desired to write his history not as a biography, but as a political study, conceiving that the motives that animated his career were motives of State rather than motives of religion.<sup>12</sup> He is possibly right in supposing that historians in general have given too much emphasis to the latter class of motives, and in the hero of Protestantism have lost sight of the politician. Schiller, however, attributes to the king personal motives as well as considerations of policy and religion, and Dr. F. C. Baur distinctly declares that it was not the interest of religion, but a political interest which led to the alliance of the German Powers. Notwithstanding the recognition of the necessity of defending the Protestant religion appears in the king's manifesto, and the predominance of the political motive, it still leaves, as even Droysen admits, the king's position, in point of fact unaffected. Gustavus Adolphus was the champion of German Protestantism. He entered Germany as the ally of France. The opportunity was afforded by the interposition of Richelieu, who negotiated a truce with Poland, the ally of Austria,

<sup>11</sup> "First Part of the *Royal Commentaries* of the Yncas." By the Ynca Garcilasso de la Vega. Translated and edited, with notes and introduction, by Clements R. Markham. Vol. I. London: Printed for the Hakluyt Society. 1869.

<sup>12</sup> "Gustav Adolf." Von C. Droysen. Erster band. Leipzig, 1869.



whose power the French minister desired to check, and liberating Gustavus from the war in which he had been engaged with the former country, and supplying him with pecuniary resources, enabled him to carry his pious and heroic troops into Germany. After the battle of Leipzig, Protestantism marched triumphantly through the land, and the victorious king declared that he had come to relieve his co-religionists from the compulsory system to which they had been subjected. In the first volume of Droysen's historical study the topics discussed in the five books into which it is divided, are the European policy of the House of Vasa, the early career of its greatest representative, the German question, the Swedish king's foreign policy, and the Directory of Denmark.

Is Catholicism a synonym for eternal truth? Mr. Robertson thinks that it is,<sup>13</sup> and thinking so, cannot but look with unfavourable eyes on all the great movements of the race that are antagonistic to the one true creed and the one true Church. In his view the Church is the most perfect of societies, and the ideally perfect society never alters the divine type of her constitution. "Her reforms are administrative and not constitutional." All revolutions which prejudicially affect the Catholic Church are, and must necessarily be, more or less damnable in his eyes. Thus the French Revolution of 1789—a mixed phenomenon productive of great ultimate benefit, but at the expense of immense immediate evil—is the event which he denounces in language which evinces that on it are concentrated his indignation and abhorrence. Burke, as is well known, surveyed the French political horizon, after the stormy sunrise of social and intellectual freedom among a people but ill prepared for its unconditional exercise, with the gaze of aversion and despair, and denounced it in terms of unqualified reprobation. In this common point of agreement seems to be the secret of Mr. Robertson's philosophical alliance with Burke. To us it appears less certain than to the accomplished author of the "Lectures" before us, that their principles are so closely identifiable as he supposes. Mr. Robertson describes political philosophy as a weighty branch of metaphysical science, and lays it down that the foundations of this philosophy rest *partly* on Divine Revelation and on solemn judgments of the Church. Burke was impatient of all metaphysical reasoning, discarded absolute principles, and in the welfare of the people recognised the end and aim of all government. Again, if Burke had no sympathy with the French Revolution, he had very great sympathy with the American Rebellion; he did not look on civil society as a divine institution, but as a human arrangement intended to promote the happiness of mankind; he would never have proclaimed the religious regeneration of Hindostan, the great object of our imperial policy; nor would Burke, who proposed the abolition of the hereditary revenues of the Crown, have held the same view of the sanctity of property as his admirer. It is remarkable that two men

<sup>13</sup> "Lectures on the Life, Writings, and Times of Edmund Burke." By J. B. Robertson, Professor of Modern History and English Literature at the Catholic University of Dublin, &c. London: John Philp.

of such opposite modes of thought as Mr. Robertson and Mr. John Morley should have recently made Burke the subject of an appreciative analytical estimate. We recommend our readers to study the essays of both these writers: they will find in them much to instruct and much to admire. It is always an advantage to see an opponent's side forcibly stated, and the vulnerable points in the counter-view exposed. Mr. Robertson has done what he can to vindicate his Catholic principles, and except to a Catholic judgment, it is astonishing how little he has to say for them. In his account of Burke and of Burke's writings he is more successful; but why has he omitted to notice "Thoughts on the Cause of the Rural Discontents," which has been regarded by some critics as the most finished of all his works? and why has he hurried over the revolutionary phases in Burke's career in his notice of the American Rebellion? The best executed portion of the "Lectures" is that which relates to India. The narrative is succinct, yet *not* hurried, the statements are continental and intelligible, and the general conclusions just. One moral, however, we draw from Mr. Robertson's reflections, and that is, that the Catholic party is in principle what it always was, the enemy of intellectual liberty. In his preface he raves against "the political Antichrist" "the impious press," "the hell-dogs of revolution," and in his appendix he calls on Catholics and Protestants to unite in "prosecuting the infidel press," with the significant concession that in the present temper of the public mind it would be neither prudent nor possible to make rationalistic works the object of legal prosecution. We have lately noticed in another quarter a not dissimilar expression of opinion. But the theological Cerberus cannot bite at present, and if barking amuses it, why should it not bark?

Mr. Charles Todd,<sup>14</sup> Vicar-General of the dioceses of Derry and Raphoe, accordingly, is welcome to his bark, directed, however, not against the irreligious press, but against the confiscation of the property of the Irish Church. Some of his objections seem to us to be fairly met by the way in which the present Government propose to carry out their plan of disestablishment and disendowment. In asserting that the Irish Church possesses no State endowments, he may assert what is true in a certain sense of his own, and of the clerical party, but to maintain that the tithe or rent-charge is not national property, with which the State has a right to deal, is hardly a doctrine that will find many upholders out of the clerical ranks in our own days. Besides, if Henry II., through the reforming synod of Cashel, had power to enjoin the payment of tithe, as he did, and if by the Act of the 2nd of Elizabeth the Reformed Church was endowed, and the Roman Catholic Church disendowed, the legislature of our own day has surely a right to modify or abrogate such enactments if it believes the procedure to be just and useful.

To this transaction on the Rock of Cashel, "in the midst of the

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<sup>14</sup> "The Irish Church: its Establishment and Disendowment." By Charles H. Todd, Esq., LL.D., one of her Majesty's Council and Vicar-General of the Dioceses of Derry and Raphoe. London: Rivingtons. 1869.

golden vale of Tipperary,"—to borrow the picturesque language of the Dean of Westminster, in his "Three Irish Churches"<sup>15</sup>—is to be traced the foundation of the Established Church of England in Ireland, the first recognition of the royal supremacy and of English ascendancy. This was the second of the three churches, the Celtic, or old Irish Church, being the first. The third of these successive churches was forced into existence when the church of the Anglo-Norman pale was transformed into the modern Establishment; it was the church of a party, manufactured by arbitrary power, and sustained by long-continued injustice. Dr. Stanley, while dwelling on the piety of the English clergy, does not forget the dark blots on the Protestant hierarchy of Ireland; nor Adam Loftus's torture of the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin; nor Usher's protest against toleration; nor the eccentricities of Lord Bristol, present or absent from his see of Derry; nor Swift's well-known jest of the Hounslow robbers seizing the letters patent of the bishops, and occupying the vacant sees. The object of the dean's pamphlet, besides that of presenting a historical sketch from which practical results may be inferred, is to recommend compromise and conciliation, and to advocate the endowment and recognition of the Roman Catholic Church—a policy practicable once, perhaps, but only in part, and in a qualified sense practicable now. The pamphlet, however, is written in an amicable spirit, and with great good taste. In illustration of the sentiment of the Celtic race towards the clergy, Protestant as well as Catholic, we extract the following anecdote:—"A Protestant clergyman in the north, in the cottage of a poor woman, struck a light with a lucifer-match, and her first thought was that it was a priestly miracle. 'The Lord stand between us and harm! Great is the power of the clergy!'"

In 1834 the Irish Church question led to the secession of two eminent men from the Reform Cabinet. Listening to the bold words of Lord John Russell, Mr. Stanley, it is said, remarked, "Johnny has upset the coach." On the 27th of May in that year, Mr. H. G. Ward, whose motion was seconded by Mr. Grote, the historian, proposed a resolution in the House of Commons which had for its object the reduction of the temporal possessions of the Church in Ireland. Next morning Lord Stanley, one of the two eminent men alluded to, and Sir James Graham the other, ceased to be of the ministry. The life of the "Cumberland Worthy," as written by Mr. Torrens, was noticed in this *Review* some years ago. A more condensed and more personal biography of the right honourable baronet now lies before us, which we owe to the ready pen of Dr. Lonsdale.<sup>16</sup> The narrative is drawn up in an impartial spirit, and if the composition is rather rough and pamphlet like, it is never heavy or affected. The vacillations in the course

<sup>15</sup> "The Three Irish Churches." An Historical Address Delivered at Sion College, on January 28, 1869. By Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, D.D., Dean of Westminster. London: John Murray. 1869.

<sup>16</sup> "The Worthies of Cumberland. The Right Honourable Sir J. R. G. Graham, Bart., of Netherby." By Henry Lonsdale, M.D. Author of the "Lives of Watson," "J. C. Curwen," &c. London: George Routledge and Sons. 1868.

of this hard working and able official, seem attributable to imperfect comprehension and an intellectual narrowness which confined his sympathies within the conventional pale of Whig liberation. When he commenced his parliamentary career at Hull, in 1818, he professed Whig principles; after his secession from the government in 1834, the conservative element in his character got the mastery, and temper, pride, and vexation at the taunts with which he was assailed hurried him, says his new biographer, further than he would have gone. Eventually "he acted with the Tories, but he still had the Whig proclivities," and "undoubtedly gave a reform colouring to the Peel administration." In 1844, when he was Home Secretary in the Administration, occurred that singular political episode of letter opening, for which Lord Aberdeen was mainly responsible, and in which Sir James Graham, though he had only a share in the responsibility, showed a magnanimous fidelity to his colleagues by taking the whole blame upon himself. For the practice of opening letters there was abundant precedent, but the ignominious circumstance, which we presume was without example, was that the opened letters were refolded and resealed, so as by a counterfeited resemblance to hide and disavow the fact. The intelligence given by the British Government to the Austrian Government, led to the seizure and execution of the two brothers Bandiera and seven companions, whom Mazzini had induced to abandon their rash project of an attack on the Papal and Neapolitan territories. Sir James Graham only aggravated the disgrace by his unjustifiable attack on the distinguished Italian, whose correspondence had been thus shamefully dealt with, an attack, however, which if publicly made was as publicly retracted. The whole of this painful business is forcibly set before us in Dr. Lonsdale's biographical sketch. The brighter aspects of Sir James Graham's career and character are adequately represented in this new instalment to the series of biographies entitled, "Worthies of Cumberland."

Among the portraits of conspicuous men, who were the contemporaries of the remarkable politician in question, included in Miss Martineau's admirable collection of sketches originally contributed to the *Daily News*,<sup>17</sup> we should single out as specially interesting or significant those of Lord Herbert, Lord Brougham, Archbishop Whately, the Napiers, Hallam, Owen, Croker, and Walter Savage Landor. "The Duchess of Kent" is a sketch that may attract some readers more than any of those just mentioned, while others will be more pleased perhaps with the papers on Mary Russell Mitford, Charlotte Brontë, Samuel Rogers, and Mrs. Wordsworth. The striking feature in this historical delineation is the excellence of each individual portrait. Perhaps every one has the same finish, distinctness, and emphatic expressiveness about it. In a few strokes all that is necessary to a clear idea of the original seems given in the *likeness*. The volume contains notices of five royal personages, eleven politicians, ten professional, two scientific men (was Combe a scientific mau?) and

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<sup>17</sup> "Biographical Sketches." By Harriet Martineau. London: Macmillan and Co. 1869.

fourteen literary men. In the social category are included Miss Berry, Father Mathew, Robert Owen, and Lady Noel Byron. For Lady Byron Miss Martineau's admiration is intense; for Lord Byron she seems to have little admiration, and no forgiveness.

Hellborn's *Life of Franz Schubert*, an English epitome of which has already been published by Mr. E. Wilberforce, as our readers may perhaps remember, has now been translated, without any omission, by Mr. Arthur Duke Coleridge,<sup>18</sup> who had more than half completed his task before he was aware of the existence of Mr. Wilberforce's digest, and who appeals to the curious information contained in the notes, the catalogue of Schubert's works, and the value of the entire biography as a book of reference to musicians, to justify the publication of his unabbreviated version.

A memoir of another illustrious musician, intended as a kind of commentary on the precious legacy of Mendelssohn's *Letters*, to which we long since invited attention, has been drawn up by Madame Polko, and rendered into English by that indefatigable interpreter to our countrymen of German biographies, Lady Wallace.<sup>19</sup> The youth, the musical career, the travels of the great artist in sound, together with personal reminiscences, in which his costume, his features, figure, and playing are presented to us, make up the subject-matter of Madame Polko's volume. Some hitherto unpublished letters of Mendelssohn's are contained in an appendix.

Our next book, "*Le Génie Gaulois*," is of a more ambitious kind.<sup>20</sup> The national character and intellectual faculties of the Gallic race, their manners, customs, religious institutions, trade and commerce, are discussed at length; and an answer is attempted to be given to the endless questions connected with Druidism, and that class of ancient megalithic monuments which include those of Stonehenge, Abury, Classensness, Carnac. For reasons based on ethnology, and considerations suggested by the arts of architecture and sculpture, M. de Belloguet, who has devoted seventeen years to his favourite researches, has arrived at the conclusion that these memorials of the past owe their existence not to the Keltic, but to a pre-Keltic race, the Ligurian (Lloegrian), which early emigrated from the north of Africa. The Kelts, on the other hand, were the institutors of Druidism, a system confined exclusively to Gaul and Britain, about five or six centuries before Christ. The learned author maintains that the primitive religion of the Kelts bears a similar relation to the religion of the Aryans that the language of the Kelts does to that of the same ancestral race, and that the fundamental dogmas of Druidism are of Indo-European origin, and far more ancient than the Druidic system.

<sup>18</sup> "*The Life of Franz Schubert.*" Translated from the German of Kreiple von Hellborn, by Arthur Duke Coleridge, M.A., late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. With an appendix by George Grove, Esq. London: Longmans, Green, and Co. 1869.

<sup>19</sup> "*Reminiscences of Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy. A Social and Artistic Biography.*" By Elise Polko. Translated from the German, by Lady Wallace. With additional letters addressed to English correspondents. London: Longmans, Green, and Co. 1869.

<sup>20</sup> "*Le Génie Gaulois.*" Par Rogé Bon De Belloguet. Paris. 1868.

The volume in which he has handled these topics shows a vast extent of reading and research and intelligence that entitle his theories to a respectful investigation. It forms the third instalment of a comprehensive work on the characteristics of the Gallic race, and is intended as a verification of preliminary propositions.

Of the Ligurian and Keltic races, improved by intermixture with the Germanic, the result is "the glorious French nation," as conspicuous, says the author of this theory, in the days of Napoleon as in those of Charlemagne. A remarkable episode in the career of this brilliant people is related, in part, by M. Taxile Delord—"The History of the Second Empire."<sup>21</sup> It is written with an exceptional boldness, the author's predilections having a republican far more than an imperial character. His description of the *coup d'état*, as a sacrifice of eternal right on the part of the wealthy classes to what they called the salvation of society, may serve to illustrate the spirit in which the narrative is conceived. It is brought down to the peace with Russia in 1856 in the first volume, but its continuation to the present period is contemplated by the writer.

Our remaining books may be briefly despatched. An abridgment of the "Memoirs of Baron Bunsen,"<sup>22</sup> noticed in the *Westminster* of 1868, has been executed with the hope and in the endeavour that the shorter biography should convey as much knowledge of its subject as would be acquired from the larger volumes. "The Sieges of Bristol during the Civil War"<sup>23</sup> are told with animation by a Fellow of the Queen's College in Oxford, who has consented to allow the essays to be published for the Clifton Committee for Promoting the Higher Education of Women. "Diocesan Records and Historical Searchers" is a pamphlet by Mr. Edward Edwards, the author of a valuable "Life of Sir Walter Raleigh,"<sup>24</sup> embodying a correspondence with the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Salisbury and the Registrars of the See and Chapter, and describing the obstacles that exist to a ready access to the documents of the diocese of Sarum. Mr. Edwards pleads for that entire freedom of literary access to muniments, under regulations, for which Lambeth Palace and the cathedrals of Canterbury and Winchester are favourably known. His object is a patriotic one, and we trust will excite the sympathy and procure the aid which it deserves. "Student's Notes"<sup>25</sup> is a little book intended to explain allusions in

<sup>21</sup> "Histoire du Second Empire. 1848—1869." Par Taxile Delord. Tome premier. Paris. 1869.

<sup>22</sup> "Memoirs of Baron Bunsen," &c. Drawn chiefly from Family Papers, by his widow Frances Baroness Bunsen. Second edition, abridged and corrected. In two volumes. London: Longmans, Green, and Co. 1869.

<sup>23</sup> "The Sieges of Bristol during the Civil War." By a Fellow of the Queen's College in Oxford. Bristol. 1868.

<sup>24</sup> "Diocesan Records and Historical Searchers: being a Correspondence with the Right Reverend Lord Bishop of Salisbury, &c., in relation to a recent Life of Sir Walter Raleigh; with a brief elucidatory statement." London: Clay, Sons, and Taylor. 1868.

<sup>25</sup> "Student's Notes on Lord Macaulay's Essay on Lord Mahon's War of the Succession in Spain." By A. H. Beesly, M.A., Assistant-Master of Marlborough College. London: Longmans, Green, and Co. 1869.

an essay of Lord Macaulay's, which schoolboys find it impossible to understand without a teacher. An alphabetical index, with references, is attached to the "Notes." "The Female Glory" is a reprint of a treatise on the "Life of the Blessed Virgin,"<sup>20</sup> by Anthony Stafford, originally published in 1635. The editor is the Rev. Orby Shipley.

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### BELLES LETTRES.

THE world knows little of its greatest men, and nothing at all, it must be confessed, of its greatest women. Here is Mrs. S. C. Hall,<sup>1</sup> who for years past has been keeping her eye upon the Pope, and the ungrateful world has known nothing about it. In our ignorance we always imagined that Mrs. S. C. Hall had something to do with manufacturing what children call the "reading" to certain illustrated topographical books. But Mrs. S. C. Hall has a soul above topography. For many years past she has entertained the mighty design of stemming popery. According to the Hallian theory the Pope is to be overthrown with his own favourite weapon, fiction. Not long ago another lady, whose work was reviewed in these columns, conceived the pleasant idea that she could put down "strikes" by a two-volume novel. Lock-outs were to be stopped by love dialogues; miners, stokers, and puddlers were to be reduced to sense and lower wages by sensation scenes. What one novelist proposed accomplishing for men's bodies, the other proposes to do for men's souls. Mrs. Hall's plan is simple enough. She takes a recusant Huguenot, an angelic child, a Protestant sea-captain, one or two Jesuits, and muddles them all up together. Then she throws in plenty of scripture, and gives us a shipwreck, and, of course, the battle of the Boyne. We need not say that we have every hope that Mrs. S. C. Hall will by these means accomplish her object, and, to use her own language, "arrest the progress of those who are seeking to negative the blessings brought to these kingdoms by the Reformation."

Mr. Martin's "Alec Drummond"<sup>2</sup> commences admirably. The opening chapters have all the truthfulness of a photograph. In short the whole of the scenes describing the struggles of a young author in London would appear to be taken from life. The sketches though painful are full of vigour. We are much afraid, however, that they will not reach the class of persons who most need the warning. The picture of Mr. Edward O'Flaggan, proprietor and editor-in-chief

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<sup>20</sup> "Life of the Blessed Virgin." By Anthony Stafford. Together with the Apology of the Author, and an Essay on the Cultus of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Fourth edition. With facsimiles of the original illustrations. Edited by the Rev. Orby Shipley, M.A. London: Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer. 1869.

<sup>1</sup> "The Fight of Faith." A Story. By Mrs. S. C. Hall. London: Chapman and Hall. 1869.

<sup>2</sup> "The Story of Alec Drummond, of the 17th Lancers." By Frederick Martin. London: Chapman and Hall. 1869.

of the *Weekly Postilion* and the *London Lantern*, is not at all overdrawn. The sketch of Fraser, the sub-editor, is, too, in its way, equally well done. But what impresses us most in these opening chapters is the sense of truthfulness. Most men who know anything at all of literary life in London, its fortunes and misfortunes, could from experience tell some similar tale either of themselves or of their friends. We feel that the same power of close and accurate observation is present in the writer's sketches of the scenes during the Crimean war. In our opinion they surpass those in "Dr. Brady." The latter give you the impression that they are written for effect. "The pen of the war" is too sensational. Mr. Martin's descriptions, on the other hand, are not disfigured by any purple patches of fine writing. Here, for instance, is a sketch, which without any pretension or straining still brings the whole scene clearly before the eye—

"The *Himalaya* lifted her heavy anchors at noon in brilliant sunshine; but before we had advanced many miles the sky got overcast, and it became evident that a heavy storm was brewing in the air. Though in the midst of the fleet, we could scarcely see anything of it, as the whole atmosphere was thick with smoke and fog, drifting away only now and then to allow a glimpse of some huge steamer or towering man-of-war in the distance. We moved onward very slowly, although the wind, which gradually became a gale, was blowing right at our back, driving the transports on to the *Himalaya* with periodical heavy bumps against the stern, and occasioning not a little fright to our horses on deck. Towards evening the sky to windward assumed a strange yellow hue, dotted with masses of thickest black, and as night came on, long streaks of forked lightning flashed down from the heavy clouds, giving a lurid appearance to the endless lines of ships, now rising out of the fog, and to the dark stormy waves, lined with crests of foam, on which they were tossing. The lightning continued till nearly midnight, when on a sudden all grew still again. Coming on deck early the next morning, Tuesday, the 12th of September, we were surprised to see the heavens cloudless, the sea as smooth as glass, and not a breath of wind stirring. . . . There was a long dark line visible in the far distance, just above the horizon, to the left-hand side of our ship. It looked exactly like a thick vapour hanging upon the ocean, but sailor eyes saw better than mine. I was gazing on the calm sea, towards the strip of cloud, when an old tar came up from behind, and giving me a hearty slap on the shoulder, which nearly knocked me down, growled out in a deep voice, 'There, my boy, is the Crimea.'" (Vol. i. pp. 216, 217.)

Equally effective are the sketches which follow of the illumination of the fleets by night, of the country itself, and most especially of the battle of the Alma. The puzzle, however, is what could have induced Mr. Martin to throw his admirable pictures of a war which will always possess a terrible interest for all Englishmen, into the form of a three-volume novel. As a novel the book is poor, but as a descriptive history of the Crimean war excellent. The author has not yet learned either the art of construction—how circumstances should grow out of circumstances, and how step by step, incident by incident, the plot should be evolved. Of character-drawing, too, he is equally ignorant. But he pre-eminently possesses the power of painting battle-scenes with a minute realism, and a quiet graphic touch, which has seldom been exceeded. We have never read any account of the incidents before Sebastopol with so much interest. Further, in his



characters, poor as some of them are, Mr. Martin leaves the impression that he has capabilities for higher achievements.

Mr. Heath<sup>3</sup> should study the commencement of Mr. Martin's novel, if he has the slightest intention of giving us any more sketches of literary life. In "A Thorn in His Side," a young weaver comes up to London with an introduction to a Mr. Hill, a barrister. The barrister has, it appears, a knack for discovering hidden talent, for we read "that gentleman saw at once the genius and sound sense displayed in the young man's writings, and undertook to use his influence to get him on the staff of contributors to several papers" (vol. i., p. 261). This is the kind of success which is found in the ordinary novel, and is never found in real life. What single subject did such a young man as William Dobson know? Of art, politics, political economy, modern or ancient literature, he must from the nature of the case have been entirely ignorant. But the author is not content with making his hero an occasional contributor to a newspaper, but puts him at once on the staff, not of one, but of "several papers." Thackeray has been severely criticised for the easy way in which he makes Pendennis earn his bread by writing for the press. But Thackeray never dreamt of putting Pendennis on the staff of "several papers." Besides Pendennis enjoyed social advantages to which William Dobson can make no pretence. Pendennis, too, had the advantage of a university training, whereas William Dobson is a raw provincial. If any one were to take the trouble, they would find plenty of similar blunders in "A Thorn in His Side." The best part of this story is the plot. A Mrs. Dobson gives the title to the book. She is the cast-off mistress of Mr. Howard, the rich cotton-spinner at Irton, and by that hocus-pocus which is found in novels and pantomimes their children are changed. Readers who like exciting scenes, without requiring any high art, may be safely recommended to "A Thorn in His Side."

Why are some books written? It cannot be for money, or for fame, or for pleasure. Such a novel, for instance, as "On the Brink"<sup>4</sup> cannot certainly produce the first two things for its author, nor the third for its readers. We keep toiling through chapter after chapter, and page after page in vain, hoping to come upon some gleam of humour, or some glimpse of dramatic power, some slightest indication of poetry. But they never come. All the characters are as dull as mutes at a funeral. We neither love the virtuous heroine, nor hate the villain, who, by the way, is a trigamist. This trigamist is the only novelty we can find in the tale. But he is a most harmless creature. In short, "On the Brink," if it will do no good, will do no harm.

Miss Whitty has made three great mistakes in "Wife and Child."<sup>5</sup>

<sup>3</sup> "A Thorn in His Side." A Novel. By Arnold Heath. London: Chapman and Hall. 1869.

<sup>4</sup> "On the Brink." A Novel. By Sir Francis Vincent, Bart. London: Chapman and Hall. 1869.

<sup>5</sup> "Wife and Child." By Miss Whitty. London: Hurst and Blackett. 1869.

In the first place, she has chosen the autobiographical form, the most difficult of all for a young novelist. In the second place, she has put her autobiographical narrative into the mouth of a man, thereby doubling for a woman the original difficulty. In the third place, she has trebled her difficulty by placing her scenes in a foreign country, and by describing foreign characters, which only a life-long intimacy would enable any one to draw correctly. With all these self-imposed burdens it is no wonder that "Wife and Child" is a failure. The generality of novel-readers do not care for scenes laid in countries which they do not happen to know, whilst those who do know the country and the people are apt to be critical. Miss Whitty will satisfy neither class. Her sketches of French life appear to us singularly unreal. And as for "The Artist's Home," she might as well have called it the Grosvenor Hotel.

In spite of the name on the title-page we should suppose that "Talent and Tact"<sup>6</sup> was written either by a woman or Dr. Cumming. The little moral reflections and the italics point to the former. The following passage, however, looks very much as if it came out of Crown-court:—

"Still he thought that far below 'Hallelujah' was the sound of the waves; and the mountains reply, 'Hallelujah!' Hallelujahs floated along in the murmuring of the streams, in the whispering of the grove and forest! Yes, even as the night approached, in the silent courses of the stars his spirit heard the mystic Hallelujahs; and for the first time he dared to long for—nay, aspired to—the lowest seat in that happy, happy kingdom, where not a wave of trouble rolls across the peaceful breast." (Vol. 1. pp. 238, 239.)

Those who admire fine writing of this peculiar kind may find plenty more of the same quality in "Talent and Tact."

Although "Sowing and Reaping"<sup>7</sup> is called a "Tale of Irish Life," its most interesting scenes are laid abroad. The authoress possesses a real talent for description. Some of her sketches, as, for instance, of Heidelberg, are excellent. She makes, however, a great mistake in larding her dialogues with such polyglot scraps as "comme il faut," "ma foi," "dolce far niente," (of course), and "Weiser wein," the last in real German letters. She might as well suppose that such a line as—

*Κύμμετε Μειβοίεις, Μειβοίεις, κύμμετε πλαίειν,*

would give a classic tone to her novel.

"Hester's History"<sup>8</sup> is a reprint from "All the Year Round." Unlike most of the writers in that journal the authoress has not fallen into the mistake of imitating Mr. Dickens's worst faults. She has an excellent style of her own, quiet yet full of power, and marked by a pathos which nowhere degenerates into sentimentalism.

"Waverney Court"<sup>9</sup> is also a reprint from another magazine. For

<sup>6</sup> "Talent and Tact." A Tale. By Arthur Ringwood. London: Chapman and Hall. 1869.

<sup>7</sup> "Sowing and Reaping." A Tale of Irish Life. By A. M. Donelan. London: Chapman and Hall. 1868.

<sup>8</sup> "Hester's History." A Novel. London: Chapman and Hall. 1869.

<sup>9</sup> "Waverney Court." A Novel. By George W. Garrett. London: Chapman and Hall. 1869.

our tastes it is far too slangy. Editors and publishers, however, must be supposed to know what suits the public. As long, therefore, as the demand exists such books will be supplied to the book market.

Amongst novels of one volume we may especially commend for younger readers "The Sister's Year."<sup>10</sup> The tone is good, and some of the descriptions of natural scenes, as at page 42, are really excellent. "Soimême"<sup>11</sup> may also be recommended on the same grounds. "The Search for the Gral"<sup>12</sup> would, perhaps, have been better as a story if a good deal about the Gral had been left out. The description of the scenes in Germany are full of life.

We wish that minor poets would remember the adage, *Nemo malos poetas legit, pauci bonos*. Mr. Zachary Edwards<sup>13</sup> is one of the most offensive of his tribe. He pours forth a flux of words without a single thought beyond wishing himself a seagull or some other bird in order to fly to his mistress. In short Mr. Zachary Edwards has all the vices of the minor poet without any of his virtues. Generally speaking, the minor poet possesses no little amiability, shows a tenderness of feeling towards the poor, and a spirit of liberality towards all, which makes us forget the shortcomings of his poetry. Mr. Zachary Edwards, however, has in his "Political Pieces" contrived to pour forth more uncharitableness and bigotry in a small space than we ever remember to have seen.

Good humour is the note of Mr. Baddeley's poems.<sup>14</sup> All cricketers will recognise the figure of the "Fat Cricketer," whom he has so happily hit off in one of his lighter pieces. May his shadow never grow less.

There is no book so bad that it will not find readers, says St. Jerome. We should have thought that "Florence"<sup>15</sup> was so excessively bad that it would have proved an exception to St. Jerome's rule. On the contrary, however, we find that it has reached a second edition. For those who may be unacquainted with its beauties we give the following extract:—

"Norman knew well the ways of Paris; he had often visited the place before. He could secure apartments there, and be quite private; so it was settled. Talking over their future plans for home, they did not see that course so clear; there could not be a more peculiarly perplexing situation. They felt this after due examination." (p. 88.)

This is the author's idea of poetry. Those of our readers who are fond of puzzles can try to reconstruct this into verse. Any sort will do. The only key which we will give them is that "it was" becomes "'twas," and "over" always becomes "o'er" in minor poetry.

Mr. Selkirk's "Poems"<sup>16</sup> are characterized by many excellent quali-

<sup>10</sup> "The Sister's Year." London: Provost & Co. 1868.

<sup>11</sup> "Soimême." A Story of a Wilful Life. London: Rivingtons. 1869.

<sup>12</sup> "The Search for the Gral." By Julia Goddard. London: Cassell, Petter, and Galpin. 1869.

<sup>13</sup> "Primitie." By Zachary Edwards. London: Provost & Co. 1869.

<sup>14</sup> "Cassandra, and other Poems." By R. Whieldon Baddeley. London: Bell and Daldy. 1869.

<sup>15</sup> "Florence." London: Longmans, Green, & Co. 1869.

<sup>16</sup> "Poems." By J. B. Selkirk. London: Longmans, Green, & Co. 1869.

ties. A certain high tone of feeling pervades them. He evidently loves whatever is noble, irrespective of mere party creeds and party names. We wish that we had room to quote some stanzas from "A Debt of Honour."

The Rev. Herbert Todd's "Fountain of Youth"<sup>17</sup> is distinguished by its good taste and good feeling. A religious vein runs through most of the pieces. The book will probably find many readers amongst the author's own congregation.

Like the two preceding authors, whom, however, he excels in the mechanism of his art, Mr. Robinson<sup>18</sup> must, we fear, find his recompense in his work. The sonnet has never been popular with the general public. Shakspeare's sonnets are the least read of all his works. One of his best editors went so far as to say that it would require an Act of Parliament to make the public read them. This of course is an exaggeration in Shakspeare's case, but it is true with regard to the generality of sonnets.

When, a little more than a year ago, we noticed Mr. Lytton's "Chronicles and Characters," we remarked upon the difficulty of forming any correct estimate of his powers. We encounter the same difficulty in his present poem.<sup>19</sup> Everything which he reads leaves such an impression upon him that we can hardly say which is original and which is borrowed. Mr. Lytton tells us in his preface that he had been some time meditating on the subject of the present poem, when he met with a prose translation in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* of a Polish poem by Count Sigismund Krasinsky. The effect of this poem upon his mind was so great that, as he informs us, it embarrassed and confused all his own conceptions, and finally compelled him to abandon the undertaking. He, however, gives us, instead of his own work, a paraphrase of the Polish poem. Now we cannot think that a really original mind would have been so easily driven from its own conceptions. As has been well said, "the riddle of the day has for each a private solution." But as we pointed out in our notice of Mr. Lytton's "Chronicles and Characters," his mind is eminently receptive. He reads apparently for the sake of remembering, not for the sake of strengthening his mind. The book conquers him, instead of his conquering the book. In the present case, however, our difficulty is still further increased. Mr. Lytton throughout his preface speaks of Count Krasinsky's work as a poem, and in such terms as to lead us to suppose that he has made the acquaintance of the original. Polish scholars, however, declare that the original is not a poem at all, but written in prose. Be this as it may, the difficulty is for those, like ourselves, who do not happen to know the Polish language, how to deal with such a paraphrase, in which the original prose is apparently converted into poetry through a French medium. We may censure Mr. Lytton

<sup>17</sup> "The Fountain of Youth, and other Poems." Extracted from "Sketches by the Wayside." By Rev. Herbert Todd. London: Provost & Co. 1869.

<sup>18</sup> "Iona, and other Sonnets." By Wade Robinson. Dublin: Moffat & Co. 1869.

<sup>19</sup> "Orval; or, the Fool of Time; and other Imitations and Paraphrases." By Robert Lytton. London: Chapman and Hall. 1869.

when the blame should be accorded to Krasinsky, and praise Krasinsky when the merit is due to Mr. Lytton or the French translator. Our criticism must therefore be of the most general kind. The whole interest of the poem depends on the conflict of ideas embodied in Orval, the representative of the old, and Panurge the champion of the new. As a mere study of a human mind, the book has its value, but for all practical purposes is utterly useless. As usual, Mr. Lytton shows a great command of language, and wonderful facility of expression. Many of the speeches, however, seem to us like Byron at second-hand, and some of the songs like Shelley in the same form.

To that short list of illustrious men who have been great in more arts than one, must now be added the name of Mr. Story.<sup>20</sup> "I would that my tongue could utter the thoughts that arise in me" is the cry of many a musician, painter, and sculptor. Life is so short, and the mere technicalities of art so difficult to master, that it is rarely given, only perhaps to some Michael Angelo, to wed more than one Muse. In the case of Turner we see the artist struggling to express in words the thoughts and feelings which he could only write with the brush. Hitherto the chisel has been Mr. Story's pen. In the present volume he has translated the marble for us into poetry. Goethe used to say that sculpture was the most poetical of all the arts. And in a certain high transcendental sense he is perfectly right. Those who are interested in the question should certainly study the Cleopatra of Story in marble, and the Cleopatra as we find her translated in the present volume into verse. Yet the test is not quite fair, for we do not think that the Cleopatra shows to the full Mr. Story's command of language and felicity of expression. He is seen at his best in his shorter pieces. In them we find genuine feeling. Thus for instance let us take the following sketch:—

The sky is grey, with lowering clouds of lead  
And scarce a break of blue;  
Here pencilled down with rain, and overhead  
With silver gleams shot through.

Upon the rocky shore I sit alone;  
The dark green sullen sea  
Along the shore makes a perpetual moan,  
And struggles restlessly.

Noiseless as pictures on their wings of white  
The distant vessels glide,  
By purple islands veiled in dreamy light,  
That silent there abide.

Across the purple shoals of sunken rocks  
The toppling rascals break,  
And suck and roar, and beat with ceaseless shocks  
The worn cliffs' weedy base.

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<sup>20</sup> "Graffiti d'Italia." By W. W. Story. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons. 1858.

Heaved by the lifting swell, the long green flag  
 Of sea-weed floats and falls,  
 And down their shelf the raking pebbles drag,  
 As back the surf-wave crawls.

The lines are full of colour. They say what Turner so often in some of his blank verses attempted to say. Each stanza is in fact a little picture. The last is nearly perfect. Everyone who has sat by the sea-shore must have noticed the swaying, falling motion of the floating masses of sea-weed, heaving with each in-coming wave—must have heard, too, the harsh grating, yet still not unmusical sound of the pebbles, rolling to and fro, as if they were being “raked with a silver rake,” as Ruskin says when describing a sea-piece of Turner’s—and last of all, if the day is still, marked the spent wave crawling back to the sea.

The office of a prophet is a dangerous one. We must confess that our hopes, which we expressed in our last number about Mr. Browning’s “The Ring and the Book,”<sup>21</sup> have been disappointed. The expectations which were raised by the first volume have not been fulfilled. Mr. Browning has returned to his old faults, or, as his extreme admirers would say, beauties. He evidently has done so from pure wilfulness. His first volume proves beyond dispute that if he chooses he can write page after page in a way which captivates the minds and touches the hearts of ordinary people. He has therefore chosen his style with a set purpose. We have no quarrel with Mr. Browning on this score. The Dorians have full right to be as Doric as they please. We can only, however, express our opinion upon the poem by saying that the Ring has too much alloy, and the Book too much verbiage. We know quite well that some alloy is necessary for artistic purposes. Even a sovereign requires to be alloyed to take a clear impression. We know, too, that there must be some verbiage, or, in other words, that there must be shade as well as light—that there must be some foil to relieve and throw up the brighter passages. What, however, we say is, that the alloy is in disproportion to the gold, and that the verbiage overshadows the thought. To make this clear we should have to quote the whole of “*Dominus Hyacinthus de Archangelis*,” and “*Juris Doctor Johannes-Baptista Bottinius*.” Nothing but actually reading these two divisions of the poem would prove our case. To say that there are some beauties in them, is to say nothing at all. We expect something more than this from Mr. Browning. The drawback is serious, and certainly imperils the whole poem. Those, however, who will take the trouble to surmount the difficulty will reap their reward. We can, however, only briefly express our opinion with regard to the law and pleadings of the two counsel by a vulgar proverb, “the malt is the best in England, but the beer is bad.” Turning to the poem itself, one figure is drawn with consummate skill. In delineating Pompilia, Mr. Browning has shown himself to be a true artist. Seldom has a woman been portrayed with such

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<sup>21</sup> “The Ring and the Book.” By Robert Browning, M.A. Vols. II, III, IV. London: Smith, Elder, & Co. 1868-69.

delicacy, such insight, and such dramatic power. The dramatic power is in fact sometimes Shaksperian. Her portrait and that of the Pope are masterpieces. To do justice to them would require far more space than is at our command. We are, however, afraid that even in their case the setting will obscure their true merits. Mr. Browning, however, has never courted popularity. His admirers will probably point to the "Ring and the Book" as his greatest work, but the majority of men will regard much of it as a puzzle, if not a positive stumbling-block.

"Idylls and Epigrams"<sup>23</sup> is a charming little book. The contents are partly translations and paraphrases, and partly original pieces. Our only regret is that Mr. Garnett did not give us the text of the former. The art of making an epigram, we would say, were it not for Mr. Garnett's own examples to the contrary, is lost. The vulgar things miscalled epigrams, which fill our comic papers, have neither sting nor honey. For English readers Mr. Garnett's translations will open a new world of thought. His paraphrase of Meleager's lines on Spring, "smells," as Shakspeare would say, "of April and May." His versions, too, of the epigrams are often most happy. He has contrived to preserve the original flavour. The edge is not blunted, and the perfume has not evaporated in the process. With regard to his own pieces, we pay him no small compliment when we say that many of them fully deserve their place beside those from the Greek Anthology. But how could Mr. Garnett give us two such wretched pieces as lviii. and cxxvii.? In both cases the wit depends upon a miserable pun. What Mr. Garnett can do in his happier moods the following piece will show :—

#### A CASE OF CONSCIENCE.

"My friend and I did faithfully agree,  
 He to extol all I wrote, I all he:  
 Now he has writ a satire against me.  
 Resolve me, Phœbus, what am I to do;  
 Can I retort, yet to my bond be true?  
 • Ay, son, abuse him well, Apollo says,  
 Panegyric from thee were sore dispraise."—(p. 50.)

And here is another still happier :—

"'I hardly ever ope my lips,' one cries;  
 'Simonides, what think you of my rule?'  
 'If you're a fool, I think you're very wise,  
 If you are wise, I think, you are a fool.'"

This is excessively neat. But there are plenty of others as good. It is quite refreshing to find that in these days of vulgar buffoonery true humour is not altogether extinct. To those who wish to know something of the grace, the fancy, and the wit of the Greek Anthology, to those who value scholarly translation, and to those who can appreciate original humour, we most cordially recommend Mr. Garnett's "Idylls and Epigrams."

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<sup>23</sup> "Idylls and Epigrams, chiefly from the Greek Anthology." By Richard Garnett. London: Macmillan & Co. 1869.

The great objection which we have to such books as "Tinker Æsop"<sup>23</sup> is, that they treat important subjects in an inappropriate way. It is very poor fun to make a travelling tinker discuss the most difficult questions of the day in a style which no tinker ever did, and ever will talk. Under the guise of a liberalism which will deceive a great many, the book contains some half-truths and some truisms. The fables are mere Tupperisms. Mr. Vickers talks very boldly, but it is often with the boldness of ignorance. We should advise him on the slave labour question to study Professor Cairns, and on the personal representation of the people, Mr. Hare. He indeed mentions Mr. Hare, but his remarks at p. 167 show that he has not even mastered the first principles of Mr. Hare's system of representation. Further, the book is marked by the most offensive affectation. Who Mr. Vickers is we do not know. His conceit, however, is intolerable. Thus he makes his tinker say to a nobleman,—“I will tell you a little tale as well worth remembering as your college Greek” (p. 128). What “college Greek” is we do not know. We presume, however, that Mr. Vickers means by the phrase, those Greek authors who are taught at the two universities of Oxford and Cambridge: Aristotle, Plato, and Thucydides, to say nothing of such poor creatures as Homer, Pindar, and Sophocles. About Oxford Mr. Vickers entertains the most ludicrous ideas (p. 181), and seems to fancy that Mr. Swinburne is its representative man (p. 183). Mr. Vickers's ideas of literature are equally absurd. He actually recommends young novelists to put themselves under Mr. Sala's auspices, and to go to him for advice (p. 141). We should as soon think of advising a medical student to put himself under a veterinary surgeon. After this no one will be surprised at Mr. Vickers's own style. He has probably sat at Mr. Sala's feet, for his jokes are of the thinnest description. Further, he puts language into the mouth of a young nobleman (p. 127) so filthily gross that we cannot repeat it on the ground of indelicacy. Before Mr. Vickers again addresses himself to working-men we hope he may, at least, learn to use language which will not disgust them.

Mr. Vance's new work<sup>24</sup> appears as is fitting, arrayed in white and gold, with its covers sown over with lilies. Mr. Vance flings a wide net. His translations will be welcomed by readers of very different tastes. Shakspearian critics, who are puzzled with that difficult passage, “these knights will hack” (“Merry Wives of Windsor,” Act ii. Scene 1), will turn with pleasure to the account of the “Ceremonies attendant on the degradation of a Knight,” an account, however, which should be compared with the degradation of Sir Rauff Grey, given in the notes to Halliwell's edition of Warkworth's Chronicle (Camden Society, pp. 38, 39). More philosophical readers will turn to the two excellent translations from Montaigne. Lovers of romance will meet with plenty of tales to suit their tastes. The general

<sup>23</sup> “Tinker Æsop, and His Little Lessons for the Age.” By John Vickers. London: Longmans, Green, and Co. 1869.

<sup>24</sup> “Romantic Episodes of Chivalric and Mediæval France.” Now done into English by Alexander Vance. Corrected and Enlarged. London: Hamilton, Adams, & Co. 1868.



reader, too, who reads for mere amusement, will find that he is not forgotten. The book is full of good sayings. Here, for instance, is a joke from the Anecdotes of Henry IV. :—

“One day at Fontainebleau, his gardener lamenting to him how impossible it was to get anything to thrive in so poor a soil; ‘Stock it with Gascons,’ said Henry, eyeing the Duke of Epemon as he spoke, ‘they thrive everywhere.’”

Here is another equally good, which, however, this time tells against Henry :—

“Another time vaunting to the Spanish ambassador, ‘that he would breakfast at Milan, hear mass at Rome, and dine at Naples,’ the ambassador replied, ‘Sir, with so much expedition, your majesty may possibly be in time to attend vespers in Sicily.’”

A word of praise must be given to Mr. Vance's English. Such translations as the “Title and Introduction to Perceforest,” “The Story of Patient Grizzel,” some of the selections from the “Book of the Knight of the Tower Landry” possess an original value of their own. Mr. Vance has so thoroughly studied the great masters of English of the Elizabethan period that he has become thoroughly imbued with their style and spirit. The notes, too, are excellent, and show from how full a cask Mr. Vance draws.

We are very glad to find that Mr. Gibson has collected his tales and songs in the Cumberland dialect into a single volume.<sup>25</sup> His tales occupy the same place in Cumberland and Westmoreland as Waugh's do in Lancashire, and his poems the same position as Barnes's in Dorsetshire. The tales are remarkable for their spirit and humour. Some of them, as “Joe and the Geologist,” “T' Reets on't,” and especially “Bobby Bank's Bodderment,” deserve a far wider reputation than they have yet attained. Mr. Gibson's poetry, too, is marked by the same characteristics. The present volume, however, possesses an especial value in our eyes. It contains an admirable glossary of Cumberland and Westmoreland provincialisms. Here we find such true Old-English words as *brat*, a pinafore (O. E. *brat*, a cloak); *carlin*, a coarse old woman, “a mankind woman,” as Shakspeare would have said; *flyte*, to scold, quarrel (O. E. *flitan*, to strive); *fratch*, a quarrel; *lafter*, the “loiter” of the south-west of England, the full number of eggs which a hen lays; *smittle*, to infect, and plenty more. Here, too, we meet such expressive compounds as “*forset*,” to intercept; “*bar-row-backed*,” hump-backed (connected with *berg*), and “*foregather*,” to meet. Mr. Gibson has evidently taken pains with his glossary. Here, for instance, is a specimen of his workmanship :—

“Hugger-mugger, C., huddled up, out of order or system.

“Thus in *hugger-mugger* make a marriage.—*Shakspeare*.

“Most philologists hold that this word signifies private or surreptitious; but in Cumberland, where it is still in common use, the sense is as above.” (p. 203.)

<sup>25</sup> “The Folk-Speech of Cumberland, and some Districts Adjacent.” Being short Stories and Rhymes in the Dialects of the West Border Counties. By Alexander Craig Gibson, F.S.A. London: John Russell Smith. 1869.

Mr. Gibson is quite right. In Shakspeare the word signifies secretly. Shakspeare's contemporaries, too, use it in the same sense. Thus in Withal's Dictionary (1616) we find "Monstrum alere, to practise mischief in hugger-mugger." Other examples may be found in Scot's "Discoverie of Witchcraft" (1584), Gosson's "Apologie of the School of Abuse" (1579), Minsheu's Spanish and English Dictionary (1599), and other writers of the same date. But the curious point remains to be noticed, that at the other end of England, in Devonshire, "hugger-mugger" is still found both in the Shakspearian and the Cumberland sense of the term. The well-known *Devonshire Dialogue* supplies us with an instance of the first meaning, and the *West Country Clothier* of the second. \* The only fault which we have to find with Mr. Gibson's glossary is that it only deals with the words in his own stories and poems. We wish we could induce him to enlarge it, and publish it separately. There are some eight or nine, if not more, glossaries of the Westmoreland and Cumberland dialect; but not one of them is complete. The fullest is decidedly that by Mr. Dickinson, to whom the present volume is dedicated. But Mr. Dickinson's glossary, even with the supplement, is very deficient. The dialect of Westmoreland and Cumberland is, perhaps, the richest in England, and deserves especial study; but it is fast undergoing a change. In a few more years, especially if compulsory education becomes the law of the land, some of its most marked peculiarities will certainly disappear. We know no two men so fully competent to undertake the task of giving us a glossary of the two counties as Mr. Gibson and Mr. Dickinson. If they would join their forces we might have a thoroughly exhaustive work on the subject; at present it is greatly wanted.

We are also glad to see that Mr. Rushton has also collected his various little publications on Shakspeare into a single volume.<sup>26</sup> If a large book is a great evil, a number of small ones is a greater. Mr. Rushton's works, too, deserve to be collected together. They show no little research, and display varied attainments and wide reading. Some of the parallel passages which Mr. Rushton brings together are excessively interesting. The worst fault of the book is its arrangement. This is, however, a mere mechanical matter, which might easily have been avoided by the use of proper type and an adequate division and space between each subject. A good index, too, would have done much to have remedied the evil. But we can discover no index of any kind, and are left to wade through the book in search of any passage we may happen to want. Mr. Rushton's philology appears to us at times rather weak. We can by no means agree with him that "nick'd" in a well-known passage in "Antony and Cleopatra" (Act iii., Sc. 6.) is derived from *νικῶ*. We must look quite in a different direction for its etymology.

The word scholar has become so profaned of late, and applied by our newspaper-writers to people to whom "μειν is just the same as δε," that we hardly like to use it in reference to Professor Plumptre.

<sup>26</sup> "Shakspeare." Illustrated by Old Authors. By William Lowes Rushton. London: Longmans, Green, & Co. 1867-1869.

In him, however, we recognise the fruits of the widest culture. No one can read his life of *Æschylus*<sup>27</sup> without perceiving that he has not cultivated one particular talent at the expense of all the others. He has not so exclusively given himself up to Greek literature, that he is unable to perceive the tendencies of our own. This many-sidedness, combined with liberal views, and a high tone, gives especial value to his essay. His remarks upon the political and religious views of the author of the *Agamemnon* are excellent. There is one particular point, however, to which we would call attention. Professor Plumptre remarks that the Greeks in their efforts to account for the origin of mankind went back to a Golden Age. *Æschylus*, however, struck out a theory of his own. And Professor Plumptre quotes a remarkable passage from the *Prometheus*—

“Like forms

Of phantom-dreams, through all their length of life,  
They muddled all at random; did not know  
Houses of brick that catch the sunlight's warmth,  
Nor yet the work of carpentry. They dwelt  
In hollowed holes, like swarms of tiny ants,  
In sunless depths of cavern; and they had  
No certain signs of winter, nor of spring.  
Flower-laden, nor of summer with her fruits;  
But without counsel fared their whole life long.”—

(Prom. 455—465.)

Professor Plumptre proceeds to remark that in this passage *Æschylus* by a happy guess anticipates the conclusion of modern science. We cannot here of course discuss the wider question of the inner meaning of the *Prometheus*. But what especially strikes us is the effect of such lines as these, and of those again, not dissimilar in their meaning, in the beginning of *Juvenal's* sixth satire, compared with the effect of the teachings of *Huxley* or *Darwin*. In the one case the lines would only strike here and there some sympathetic mind, in the other case a challenge is thrown down, and the whole world enters the lists. With regard to the workmanship of Professor Plumptre's translation, it must, like his translation of *Sophocles*, always, whoever comes after him, hold a very high place in our literature. In difficult passages he is never, to use the Italian proverb, a traitore. In the ordinary speeches he is faithful without being servile. And in the higher and more impassioned passages he shows himself to be a true poet. As a fair sample, we will quote, as the original will be known to most readers, the watchman's speech in the opening of the *Agamemnon*—

“I ask the gods a respite from these toils,  
This keeping at my post the whole year round,  
Wherein, upon the *Atreidæ's* roof reclined,  
Like dog, upon my elbow, I have learnt  
To know the company of stars of night,

<sup>27</sup> “*The Tragedies of Æschylus.*” A New Translation. With a Biographical Essay, and an Appendix of Rhymed Choral Odes. By E. H. Plumptre, M.A. London: 1869.

And those bright lords that deck the firmament,  
 And winter bring to men, and harvest tide;  
 [The rising and the setting of the stars].  
 And now I watch for sign of beacon-torch,  
 The flash of fire that bringeth news from Troia,  
 And tidings of its capture. So prevails  
 A woman's manly-purposed, hoping heart;  
 And when I keep my bed of little ease,  
 Drenched with the dew, unvisited by dreams,  
 (For fear instead of sleep, my comrade is,  
 So that in sound sleep ne'er I close mine eyes),  
 And when I think to sing a tune, or hum,  
 (My medicine of song to ward off sleep)  
 Then weep I, wailing for this house's chance,  
 No more, as erst, right well administered."

The rest of the speech is equally well rendered, especially the characteristic proverbial sayings, with which Æschylus in this case, as Shakspeare so often does, endows his characters. We will only add that Professor Plumptre's notes are in keeping with the translation, and really illustrate the text. To English readers, who wish to know something of one of the world's master-poets, the present translation is indispensable.

Mr. Witt<sup>28</sup> evidently prefers description to dramatic power or passion. He has accordingly chosen the fifth and ninth books of the *Odyssey* for the sake of the scenery and descriptive passages. His translation comes up to the ordinary standard; but such little attempts as this are of no service to any one. The scholar who can read the original does not care for them, whilst the mere English reader turns to Lord Derby or Worsley, where he can find the whole of the poet. As description suits Mr. Witt's powers, we should advise him, if he is determined to follow up his present venture, to attempt a version of Theocritus. Here he would find a suitable field for his talents. A really good prose translation of Theocritus would be a boon to the English reader. There are plenty in verse already.

We may here take the opportunity of calling attention to Mr. Pretor's edition of Persius<sup>29</sup> in the *Catena Classicorum* series. The fame of Persius has been so eclipsed by that of Juvenal, with whom he is commonly printed, that we are glad to find an editor who does justice to his really great merits. As an edition for students this is decidedly the best which we have seen. The notes are to the point, and do not, as is so often the case, slur over the difficulties.

"Tommy Try"<sup>30</sup> is an excellent book for a present to a boy from eight to twelve years old. If he has any tastes for natural history it will be sure to stimulate them. The tone of the book is good and healthy. The birds, plants, butterflies and fossils, which it describes,

<sup>28</sup> "The Fifth and Ninth Books of the *Odyssey* of Homer." Rendered into English verse by Ernest Edwin Witt. London: Chapman and Hall. 1869.

<sup>29</sup> "A Persii Flacci Satirarum Liber." Edited by A. Pretor, M.A. London: Rivingtons. 1868.

<sup>30</sup> "Tommy Try; and What he Did in Science." By Charles Otley Groom Napier (of Merchiston), F.G.S. London: Chapman and Hall. 1869.

are not too rare. They are all of them easily found throughout the south and south-west of England. The descriptions and illustrations will enable any intelligent lad to easily recognise the various species. We do not think, however, that it was necessary to give drawings of the sweet violet, and the cowslip. These and one or two other engravings might in a second edition make room for something a little more uncommon. We are astonished, too, to learn that any boy could keep the eggs of the summer snipe (*Totanus hypoleucos*) for years and not discover what they were. No eggs are so well defined, and so easily recognised. Further, to call its nest, as the author does in the head-lines, "a rare nest," is absolute nonsense. We have found a dozen in a day. We are surprised, too, to find no mention of Mr. Hewitson's excellent work on the eggs of British birds. In one respect the book differs from most of its class. We do not discover the usual blunders in the scientific names. We have met with only two misprints, *que* for *quæ* (p. 47), and *caprimulus* for *caprimulgus* (p. 251). The great fault of the book is that it is overlaid with a number of stories about things and persons which have no possible connection with natural history. Some of the stories, too, seem to be violently personal. Whether they are or not, the book would be a great deal better without them.

We have only space to briefly mention a few more books for boys and girls, which the publishers pour forth in such abundance. The fame of Sir Samuel Baker's "Cast up by the Sea"<sup>31</sup> has long since been spread far and wide in the schoolboy world. The adventures seem to us a little extravagant; but boys have good digestions. Of the three volumes of Fairy Tales before us, we are disposed to give the palm to the "German Popular Stories"<sup>32</sup> for the sake of Cruikshank's drawings. But the other two must not be despised. "Fairy Records,"<sup>33</sup> and the good-natured, satirical "Fairy Tales,"<sup>34</sup> will no doubt find plenty of readers, though the last is hardly a fairy book in the old-fashioned sense of the term, whilst still younger minds will admire "Rosy's Voyage."<sup>35</sup> Frölich's illustrations, however, in the last work will interest others besides children.

From Germany we have the first volume of a new edition of Droysen's<sup>36</sup> well known translation of Aristophanes. We have certainly no version in English which will bear comparison with it. There is no necessity for calling attention to its merits, as they are so thoroughly recognised by all scholars.

<sup>31</sup> "Cast Up by the Sea." By Sir Samuel W. Baker, M.A., F.R.S.G. With Illustrations by Huard. London: Macmillan & Co. 1869.

<sup>32</sup> "German Popular Stories." With Illustrations after the original designs of George Cruikshank. Edited by Edgar Taylor. With Introduction by John Ruskin, M.A. London: John Camden Hotten. 1869.

<sup>33</sup> "Fairy Records." Six in Number. By Caroline L. Moscrop. London: Chapman and Hall. 1868.

<sup>34</sup> "Uncle Peter's Fairy Tales for the Nineteenth Century." Edited by Elizabeth M. Sewell. London: Longman, Green, & Co. 1869.

<sup>35</sup> "Little Rosy's Voyage round the World." Adapted from the French of P. J. Stahl. With Forty-eight Illustrations by Lorenz Frölich. London: Seeley, Jackson, and Halliday. 1869.

<sup>36</sup> "Des Aristophanes Werke, Übersetzt von Joh. Gust. Droysen." Leipzig: Veit. 1869.

The Germans are fond of dictionary-making. A vocabulary of Schiller<sup>37</sup> promises to give a very full explanation of all the words in his poetry. To all students of Schiller it will become a necessity if the succeeding parts are as good as the first. With it we may also recommend the new edition of Dr. Kuno Fischer's<sup>38</sup> studies on the poet.

"Spaziergänge in Fabelkleide"<sup>39</sup> is very poor. The author is a kind of German Tupper.

"Rien n'est plus simple que de vivre, et rien n'est plus compliqué que la vie" is the commencement of Jehan de Chazol,<sup>40</sup> but it is with the latter part of the sentence that the novel is chiefly concerned. Those who like sensationalism will find something to interest them in its pages.

Fridolin Werm's<sup>41</sup> poems will have especial interest for English readers. In the portion entitled "Pour les Enfants" will be found some very clever adaptations and paraphrases from Wordsworth and Southey.

Amongst reprints we have to acknowledge a most convenient edition of the "Spectator,"<sup>42</sup> edited by Professor Morley; and a reissue of Mr. Cooley's work,<sup>43</sup> which we noticed on its first appearance. Lastly, we have to call attention to Mr. Grosart's "Who Wrote Britain's Ida?"<sup>44</sup> upon which no one is fit to express an opinion unless they have most critically studied Spenser and Phineas Fletcher.

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#### ART.

**M**OST of our readers must at one time or another have been struck by the increasing interest which the English public has of late years shown in the fine arts. They may probably also have been struck by the absence of any corresponding increase in confidence or unanimity of art-criticism. They may probably have noticed with some pain and perplexity the antagonisms of taste that exist among those of us in England who profess to care for such matters—our clashing opinions on this or that work of art, our total want of agreement as to what is and what is not worthy of commendation. Except in the case of some leading popular favourite (who has probably himself begun by being for years a popular

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<sup>37</sup> "Erläuterndes Wörterbuch zu Schiller's Dichterwerken." Berlin: Effert und Lindtner. 1869.

<sup>38</sup> "Schiller." Von Kuno Fischer. Leipzig: Reissland. 1869.

<sup>39</sup> "Spaziergänge in Fabelkleide." Gedichte und Fabeln für die Kleine Welt der grossen Kinder. Homburg und Leipzig: Richter. 1869.

<sup>40</sup> "Jehan de Chazol, par Mario Ucharl." Paris: Lévy. 1869.

<sup>41</sup> "Juin—Novembre." Poésies Lyriques. Par Fridolin Werm. Paris: Libraire Internationale. 1869.

<sup>42</sup> "The Spectator." A New Edition. With Introduction, Notes, and Index. By Henry Morley. London: George Routledge and Sons. 1869.

<sup>43</sup> "The Toilet. In Ancient and Modern Times." By Arnold J. Cooley. London: Robert Hardwicke. 1868.

<sup>44</sup> "Who Wrote Britain's Ida!" By the Rev. Alexander B. Grosart. London: F. Ellis. 1869.

laughing-stock), two critics rarely agree in praising the same artist's work for the same reasons. A spectator seeking to form his judgment concerning pictures, statues, buildings, by what he read in the newspapers, would be called on to give his admiration to qualities the most opposite, would have by turns to approve and condemn the same work; and would end in utter bewilderment and admiration of nothing. We are aware of the danger of rash generalization; but we have no fear of running into such danger when we say that, with reference to art, the capacity of the looking-on class for looking intelligently falls far short of the capacity of the producing class for producing skilfully. The fact seems to point to some radical ignorance, some essential deficiency in our artistic perceptions. A writer, who screens himself behind the pseudonym adapted on a famous occasion by the Homeric Odysseus, has lately girded himself up to do battle against this Polyphemus of art-ignorance.<sup>1</sup> We cannot say that he proves himself quite such a champion as we should have chosen for the assault on such an enemy. It is, we think, a misfortune that Outis should confuse together two independent parts of artistic culture, the knowledge of the technical and grammatical elements of art and the susceptibility to its emotional delights. It is a still greater misfortune that he should regard this knowledge and this susceptibility, both of them, we think, things urgently to be desired for their own sakes, as things mainly desirable for the sake of an ulterior action upon our beliefs and modes of thought. We do not propose to go with Outis into this part of his theme, nor to follow him in his discussion of the urgency of checking by means of the emotions the growth of materialism, positivism, and other real or fancied tendencies of the time. Enough to note that he shows himself insufficiently acquainted with the opinions which he desires to counteract; that his argument from art to philosophy, from one part of his subject to another, is little better than a series of missing links. In matters of fact connected with the fine arts he shows himself much more at home. He exposes with thorough cogency the delusive nature of such elementary art-teaching as most of us get,—"the feeble folly of so-called drawing-master's drawing." In a style which becomes striking from its somewhat uncouth and crabbed individuality, he insists on our ignorance of the visible configuration of the things round about us; on the helpless inability to distinguish good art from bad which prevails among those whose wealth and position should make them art's chief patrons; on the utter deadness of the artistic sense betrayed in our dresses, decorations, and surroundings. In the course of these discussions he exhibits sometimes a singular divergence from the views of Mr. Ruskin; more often a singular coincidence with them. There are paragraphs in the book which we might suppose to have come from Mr. Ruskin's pen, if we could only suppose Mr. Ruskin to have left his genius and his eloquence behind him. We may note, as at once characteristic and satisfactory, the passage (pp. 183 seq.), where Outis describes the condition of our high-born youth who wishes to take interest in the fine arts, but can-

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<sup>1</sup> "Hiatus, the Veid in Modern Education: its Cause and Antidote." By Outis. London: Macmillan. 1869.

not do so intelligently; and the passage (pp. 146 seq.), in which he urges us to dress not hideously and not uniformly, but beautifully and "prosopoleptically." We have said that we think Outis too hasty in concluding that if every one learnt to draw, every one would become susceptible to artistic emotion. He has certainly not proved this point. He has proved that in learning to draw we should learn to look attentively at objects, that in order to verify our drawing by the facts of structure we should have recourse to science, that science and drawing would mutually illustrate and facilitate each other; and that by the time we could draw accurately we should be likely to find ourselves in some degree acquainted with optics, mechanics, conic sections, geometry, and also with the concrete sciences of geology, botany, anatomy, and the like. "Science would be put in evidence on art matters." Very well; but would all this conscious calculating and comparing, all this reference to organic laws and intellectual abstractions, help us to recognise and enjoy beauty? We think not; we hold that all this may be necessary for the artist, and desirable for every one, as an intellectual and as a mechanical training; but that neither for the artist nor for any one else can it form an emotional training. Between the scientific and the artistic way of looking at objects there surely exists a difference which is referable to a radical law of our nature. In scientific looking, perception predominates, in artistic looking, sensation. The class of impressions we receive through the sense of sight as employed for science are mainly of the nature of thought; the class of impressions we receive through the sense of sight as employed for art are mainly of the nature of feeling. We cannot attempt really to deal with this complicated matter here; we can only point out that in the one case what the mind mainly attends to are intelligible facts—facts of difference or resemblance, of structure, design, or adaptation, and these are at most cold and second-hand sources of emotion; that in the other case, what the mind mainly attends to are sensible appearances—appearances of beauty: that is, of the fusion and concurrence of tints and lineaments, and the physical pleasure belonging to these, with the impress of a thousand pleasurable associations that can be felt but can hardly be deciphered; and these for such as are susceptible to them are sources of emotion the warmest and most spontaneous. But, it may be said, granting that the scientific and the artistic ways of looking are different, yet once learn to look, in whichever way, with some constancy and intentness, and Beauty must sooner or later reveal herself. But this is a chance to which we had rather not trust. By all means, we should say, let every one learn to draw, for the sake of help in learning the sciences, for the sake of cultivating habits of accuracy, for the sake of knowing the configuration and structure of things, and finally for the sake of recognising when he sees them the grammatical blunders of bad art. But for recognising when he sees them the emotional beauties of good art, we had rather trust to some agency directed to this special purpose, to teaching that should first stimulate attention to the beauties as much as to the truths of nature, and next to the beauties of art; pointing out, as far as teaching can point out, the precious qualities of the consummate work which our museums and galleries preserve out



of the past; and with these qualities in view as a standard and an ideal, seizing on and illustrating whatever in our modern work partakes in whatever degree of these qualities, and is capable of arousing the same emotions.

We have dwelt at some length on a book of which the matter is not seldom bad, and the form never good, because in it we find vigorously enunciated what so many of us have vaguely felt, the fact that ignorance of the elements of art, and lack of susceptibility to its delights, constitute a real deficiency—or, as we should rather say, two separate deficiencies—in our general cultivation. For our own part we propose in future to attempt what little we can towards filling up this hiatus by regularly allotting some pages to the discussion and record of contemporary books upon art and contemporary works of art.

The Essays supplied by Mr. Palgrave to the Messrs. Routledge's handsomely bound and printed publication<sup>2</sup> form quite one of the most valuable contributions to our subject which have lately been made in England. It is a pity the accompanying illustrations in chromolithography should be so bad. The only chromolithographs that can ever be tolerable are from designs originally intended for this process; the attempt to reproduce by the process pictures painted without reference to it must inevitably fail, and shows small respect for the originals. We by no means feel quite so much respect as Mr. Palgrave for the school from which many of the present originals are drawn; but we do not feel so little as to wish to see them travestied into the likeness of those coloured illustrations of Jewish legend which assisted the religious instruction of our childhood. Mr. Palgrave's part of the book, however, is as we have said, most valuable. Of the two or three capable art-critics that can be counted in England, Mr. Palgrave is probably the one who has the widest and readiest grasp of the history and details of the arts. He has the great merit of guiding his theories by fact, and eschewing that stumbling-block of æsthetics, *à priori* speculation. His style has the perspicuous ease of a practised writer, and his ideas, if now and then perhaps tending towards paradox, never tend towards confusion. The essay on Cope and the essay on Turner, the former exposing the weak points of almost all speculative theories on fine art, the latter analyzing the conjuncture of subjective sentiment with objective fact which constitutes fine art,—these seem to us the best things in the book,—thoroughly sensible, original, and convincing. The one point as to which we radically differ from Mr. Palgrave is that kind of æsthetic optimism which seems to find almost as much to admire in the works of one age and country as in those of another. Mr. Palgrave gets so interested in the commonplace painting of anecdote and character which has possessed our school in this century that he seems to ignore the fundamental opposition that exists between this manner and the great manner of other times—to forget that whatever of this kind is relatively good in the works of such

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<sup>2</sup> "Gems of English Art of this Century: Twenty-four Pictures from National Collections. Printed in Colours by Leighton Brothers. With Illustrative Texts." By Francis Turner Palgrave. London: Routledge and Sons. 1869.

painters as Collins, Newton, Webster and others, becomes simply bad when judged by the standard of great art, by a Pheidias or Raphael-esque ideal. A similar feeling, as it seems, leads him to make in one place a startling juxtaposition of the names of Messrs. Cope and Horsley with the name of Mr. Watts, that is, of the name of the artist who in our time has done most to carry on the great traditions of the poetical manner, with the name of two of those who have been most skilful in the prosaic practice of the petty manner.

In "Choice Gems from the Old Masters"<sup>3</sup> we have a collection of engravings, on a scale of about six inches square, after pictures by masters of various dates from Giorgione down to Greuze. The arrangement and indexing of the book are chaotic, and we can trace in it no particular principle of selection. The great majority of the subjects are from the Italian, French, and Dutch painters of the seventeenth century, with a sprinkling from Italian painting of the *cinquecento*, and also, oddly enough, from the sculpture of imperial Rome. A preface claims for these impressions the merit of softness; but the method is a bad one (the designs being transferred on stone from line engravings) and the only softness which they possess is that of indcision. We find, it is true, a considerable diversity of quality among them; the figure subjects are generally the best, the landscapes being disfigured by a method of hatching which is at once coarse and infirm. But colour and relief are everywhere sadly wanting. Some idea of what we do not enough recognise in England, the splendid powers of design and composition of the best French artists of the seventeenth century, may be drawn from this book; but it contains far too much second-rate Dutch landscape, too much of the dull domesticities of Netscher, and the rapidly Albanesque classicism of Poelemburg. Certain eccentricities of spelling and nomenclature seem to point to a French source for the collection; and it should be noted that a well-known Van Eyck of the Louvre is wrongly ascribed to Pietro da Cartona (*sic*).

Sir Charles Eastlake's book,<sup>4</sup> of which the second volume is now before us, had its author lived to finish it, would in spite of its modest title have constituted not merely materials for a history, but itself a complete history of the origin and development of the manual processes of painting in oils. The literary and historical parts of the work bear the marks of first-hand research of the most indefatigable kind; the technical parts of the judgment and practical insight of an accomplished, if tentatively disposed craftsman. The details concerning the employment of *vernice liquida* and *vernice all'ambra*; of resin, sandarac, and linseed-oil; of painting *alla prima* on a white ground, or by the later and less precipitous methods, on a dark ground; of hatching, scumbling, glazing and the like; these, it is true, are not likely to be of much interest to the lay reader. But the lay

<sup>3</sup> "One Hundred Engravings, selected from Paintings by the most Eminent Old Masters." London: Bemrose and Sons.

<sup>4</sup> "Materials for a History of Oil Painting." By Sir C. L. Eastlake, P. R. A. Vol. II. London: Longmans. 1869.

reader may get hastily over these and yet carry away from the book a much more adequate idea than he had before of the actual growth of the practice of oil-painting; of its invention by the Van Eycks as a substitute for clear varnishing; of its introduction into Italy by Memling and Van der Goes, of its adoption by Antonello da Messina, and from him by the Florentine school through the brothers Pollainoli and by the Venetian school through Vivarini; and of its final modification in two contrasting directions by Giorgione and Leonardo da Vinci. It may perhaps be doubted whether for the practical student, who must needs work out his own methods, the most careful analysis of the methods of his predecessors can be of much avail; whether the facts observed by research are in this case such as can be turned into precepts, translated from the indicative into the imperative; but at least such analysis and such research will suggest to the student new experiments and combinations of his own. A number of desultory essays on painting, most of them apparently written many years ago, are appended to the volume by its editor, Lady Eastlake; in the philosophy of the art the writer has not attempted any very high flights, and is certainly safest when he is nearest the ground.

The first part of Mr. Noel Humphreys' "Masterpieces of the Early Printers and Engravers" contains two plates from Dürer's *Leben der Heiligen Mariä*; two illustrations of the Legend of the Three Dead and Three Living from the "Danse Macabre" of 1494; two ornamented pages from Scherch's psalter of 1562, and three elaborate printer's marks of the early part of the sixteenth century.<sup>5</sup> The collection seems incongruous. We wish that Mr. Humphreys had decided to limit his scheme to the reproduction of typographical ornaments, margins, initials, and the like—things that lend themselves fairly to facsimile. The tendency to combined coarseness and indecision which more or less marks all our modern attempts in this kind does not so much matter in the case of these; but in the case of the consummate artistic work of Dürer the slightest weakness or bluntness, the most infinitesimal error, makes all the difference. The engraver also seems to feel where the attempt at reproduction is within his powers, and where it is beyond them. Kerver's printing-mark, as here reproduced, is a thoroughly admirable piece of work; while the plates after Dürer are scarcely tolerable to any one familiar with the masterly touch of the originals. What would Dürer have said to the expression of the faces of Mary and her mother in the second plate? A far more satisfactory reproduction of such works is afforded by the new autotype process in photography. And this brings us to a subject which we cannot here dwell on as it deserves, the urgent need for an organization, if possible a European organization, for the purpose of reproducing by photography and disseminating for the ends of art-education the numberless drawings and designs of great masters that are now next to inaccessible in various museums.

In the English version of M. Burty's "*Chefs d'Œuvre of the Industrial Arts*," we have, unfortunately, a very careless translation of a

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"Masterpieces of the Early Printers and Engravers." By H. Noel Humphreys. London: Sothorn and Co. 1868.

very interesting book.<sup>6</sup> The translator constantly disfigures his work by retaining the French forms of proper names, and embarrasses his author's meaning, sometimes by a mere misunderstanding of it, sometimes by a too mechanical literalness in interpreting it. M. Burty does not profess to write a complete history of the industrial arts. What he does is to give a rough sketch of the history of each, and to illustrate in detail that portion of it with which he is most familiar, and concerning which he has access to the best authorities. These portions naturally belong oftenest to France, and to the France of the last two or three centuries. On the French earthenware, porcelain, enamel, bronze and jeweller's work, tapestry, and the like, of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, this book contains ample and exhaustive information. The illustrative plates which adorn it are well chosen, and of a quality uniformly admirable. Readers not especially interested in the subject of a book like this, not bringing the amateur's passion to the study of artistic secrets and technical details, are likely, we think, to turn away from their reading with a sense of weariness, with an impression that all this record of costly wares, of fantastic pottery, of cunningly wrought enamel, of damascened blades, of plate, jewellery, and hangings, is after all barren and satiating; that these annals of *curiosité* belong to the province of cold and selfish dilettanteism, and that the things of which they treat had little to do with the main current of human life and human interests. And so in truth it is. The Renaissance (or shall we, with Mr. Matthew Arnold, call it the Renaissance?) was itself a movement from above, and not from below; it was not in its essence a popular movement. Neither, with all the momentary impulse which the Renaissance gave to the fine arts, have the fine arts ever again had their roots so far down among the great bulk of the people as they had in the Gothic, Christian, pre-Renaissance times. The great cathedrals of the Middle Age are monuments of art when art was democratic, when art was still in the service of the Church, the great leveller. For the last three hundred and fifty years art has been something essentially aristocratic; it has scarcely had its roots down among the people at all; and the beautiful works of household decoration described in the book before us, the rich, ingenious, and splendid products of the centuries since the Renaissance were designed for no widespread popular pride or enjoyment, but for the pride and enjoyment, in France of a sovereign despot and his court, in England of a luxurious aristocracy. Things with any beauty in them were not for the industrious, not for the many; but for the selfish, opulent, and dominant few. Hence the stamp of death was upon them. Among the multiplicity of conditions which work together to produce degeneracy in the arts and the artistic industries, it is of little use to isolate this one or that, and insist upon it exclusively; but as one of those conditions we may with assurance point to the fact that arts and artistic industries have for so long rested on no national basis, have for so

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<sup>6</sup> "Chefs-d'Œuvre of the Industrial Arts: Pottery and Porcelain, Glass, Enamel, Metal, Goldsmith's Work, Jewellery, and Tapestry. Illustrated." By Philippe Burty. Edited by W. Chaffers, F.S.A. London: Chapman and Hall.

long appealed, not to nations, but to the indolent and selfish sections of nations; and, further, we think we may with confidence predict that the possibility of a revival of these arts and industries, if it is to be looked for at all, must be looked for in such a broadening of the basis on which they rest, such a reorganization of society in a word, that they may hereafter have their roots among the people, and appeal to all instead of one of the national elements.

"A Manual of Perforated Carving"<sup>7</sup> which we have received, exhibits that flaccidity and uninventiveness of design with which we are but too familiar in modern decorative work; and a book of "Elementary Geometrical Drawing," addressed to very young beginners,<sup>8</sup> seems to be designed effectually enough as a prophylactic for the rising generation against some of those evils which Outis, as we have seen, complains of in the risen.

Professor Gervinus' elaborate study<sup>9</sup> of "Handel and Shakspeare," is an excellent sample of that thoughtful and high-toned manner in æsthetic and historical criticism which has its home in Germany. The professor, it must be said, is very far from contented with the general tone of his countrymen on such subjects. We should not have expected to find so good an authority saying almost as hard things concerning German criticism of music as we have had occasion to say concerning English criticism of painting: but here is a sentence on the matter, the knotty and emphatic style of which we have in vain attempted to preserve:—

"Touching the nature and functions of music, its central and fundamental essence and the aim and scope of its creations; the endless coil of cross theories propounded by those whose points of view are a whole heaven apart, by coldly intellectual physicists and moonstruck art-dreamers, by systematizing philosophers and subtilizing artists and adepts, by rigorous connoisseurs with their onesided excludiveness and superfine dilettanti with their finical daintiness, by thinking heads that cannot feel, sensitive souls that cannot think, and ticklish-cared voluptuaries who can neither think nor feel—the coil of cross theories propounded by these has brought into the world so much haziness of view and so much confusion of judgment that scarce any man understands his own meaning."

Notwithstanding all this, the present book is one that could only have been addressed to a thoughtful and highly cultivated society by a writer representing the best elements of its thoughtfulness and its cultivation. The book is divided into three parts, the first devoted to the construction of a musical æsthetic from the facts of musical history, and the second from the facts of the human mind; the third constituting a historical and critical parallel between the life and genius of Shakspeare and of Handel. The first part comes in fact to be a history of music, and that the most intelligent and compendious we have seen; not burdening the mind with details, but plainly based, as we need hardly say, upon an accurate and exhaustive acquaintance

<sup>7</sup> "Fret-Cutting and Perforated Carving." By W. Bemrose. London and Derby: Bemrose and Sons.

<sup>8</sup> "Right Lines in the Right Places." By E. A. Davidson. London: Cassell.

<sup>9</sup> "Händel und Shakspeare, zur Æsthetik der Tonkunst." Von G. G. Gervinus. Leipzig: 1868.

with details. Dr. Gervinus's psychical theory of music seems to be in effect the same, allowance being made for the difference of their philosophical starting points, as that of Mr. Herbert Spencer. Music, says Mr. Herbert Spencer, is the idealized expression of natural emotion; and Dr. Gervinus, tracing the evolution of music "durch gesteigerte Abstraction," from the primitive expression of exalted feeling in sung words or cries, says something nearly equivalent to this; although what he says is mixed up, since he is German, with much complicated metaphysical matter about the Soul, Freewill, and so on, which to ourselves does not convey much meaning. The chapter in which Dr. Gervinus attempts to establish his parallel between Handel and Shakspeare is thoroughly interesting, although the analogies which he finds between their circumstances and their works, as is apt to be the case with such analogies, seems sometimes rather wiredrawn. And we know not how lovers of music, who have each their favourite master,—and especially the many who hold that Beethoven has both fathomed obscurer deeps than any other, and struck serener stars with a sublimer head—will regard the judgment that places Handel as the central and consummate figure in music beside Shakspeare in poetry.

Passing from theory to practice, from books about art to works of art, we find two exhibitions of pictures important enough and recent enough to fall under our notice here. We mean the General Exhibition of Water-Colour Drawings at the Dudley Gallery of the Egyptian Hall, and the Exhibition of the Society of Female Artists at No. 9, Conduit-street. In both of these we find illustrations only too abundant of that moral which Outis has sought to point; proofs only too convincing of our want of anything like systematic and organized training; instances only too salient of initial ignorance of the art of painting in many of those who practise it. We extend to the fine arts that principle which Mr. Matthew Arnold finds fault with in our polity—the liberty for every one to do what seems right to his ordinary self. And to the ordinary selves of our untrained painters some very eccentric perversions of natural fact seem right. To descend from generalities to particulars; the first picture from the door to arrest attention in the Dudley Gallery is "A Portrait of a Lady," by Miss Scott Russell. This is a *genre* picture of a kind more common in France than in England; painted soberly and correctly enough, but in a hard and unsympathetic way; without faults of taste, but equally without sense of beauty. This work should be compared with Mr. Luxmoore's two subjects; one called "The China Shelf," the other illustrating Mr. Tennyson's lines—

"And thinking this will please him best,  
She takes a riband or a rose,  
For he will see them on to-night."

In these Mr. Luxmoore has given us two examples of this particular manner, which seem to us nearly as good as they can be, as good as finished French work of the kind; simple, tender, and well drawn, and in agreeable keys of colour; the one a transparent greenish grey, the other a more opaque and sombre green and blue. The interest of course depends entirely on the manner and not on the matter. In

order to compare Miss Scott Russell's work with these we have gone out of our way ; and must come back to look at four pictures hung close together, of a kind which is especially characteristic of this gallery—Mr. Clifford's "Head of an Angel," "In Clover," Miss Alyce Thornycroft's "Lost in Mist," and Mr. Walter Crane's illustration of the lines—

"Such sights as youthful poets dream  
On Summer eves, by haunted stream."

These are examples of a school in which the separability of the two parts of artistic culture, the knowledge of its grammatical elements and the susceptibility to its emotional charms, is most convincingly displayed ; a school which produces pictures delightful for sentiment, but ridiculous for drawing ; a school so incomplete, and, if appearances may be trusted, so contented with its incompleteness, that there really does not seem much to hope for from it in future. A picture needs to be drawn just as much as a poem needs to rhyme and scan ; and it seems to us just as undesirable to exhibit these undrawn and formless suggestions of pictures as it would be to print the promising but puerile efforts of a poet of twelve. This we feel bound to put strongly, because our own want of grammatical training in art, our own keen enjoyment of the fancy, the sentiment, the sense of colour, of landscape, of poetry, shown in these works, would naturally render us lenient to their particular shortcomings. But it cannot be too much urged that if this school is ever to make any mark, it must cease to be a poetry-without-grammar school ; such works as it produces at present must be regarded as mere fancies, hints, sketches, possibilities of pictures, by the suppression of which, until a foundation of fact and accuracy comes to sustain the superstructure of sentiment and beauty, the public would lose little, and the artists probably gain much. Mr. Clifford's "Angel's Head" is large in style and tolerably painstaking, but without interest ; and the angelic sword is represented by a singularly microscopic dagger. "In Clover" is a youthful head placed too much down in one corner of the canvass, with a delicately-coloured background of garden-wall and flowers. Mr. Crane's "Poet" is a youth in crimson velvet, lying on the ground—and on nearly a rood of it, so tall is he—and looking across a river at a procession of men and horses, which seems to have come straight from a Greek bas-relief for his benefit. Behind are meadows and low hills dark in the twilight, from among which the river winds towards us—an undeniably lovely landscape. Miss Thornycroft's little picture is a suggestion of a woman groping in an evening mist among meadows ; probably with some symbolical intention. Again departing from a direct course, and following the school of poetry-without-grammar round the room, we find Mr. Bateman's "Amor ;" Mr. Walter Crane's "Water, Fire, Air, and Earth," which is hung out of sight ; Mr. Bateman's "Story of a Mother and Son," in which a mother of singularly rigid and ligneous countenance is explaining to her son, who does not take the lesson kindly, her intention of giving him a stepfather ; Miss Helen Thornycroft's "Cliefden on the Thames," a good specimen of the power which this school possesses of rendering the gracious repose of river-side landscape, the afternoon silence and shelter of hill-sides,

and the soft mystery of summer woods; the same lady's "From Far Away;" Mr. Clifford's "Jean;" Mr. Walter Crane's very lovely and really satisfying little landscape, "Where the nibbling flocks do stray;" Miss Helen Thornycroft's "Sans Peur et Sans Reproche," a knight's head in Mr. Clifford's manner; Mr. Cope's "Eros and Ganymede;" and Mr. Clifford's "Saint Anthony," in which an angel sets the saint an example of industry by twisting a rope of straw; both saint and angel are finely composed, and the picture, we think, is the best Mr. Clifford has done. But after going the round of all these works, and enjoying perhaps more than it deserves whatever is good in them, we are disposed to turn away with a shrug, remembering that after all Art is a serious thing, and that all this is too like trifling. Mr. Donaldson cannot be ranked strictly with the foregoing painters; but his works are still, as we remember them for some years past, full of glaring grammatical blunders; perspective, anatomy—except the anatomy of lay figures—there are none; neither can his "Parlement d'Amour" and "Requiescat in Pace" claim attention for any qualities except a certain originality of invention and a certain richness of colour. A strong contrast to these incidents, so crudely if strikingly rendered, of mediæval *galanterie* and mediæval religion, is presented in a work hung not far from them—"Painting," by Miss Lucy Madox Brown. The picture is as simple as its title; we see the interior of a studio, with a girl in dark-green velvet sitting at her easel and drawing from a model. The model is a crumpled old woman with a bundle of sticks, and behind her are some studio properties, casts and the like. Into this little modern subject a singular truth of tone and force of colour are put, as well as a singular refinement and simplicity of expression. The effects of the same teaching as in this work are visible in the two pictures contributed by Miss Marie Spartali, who, by methods that do not please on close examination, produces rich and even gorgeous effects of tone and colour. One of her subjects is the incantation scene from *Theokritos*, the other a beautiful female half-length, part portrait and part ideal; both of them stamped with passion and sentiment, which, though intense enough, will scarcely seem original to those who are familiar with the works of Mr. Rossetti and Mr. Madox Brown. We have been too long in coming to Mr. Solomon's pictures, which constitute, as usual, about the most brilliant attractions of the gallery. In his faces we are accustomed to an expression which is thoroughly their own—an expression in which pathetic languor borders sometimes rather hazardously on crapulous debility. This particular expression is modified into a sort of indolent sleekness and passivity in "A Priest of the Greek Church," who, with the vestments which he wears, the censer which he carries, and his other accessories, is painted with a solidity and *éclat*, a force and unity of tone, that hardly any other water-colourist can reach. Next comes "Sacramentum Amoris," a flashing image of the god held in the hand of an allegorical personage with the winged heels of *Hermes*, the thyrsus of *Dionysos* (only it is on fire), and the *flammeum* of a Roman bride, beneath whose feet anemones are springing. The love here symbolized may be supposed to be that of the Platonic *Phædrus* [Vol. XCI. No. CLXXX.].—NEW SERIES, Vol. XXXV. No. II. R R



and Symposium. In spite of the unimpeachable beauty of the painting, we do not ourselves care for this over-feminine type of youthful beauty, nor desire to see it repeated; although the Apollo Sauroktonos, it is true, and a hundred other Apollos, Bacchuses, and Fauns, form a precedent for it in Greek work; but only in Greek work of the decadence. A similar type of youth occurs in the beautifully composed and beautifully coloured "Song;" in which a group of young men and women are listening to a companion at the harpsichord. In this picture, melting sentiment and the passion of lassitude are carried perhaps farther than they will safely go; but its executive part is lovely, with only the one fault of deficient force and salience in the painting of some of the heads. Hard by is Mr. Poynter's portrait of "Mrs. Alfred Baldwin," in which it is hard to tell whether most to admire the union of workmanlike precision with artistic feeling in the selection and rendering of the accessories, or with tender and sympathetic sentiment in the treatment of the head with its eloquent expression and "nice disorder" of the hair. The last figure-picture which we have to praise—and that not over-much—is Mr. Calderon's "La Fileuse." This artist's amazing cleverness and facility might, we think, be put to better uses than in contriving perpetual variations on the same Arlésienne. In the present variation she lolls upon a green seat out of doors with a distaff in her hand—her hands, by the way, are destitute of drawing—and blinks at the spectator with a look of lazy and whimsical content.

Of landscapes there is less to be said than of figure-pictures, because there belongs to them less of that interest that can be expressed in words, and because between landscape-painters the *nuances* of difference are less marked than between figure-painters. Most of the landscapes here exhibited consist of attempted transcripts of Nature, without reference to any key-note of human sentiment, and often without selection of any salient or pictorial natural scene. The success of these depends entirely on the greater or less degree of accuracy displayed by the artist; and even when they are most successful, there is nothing to say about them. The spirit of the age demands, perhaps with justice, that the landscape-painter should above all things be accurate, that he should give a scientifically exact account of the facts and phenomena of nature. The consequence of this is, that our professed landscape painters are engrossed with analysis and detailed copying, and leave out of their pictures the emotional element—the element of artistic unity, the divine scintilla. We do not say that this need be so; Turner showed plainly enough that it need not; Turner combined the utmost perfection of detailed analysis with the utmost perfection of sentiment and poetic splendour. But Turner, who seemed destined to commence an era, has had no successors; or successors at most few and weak. Some would say that public apathy went far to account for this; we do not believe it is so, but have not space to explain why. We merely wish to point out that in spite of Turner, and in spite of Mr. Ruskin's immense achievements in the illustration, the analysis, and the record of natural facts, we do not at this moment possess a school of landscape-painters who combine detailed scientific accuracy with vivifying poetic charm. As long as this is so, with the utmost

desire to do justice to every artist who in some degree attains, or even who seeks after this combination, we may be pardoned for still admiring landscape of the pre-scientific kind—landscape in which the artist frankly comes to a compromise with nature, frankly alters, perverts, or even deserts her altogether. Of this kind of landscape Mr. Legros sends two noble examples. In these pictures there is more of Gaspard Poussin than of nature, and more of M. Legros than of Gaspard Poussin; that is, if by nature we mean her ascertainable and measurable facts; but if by nature we mean her spiritual part and inner suggestiveness, why this is the quintessence of nature. Put science in evidence here, and she may condemn the rocks, the water, the trees, the grass, the clouds; but leave science behind, and every one must feel the impressiveness of this solemn light, the loneliness of those deserted distances, the mystery of those castled hilltops, and we know not what minacious horror of sadness and impending disaster. Lighter attempts at the same arbitrary treatment of nature are Mr. Ditchfield's "Trees on the Banks of a Lake," and two or three scenes on the Thames; all work of a classical and refined quality. Mr. Arthur Severn's "Storm at Sunset" we cannot but think a failure: it is an elaborate and ambitious work, most carefully finished with the point; but we remain perfectly unmoved before this representation of a scene which would in reality be in the last degree exciting and impressive. Mr. J. C. Moore's drawings, chiefly from the neighbourhood of Rome, are, as hitherto, extremely delicate, subtle in colour and tone, are full of the melancholy sentiment of the Campagna and Tiber banks. Lastly, we feel ourselves bound to notice, as specimens of precisely the two qualities that have been the bane of English art since English art existed—as specimens of essential vulgarity of aim combined with essential flashiness and incompetence of execution—such works as the landscape called "A Salmon Fishery" (No. 86); as the illustration of the "Vicar of Wakefield" (No. 175); "Bolton Abbey" (No. 177); "The Olden Time" (203); "Hours of Leisure" (No. 232); and "The White Rose" (No. 392).

If in the Dudley Gallery we find vulgarity, incompetence, and the vagaries of untrained aspirants taking too large a place, in the little ladies' exhibition in Conduit-street we find them scarcely leaving room for anything else. Since women we believe are admitted on equal terms with men to their share of space in all other exhibitions, there seems no good reason why they should have a gallery for themselves; and the aspect of its walls leads unavoidably to the conclusion that its main purpose is to serve as an asylum for work not good enough to be shown elsewhere. We do not, however, say this quite without reserve; since among so much painting that is either careless, ignorant, or flashy there are some interesting exceptions to be pointed out. Among oil-pictures, Miss Louise Swift's life-size studies are remarkable for unaffected simplicity, for breadth of treatment, and for masculine—thus we must call it, since common consent ascribes this gender to a quality which in that should be epicene—for masculine straightforwardness. And still better are Miss Starr's two contributions, the one a free life-size study of a model who appears on a smaller scale in the Dudley Gallery, the other a portrait of a lady which renders effectively, though with a

somewhat overdone streakiness of *pâte* and dinginess of colouring, the union of pathos with dim humour in a benign but somewhat battered countenance. Among water-colours we have a "Proene in search of Philomela," by Miss Spartali, with the same qualities of colour and expression as we have noticed in her other work; several contributions by the Misses Thornycroft, pleasant in sentiment but very weak in drawing. Other figure-subjects are generally both feeble and vulgar. Yes, vulgar; it is very evident that English ladies, whether from want of training or from whatever cause, have not yet adequately taken the measure of themselves in painting, since this of all others is the note of their work as here exhibited. In landscape the contributors to this exhibition are far more successful, and we might, had we space, cite many examples of the clever and painstaking record of natural scenes.

The proper exhibiting season has not begun; and here we have been led to give a good deal of space to rather unimportant works of painting. Of important works of sculpture we have only one to record—Mr. Woolner's statue of "David Sassoon," which has been temporarily placed in the South Kensington Museum. The artist has here had a noble subject, such a subject as does not often fall to the lot of an artist in our century. It would be hard if a presentable statue could not be made of a bearded Oriental of commanding stature and expression, with his turban and flowing draperies. That Mr. Woolner has made quite the most of these elements of artistic effect we do not think; there is a certain strong literalness and absence of arrangement in the draperies, especially about the waist, that seems to us unpleasing, and the forcible expression of the head is not tempered by charm. But the work has all those qualities to which its author has accustomed us; it bears everywhere the traces of determined thought, and is marked by uncompromising efficiency of execution; and this is quite enough to separate it strongly from the average statuary of our time.

What England, as a nation, can in our time accomplish in the way of statuary will be most effectually made known when the Albert Memorial, at present in course of construction, is complete. Sculpture is on all hands acknowledged to be the art which is at the moment of its fullest decadence, the art which of all others we practise most inartistically. And sculpture is being employed (as indeed are all the other decorative arts) for the adornment of the Albert Memorial on a scale hitherto unexampled in the case of any public work in England. Here will be the central and most elaborate achievement of English art in the nineteenth century. Of the main design of the work, which all the world has seen, we may say, with all the world, that we find it somewhat deficient in strength, in originality, in adequacy for its purpose. Of its decorative sculpture, some of which we have had the special privilege of seeing, as far as it has hitherto progressed, it would be premature to say more than that it promises to be of the very utmost historical and literary interest. That historical and literary interest do not constitute artistic excellence we need hardly remark. But it requires a sanguine temper to hope for much artistic excellence in sculptor's work of this generation.





