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ART. I.—REFORM OF PARLIAMENT.

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THE English nation is slow to move, but it is very tenacious of a desire once conceived. When Lord John Russell, as the mouthpiece of the old Whig Government, uttered his [Vol LXXI. No. CXXXIX.]—NEW SERIES, Vol. XV. No. I. B

ill-advised sentence concerning the "finality" of his mutilated Reform Bill, he caused a discontent which is not yet appeased. But for many years it was only the Chartists and the extreme Radicals who were made actively hostile to the Whigs; since 1848-9 the middle classes in general have been slowly but steadily coming round to the same point of the compass. Lord Brougham, in his speech before the Lords on the impending Parliamentary Reform, has expressed a strong opinion that there will not be any *such* movement now as there was in 1831, because the pressure of evils is so much less now than it was then, when the popular force had been so long pent up. Nevertheless, there are some collateral facts to be considered. Since 1848 the nation has learned how scandalously its rulers betray foreign liberty, by refusing to recognise a good cause when triumphant, as in Rome and Hungary, and to save liberties which they can save, and are bound to save, as those of Sicily. It has been seen that the betrayal of Hungary by Lords John Russell and Palmerston brought upon us the Russian war, and that in the Russian war itself our loss, both of men and of money, was doubled, and the fruits of victory lessened, by administrative mismanagement. Out of this rose the cry, almost new, for Administrative Reform. Since then, we have seen honours lavished on the men who to the nation were ostensibly blameable in the Crimea, while Sir John M'Neil and Colonel Tulloch, for performing the arduous duty of bringing neglects to light, have been slighted, and all but censured. Still more recent are the terrible revelations concerning the barracks. Those who desire administrative reform—an important section of the wealthier commoners—are probably now convinced that there is some unseen but prevalent influence biasing ministers to evil, which cannot be removed without a far stronger infusion of democratic influence into Parliament than they dreamed of desiring seven years ago. These causes of discontent are quite different in kind from any which prevailed in 1831, and they are not likely to be, in the long run, the less energetic, by less needing spasmodic expression or any demonstration of resort to force. Again, the great town constituencies have been cheated by a sham representation, which allots them only as many votes in Parliament as are possessed by the pettiest boroughs. There is in this an element of insult and deceit, which may, when the movement begins in earnest, prove capable of stirring men's minds as deeply as their non-representation in 1831. It may, therefore, be unwise in Lord Brougham to impress on his fellow-lords the hope that the country will be satisfied with such changes as he himself describes, changes expressly adapted to hinder any perceptible result on the balance of votes in Parliament, or any check to the propagation of administrative incapacity.

If the peers are so convinced that the country "will not rise" as to insist on maintaining the strongholds of malversation, the stream of the reforming spirit will presently set in upon the Lords' House with far greater strength than upon the Commons.

At the present moment this strange phenomenon appears, that the leading statesmen of all parties have volunteered to declare for Parliamentary Reform, and the Queen has recommended it in her speech, *before* the nation collectively can be said to have moved. But the statesmen—from Lord John Russell downwards—mean nothing else by it than an extension of the franchise in the towns, which will have no effect whatever on the votes of Parliament; and Lord John Russell coupled this with a scheme for the representation of minorities, lest (forsooth) the reforming influence should become too powerful. Nor can we forget how this statesman, professing to approve in theory Mr. Locke King's measure for overthrowing the famous Chandos clause, yet opposed it on the ground that he was himself intending to include it in *his own* Reform Bill! We all remember the chorus of professions made at the elections by the Aberdeen ministry; yet not one of them has practically shown earnestness in favour of a single measure of reform since brought in by independent members, nor any superfluous zeal in favour of administrative reform. No other result can be expected from such experience than that our leading statesmen will oppose every measure of reform, except when they can give it to the country as from themselves, as a boon; or, rather, can pay it off to us as something for which they are to receive solid considerations. Nevertheless, from a *Parliament* elected with so strong professions of reform as the present, few would have counted on the results which Colonel Sykes lately recapitulated to his constituents at Aberdeen:—

"He would now say a few words on the subject of Reform. What were their prospects of a Reform Bill? The Queen referred to the subject in her speech at the opening of Parliament, and the Whig ministry were pledged to it. The Conservatives on coming into power took that pledge upon their shoulders. Well, but what had been done? Mr. Caird moved for leave to bring in a bill to assimilate the franchise in Scotland and England. The Government and some leading Whigs defeated the measure by 108 to 84. Mr. Locke King carried the second reading of his bill to enlarge the county franchise, by 226 to 168, but *this success so frightened even some of his Whig supporters, that he would not venture to carry the bill further.* Mr. George Dundas introduced a bill to improve the registration of voters in counties, and lost it in a motion for going into committee by 108 to 96. *Mr. Cox proposed to abolish the Septennial Parliaments, but his motion was negatived by 254 to 57.* In thirteen divisions the independent Liberals sought to oppose the Corrupt Practices Prevention Bill, which ought to be called 'the Corrupt Practices PROMOTION Bill,' and were

defeated, the bill being carried at last by 93 to 60 votes. An attempt was made by Mr Wrightson to abolish the law by which members of the House appointed to office must go again to their constituents; but it was defeated,* although it had a large support of Conservatives and almost the whole of the Whig party in the House. A motion for vote by ballot (for which he voted) was lost by 294 to 197 votes; whilst the only Liberal vote given was on Lord Hotham's motion, that it was derogatory to members to receive rewards for advocating private interests in the House."

A part of this apathy or inefficiency may be attributed to private insincerity:—observe what Colonel Sykes says of Whigs who voted with Mr. Locke King because they took for granted he could not succeed! Yet there are, we fully believe, other and deep causes at work, which, if not removed, will make future Parliaments, *however wide the franchise*, disappoint us as much as the present; and to this subject we shall afterwards recur.

It is for the *artisans* pre-eminently that access to the suffrage is desired. This is the class of the community which in the last thirty years has enormously increased in intelligence, moral worth, organization, and self-reliance: a class much higher in independence of thought, and in social ability to speak aloud as they think, than a very large part of the existing voters. We may add, that a large addition of the artisan-class to the franchise would probably increase the freedom of members of Parliament themselves; who now, through the mean and narrow minds of the constituencies, often prudentially conceal their religious convictions. The artisans in general are hostile to hypocrisies: they do not dislike religious men, even when they have no religion themselves; but they like every man heartily to avow his mind, and any increase of their influence will tend to emancipate public men from a degrading bondage. But the real problem, of which no complete solution has perhaps yet been published, is—by what enactment can skilled artisans be admitted to vote without swamping them and us by an unintelligent mass, whether of peasants or of town population. The "rating clause," as it is called,

* Colonel Sykes ought not to count this as the defeat of a liberal measure. The existing restriction probably does more harm than good; but those who uphold it do so from a wholesome jealousy of ministerial power; and if it should go farther, into the American plan of absolutely prohibiting ministers to be Pluralists, we might rejoice that the Radicals have rejected the reform on which the Whigs and so many of the Conservatives are bent.

We also miss (in the report of Colonel Sykes's speech before us) any allusion to the *really* liberal Act of last Session, "The Abolition of the Property Qualification for Members of Parliament." This was simple and complete, being a mere abolition of statutes which never ought to have been passed; and it was unencumbered with a tangle of exceptions.

aims at this, and it probably will unite zealous reformers more completely than any other compromise.

After the claim of enfranchisement for the artisans, next in prominence stands the question of the ballot, which chiefly concerns the tenant-farmers and certain shopkeepers. This measure will continue to excite much political interest so long as the Chynod clause is unimpaired. It cannot be doubted that the tenant-farmers have largely partaken of the national movement, and that, since they have learned practically what the repeal of the corn-laws meant, they have ceased to desire to foster their landlords' political power. They fret under the necessity of voting as they are bid; and, if they could vote in secret, it is quite possible that the representation of the less populous counties would be seriously affected by it. How wide would be the result we do not attempt to conjecture; but the danger of this is the real reason why the aristocracy dread the ballot. As to the small town constituencies, the same remarks apply: but in the large towns, it is hardly probable that a secret vote, however convenient to a few, could affect the result of elections. Now, while we utterly condemn the notion that either tenant-farmers or shopkeepers should be made to vote as certain rich persons desire, it deserves to be considered, in any argument for the ballot, that there exist ample independent grounds for sweeping away the whole system of things which makes men desire secrecy; and that secrecy implies a state of mind highly disadvantageous alike to the individual and to the commonwealth. If the system of petty constituencies be destroyed, the desire of the ballot for shopkeepers would be very greatly lessened. So, also, whenever Mr. Locke King's clause is carried, (as surely it must be, if the reform party has any degree of resolution,) it will add so largely to the county constituency that the landlords will not be able to intimidate the mass, and will no longer have a motive to intimidate the farmers. When a class of men, by reason of their social position, dare not act a simple and bold part, they may claim either to be relieved from a duty to which they are unequal, or to be shielded from enmity by some change of circumstance. Either to disfranchise them, or to add largely to the constituency, would alike be an effective remedy. But to authorize them to vote in secret is not a sure safeguard to them, and fosters into permanence a public evil which ought to be transitory—the habit of secrecy and evasion. Mr. Edmund Potter, in his certainly able and excellently-intended letter to Lord John Russell concerning the ballot, seems to us to omit the strongest arguments against it. The very plain and simple truth does not cross his mind, that men, who from social circumstances *dare* not speak out, are by the very fact incapacitated from healthful constitutional action. They cannot communicate freely with their

own representative, nor indeed can they perform one of the first duties of citizens, that of aiding to make and to diffuse sound public opinion. As a jury may not give its verdict without hearing evidence, and as each juror must try to convince the rest, where they differ; so in political questions a majority (even though conscious of its superior voting power) is bound to listen to the arguments of the minority. Deliberation and free communication of opinion must precede voting, if the vote is to have moral weight; and if we are to give any political verdicts, whether on measures or on men, we have a mutual duty of receiving and imparting. He who dares not tell, for the guidance and aid of others, to what judgments he has arrived—and why—is not fit for public political action at all. He may ask us to rescue him from his false position, but not to establish him in it. Surely freedom was never yet advanced by men whose tongues are tied. The enthusiastic word, the public act, the clear argument, the honour given where honour is due, the hiss and contumely against all that is base or incompetent; the determined public pledge of freeman to freeman and to the noble cause;—these are the civilian's means of rallying his countrymen to the right side. These weapons are wielded in England without asking leave or privilege. The right vote clenches the matter in law, but unless plentiful free discussion precede, the right vote will not be attained. If, instead of taking away the motives for intimidation we try to screen the voter by secrecy, espionage over his words and company may follow. At present, provided that the great man gets the smaller man's vote, he is satisfied, and does not ask or care what the other thinks: but if, under the ballot, he shall get a *promise* of his vote, or some evasive half-promise, while the actual vote is hidden from him, 'it is more than probable that he will send agents to sound the voter's politics and dog his movements: nay, bitter and determined landlords might, on trifling suspicion, eject tenants expressly in order to inspire terror, so that the existing misery might be increased. These topics are forcibly and concisely stated in a pamphlet of three pages concerning the ballot, from which we will only take a passage quoted from Lord Bacon:

"He that is secret must be a dissembler in some degree. For men are too cunning to suffer a man to keep an indifferent carriage between both, and to be secret, without swaying the balance on either side. They will so beset a man with questions and draw him on, and pick it out of him, that without an absurd silence, he must show an inclination one way; or if he do not, they will gather as much by his silence as by his speech. As for equivocations or oracular speeches, they cannot hold out long; so that no man can be secret, except he give himself a little scope of dissimulation, which is (as it were) but the skirts or train of secrecy."

Even now, before any change in the franchise, commercial necessities are working in favour of the farmer's free vote. Under free trade, the landlord increasingly finds the benefit, if not the necessity, of a superior class of tenants, and as soon as he resolves to get tenants of wealth, knowledge, and energy, he is forced to give long leases and renounce attempts at intimidation. But although, for the mere sake of resisting that evil, the ballot seems to be an insufficient and an objectionable remedy, much is probably to be said for it as *part of a machinery for cheapening elections*. To have removed the property-qualification from members of parliament is wholly useless, unless a stop be put to the expenses of elections: and if none can become our representatives but those who, besides giving their time freely to public business, can also pay down a fine of some thousands for the pleasure of serving us, our choice of good servants must always be wretchedly narrow. No imaginable arrangement of the suffrage can enable a constituency to attain the services it would wish, until this fundamental evil is removed; which will increase with every enlargement of the franchise. Every constituency ought, by a special rate upon itself, to pay all the lawful and reasonable expenses of every election: and in order to bring these to a minimum, some system of voting papers, locally collected, would much conduce. But such a use of the ballot would not lead to secrecy, any more than in our municipal elections.

Another principle, of which nothing used to be heard in past days, is of far greater importance than any *extension* of the franchise; and that is, the mode of its *distribution*. This has become known in the last fifteen years, under a call for "Equal Electoral Districts;" and though it is easy to refute and deride this, when it is claimed as with arithmetical precision, we must not allow dust to be thrown into our eyes by such reasoners. Mr. Bright, with that clear-sightedness which belongs to his simply moral view, has justly declared the existing distribution to be *dishonest*, and the re-adjustment of it to be the cardinal question. "I beg of you," says he, to his Birmingham constituents, "be as watchful and as jealous as you please on the [extension of the] franchise; but never take your eyes for one moment from the *all-important* question of the *distribution* of members; for in that lies the great subject of dispute." It is not necessary here to go into any details of statistics. The few which Mr. Bright himself quoted amply suffice. • In the same county of Yorkshire, ten boroughs with a population of 80,000 return 16 members; while eight boroughs with a population of 620,000 return only 14 members. Buckinghamshire, with a population of 164,000, sends 11 members; Birmingham, with 258,000, sends only two. Dorsetshire, Devonshire, and Wiltshire have 22 boroughs, of

which the collective population is but half that of Birmingham, yet they return 34 members to Parliament. Anomalies such as these are not accidental, nor will they be lessened by the extension of the franchise. It cannot be pretended that the little boroughs are thus favoured because they are wealthier or more educated, or because a larger part of them are *voteys*; the inequalities are as glaring and monstrous when constituencies, or when wealth, as when inhabitants are compared. These inequalities have, of course, been ever on the increase since the great Reform Act of 1832; but in that Act itself (although so great a convulsion was needed to extort it from the Peers) there was not an effort at giving to the great constituencies more than *a voice* in Parliament. Even the metropolis got but a small fraction of the influence due to it. Whether one compares the large towns to the counties or to the small boroughs, or, again, the counties with one another, the inequalities are found far too vast to have been overlooked by any statesman.

Lord Grey obtained in 1832 as much as he could in the right direction; but in regard to the weight in the legislature apportioned to different parts of the same class in the community, his bill did nothing whatever. It did not even advance the right theory. The existing system is indefensible from any honest conservative point of view. The elements to which the conservative theory assigns the function of constituting Parliament, are wealth and education. It is then perfectly monstrous, that, as now, a hundred men in a petty town should have equal weight in Parliament with a thousand or two thousand in a large town; when the latter are indeed superior both in wealth and in intelligence. But the practical meaning of it is, that by intimidating or managing the householders of the little towns, the opposers of wholesome and necessary movements may be able to retard every needful reform till thirty years later than it might otherwise have been had. This is the whole meaning of the juggle. A decided, powerful, permanent majority—not for Whig supremacy, but for true national interests, (in which are included all rightful honour to the Crown and to the worthy part of the Peerage)—is essential to such an onward movement of our institutions as shall elevate our lowest people, educate the millions, stop drunkenness, prostitution, and crime, make labour really honourable, and end the scandal among us of wretched penury side by side with fabulous luxury. Nothing short of such a permanent majority will suffice against the pertinacious resistance of the House of Lords. But a reform also of that House is essential, nor must we regard our task as done until it is effected. It must *follow at once* upon the reform of the Commons, and before the reforming

energy is damped ; for which reason it is not at all too early now to discuss the topic.

Mr. Rich, in his well-considered pamphlet on Reform, has given a rightful prominence to this question, which has been undervalued by the Radical party, including the Chartists. It has been imagined by many that if once an out-and-out "popular" House of Commons could be attained, the Lords would of course submit, and become permanent ciphers ; and there has been a real unwillingness with this class of reasoners to entertain the problem of a reform of the House of Lords, lest it give them "a new lease of life"! Now if any one desires a revolution by the strong hand, after Parisian fashion, we will not argue with him against it, at least just now ; but we say, it will not be easier to get it *after* than *before* a reform of the Commons ; (probably it will be harder ; for reforms, by contenting many, and by showing what can be done by legal means, weaken the impulse to violence) ; on the other hand, no imaginable reform of the Commons will ever induce the Lords to annihilate themselves voluntarily. They will be an unmanageable drag on an active House of Commons, unless reformed, and will damp every popular ministry with chill and irresolution. As Mr. Rich well says :—

"The minister of the day is coerced by a power stronger than the House of Commons ; not stronger than the House of Commons when it is angry, and when it is backed up by an angry country ; but stronger *on the long run* ; stronger by the permanence of its members, their marked social pre-eminence, their vast numbers and interconnexion ; and above all, stronger by that attraction of cohesion which it exercises over its natural and constitutional rivals."

The last words imply Mr. Rich's disapproval of allowing *mere* rich men in the Commons to be created hereditary peers, the desire or hope of which corrupts the popular spirit in the Lower House. To check this tendency, he would also wish a defined rank and honour to be given to every member of the House of Commons, as next to the Queen and the Lords ;—a measure the importance of which may perhaps be found greater the more closely it is examined. The mode of reforming the Lords which Mr. Rich contemplates, is fundamentally the same as that which Lord Palmerston accepted from his Chancellor, and utterly spoiled by careless and wayward treatment. To restore Life-Peerages is the fundamental principle ; but in order that they may not involve the evil which Sir Charles M. L. Monck piteously deprecates,—a sham nobility, the creatures and tool of the Crown,—no new peers at all ought to be made, whether merely for life or hereditary, except in accordance with a definite address of the

Commons to the Crown. Considering how empty often are the benches of the Lords, one may believe that a large immediate creation of eminent persons to be life-peers would be of great value. A House thus reinforced would soon reform many of its own evils; especially the scandalous vote by proxy, which enables peers to vote without hearing debate, and even without knowing beforehand what topics are going to be debated. Indeed, as Mr. Rich remarks, a peer who dies in the antipodes may now give a casting vote in Westminster six weeks after he is dead and buried. To keep the number of about 450 peers would require a sensible yearly addition of life-peers, since very few would be created under the age of fifty. If as many as ten peers were annually created by address and solemn commendation of the Commons, not only would this keep up a steady sympathy in the Upper House with all the newer sentiments of the nation, but it would constitute the highest sort of recognition which a meritorious civilian can receive—far superior to those honours which are shared by the sycophants of a court, or the convenient tools of a ministry.

Unfortunately, the topic of Parliamentary Reform is looked at chiefly from what we may call "the latitude of the hustings." Those sides of the subject are made most prominent which will gain most noisy applause and attract most votes. The changes in which individuals have (or think they have) a personal interest, are made much of; those which concern only the welfare of the nation are put into a corner and excite no enthusiasm. To the nation it is of great importance that members of Parliament should not be put to large expense, but should receive visible dignity, should not be overworked, should not be eluded and kept in the dark by official mystification, should not receive obligations from the ministers, should not be indifferent to the opinion of the constituencies; and that those who represent a large majority should not be outvoted by the representatives of a small minority: but whether, in a particular town, two members are sent to Parliament by the votes of 3000 or of 10,000 persons is scarcely of the slightest importance to the nation,—will scarcely affect the passing of a single measure. It does but satisfy the aspirations, or soothe the pride, of the individuals admitted to vote. Nevertheless, the reform most paraded by Chartist orators on the one side, and by Lord John Russell with all his party on the other, is, extension of the franchise; and it is curious to see, in a pamphlet lying before us, (by "an Ex-M.P. and a Tory,") what the shrewder Conservatives are beginning to think of this. Writing as a Tory, to convince Tories, he proposes a universal suffrage for all who have paid local taxes:—

"I would therefore propose in the new Reform Bill," (says he,) "that every man of full age, duly registered as having paid his rates"

and taxes as an inhabitant, and not receiving alms or charity, shall have one vote, and one vote only, for the borough or county in which he is so registered. It may at first be supposed that this is 'universal suffrage,'—and so much depends on a name that I may be hardly listened to for even suggesting it; but it is believed that in its effect it will not increase materially, if at all, the number of votes now given, while it increases the number of persons voting. There is no question that the principle that makes this proposal approach to universal suffrage is, that every man contributing to the necessities of the State should be entitled to his suffrage; and this is coeval with the most ancient right of voting, or 'scot and lot,' as it was called; and on this account whatever fear may be excited on the score of universal suffrage, its antiquity is not unworthy of the attention of Conservatives. Indeed, the strong Conservative Government which has resulted lately in France from 'universal suffrage' may well encourage us not to be frightened by the name, more especially when, as there, it is limited to one vote."

The acute writer discerns, what popular orators and the people themselves generally overlook, that more depends on the mode in which the vote is taken than on the number of persons admitted to vote. He is not afraid of suffrage co-extensive with direct taxation, *provided that* each voter has but one vote. No doubt he expects that in a large part of country and town the influence either of landlords or of clergy will prevail with the poorest householders, and that in other parts a Tory candidate will often chance to be elected by a mere minority, because the other party concentrate their votes on a single favourite; a result which may very easily happen if each elector can only vote for one. Now we will not dogmatize on so difficult a subject as the probable working of this plan: but if, for argument's sake, we may suppose that the dashing Chancellor of the Exchequer were to bring forward Mr. Bright's own "rating" franchise, coupled with the condition of a single vote, the proposal would excite the utmost confusion and panic in the Liberal ranks. Few indeed of the leaders would know whether to receive the measure with hostility or with satisfaction; and those who opposed it would be in alarm lest the Chartists should welcome it greedily. Our only security against a marring of reform by the Tories is in giving cardinal prominence to the doctrine of proportionate representation.

The country does not want reform in the Commons as an *end*, but as a *means* to wiser policy and better administration. It has felt, felt deep to the heart, that there is a secret power which perverts the policy and ruins the administration—a power not in the Parliament, but behind it, whether in the Horse Guards, the Peers, or elsewhere. This secret power will not be subdued by one effort, but will die hard; for the love of ease, the desire of honour and of wealth without effort, are indeed undying tendencies

in man. We want a long series of organic reforms *in detail*, such as the nation cannot agree upon collectively, but such as must be carried by the energy of a new House of Parliament in a series of years. Above all things then let all talk of a "final settlement" be rejected. No ministers have any right to do what the Grey ministry did—treat their own measure as a "compact" between the nation and the Peers, and engage for the nation that, if the Peers shall grant so much, the nation shall not use the concession as an engine for extorting more. To engage this, is to sacrifice the end to the means. Without greater publicity, without a destruction of secret diplomacy and of the abuses of patronage, we might as well have rotten boroughs as not. We are disposed flatly to reverse a saying of Lord John Russell's on this subject. At least, if we remember, some twenty-three or twenty-four years ago he was represented to say, that a nation could not afford to be always mending its machinery. On the contrary, (until it has attained a strictly self-regulating system, if that be possible,) it cannot afford to neglect annual mendings. Internal organic changes are needed within Parliament itself, in order to render Parliament duly competent to its own business; these perhaps cannot be originated from without, or certainly not now. It is natural for the multitude to think, and congenial to demagogues to represent, that want of *will* to do *as the nation wishes and claims* is the worst, or indeed the only, disease of Parliament. Perhaps this is even more false than true. When the nation has any distinctly known and pronounced will, the House of Commons, even constituted as it is, strains its own conscience to gratify the nation; little complaint indeed is called for on that side. But the nation has seldom any distinctly pronounced judgment: its representatives also find the multiplicity of affairs embarrassing, practical questions dark and uncertain, the routine of Parliament entangling, precedents strong, philosophy weak, opinions among honest men conflicting; in consequence of all this, how to vote is a grave perplexity, and how to frame enactments is much graver. Many ardent-minded votaries of "manhood-suffrage" appear to think that, if they could attain the happy goal at which the Parliamentary representatives were the willing and self-abandoning spokesmen of the millions, no substantial difficulty would remain. But the difficulty inheres in the enormous mass of tangled affairs which come before Parliament, in the necessary limitations of human capacity, in the want of legislative training with many, in the strength of routine, and in the pre-occupation of legislators with other business—whether with their own private concerns or public official duties. It is only requisite to take up a single act of Parliament, and see its extravagant length, the number of clauses, the technical and minute details which fill

them, and it should be clear that no vigilance can hinder an infinity of blunders.

We have in our hands a copious pamphlet, published in 1829, before the Reform Bill of Lord Grey could have been dreamed of, in which many of these inveterate evils are energetically exposed. The author is a Mr. William Wickens.* It is remarkable that he dwells on the difficulty of persuading anybody that the enormities which he describes existed still while he wrote. When Sir Robert Peel (Mr. Secretary Peel of that day) read out to Parliament some of the monstrosities of legislation, the House became convulsed with laughter, but supposed the fault to lie with a past day, not with itself. The same difficulty comes upon our argument now: the nation, conscious that it is on the whole improving, and knowing that public men are not fools, will not believe that they can do things excessively foolish. It underrates the ever-increasing pressure of affairs contingent on an expanding empire and growing population. We frankly avow that, *under every possible regulation*, we regard a considerable disorder in the proceedings of Parliament to be inevitable, and that to reduce this to its minimum, is all that can be aimed at. There will ever remain plenty of ground for sarcastic criticism of its "experimental legislation." With a certain class of powerful minds this topic is so common a ground of attack that, to clear the way for what we have to say with them against Parliament, it may be well to mark out first where we do not venture to complain.

That Acts should be passed one session, amended the next, and the amendments again amended, until even the most practised lawyer can scarcely know what is the law, is undoubtedly a grave evil. That this evil, so pointedly exposed by Mr. Wickens, has in the last thirty years at all abated, perhaps it may be impossible to show. Mr. Toulmin Smith's very valuable publication, "The Parliamentary Remembrancer" (published every week during the session), exhibits plentiful illustration of this perpetual botching.

* "To 'alter, amend, and explain,' are terms of . . . never-ceasing recurrence in parliamentary phraseology . . . At one time we had contemplated enumerating the Acts within a given period, headed with one or other of the terms we mention. . . . But the list would have left unnoticed a throng of other Acts essentially of the same description; Acts for 'removing doubts,' for 'rectifying mistakes,' for 'relieving from the provisions,' for 'deferring the commencement,' for 'facilitating the execution,' for 'making further provision and further regulating and extending the powers' of Acts, &c." Wickens, pp. 40, 41. Out of Mr. Wickens's specimens of the titles of Acts, we select that of the *latest* date, 1827: "An Act for continuing to his Majesty for one year certain duties on Personal Estates, Offices, and Pensions in England; and also for certain duties on Sugar imported."—This patching of heterogeneous topics into one Act is one of the monstrosities, which, it seems, the present generation has really amended.

The evil, we presume, would be immensely lessened, if Parliament were to discriminate between laws and ordinances, and, confining its own action to short and simple laws, were to delegate the making of necessary ordinances, sometimes to the Queen's ministry, sometimes to local executives, sometimes to municipal bodies. But unless in this way, or in some other way, the Acts can be reduced to a twentieth part of their length,—in other words, unless Parliament shall retrace its steps, (a very hard thing to do,) and instead of studying to confound the duties of legislation and administration, shall study to separate them, endless error is to be expected. A severe wisdom will censure them for not adopting new principles, where nothing else can attain the right ends of legislation. Yet even if everything were done in this direction which the most ardent reformer can desire,—if our laws were as short as those of the Code Napoleon,—if a body of practised lawyers commented on and interpreted every bill before it received a final sanction; still it would be impossible to avoid experimental legislation, with the series of amendments which it entails. In politics, as in religion, men do but grope their way towards truth, and proceed by slow, perhaps by painful steps. If the philosopher in his study knows the real and exact right, he would yet be absurd to expect a practical Parliament to delegate law-making to him. Because they are more ignorant, they do not know that he is the wise man. Even where he attains what may be called demonstration (as in questions of trade and currency), they cannot follow his proof; but are gradually converted, after a long series of experiments and of blunders. In questions where police, and trade, and morals are mixed—questions which abound more and more as commercial relations develop themselves—no other legislation seems possible than the tentative and experimental. Thus, we do not blame Parliament that laws concerning bankruptcy, imprisonment for debt, liabilities and rights of partnership, treatment of juvenile offenders, mitigations of one class of punishments and sharpening of others, and very many other subjects, have been and are frequently amended and re-amended. If central legislation is to be the single overruling principle, empirical enactment must be endured as the least of evils, though it need not be lengthy, verbose, detailed, confused. At the same time, we must add that the evils of change are a strong objection to such a centralizing of legislation. The United States, by allowing each part of the Union to legislate separately, obtains for the whole the advantage of learning from the experimental legislation of each part.

Altogether, we are labouring under the evil of too little organization. In ancient days, when our population was but a fraction of what it now is, and when the separate municipalities fulfilled a

much larger function in the political life than now, the duties of Parliament were comparatively few, even if in theory they may have been as multifarious. Two great classes of duties devolve on Parliament, so different in their nature that they might with great propriety have been assigned to distinct assemblies. The first is purely *legislative*,—to repeal bad laws, to amend the defective, to construct new enactments suggested by the growth of society; in short, to keep the law in harmony with the advance of the national conscience. The second duty, is to aid or check the *administration*, to give suitable votes of supply, to revise the foreign policy, to approve of treaties, to reprove the executive when it is either illegal or impolitic. Among some celebrated nations of antiquity—we almost suspect among all free nations—these duties belonged to different bodies. Laws were sanctioned by a popular assembly in one state, by a religious assembly in another; but to control and aid the administration belonged to a senate. We refer thus momentarily to ancient constitutionalism, only to give the greater weight to the precedent of the United States in this matter, a precedent of which many Englishmen unjustly make light, because, from other causes, there is far less freedom in the United States collectively than we desire. Let us fully admit to our most conservative reformers that there are many evils in the form which democracy has taken in the Northern States; yet assuredly neither the democracy itself nor its evils (at whatever amount they may be reckoned) have anything to do with the separation of functions between the Congress and the Representative Houses of the separate States. The Assembly of Massachusetts or of New York is strictly a legislative body, having no control whatever over the President and his cabinet. On the other hand, the Congress is scarcely a legislative body at all; for it can only pass measures on the very limited number of subjects which are prescribed to it by the fundamental articles of the Union. Yet the Congress has the specific control of the central executive, to which it is both feeder and fly-wheel. By a peculiarity of that constitution (which we here pass without praise or blame) the President, being elected by the direct votes of the nation, cannot be displaced by Congress; but it might have been otherwise. He might have been the creature of Congress, and liable to be removed by an adverse vote; which would have assimilated his position still more nearly to that of an English ministry. As things stand, the Congress has, like our House of Lords, a large control of the ministry, but has not, like our Commons, a power of displacing it. This relation of things between the Congress and the Houses of Representatives might still subsist, even if the constituent communities were highly aristocratic, which is indeed practically true of the Southern States. Democracy, as such, is

neither child nor parent of the separation of functions which we are discussing; but, whatever evils are contingent on democracy, would be immensely increased, if, the Congress, like our Parliament, could absorb into itself the legislative powers of the separate Assemblies. It may indeed be laid down as certain that the confusion hereby involved, and the derangements of law and justice consequent on such a centralized democracy, would, as in other well-known cases, lead men to long for a despotic master. The separation of functions, of which we speak, thus undoubtedly tends to *order*, and, having nothing to do with slavery or democracy, ought not to bear any part of that blame from which American institutions cannot be vindicated.

We have difficulty in thinking that the distinction of functions on which we are insisting can be obscure to any one; but inasmuch as few Englishmen follow American politics closely, we beg leave to set forth somewhat in detail the different sorts of subjects which occupy the attention of our Parliament. And, first, we take the topics which may be called *legislative*, in contrast to those which are in some sense *administrative*.

Under the legislative head fall a vast number of public bills, which do not involve party spirit at all, except when any mismanagement or misjudgment may offer to a political opponent some opportunity to thrust at a minister; or when some sinister interest leads Government astray, especially the desire of irresponsible patronage. Opening Mr. James Bigg's Index of the Bills brought in during the session of 1857, and taking it alphabetically as it stands, we find:—Abjuration. Abolition of Passing Tolls. Abolition of Turnpike Trusts. Accessories and Abettors Bill. Administration (Probates of, &c.) Administrators. Adulterations. Adulterers' Marriages. Agents (Fraudulent Trustees). Aggravated Assaults. Agricultural Statistics. Aldershot (Public Health). Alehouse Licensing.

Of the fourteen first topics we have omitted one, entitled "Admiralty (Chatham Lands Bill)," for enabling the Commissioners of the Admiralty to purchase certain lands in the Parish of Chatham. This is in one aspect a private bill; in another, is an aid given to the administration. Of the other thirteen, two involved much party spirit. The bill of Abjuration, intended to admit the Jews to Parliament, was cast out by Lord Derby and the Peers, though supported by Mr. Disraeli in the Commons. Even this therefore was an open question with the Tories. The bill to legalize marriage to a divorced adulterer or adulteress, also encountered great animosity from the High Church party. On the other eleven bills (eleven out of thirteen) there is no natural reason why the course of legislation must be stopped by party spirit: we mean, taking men as they are, with all their infirmities.

We next open at random Mr. Toulmin Smith's index of the bills of 1858, to make a like trial. His second column runs:—Church Rates Abolition (or) Commutation. . . Circuits of the Judges. Colonization* (of India). Commemorative Services. Common Law Procedure Act Amendment. Commons Inclosure. Consolidated Fund.* Consolidation of the Law. Conspiracy to Murder. Consular Service and Appointments.*

Of these ten bills, seven belong to a properly legislative body. Three (marked by an asterisk) are concerned with the administration, for to this head we presume Indian colonization at present must be referred. Of the seven legislative bills, two were much embroiled by strong feeling; that on church rates, because it touches religious controversies; that on conspiracy to murder, because it was introduced by the executive Government under threats and insults from a foreign potentate. The other five bills, or half of the ten, are unconnected with the divisions of party, or anything to discompose tranquil judgment.

There is yet a third class of bills, neither properly legislative nor administrative, which enormously complicates the duties of Parliament; and which in our opinion ought not to come before it at all, except for some final confirmation, which (in all but exceptional cases) would be as much a thing of course as the Queen's sanction—we mean the private bills. More than once in this journal, and in many other more widely extended publications, protests have been made against the private bills: but there is a circumstance connected with them which we have nowhere seen so pointedly brought out as by Mr. Toulmin Smith ("Parliamentary Remembrancer," p. 14).

"The distinction (says he) of private and public bills is not a technical one, but is of the highest practical importance, both to the functions of Parliament and to the well-being of every place. A PRIVATE bill proceeds from *those concerned*; it comes into the House on their own petition as its essential foundation. It passes the review of Parliament only in order that care may be taken that, in assenting to what is thus set down, no common right, nor any interest of other party than that petitioning, may be injuriously affected. In the case of a PUBLIC bill, leave is asked by one member of the assembly of all the members equally and directly interested. . . . In the case of a public bill, the House deals directly with what concerns all: *in the case of a private bill, its function is to take care that no individual or special local community gains any advantage at the expense of the rest.*"

Now if this be the true constitutional and legal position, Parliament, in assenting to the petition of a private bill, is strictly performing a judicial function.† One or more individuals vir-

† Undoubtedly this is true, and even still more clearly true, as to many of the Administrative bills: as, when Parliament sits to judge, whether Mr. J.

tually ask of it the question, "Shall I be injuring any one by such and such a course?" or, "Shall we be injuring one another by this or that contract?" and to reply, "No," is to pass the bill. Looking at it from this side, the retention of this function by Parliament would seem to belong to primitive barbarism. It is as though Queen Victoria were at this day to sit in the gate of the city, and hear causes and give awards, because primitive kings sat on the bench as judges. As the business of a king is not to judge, but to see that good judges be appointed; so the place of Parliament is not, to judge* whether a particular canal may be made, or a particular town improved, without wrong to the public, but to secure that there shall be in each locality vigilant guardians of the public interests to decide such cases authoritatively.

In a single page of the "Parliamentary Remembrancer" we find the following private bills brought into the House of Commons early last session:—Liverpool Improvement; London and North-Western Railway (Extension from Longsight); Manchester Assize Court House; Clyde Navigation; Haslingden and Rawtenstall Water; Liskeard and Love Union Canal Company's Railway; Edinburgh and Glasgow, and Stirling and Dunfermline Railways; Crystal Palace District Gas; Cromford and High Peak Railway; Aberdeen, Peterhead, and Fraserburgh Railway; Mid-Kent Railway (Bromley to St. Marycray); Brentford and Richmond Railway; North Yorkshire and Cleveland Railway; Windsor New Road; Isle of Wight Poor.

In such a farrago Parliament collectively of course exercises no judgment, any more than the Queen does. A few members decide this way or that, oftener from private than from public reasons. But (what the nation needs to take to heart) in many of these affairs Parliament outsteps its rightful functions, and becomes the encroaching power—a real usurper on the liberties of others. Bills are brought in for the "regulation" of a parti-

Silk Buckingham or the Rajah (or people) of Sattara have been injured by the East India Company; whether Mr. Barber deserves pecuniary compensation for unjust and severe punishment inflicted on him by error; whether certain persons are entitled to share in indemnity-money which has been paid to the British treasury, &c. &c. When it is a received principle of English morality, that in deciding the pettiest questions a jury shall be bound by high religious formalities to give a verdict according to *justice*, it may seem wonderful that no such formalities are assumed by Parliament. But this would not suit the Ministers, who in that case would not be able to carry their pre-arranged schemes by the influences and tools of party.

* But a few years ago, the American Congress, finding that to give award on the "Claims" made on the public purse occupied their time too much, established a "Court of Claims." This precedent comforts us, as showing untruth in the apophthegm, that "no Corporation yields up any part of its power, however burdensome, until compelled by force from without."

cular place, as if they were public bills, 'dispensing with the petition of the parties whose interests are affected, and really putting them at the mercy of any clique in Parliament: for, we repeat, it is impossible that the House in general can have knowledge of the details, or interest in them. The most odious infliction which of late years has become common by the imposition of private bills under the form of public ones, is, *the mortgaging of Local Rates* by the command of Parliament. As if it were not enough to dispose by its vote of the public taxes, and to have authorized the mortgaging them to the amount of 800 millions, the same central authority enforces upon the localities also this vice of public debt. When men have to pay year by year, there is a chance of their being economic; but if once they are allowed to throw burdens on posterity, sanguine projectors and jobbers get an easy control of the public purse. In many such ways, a Parliament which is too full of business to understand what it is doing, votes away the rights of individuals, of corporations, or of the whole nation, unawares.

The evil at which we point has many sources. It flows not merely out of the variety of topics with which every legislator is forced to deal, and presumed to be familiar, but also out of the imperfect rules for the drawing up of bills, and the utter confusion of the statute-book itself. To go into any details on this subject we feel to be very hazardous—we may so easily lose ourselves in its magnitude. Yet because it is so little treated of, and its importance so little known, we must try to direct some attention to it. *Certain* improvements in legislation, urgently needed, might easily be attained, only that a sinister influence forbids. Many things are pointed out by Mr. James Bigg, in his very useful monthly register of parliamentary enactment. He observes that the grave errors made in drawing Acts of Parliament (especially the Acts brought in by the Government, *which are peculiarly faulty*) would be remedied, if they were signed by the names of the draughtsmen; who would then lose or gain credit according to the skill they display. Again, it would be easy, in printing amended bills, or bills returned with amendments from the House of Lords, to retain side by side in different type, or different ink, the clauses to be superseded and the new clauses. This is not done; in consequence it is often impossible to discover whether the original intention of a bill is defeated by the amendments. It would not be difficult, when an Act, or part of an Act is expressly repealed, to forbid the Government officials to sell the repealed Act as if it were existing law. At present no official copy of the *unrepealed* laws is in existence; and what is called the statute-book is a vast heap of laws partly repealed, partly in force. The evil tends to its own increase, for in consequence of

the difficulty of knowing *where* are the laws, new statutes are made and are added to the heap, when all that is wanted is the express blotting out of those which ought never to have been made. To meet the difficulty, Mr. Locke King proposed an address to her Majesty, entreating her to take measures for publishing an official edition of the statutes. The existing evils are avowed in the strongest terms by official men, by the very law-officers of the Crown—yet nothing is done. Committees are appointed, which do but hush the matter up. Mr. Bigg unhesitatingly declares his conviction as to what is the reason of this scandalous proceeding: it is, that ministers have a sinister interest in the existing confusion. *They* are the great cause of imbecility to Parliament. They dread lest the Parliament be too clearsighted, and too able to enforce its will. Especially they dread losing what is called "Patronage," which means, the power of appointing *inefficient* men to high duties and high salary. More than £60,000 of public money has been spent in recent years upon legal men for "consolidating" the law, of all which money nothing at all has resulted. If once Parliament comes to understand its own business, and insists upon having good work from those who receive public pay, how shall the Government find places for its incompetent friends? Perhaps rather its first step would need to be to eject from lucrative service many who at present perform that service very ill.

But beyond this topic, very important as we admit it to be, lies the other, of discriminating between *the different functions* of the same assembly. We do not dream of proposing that any part of the vast business, except private bills, should be dealt with primarily by any extra-parliamentary authority. Nor are we ignorant that an ancient body, whose enormous power rests on the precedents of the past, is and must be devoutly attached to its own rules, and will hardly receive with patience a suggestion of even minor change, except from its own most experienced and honoured members. But in order that even these should be able to effect improvement, the first step would be, that, as now private bills are marked by a different name and subjected to different forms from public bills, so should the legislative be sharply distinguished from the administrative bills; and in every doubtful case, a prior vote of the House should be taken as to the class to which a particular bill belongs. When once this had been done, important considerations would dawn on many minds. It would be said:—We concede to the ministers of the day an initiative of bills which tend to facilitate their *administration*. But why should we look to them as the initiators of *legislation proper*? The consequences of this are in many respects ~~highly~~ mischievous. First, and perhaps worst of all, it imports

party-spirit into discussions in which it has no necessary or natural place. Opponents rejoice to catch the Government tripping, and to inveigh against their incapacity, if they mismanage some bill about prison discipline, limited liability, or the health of towns. Who could have anticipated it as possible that a bill concerning conspiracy to murder could ever have produced such excitement as we lately saw? The House and country was indignant at the very idea of a foreign pressure being put upon our executive, in order to impose new laws on England; but the danger (which was seriously great) arose out of the fact, that the executive is known by foreign powers to have so weighty an influence in our legislation. Then again the pre-occupation of the ministry with pressing questions of immediate practice often gravely impedes necessary legislation. A quarrel at Naples or Washington, a fray at Canton, an alarm in the Punjaub, a few articles in the *Moniteur*, may all in a moment overwhelm the Government with unexpected business. How are they to give due time to their bills? If driven out of power, all the bills are apt to perish with them, though they may have gone through many stages,—though great public and private interests may depend upon them,—though great expense may have been encountered by hopeful suitors, who become almost heart-broken by new delay. It cannot be pretended that legislation is conducted better by the ministers than by private members; the pages both of Mr. Toulmin Smith and of Mr. Bigg (to take the two last sessions as a sample) testify to the contrary; and it could hardly be otherwise. Not only is every executive pestered by on-hangers zealous for jobs, whom it fears to displease—to whom it gives over the task of improving the law, as a convenience to them, and not because they are the best workmen—but its own immense pre-occupation makes it absurd to expect from it the same efficient superintendence as from unofficial members of the House. And if a great war breaks out, then legislation comes to a stand, and the institutions of the country go to ruin, as eminently they did in the last war against France. We cannot attain the American advantage of sustaining legislation in assemblies unconnected with the central executive; but if once the separation were marked between the administrative bills and the laws, it would be possible,—while conceding to ministers their present prerogative in initiating the former,—positively to forbid their initiating the latter. Parliament would soon find its own way of appointing, if requisite, standing committees for any branches of legislation which needed it, when once freed from the incubus of ministerial power.

In the absence of standing committees, each House is unduly dependent on a great name,—as on a Lord Campbell, or a Lord

Brougham in questions of law; though it would seem that these great men, like others, get the work done for them at second hand, and hence perpetrate great blunders. In the last session, a "Libel Bill" was introduced by Lord Campbell; which, while affecting to shield newspapers under certain circumstances from the law of libel, defined so narrowly what circumstances were justifying and what assemblies were lawful, as indirectly to restrict the right, not merely of publishing, but even of holding public meetings. Mr. Toulmin Smith's acuteness detected the mischief and instantly exposed it; after which Lord Lyndhurst, pointing out the effects of the bill, succeeded in throwing it out; but its title and pretence was so seducing, that many liberally-intentioned men might have been carried away by it.

False titles to bills, we fear, are very common, and they are as delusive as false colours in war. Honest members of necessity often vote (as it were *pro forma*), exactly as the Queen gives her sanction to a bill or signs an appointment, because her ministers tell her all is right; or as the head of an office signs papers at the application of his clerk. It is often (perhaps generally) impossible for individual members to master the details of a long act when there are so many to be passed; they therefore consider the general and professed aim of the act, and take much on the credit of its proposer and its most active supporters. In such a state of things, a false title has great power of seduction. The "Parliamentary Remembrancer" even of the single past session points out numerous instances of titles so false as to be quite scandalous. We have just alluded to Lord Campbell's Libel Bill; another instance may here be quoted of a bill introduced by Lord Brougham and withdrawn. On this Mr. Toulmin Smith remarked, ("Parliamentary Remembrancer, p. 34):—

"The present bill is called an 'Imprisonment for Debt Abolition Bill.' This does not express its real purposes. One of these is, to do away with the distinction between traders and non-traders, and to annihilate with a word the Insolvent Debtors' Court, and all the law relating thereto. Imprisonment for debt is *not*, in fact, abolished by this bill. There are so many exceptions where under it the debtor will be able to be imprisoned for two years, while fresh and very alarming powers are even given to judges of all courts for this purpose at their mere individual caprice, that *no man who has the misfortune to owe any debt will ever be able, if this bill pass, to know when his personal liberty is safe.* Indeed, the liberty of any man who allows himself to be a debtor, or who *resists*, however conscientiously, *any demand*, be it small or great, is by this bill left entirely dependent on the caprice of a judge of a county court, or any other judge. Any unsuccessful defendant may, without notice or any opportunity of appeal, be on the instant incarcerated for two years, if his defence has been ill-conducted, or does not happen to have pleased the individual judge—the

protection of the jury having long since been taken away, under the name of law reform, in the majority of cases in England.

"The other purpose of this bill is to secure 'the full amount of their salaries' to the commissioners, who are hereafter to do nothing, and 'compensation' to all officers. One of the most ingenious results of modern English legislation has been to create one day needless functionaries, and the next to abolish their functions, but maintain their salaries at the expense of the public. As each of the stages of this process is christened 'law reform,' or reform of some kind, it is hailed approvingly by a Parliament and public which abhor sinecures, and are indignant at jobbery."

As Lord Brougham withdrew his bill, the Commons escaped all danger from its fallacies. But when such an abortion was able to come forth under the auspices of such a name, what might not come from men less acute, or of less good general intentions?

On the whole, to define more sharply what Parliament ought *not* to undertake, and to insist that it shall debate *with all its faculties alive*, is essential, before any great results satisfactory to the country can be attained, whatever extension of the franchise be enacted. To admit the artisans to the constituencies is, in our opinion, a good thing; but it will not preternaturally strengthen the brains of the persons elected, lessen the business to be done, multiply the hours of the day, or increase the supply of able, honest, and popular candidates. The popular reformers seem to think of nothing but how to secure that the elected shall duly represent the electors. This might be well, if no affairs had to be transacted except those on which the electors are prepared to give them instructions; in which case it would not be unreasonable to elect mere spokesmen—delegates, and, so to say, ambassadors from the sovereign people of the locality. But there is something very formidable in sending a representative with instructions such as the following: "Take care to vote for a nine hours' bill; and for a law of free partnership; oppose all grants of money to the Church; claim a free Sunday for the working man; keep down all taxes that will press on the people; but on all other subjects which concern this vast empire, domestic and foreign, consider yourself our irresponsible plenipotentiary." The OMNIPOTENCE of Parliament is indeed formidable; for whatever errors it commits (and innumerable errors are at present inevitable), are proportionally pernicious, and difficult to remedy. When men receive a commission so unlimited, and when we know that the choice is likely to fall on very ordinary mortals, the first thing to insist upon is, that they shall give themselves primarily to their high functions, and shall discharge them in a time and mode when they are themselves at their best. Both these topics seem to claim more distinct enforcement. The "pluralism" of

parliament-men was well denounced by Mr. Wickens. Many of them are ministers of the Crown, and otherwise in office, are practising barristers, magistrates, judges, commissioners, military or naval men, merchants, bankers, engineers, &c. That the presence of lawyers in Parliament would facilitate the avoiding of legal absurdities might be imagined by a foreigner, but not by those who know that the business of Parliament is avowedly postponed by lawyers to their private practice. In illustration of this, Mr. Wickens quotes the declaration of a most industrious man, then the greatest representative of the liberal and movement party, Mr. Brougham of 1828. "I am not," said he (House of Commons, Feb. 15), "without desire to advance the objects of the committee [the celebrated Finance Committee], but to be present at its sittings would interfere with my professional avocations." In the previous year the same gentleman brought up a petition from the Cape Colony against the corruption of the Governor, and spoke in the House on that side. But he himself, on May 17th, explained to the House why he could not follow up the case—

"Four or five days later," said he, "I found myself *professionally retained* in an appeal-cause before the Privy Council. Upon looking at my instructions, it appeared that the party, who in the petition complained of the (alleged) corruption of the noble Governor of the Cape, had applied to the Privy Council for a revision of the decision of the Governor, and *I was retained as counsel on the opposite side*. This was the reason why I proceeded no further in the business of the petition. The delicacy of my situation forbade it. I felt myself bound, *right or wrong*, to discharge my duty as a counsel; and, to advocate the interests of one party before the Privy Council one day and the interests of the rival party in this House, in the next—how was it possible for me to do it?"

But when no "pluralism" distracts the energies of honourable members, with what vigour of mind do they come to their work? The prime of the day is spent by the conscientious ones in committee-rooms, to adjudicate the wranglings of rival railroads, questions of India or distant colonies, or other multifarious entanglements. In the evening begins the task of listening to speeches, often so wearisome, that not merely every kind of merriment is a relief, but even stinging and spiteful oratory has its charm to the jaded hearer. When midnight is past, and patience and strength is exhausted, how can the wisest speech have its rightful effect? Or is indeed this to be called debate? If pluralism were forbidden, it would be *possible* for the English, like the old Roman senate, to sit only during hours of daylight. At present, whether to please practising lawyers or ministers of state, legislation goes on at and after midnight; and at the end of the

session, when the less zealous have slipped off into the country, the minister rallies his own corps of voters, and carries in mass bills which could never have been passed early in the session. "Philip drunk" and "Philip sober" hardly differed more than an assembly whose brain is failing from tedium and fatigue, and the same assembly in fresh vigour.

To get the representative's full energies for his difficult task is not an unreasonable demand; hardly less reasonable is the demand, that we shall be at liberty to get the best man who is to be had. No man expects the really gratuitous service of first-rate talent in labours that are to last six full months of every year. A few are so virtuous as to be repaid by the pleasure of doing good, if they happen to be independent; but how often shall we alight on those who combine all the needful qualities with adequate wealth and are willing to serve us freely? The love of power and of admission to aristocratical circles are at present the *principal* inducements to become representatives of a constituency; and neither motive gives us the best men. Those who chiefly desire aristocratic company are almost certain to neglect or betray national interests for courtly smiles. Those who desire power as such cannot use power for pure right. An upright judge or jurymen has no consciousness of possessing power at all, although his power is of the most tremendous kind; but as he exercises it under the pressure of conscience and feels all caprice inadmissible, he has no pleasure as in the exercise of elastic energy. Just so, in proportion as public men are conscientious, power is to them a responsibility, a burden, not a source of pleasure. At present, an independent fortune is a condition without which no one is *allowed* to serve the nation in Parliament. Why so, more than to serve the Queen? Distinctly we believe that every member of Parliament ought to receive a handsome salary, eight hundred a-year at least, perhaps a thousand, and be bound to give to the nation his undivided energies. The law still subsists by which he may claim wages from his constituents, but with modern notions this cannot easily or generally be resuscitated. To be paid by them would be thought degrading, to be paid from the Queen's treasury is an honour. Good pay and high honours are essential, if good sound work from first-rate minds is to be had for the nation. Although no money could be expended more economically than this money (even under the existing franchise), yet this kind of reform is precisely that which the most liberal members dare not themselves urge: from them it is too delicate; not to add that to propose it is to propose to raise up rivals to themselves. The object of the nation is to get us wide a choice of candidates as possible; it would be rash to expect much zeal in that cause from

the existing representatives. Hitherto they do not even dare to murmur loudly against the expenses of elections; but assuredly, if the constituencies desire to have public service, they must insist that their servant shall not be impoverished by serving them. Even if a good salary were bestowed, and no expenses imposed, a large number of able men who are earning ample incomes by their great talents, but who have not yet independent fortune, would refuse to abandon their own business for a post which they might any day lose through some disagreement with their constituents. To open the field of choice is in every case difficult: so much the more ought allurements and (so to say) bounties to be held out, that we may secure the best soldier.

One more topic we will briefly touch,—the *duration* of Parliaments. That seven years is hurtfully long, is generally conceded by the most devoted Whigs. They urge that this is no practical grievance, for that *in fact* Parliaments have an average life of only five years. We reply, that this increases the practical grievance; for it enables the minister of the day to practise on the fears and hopes of the members by threatening them with dissolution. Even if Parliaments are not to be shortened, it is of urgent necessity to *take away from ministers all power of dissolution*. The President of America has it not, and yet public affairs never have suffered from that cause; nor will any English minister who deserves honour and influence ever have too little from an English Parliament. We have no love for the bustle of elections. Any preference which we have for very frequent elections is based upon a belief that, if they were annual, really good men would be re-elected as a thing of course, without trouble or anxiety; and that it would lead to a much closer communication between constituents and representative. On this pre-eminently the good working of any representative system depends. The constituents must not be a disconnected mob, which meets after long intervals to elect a member, with whom meanwhile they hold no intercourse; but they must be citizens conscious of common interests, able to meet occasionally in public for debate, and accustomed to receive from their representative periodical *explanations* of his views and votes. If he is (as he ought to be) greatly their superior in knowledge and wisdom,—the oftener he meets them thus, the higher ascendancy will he gain over them, and the deeper political education will he give them; and any such recurrence of elections as shall force him to give frequent account of his stewardship will be alarming to none but to the incompetent, the dishonest, or the wayward and self-willed representative.

ART. II.—THE RELIGIOUS POLICY OF AUSTRIA.

Concordat entre l'Autriche et le Saint Siége, signé à Vienne, 1855; en Latin, avec traduction Allemande.

BEFORE 1848, Europe was profoundly indifferent to the internal state of Austria. The imperial administration was enveloped in a mystery nearly as impenetrable as that which has hitherto shrouded Japan from common observation, and though rumours of discontent, of insurrections expiated by long and cruel imprisonment, were occasionally heard, they were unable to shake the general conviction, that however despotic its forms, the Government was paternal in spirit. The revolution of 1848 rudely disturbed this pleasing delusion, and the volcanic state of the Austrian provinces has been a cause of anxiety to statesmen ever since. But, though belief in the mildness of the civil administration and the happiness of the people might be dispelled, Austria was still regarded as a country in possession of greater religious liberty than most continental States. Complete independence of the Church was supposed to afford a maternal compensation for the political despotism exercised by the Government; and even the liberal party within the Austrian dominions did not seek to refute the common opinion—which was based partly on fact, partly on an inaccurate and superficial knowledge of history. Resistance to the supremacy of the Popes has usually been considered synonymous with a liberal religious policy; and the edicts of Joseph II. granted toleration without distinction of creed. A study of the history of the House of Hapsburg proves, however, that the princes who least respected the rights of conscience in their subjects have been precisely those who most firmly defended their own privileges against the encroachments of Rome. They seem to have regarded the sacrifice of heretics as a counterpoise to disobedience to the head of the Church; and we may safely aver that the meagre decrees of Joseph would never have excited the attention of Europe had they not strikingly contrasted with the acts of his predecessors. This, then, was the slender foundation for the belief that, in Austria, the power of the Church was subjected to that of the State, and that dissidents enjoyed liberty of worship and equal protection.

When Joseph II. published his edicts, Pope Pius undertook a journey to Vienna, in hopes of seeing them rescinded. He failed to attain his object, but it was never renounced by his successors, and a few years ago it was bruited abroad, that in the general

re-organization of the Empire, the Church would not be forgotten, and that all differences between the Roman and Austrian Courts would speedily be set at rest by a Concordat. The negotiations were secretly carried on, and resulted in the publication of a treaty, the mediæval character of which excited profound astonishment, not to say dismay. It appeared inexplicable that a Pope, whose life would not be secure in his own capital without the protection of foreign bayonets, should obtain concessions in which an Innocent or a Boniface might have exulted. More than three years having now elapsed since the Concordat was concluded, we may endeavour, with hope of success, to penetrate the motives that could induce Francis Joseph to surrender rights jealously guarded by the first Ferdinands, and to examine the probable consequences of so sudden an increase of priestly power.

If we would rightly comprehend the Concordat, and the importance of the changes it has introduced, we must not only analyse each article of the treaty, but also acquire some knowledge of the religious policy of the House of Hapsburg, as exhibited towards its subjects on the one hand, and the Popes on the other. We propose to give a rapid sketch of this policy, and of the historical relations that have subsisted between the Empire and the Holy See, before we examine the Concordat itself.

In the first centuries of the Christian era, it is obvious that the Popes were simply the bishops of Rome. Thankful that the epoch of Pagan persecution had passed away, they submitted in turn to the Greek emperors, inculcating on their subjects the duty of obedience to a sovereign they deemed heretical (Ico the Iconoclast), to Pepin, and to his son Charlemagne, who, invited to resist the invasion of the Lombard kings, substituted their own power for that of the Exarchs of Ravenna. These successive sovereigns confirmed the elections of the Popes, from whom they exacted an oath of fidelity, which was also taken by the citizens of Rome. The capitulars of Charlemagne prove that he considered the prelates, and the Pope himself, as spiritual officers of the Empire, and that he had no idea of the immunity of the clergy, or of their spiritual jurisdiction.

It was in the ninth century that the Popes (encouraged by the weakness of Louis le Débonnaire, and the dissensions in his family) began to emancipate themselves, and to dispense with the confirmation of their elections by the temporal ruler; although, at first, they did so timidly, and pleaded the pressure of necessity.* These first attempts at independence were successfully resisted, for in the next century the imperial power was still predominant,

* One claim of the Popes to dispose of the German Empire is, however, founded on the expressions used by the ecclesiastical historians in describing the coronation of Lothaire.

and Otho I. claimed and exercised the right of creating and deposing the Popes at pleasure.

Still the papal star was in the ascendant: for, a hundred years later, Gregory VII. (Hildebrand), not content with having secured to the Church independence of election, claimed supremacy, appropriated to himself alone the title of Pope, which had been common to all bishops; and even ventured to excommunicate the Emperor Henry IV., whose right of investiture he had previously disputed (1077). By a Concordat—the first recorded in history—concluded between Calixtus II. and Henry V., in 1122, the Emperor renounced the right to nominate or invest bishops by ring and crozier—a privilege Innocent III. afterwards claimed for himself.

The twelfth and thirteenth centuries were a period of continual warfare between rival claimants to the imperial throne. Each pretender solicited the alliance of Rome, and the opportunities of aggrandizement thus afforded were not neglected. So thoroughly were the relative positions of the Pope and the Emperor reversed during this period, that when the electors of Germany unanimously chose Rudolph, Count of Hapsburg, to be their sovereign (1273), he does not seem to have considered his election valid until it was ratified by the Holy See.

Gregory X. showed a prophetic prevision in favouring the House of Hapsburg. We may search history, but not find a family as true to the Church, or as deeply dyed in the blood of her enemies. The two leading facts in the history of the fifteenth century are the progress of the Reformation and the rise of the House of Austria, events which represent two principles as thoroughly opposed as the Ormuz and Ahrimanes of Zoroaster. Accordingly the two never encounter without closing in deadly contest. Wherever Austrian influence held sway it was exerted for the destruction of the Protestants, who, less perspicacious, have unhappily often been remiss in uniting in common self defence.

At the abdication of Charles V., his dominions were divided, and his family formed two distinct branches. The Spanish *auto-da-fés*, ordered by Philip, and the cruelties of Alva in the Netherlands, are tales that have excited the terror of every Protestant child; but we doubt if many full-grown men are aware that they have been equalled, if not exceeded, by the persecutions endured by the Protestants in Hungary and Bohemia. The guilt of the German branch was perhaps the deeper dyed. They added breach of solemnly plighted faith, and violation of constitutional law, to religious bigotry.

Bohemia was the first European country that aspired to religious reform; and in the fifteenth century the doctrines of the

Hussites had already spread into Hungary, where the Church was remarkably independent of Rome. Both countries were therefore prepared to receive the preachings of Luther. The works of the Reformer were known in Transylvania, and several great nobles embraced Protestantism so early as 1521; and two years later, their party had become so strong that the decree of the Diet of 1523, which declares "that the King,* as a Catholic prince, will punish all Lutherans by death and confiscation, as heretics, and enemies of the Holy Virgin Mary," although confirmed by a fresh decree in 1525—which adds, that "as the Lutherans are to be extirpated from the kingdom, all persons, whether priests or laymen, are empowered to seize and burn them"—seems to have had little effect. The old memoirs of the Protestant party, written by the persecuted ministers, assert some persons to have perished at the stake; but the wars between Ferdinand and John Zapolya, assisted by the Turks, which diverted the attention of the Austrian Government, seem to have favoured the spread of the Reformation: for the first Bible was printed at Ujsziget in 1541; and in 1545, the Diet of Transylvania (then an independent principality) proclaimed political and religious equality in favour, not only of the Lutherans, but of the Unitarians.

So great was the power of the Protestant party that Ferdinand found it necessary to issue repeated decrees for the "restoration of the ancient religion," impressing on the bishops and priests the duty "of leading back their flocks to the ancient creed." † At this time the teachings of Calvin were first introduced (1554), and eagerly embraced by all classes. So deeply are the people still attached to a creed which was once that of nearly all Hungary, that to this day the Confession of Geneva is popularly called "the Hungarian faith."

In the "Chronicle of Leutschau" we find a most curious letter addressed to the king by the Lutheran synod, assembled at Erlau in 1562, confessing their faith, and defending themselves against the accusation of high treason and conspiracy, under pretext of which their meeting was about to be condemned. The fact of this synod assembling at all might induce us to believe that toleration existed in Hungary; but this was not the case. An English traveller of the reign of Elizabeth, who was present at the siege of Raab, and describes the situation of Hungary, positively asserts that the Hungarians felt more sympathy for the

* Louis II., the last of the line of Jogellon, was King both of Hungary and Bohemia.

† *Decreti Ferdinandi I. Posonii, 1548. Sopronii, 1553. Posonii, 1557.*

Turks than for the Germans.* This can only be accounted for by the fact, in which all contemporary authorities concur, that the Turkish Government left far more liberty, especially of worship, than the Austrian. But before speaking of the persecutions endured by the Hungarian Protestants, we must return to Bohemia, the first victim of Austrian bigotry, as, in truth, it was not till after the battle of the White Mountain that the Hapsburgs were at liberty to turn their whole attention to Hungary.

When Ferdinand I. was elected king (1526), no State in Europe enjoyed greater political and religious liberty than Bohemia. At his death, in 1564, but a shadow of her ancient constitution remained. In defiance of the religious compacts, and the "reversal," or charter, he had signed at his coronation, he restored the archiepiscopal see of Prague, banished the Lutherans, introduced the Jesuits, to whom he entrusted education, and destroyed all freedom of the press.

The next sovereign, Maximilian, favoured the Reformation, and during his reign great part of Austria became Protestant. His son Rudolph was a pupil of the Jesuits, and, despite the caution he displayed at the beginning of his reign, his constant object was the restoration of the Catholic faith. He partially succeeded in Austria, and for a time even in Bohemia; but his own weak and undecided character, the resistance of the Estates, and the ambition of his brother Matthias, combined to defeat the execution of his plans. Detected in an attempt to subvert by force of arms the Royal Edict of Toleration he had granted but a year before, and then declared inviolable, Rudolph had no resource but abdication; and Matthias, who succeeded by the election of the Estates, found it necessary to use conciliatory measures.

Matthias might claim to be considered a liberal prince had he selected a different heir; but his chosen successor was known as the inveterate enemy of all political and religious freedom. While Matthias yet lived the Bohemians were driven into insurrection by the intolerance of Ferdinand II., the Catholics themselves taking part against him; and when the death of the Emperor left him uncontrolled, his tyranny became so unbearable that the Estates of Bohemia, Moravia, Lusatia, and Silesia united in deposing him. Aided by 20,000 Spanish soldiers, he reconquered Bohemia, enforced an unconditional oath of allegiance, executed twenty-three leaders, confiscating all their pro-

* That this feeling still exists may be gathered from an anecdote which caused much sensation at Vienna. Lord John Russell is reported to have observed to a nobleman of the Conservative party that his countrymen were very ungrateful to dislike the Austrians, who had freed them from the Turks. "Would to God, my Lord," was the reply, "that we had the Turks still!"

perty, and that of more than seven hundred knights and nobles (1621). This was but a prelude, however. The state of affairs in Germany compelled Ferdinand to suspend the execution of his plans; but no sooner had he disentangled himself by making peace with Denmark (1628), than, in defiance of engagements he had himself solemnly ratified, he forcibly abolished Protestant worship in Austria, annulling all religious acts performed by Reformed ministers, expelling the Protestants from all civil offices, and forcing them to attend mass. In Bohemia he went even further; for not only were the ministers and schoolmasters banished, but all non-Catholics* were forbidden to exercise any trade or handicraft, those who prayed in secret were heavily fined, the poor and sick driven from the hospitals, with endless other cruelties, for an account of which our readers may consult the indulgent narrative of Archdeacon Coxe and his Catholic authorities. The Caroline University of Prague was also virtually suppressed, as by order of the Pope academical honours ceased to be conferred.

Henceforward Protestantism disappears from the history of Bohemia, and of the German States of Austria. In Hungary alone the Reformers maintained their ground. We cannot attribute this to any good-will on the part of the Hapsburg sovereigns, whose infringements of the liberties of their subjects are recorded in every page of history. The resistance of the Protestants was favoured by peculiar circumstances, especially by the vicinity of the Turks, ever ready to profit by any disaffection of the people, and by the warlike character of the Transylvanian princes. So early as 1571 Socinianism had been diffused in that principality by the preachings of Blandrata, and Stephen Bathory was elected sovereign on condition of his maintaining religious equality and expelling the Jesuits.

We cannot dwell here on the history of the Reformation in Hungary. We would only point out to our readers the constant connexion between Protestantism and the liberal cause, the fact that the accusation of heresy was continually used as a pretext for political persecution, and, finally, show the foundation on which the rights of the Protestants actually rest. The Hungarians seem to have considered freedom of worship as synonymous with the maintenance of their ancient constitution. In the frequent risings excited by the tyranny of the sovereigns, and the cruelties of their foreign generals, Protestant liberties were often

* This included the Calixtines, a moderate party among the Hussites, who had enjoyed special protection up to this time, so called from their principal demand being that the laity should partake of the cup, in opposition to the Taborites, who wished to destroy the influence of the Pope.

defended by Catholic chiefs, although the patriots were continually pursued as heretics, and their punishment involved with that of the Reformed ministers and teachers, so that it is sometimes difficult to distinguish the religious from the political persecutions.*

The ancient privileges of the Hungarian Protestants were all won by the sword. The Pacification of Vienna, wrung by Bocskay and Illeshazy from Rudolph in 1606, confirmed by Matthias (1608), guaranteed freedom of worship, and provided that two out of the four candidates for the office of palatine should always be Protestants. Encouraged by the successful preachings of Cardinal Pázman, Ferdinand II. violated the Pacification, but was forced to renew it in the treaties (1622, '24, '27) he concluded with Gabriel Bethlen. The rights of the Protestants were a third time recognised by Ferdinand III. at the peace of Linz (1645); but this did not prevent Archbishop Kolonics from declaring in the council of Leopold, "*Hungary shall be made captive, next beggar, thereby Catholic;*" nor his master from taking all human means for attaining so pious an object.

Liberty of worship was again conceded by the peace of Száthmar (1711), concluded under the auspices of the English and Dutch ambassadors, and finally by the edicts of Joseph II. and Leopold II. By the latter the Protestants were allowed to regulate their own affairs, released from all tribute to the Catholic Church, and obtained the right of teaching, which had often been infringed under Charles VI. and Maria Theresa. Unconditional liberty of conversion was not granted until 1844. These treaties and arbitrary edicts, which might at any moment be swept away by a stroke of the pen, are the only guarantees for the freedom of Protestant worship in Austria. The rights of the Greek Church are founded on the privileges of immigration of 1690, and were confirmed by the ordinances of Maria Theresa of 1777, and the edicts of Toleration of 1791, '92.

In no country perhaps was the distinction between things temporal and sacred so clearly defined as in Austria, and it is curious to observe that the most intolerant emperors were precisely those who most obstinately maintained their authority over the Church. In ancient times each national church was independent of the Papal See, and priests were everywhere amenable to the civil tribunals. Profiting by the ignorance of the Middle

* Johannes Simonides, Gallerie aller Heiligen, Leutschauer Chronik, Johann Rezik, Schlachtbank zu Eperies, 1687. If we required additional testimony that the suppression of heresy was but a pretext for political tyranny, it might be found in the history of the Tyrol, which (with part of Bavaria) was called by the Popes, their "tribes of Judah and Benjamin.

Ages, the popes put forward a claim to supremacy, founded on *forged* donations and decretals,* which (though the Church allows them to be so termed) still form the basis of the canon law. In the fifteenth century the Council of Bâle was assembled for the repression of this abuse. The Gallican Church won its liberties, and that of Germany would have done the same but for the treachery of the Emperor Frederick III.†, who sold the rights of his country for 221,000 ducats, and a promise that each Pope should pay a certain sum to the Empire on his election—a tribute Calixtus III. refused within twenty years. The acquisition of Hungary placed the emperors in a new and most advantageous position as regarded the papacy. As apostolic kings—a title conferred on St. Stephen (1000) by Sylvester I., in acknowledgment of his voluntary conversion—the sovereigns of Hungary enjoyed many important privileges. According to the learned Hormayer, whose special means of information make him the best guide on all subjects relating to the House of Austria, all ecclesiastical patronage belonged absolutely to the king. *Dat, donat, confert*, are the words used in the ancient documents, not *presentat*, or *postulat*; and, moreover, the Pope could not refuse consecration, *præstitis præstandis*. The bishops thus appointed at once enjoyed all their *temporal* privileges, and Rome only gave them a *spiritual* consecration. The revenues of any vacant see or priory belonged to the Crown, which also inherited the property of any prelate who died intestate. No Papal bull could be published without the *regni placitum*, and the king prescribed the oath to be taken by the bishops to the Pope. He was also a hereditary legate of the Holy See (an office held on his behalf by the primate), in sign of which the double cross was carried before him, and incorporated with the arms of Hungary.

Such vast privileges were naturally not uncontested by the Popes. Gregory VII. even claimed Hungary as a fief of the Church. He writes,‡ “As thou mayst have learned from thy ancestors, the kingdom of Hungary belongs to the holy Roman Church, having been given and consecrated to the blessed Peter by St. Stephen, with all its rights and privileges.” These pretensions, based on certain documents which Novakovic, a Croatian monk, had forged by order of Cardinal Aldobrandini, seem to have been treated with contempt, for the Diet, especially one convened in 1100, continued to regulate the affairs of the Church. In 1330, the Hungarian clergy refused all tribute to the Pope; and in 1483, Matthias Hunyady Corvinus thus answered Sixtus

* The Donations of Constantine and Pepin and the Decretals of Isidore.

† Hormayer, Anemonem.

‡ Litteræ Gregoriæ VII., 1074. Katona.

IV., who called his privileges into question: "The pontiff should be aware that the Hungarian nation would change the *double cross*, which is the insignia of our kingdom, into a *triple* one, rather than resign the privileges and benefits thereto appertaining, which were conferred by the Apostolic See."* A decretal of the same king declares that, "whosoever appeals to Rome from the tribunals of the kingdom shall be punished by sequestration, if a priest; by death, if a layman."

The laws of mortmain, for the visitation of convents and the regulation of ecclesiastical affairs, were passed, under Albert II., in 1310. An ordinance of 1495 stigmatizes appeals to Rome as high treason, and condemns any offender against the *jus circa sacra* of the kings of Hungary to be drowned. Art. 55 of the Code of 1498 empowers the king to create new dioceses, to change the boundaries of those already existing, and to regulate all school properties and endowments. Another article of the same date forbids pluralities, and prescribes that no bishop shall be lord-lieutenant of a county unless this privilege has been attached to his diocese since the time of St. Stephen and St. Ladislas.

This independent spirit is not surprising on the part of the native Hungarian kings; but it is curious to find that the laws of Albert were confirmed by Ferdinand I. in 1526, Ferdinand II. in 1628 (the very year of the persecutions in Bohemia), and Ferdinand III. in 1651, while the ordinances of 1498 are re-enacted by Charles III. in Art. 26 of the Code of 1715. Our astonishment is, however, lessened when we remember that Ferdinand I., incensed by the arrogance of Paul IV., was the first Emperor who dispensed with the ceremony of a coronation at Rome, and that his ambassadors at the Council of Trent, following up the policy of Charles V., repeatedly demanded great reforms of the Church, which, if carried into execution, would have affected the papacy itself. According to Paul Sarpi, he at one time entertained schemes hostile to the papal power; and his son Maximilian, when elected King of the Romans (1563), refused to take the usual oath of obedience to the Holy See.

The policy of Maria Theresa shows itself in her ordinances on ecclesiastical affairs. Some of these are briefly as follows: "No bull shall be published without the *placitum regium* (1749). The papal nuncios, being diplomatic agents only, are forbidden to interfere in ecclesiastical affairs, and to visit the convents or clerical establishments (1747-49). A permission from Rome not necessary for ordinations. The bishops forbidden to communicate with the Pope or his nuncio, except through the chancellery and the Austrian embassy at Rome (1752-68-73).

* By this allusion to the Greek Church Matthias intimates his resolution to make a schism rather than renounce his privileges.

Exorcisms and trials for witchcraft forbidden (1758).^{*} Regulations of the property of the convents (1771). Abolition of the right of sanctuary (1775).

If we reflect on these different decrees, which struck at the very root of the papal power, we shall not be surprised to find that the Hapsburg sovereigns occasionally used great violence towards the dignitaries of the Church. Still, it is at first difficult to understand Ferdinand I. ordering the murder of Cardinal Martinuzzi, Ferdinand II. seizing Cardinal Klesel, the minister of the Emperor Matthias, whom he personally maltreated, and sent prisoner to a castle in the Tyrol, on suspicion of his having advised lenity towards the Protestants. Such facts would indeed scarcely obtain credit were they not authenticated by the testimony of historians who cannot but be called partial to the House of Austria.

Nor is this a solitary example. Catholic bishops have more than once found themselves the tenants of Austrian dungeons. We may instance the punishment of Cardinal Althann, who had resisted the religious ordinances of Charles VI., that of the Archbishop of Prague under Maria Theresa, the dismissal of Cardinal Migazzi from his bishopric by Joseph II., and that of the Bishop of Leitmeritz by Francis I., so late as 1820.

These acts are the more remarkable, if we consider that the Jesuits were all-powerful at the Austrian Court. At the desire of Ferdinand I. eleven Jesuits were sent from Rome to found a college at Vienna in 1551, and four years later he established them also at Prague. Rudolph II., the second and third Ferdinands, and Leopold I., were educated by them, and for upwards of a century their influence was almost unchecked. Hormayer gives the most singular details of their policy, and records their insolence to the nobility and even to the regular monks, more especially the Benedictines. At the beginning of the eighteenth century their arrogance disgusted even the sovereign, and Joseph I. and Charles VI. initiated the Benedictines into the secrets of the State in their stead. In the next reign they, however, recovered the ground they had lost for a while, and Maria Theresa was so much attached to their order, as long to refuse her consent to the Bourbon scheme for its dissolution; but Kaunitz was the deadly enemy of the Jesuits; Pombal, Aranda, and the Duke de Choiseul, each prime mover of their expulsion from his own country, were all three ambassadors at Vienna, and the Empress at length signed the decree, convinced, it is said, by her minister laying before her a general confession of her own to

^{*} It is worthy of remark, that 700 years earlier Coloman of Hungary decreed,—“*de strigibus, quia non sunt, nulla fiat mentio.*”

a Jesuit father, which he had obtained from Rome. Joseph II., imbued with more liberal ideas, abolished all the religious orders: but this was only for a time: for Francis I. restored some of them in 1801, on condition of their defraying the expenses of certain Catholic schools; and before 1848 the Jesuits themselves had been permitted to establish two religious houses in the German provinces.

Respecting the position of the Catholic Church in Austria Proper and Bohemia previous to the Concordat, a few words will suffice. The pleasure of the Emperor had fixed the position of the Church, the only guarantee of Protestant liberty was the "*decretum tolerantie*" of Joseph, which, though liberal in spirit, was in truth an act of arbitrary power. It is therefore obvious that what one sovereign had bestowed another might take away, and that Francis Joseph possessed the theoretical as well as practical power to alter every existing disposition at his sole will. In Hungary, and the dependencies of that Crown, the case was different. There the independence of the Catholic and Dissenting Churches were held by another and an older tenure, and, strange to say, it is the Catholics, and especially the inferior clergy, who have the most reason to complain of the Concordat.

It may be as well to show statistically the relative positions of the Catholic Church and the Dissenting confessions in Hungary. In the other States, the Protestant party was so small as to form no counterpoise, while in some it did not even exist. In 1847* the Catholics were 6,852,700, their Church was governed by three archbishops, 16 bishops, and could boast 9122 priests, and 323 nuns. A law of the kingdom prohibited the introduction of any non-Hungarian priests.* The United Greeks counted 1,447,400, their four bishops sat in the Chamber of Magnates, and their priests, 1367 in number, were educated with the Catholics. We thus find the whole number of orthodox believers to be 8,510,100, while that of the Dissenters was 6,365,300. Of these, 2,452,500 were Independent Greeks, with one archbishop, seven bishops and 1,590 priests, 1,338,200 Lutherans, 2,521,100 Calvinists, and 50,000 Unitarians in Transylvania. Both the Reformed Churches divided the kingdom into four circles, each governed by a superintendent, responsible to a president, who was generally a layman; the Lutherans had 519 ordained ministers, and 37 assistants; the Calvinists 1,468 ministers, and 116 assistants. As regards education, the position of the Protestants was superior to that of the Catholics. Their colleges, some of which dated from the sixteenth

* This excluded the natives of other States of Austria.

century, were entirely free from Government supervision, while the Catholic establishments, the expenses of which were defrayed by the religious orders, or out of the confiscated property of the Jesuits, were under the control of the *Consilium Regium*.

In all Christian countries, however different the events, one feature of resemblance is always to be found. The king first tyrannizes over the Church, then seeks her aid against rival princes or his own nobility. The priests, who were originally the fellow-sufferers and friends of the people, become the allies of royalty. Despotism is established, but the lay sovereign soon finds that the Church has not forgotten herself, and that his tool is now a master. He next strives to throw down the ladder by which he ascended into power, and the Church is again depressed. This is the pivot on which the history of Europe turned during eighteen centuries. From these facts, and the events of 1818, many, especially Protestants, were disposed to argue that the Roman Church was tottering to her fall, and must soon expire from internal weakness. They were therefore astonished and alarmed to see the papacy obtain concessions equal to those conquered in the Middle Ages. Deeper reflection might have taught them that this change in the course of events was logically inevitable. Despotism of every kind is closely and indissolubly connected; the kings of the past century were hostile to the Jesuits and the papal supremacy, from no hatred to their spirit-crushing and repressive policy, but from covetousness of their wealth, and from fear that their power might overshadow their own thrones; thus the actual material dependency of the *Papacy* has again become the strongest argument for strengthening the *Church*, exactly as it was under the first successors of Constantine. The Roman Pontiff might have seemed too dangerous an ally, had he been also an independent prince, but while Austrian Bayonets alone maintain the allegiance of the legations, Francis Joseph thought himself sure that the Pope would take no step hostile to his power; while by purchasing the aid of the priesthood, whose influence over their flocks is yet undiminished, and above all, by delivering up the youth of his realms to Jesuit professors, he might hope to execute on a larger scale the plan of Colonies, and crush in the bud all aspirations after nationality and liberty. The nations that compose Austria are already "captive, beggared;" were they "Catholic," in the sense the Emperor probably understands the word, their chains would be riveted for centuries. These considerations might perhaps suffice to account for the conclusion of the Concordat, were it not for the startling character of its provisions, an account of which we must now lay before our readers.*

* We follow the German official text, translated from the Latin original, as given in the "*Recueil des Traités, Conventions, &c.*" by Barons de Martens and de Cussy.

The probable character of the treaty was foreshadowed in the choice of the negotiators. That the Pope should select the nuncio as his agent was only natural, but it was significant that the Emperor should name the Archbishop of Vienna as his representative, instead of the Minister for Foreign Affairs, or the ambassador at Rome. The noblemen who held these posts would probably have been less yielding than Othmar von Rauscher, whose appointment also involved an affront to the Hungarian Church, the affairs of which could legally have been treated by the Primate alone.

As was to be foreseen, the opening of the Concordat embodies the renunciation by Francis Joseph of all the rights of an apostolic king. The bishops are henceforth to rule their dioceses independently of the State, to select or exclude candidates for holy orders, to convoke synods, to regulate all church ceremonies, and to take, as the guide of their conduct, the canon law, and the orders of the Pope; with whom they, their clergy, and even their flocks, are to be permitted to communicate freely. A more complete renunciation than this were hard to conceive, and it would be an intricate point of international jurisprudence to determine how far any sovereign has the right thus to renounce the original privileges of his crown. Francis Joseph, who is not even legally king, could certainly have none: and were the pressure of external circumstances ever to drive him into seeking a reconciliation with his Hungarian subjects, he might find the Concordat a most serious obstacle in his path: for the rights of their national Church were dear to the most conservative of the nobility, nay, even to the bishops themselves.

A sovereign so ready to renounce his own rights could not be expected jealously to guard those of his subjects. Accordingly, the Concordat proceeds to invest the prelates with new powers, which, as they are perfectly irresponsible, are full of peril both to priests and laymen. All the schools are placed under the superintendence of the bishop of the diocese, whose interference was heretofore strictly forbidden. He is to watch over the instruction imparted, lest anything creep in contrary to the Catholic faith. He is to appoint all teachers of theology, to name candidates among whom the Emperor is to choose the directors of the colleges,* to approve all religious books, and moreover, he may dismiss any professor whose belief or morals he shall deem deserving of censure. While the youth are thus carefully guarded from all possible contamination, their elders are not left unprotected, for the prelates have the express right to condemn and prohibit the reading of any book dangerous to religion and morality. As our

* Before 1855 all the professors obtained their chairs by open competition. Now, Catholics only are eligible for appointment.

readers will observe, this article (the ninth) contains a palpable absurdity, for as the personal decision of each bishop is final, it may happen that a book forbidden in one diocese may circulate freely in another. This absurdity, in truth, pervades the whole Concordat. Each bishop is supreme within his own limits: but though this may cause contradictions, and weaken the authority of a prelate unsupported by his brethren, it must also assuredly tend to increase the power of the Pope over all.

Nor do the new privileges of the prelates stop here. The bishop may punish any priest wearing improper clothing, or making himself in any way amenable to blame, by suspension or imprisonment, according to the canonical law, *or even otherwise*. Even laymen are subjected to ecclesiastical penalties if they violate the canonical law. By this sweeping article the clergy are absolutely in the power of a prelate who will be at once their accuser and their judge. As a natural consequence, the ecclesiastical seminaries are placed under the control of the bishop. Finally, parochial benefices in the gift of lay patrons are to be bestowed on one of the three candidates named by the bishop, who, as well as the clergy, is allowed to dispose of all his property by will, according to canonical law.

While the civil law is thus superseded by that of the Church, and the bishops armed with powers greater than those the *Consilium Regium* formerly exercised on behalf of the sovereign, the ecclesiastical courts are not forgotten. They are to decide on all clerical rights, and especially on all points relative to faith and the sacraments, such as marriages, impediments, ceremonies, and divorces, according to the decrees of the Council of Trent, and the apostolic brief "*Auctorem fidei*." Questions of patronage are also submitted to their decision. Immediately after the concession of such powers, the Pope benevolently consents to place the temporal affairs of the Church, such as debts or inheritances, under civil jurisdiction. Priests committing offences against the civil law are punishable by it, provided previous notice be given to the bishop, who may inflict ecclesiastical penalties in lieu of the sentence awarded, if the offender be condemned to death or imprisonment for more than five years.

Having resigned all authority over the clergy, the schools, and the internal government of the dioceses into the hands of his bishops, and bound himself to protect the Church and her servants from all insults, and to lend aid in the execution of episcopal decisions, Francis Joseph might have been supposed to be doubly jealous of the right of nominating and controlling the persons invested with these powers. Instead of this he hastens to renounce it. The Holy See is henceforth to create or remodel the dioceses; and though the Imperial Government

is to be consulted, its opinion is not to be decisive; and when any bishopric is vacant the Emperor is to take counsel with the prelates of the ecclesiastical province on the candidate to be presented to the Pope for consecration. In certain cases, his Holiness is himself to nominate to ecclesiastical dignities, and the Emperor accepts from him, as a boon, the right of appointing to canonries supported by the *Fundus Religiosus et Studiorum* one of three candidates named by the bishop.*

Before the conclusion of the Concordat the special permission of the Diet was required in Hungary for the establishment of new religious orders, that of the sovereign in the other States of Austria; and the monks were strictly forbidden to communicate with their "generals" residing at Rome. Now, after giving notice to the Imperial Government, the prelates may establish the new religious orders in their respective dioceses, and exercise over them the authority given by the Council of Trent; the new convents are henceforth to be governed by the generals, who may order visitations. The monks are also to be obliged to live according to the strict rule laid down by their founders, a stipulation which has caused no small discontent in the convents. Authorized by this article, the Jesuits have been introduced throughout the empire, and have resumed possession of two houses in Hungary, formerly belonging to their order, which were bestowed on the Benedictines by Maria Theresa. They have also founded a college at Linz. Colonies of foreign monks and nuns of different orders have at the same time been established in the most Protestant provinces.

Though the extension of her power is the principal aim of the Church, she has never disdained material advantages; nor has she forgotten her usual practice in the present instance. She begins modestly, by stipulating for the increased payment of parish priests; but successive articles first empower her to acquire property by all lawful means, and recognise the inviolability of her possessions, then provide that her estates shall be administered according to ecclesiastical law, and neither sold nor mortgaged without the consent of the Pope and the Emperor. The property of the *Fundus Religiosus et Studiorum* is also to be administered in her name, and its proceeds, until they shall be appropriated to permanent ecclesiastical establishments, applied to church purposes and the education of the Catholic youth alone; a clause which deprives the mixed seminaries and the poorer Protestant churches of assistance they formerly received.

* This fund is composed of the property of religious orders abolished by Joseph II, and appropriated for the Church or education. The management was vested in individuals or corporate bodies, who appointed subjects to the royal approval.

The revenues of all vacant bishoprics and other benefices are henceforward to be paid over to this fund, instead of to the crown; and bishops elect are not to enjoy the revenues of their sees until after their complete ecclesiastical instalment; two articles which, taken together, tend greatly to the advantage of the Church.

Such are the provisions of the Concordat, divested of the confused phrases and loose expressions, which make the German official text nearly unintelligible, and leave an opening for the most inordinate future pretensions on the part of Rome, should she at any time be dissatisfied with her present gains, which already does not seem an improbable contingency. The most salient points are, first, the renunciation by the Emperor of all his sovereign rights over the Church in favour of the papacy; and secondly, the plenary power granted to the bishops. We are not sure if the inferior clergy, and the prelates themselves, have not more reason than the laity to complain of a treaty which deprives them of certain, though inferior privileges, and places the clergy at the mercy of bishops, themselves the slaves of the Pope. As an example of this truth we need only see how the 28th article affects the religious orders.

In Bohemia, and the German provinces, the bishops were eager to enforce this article;* but in Hungary the prelates themselves, deploring the loss of the privileges of their national Church, wished to protect the monks from its consequences, and at first opposed its execution. Thereupon the Pope sent a German bishop into Hungary to visit the convents, and compel the monks to sign an engagement henceforth strictly to observe the rules of their founders. „One of the points thus forced on their acceptance was, that any monk possessing property of greater value than one florin should be denied religious burial.† We are informed that no means were spared to obtain signatures, while the few monks who ventured on a steady opposition were secularized (forced to become secular priests). A few months since the Cistercian order elected three candidates for the vacant chair of abbot. The Government rejected the nominations because one of the three had not signed the new regulations.

Before the Concordat the cemeteries were common to Catholics and Protestants; since, the bishops have violently opposed this community, and many scandals have ensued in consequence: tombstones have been torn up, religious burial has been refused,

* Very lately Cardinal Schwartzberg, Archbishop of Prague, and chief of the ultramontane party, violently pressed this article on the Benedictine monks of Lembach, and to punish their resistance, appointed a new prior in defiance of their statutes. Foreign monks are also introduced into the convents as spies on their brethren.

† “Carebit sepultura ecclesiastica.”

and the feelings of families outraged. The article giving the ecclesiastical courts a right to decide on the impediments to marriage has also been a pretext for invading the privacy of families. In general, the bishops have refused to sanction all mixed marriages, which, in a country where the priestly benediction constitutes the civil tie, leaves the parties no resource but to become Protestants. Very lately complaints on this point were laid before the Council of the Empire, which declined to interfere. In some dioceses the bishops have ordered their priests to question candidates for matrimony in a manner that outrages all feelings of decorum; and in consequence, wherever the prelates have been eager to exercise their new rights, hundreds have abandoned the community of the Catholic Church.

Confession has ever been one of the chief engines of priestly power. In Austria it is now inculcated by every means, civil and religious. In country parishes the priests deliver certificates of confession to their penitents, and lately they have begun to collect these after Easter, in order to mark those who have been remiss in their attendance. Not only are the Catholic scholars obliged to confess, and partake of the sacrament twice a month, to attend mass daily, and listen to two sermons on Sundays, on pain of being refused their diplomas, but the same rule is applied, though less severely, to all persons employed by the Government, and the officers of the army. They are all obliged to bring to their official superiors certificates,* signed by a confessor, of their having duly performed their religious duties before and after Easter; and knowing the spirit by which the Austrian Government is animated, there can be no doubt that neglect of these obligations will be followed by loss of promotion, or even dismissal. The same rule, we believe, applies also to the private soldiers. Even before the conclusion of the Concordat, the Catholicising of the army was an object with the Government. The pupils in the military colleges supported by the State were obliged to learn the Catholic Catechism, and in the second year of their tuition, formally to abjure any dissident faith in which they might have been brought up. Protestant or Greek soldiers would rarely obtain permission to attend the preachings of their own ministers, whereas they were invariably compelled to be present at the Catholic festivals.

Pilgrimages have also been much insisted upon since the Concordat, and the number of pilgrims has greatly increased within the last three years. When the Primate of Hungary went on a pilgrimage to Maria-Zell, "to pray for the country," he was followed by twenty thousand persons, a demonstration which was

* Testimonium peractæ confessionis Paschalis.

by no means agreeable to the Government: but in general the pilgrims belong almost entirely to the lowest classes, and enrich the Church from their hard-won earnings. From a material point of view these pilgrimages are very injurious to the country: for they take place chiefly in August and September, and the labourers are thus taken from their work exactly at the epoch of the harvest. The assembling together of numbers of men, women, and children, ill-lodged and insufficiently fed, is also likely to produce disease.

Hitherto the Concordat has had less effect on the social and domestic relations of the people than we might at first be led to expect. Reflection, however, shows us that all the consequences of so vast a change could not possibly develope themselves at once; and, in one respect, the Concordat has overshot its mark. It has destroyed the unity of action and the strict subordination which has been the principal strength of the Catholic hierarchy. As each prelate is supreme in his own diocese, the personal character of the bishops has been the rule of their conduct; the violence of some has been counterbalanced by the gentleness of others; and many, especially those appointed under the wary, and somewhat latitudinarian Metternich, have been slow to disturb the harmony existing between themselves and their flocks by too rigorous an application of the Concordat.*

The priests, alarmed at the despotic power entrusted to the bishops, have been still more unwilling to alienate the people, with whose repugnance to the Concordat they fully sympathize. It is not till the present generation of priests have died out, and their places are supplied by men who have been educated since 1855, that the Concordat will fully bear fruit. The pupils in the seminaries are now brought up with a strictness hitherto unknown; and the priests entrusted with their education (and we believe the parish priests also), are obliged to present themselves before the bishop once a year, for the so-called exercises of Loyola. They spend seven days in prayer, shut up in cells, and in listening to the preachers appointed to address them, who are usually Jesuits.

Had it been possible, we should have wished to illustrate our remarks by particular examples of the manner in which the Concordat affects the moral and social relations of the people; but the time that has elapsed since its conclusion has been too short to allow such to come to light. The lines of conduct adopted by the different bishops have been so various as to prevent

* As an instance of the tolerance shown by some of the Catholic bishops, we may mention that of the Archbishop of Erlau (Albert Bartakovics) who lately wrote to a Reformed minister of his diocese, inclosing a subscription for the Protestant school in token of his good-will.

any one diocese from being a fair example of the whole. We can only show the power given to the bishops, and what consequences depend on their sole will. If they do not exercise their privileges, the Emperor is not the less to blame for having granted them. Signed three years and a half ago, part of the provisions of the Concordat have even now been scarcely carried into effect; for the ministers of Francis Joseph, alarmed at concessions which had been made without their knowledge, and fearing the future peril of the State, obtained from the Emperor permission to retard the full execution of the treaty until the organic laws of the Empire could be brought into harmony with it*—a task which is yet far from being concluded; and we learn that the German bishops are clamorous for the completion of arrangements that will enable them to exercise their new rights. Till this is done we cannot expect to see all the consequences of the Concordat develop themselves.

From a social and moral point of view, by far the most important clause of the Concordat is that which admits the Jesuits, and places education in their hands, and those of the bishops; but its effects will not be fully felt until a generation of scholars has grown up under their system—the more so as Count Leo Thun, Minister of Public Instruction, has by his ordinances done all in his power to counteract the increased influence of the bishops. This has drawn on him the hatred of the prelates, and especially of Cardinal Schwartzberg, who are intriguing to obtain his dismissal. The Jesuits have waited for no organic laws to introduce their propaganda, — which is especially active in Hungary, as the only state where the Protestants form a strongly-organized body. The centre of the schemes for Catholicising Hungary is the society of Saint Stephen (Szent-Istvan-Tarsulat), which, formed under the pretext of publishing ancient Hungarian manuscripts, holds public meetings, and spends large sums for the diffusion of Catholic writings. In nearly every town religious associations have been organized under various names,† but all directed by the Jesuits, who visit the members at their own houses, and (however contradictory this may be to their assumed office of *spiritual* directors) inquire into and advise them on their family affairs, and thus really exercise great temporal and social influence. The members of these societies engage themselves to

* Austria is not in the enjoyment of even one fundamental law. All the decrees of the Government begin: "The Emperor orders provisionally."

† Some of these societies, such as the "Cordis Jesu" and "Maria Assumptæ in Cœlum," existed before the expulsion of the Jesuits in the last century. The "Mariæ Immaculatæ" is new, and also the "St. Aloysii," which spreads itself among the scholars of the Catholic schools.

say certain prayers daily, to confess at the great festivals of the Church, to obey their spiritual guide, and especially to diffuse the society to which they belong by every means in their power.

Hormayer thus sums up the Jesuit system of education from the time of Leopold to that of Maria Theresa.* “They developed memory at the expense of understanding, free thought, and creative power, and thus instilled passive obedience and blind submission on all political and religious subjects. Their pupils were enclosed within a traditional circle of knowledge, adapted to the meanest capacity and impassable to the most brilliant talents. By employing the same professors, and an uniform system, they gave their public instruction a sort of compact, almost military appearance, and attained their aim by using individual vanity, envy, ostentation, as so many golden spurs, and the most serious moral faults as mysterious fetters. Memory, imitation, dialectics, gesticulation, were cultivated in place of the faculties of thought and invention, languages in place of ideas and things. Their theology and philosophy consisted of doctrines the most serviceable and congenial to the despotism it was their object to found on the ruins of all national institutions. They waged war on all symptoms of nationality, on all original languages (German as well as Bohemian or Hungarian), replacing them by a kind of bastard Latin, and national literature by mutilated classic† and history, written expressly to favour their absolutist views, which made no mention of the development of peoples, but consisted of meagre dynastic chronicles, which omitted princes who had been disobedient to the Church, and lauded to the skies such sovereigns as William of Bavaria, the inflexible Ferdinand, or Leopold the Great.”

Confirmation of these views is to be found in such writers as Schmidt and Pütter,‡ in the original instructions given by William of Bavaria (1584) to the teachers of his sons, and still more in the historical fact, that during the period instruction was in the hands of the Jesuits, no one standard work or brilliant name stands forth from amid the general aridity.

Some may perhaps be disposed to assert that this is the picture of a past age, and that maxims inculcated in the sixteenth century do not apply to the present time: but those who are well acquainted with the history of the order, cannot fail to be aware, that however ready the Jesuits may be to adapt their outward teachings to the times and places in which they live, their prin-

* Anemonem.

† “*Selecta Auctorum Classicorum*,” consisting of extracts from the classic authors, is the book out of which the Catholic youth in Austria are taught.

‡ “*History of the Germans*.” “*Political Constitution of the Germanic Empire*.”

ciple never varies. Indeed, what else can be expected from those who have thus recorded their ideal of a well-educated youth? "Let him be as a corpse, which complaineth not if abused, nor murmureth though necessities be denied; which hath no will, but that of him who handles it: as a statue, which exulteth not if praised, nor is offended if attacked, nor murmurs, grieves, nor resists if struck;"* while in politics they profess, "it would most conduce to the benefit of the people if the pestilential seeds of the politicians being removed, and the *temporal dominion united to the spiritual, affairs were governed and administered by us alone.*"†

Such are the maxims of the order to whom the Concordat entrusts education. The consequences that must ensue from them are so glaring, that it is scarcely necessary to point them out. In the provinces, where there are no Protestant colleges, parents have no choice but to commit their children to these instructors, or to educate them at home,—a course destructive to their future prospects, as an academical diploma is required for the exercise of any profession. In Hungary the Protestant lyceums, which the Concordat has nowise affected, would appear to afford a resource; but as we might pre-suppose, a Government which had done all in its power to revive the darkness of the Middle Ages, and in the nineteenth century has acknowledged the authority of the decrees of the Council of Trent (which Ferdinand I. only accepted conditionally,‡ and which neither he nor his son Maximilian ever proposed as laws of the Empire, and only admitted in the hereditary States, "as far as was consistent with the laws," a proviso that entirely changed their spirit),—has not shrunk from attacking the Protestants,§ and endeavouring to suppress their schools.

History tells us of a bishop of Erlau who forcibly seized on the Protestant college of Eperies in the seventeenth century, and gave it to the Jesuits, and of abbots who depopulated the Protestant villages on their estates. The means employed at

* "Debet esse sicut cadaver in quo non est contradictio, si vilipenditur; nullum murmur, si etiam necessaria negantur; nulla voluntas ut velit aliud, quam ille a quo tractatur. Sicut statua, quæ, dum laudatur, non extollitur, dum vituperatur non ægre fert; dum cæditur non dolet, nec cedit, nec murmurat."

† "Maximum in populi utilitatem cessurum esset, si pestifero semini politicorum sublato, et temporali dominio cum spirituali conjuncto, solum modo a nobis res regerentur, et administrarentur."

‡ Ferdinand demanded that the cup should be granted to the laity, and that the marriage of the priests should be authorized. Paul Sarpi.

§ The Protestants have complained to the Council of the Empire against the encroachments of the clergy on their privileges, but have obtained no redress.

present are less violent, but quite as dangerous. The Jesuit propaganda, carried on by the religious societies and the foreign monks and nuns, is directed against the Reformed religion itself, and various decrees of the Government menace the independence, if not the existence, of the Protestant colleges. By one of the most recent and important of these, each college is obliged to maintain a fixed number of professors, receiving salaries determined by the Government. Should the endowment fund be insufficient, the Government engages to bear these charges, *provided* the direction of the college be resigned into its hands; and if this offer is refused, the college is to lose its power of conferring degrees.

The peril contained in this regulation is obvious. To accept Government aid is to place the lyceums in the hands of the Jesuits; and few, if any, of the Protestant endowments will suffice to support the number of professors fixed by the decree; while, if assistance be refused, and the power of conferring diplomas lost, the scholars will be deprived of the outward rewards of an academical education. In this emergency the Protestants have exerted themselves strenuously to increase the endowments of their colleges by fresh donations, and we learn that some nobles have pledged themselves to pay a certain sum yearly to the Protestant treasury; but their incomes are so reduced by the exactions of the Government that there is reason to fear their power may not be equal to the necessity, and we have indeed heard that certain colleges are likely to be closed rather than deliver their pupils up to the Jesuits. Perhaps Protestant England, profuse in its expenditure on religious missions, will not look on with indifference while the only Protestant colleges in the east of Europe are destroyed, but will rather act again as she did in the case of the Transylvanian college of Enyed, part of whose endowment, furnished by English subscribers, is still invested in the English Funds. Some subscriptions have, to our knowledge, been already forwarded. But the English Parliament and people seem to have evinced more substantial sympathy for Hungarian independence and Protestantism in the days of Anne, than may be safely counted on in those of Victoria.

There can be no doubt that Francis Joseph has weakened the present, and still more the future, possible spirit of opposition among his subjects by identifying his interests with those of the papacy, by increasing the power of the prelates, and especially by confiding education to the Jesuits. He has served the cause of centralization by annihilating the privileges of the Hungarian Church, which, imbued with a spirit of nationality, was the only vestige of independence that had survived the convulsions of 1848; and we learn that the Hungarian clergy have been already alarmed by an attempt to abolish the Primacy of Gran, which,

if successful, would destroy the last semblance of liberty, in order to swell the dignity of the German Primate, who resides at Vienna. The pupils of the Jesuits, inspired by the maxims of the order, are likely to prove obedient subjects, yet we think it may be questioned whether Francis Joseph has really strengthened the foundations of his throne, and whether, after increasing the power of the Church, he may not find, that, like the enchanter in an old legend, he has raised spirits he is unable to control.

Not to mention the probability of his object being defeated by the secession of the people from the Catholic Church, which, in fact, they are leaving by hundreds in dioceses where the bishops have exercised their new powers intemperately, Francis Joseph should, for his own sake, have paused before he delivered himself into the hands of those who have declared cases to exist in which tyrannicide is laudable, and who have at all times denied the divine origin of monarchy. At the Council of Trent, Laynez, the second General of the Jesuits, asserted the royal authority to subsist by the delegation of the people;* and his opinion is supported by the writings of Bellarmine† and Mariana, who claim absolute power for the Pope on the very ground of the original inferiority of monarchical institutions.

Sound statesmanship would not have courted the alliance of men bound by their fundamental maxims to assert supremacy on every favourable occasion; and it is a remarkable fact that not one of the ministers of Francis Joseph was friendly to the Jesuits, or in favour of the Concordat. Count Buol is said to have thrown every obstacle in its way, and it is certain that the higher aristocracy, especially that of Bohemia, unanimously opposed its conclusion. We must therefore regard it as a personal act of the sovereign, urged on by the secret council, or camarilla, that raised him to the throne. The very existence of this camarilla has been disputed, as often as alleged; and in the absence of irrefutable documentary proof, it would be rash to ascribe too much effect to its influence. Still the moral and circumstantial evidence which testifies to its power is so strong, that we cannot but deem it probable that the political reaction of 1848, and the concessions to the Pope in 1855, may justly be attributed to the

* "There is an antithesis," said he, in 1562, "between the *Church of God* and the *States of men*. The Church did not form herself, but received her government from her sovereign, Christ. States are self-formed. All power at first belonged to the people, who delegated it to their leaders without renouncing their right to it."

† Bellarmine says—"The people have the right to set up a king, or consuls, or other magistrates. They may equally change a monarchy into an aristocracy or a democracy, if they have just cause, as happened in Rome." Mariana is equally explicit.

same extra-official influence, the more so as the ultramontane tendencies of the Imperial family and court are scarcely disguised, and we may note, in confirmation of this assumption, that the privileges resigned by Francis Joseph, now that the Papacy and the Order of Jesus are in close alliance, are precisely those defended by the first Ferdinand when the growing strength and power of the Jesuits was a cause of alarm and jealousy to the Popes themselves.

The Concordat is not an isolated fact, the consequences of which affect Austria alone. It is rather a link in the chain of events since 1848. No man can deny that despotism, whether political or religious, has gained ground during the last ten years. Many constitutions have been swept away, many free states have been enslaved; and in proof of the parallel advance of the papal power we may point not only to the Concordat in Austria, but to the preponderance of the ultramontane party in France, a preponderance none the less real for being based on no written treaty.

In Austria, unrestrained by the dread of public indignation, the Jesuits were anxious to obtain a footing independent of the personal pleasure of the sovereign, one which might eventually enable them to control his actions; and for a time at least they have been successful. Urged on by his blind hatred of all nationalities, allured by the hope of obtaining the support of the Jesuits in his favourite scheme of centralization—motives skillfully worked upon by the councillors at whose influence we have hinted—Francis Joseph signed the Concordat. We do not think it possible, however, that in the nineteenth century a country should be forced back into the darkness of the Middle Ages. Public opinion is like steam—it may be compressed for awhile, but its explosion will finally be violent in exact proportion to the force by which it was held down. Nations are not metals, that can be flung into a furnace and fused into one mass. The distinctions of race, manners, and creed, may yield to time, to constant and free communication, to common interests, but cannot be suddenly obliterated by the fiat of a despot. The human mind has a natural tendency to rebel against brute force, and we do not suppose that the different nations which, united, compose Austria, are so devoid of this universal feeling as eternally to submit to the influences now exercised over them. Nay, more, we believe that the present system bears within itself the seeds of its future destruction; and that the very power bestowed on the priesthood, the excesses into which a part of the clergy are betrayed by exultation, contrasted with the moderation of their wiser brethren, may together serve to open the eyes of their flocks, and thus prepare their own downfall.

In the later days of pagan Rome despotism seemed to have

attained the utmost limits of human power. The emperors ruled the world, and the fugitive from their cruelty found no land on which to rest his foot. From a province of the distant East came forth the votaries of a new and then uncorrupted creed. The dominant priesthood, drunk with power, persecuted and cannibalized over all around them, but, as time rolled on, the martyrs stood upon the ruins of the heathen altars, and the Roman empire was broken up into as many states as it had numbered provinces. We cannot but fancy some analogy between that time and our own. Rome again domineers over the world. forgetful of the example of the lowly Jesus and his early disciples, proud priests strive to repress all expression of human thought and freedom, and mock science and common sense alike, by producing miracles which would hardly have found believers in the dark ages. Liberty has her martyrs as well as religion, and we need not but hope that the fate of their pagan predecessors may overtake those who have dared to pervert the faith of Him, whose special servants they call themselves, into an instrument of persecution and self-aggrandizement, and that they may end by destroying the very empire they have been summoned to uphold.

But the advance of the Jesuits, and the internal causes which, in our opinion, must lead to their downfall wherever they are left unrestrained, are subjects which cannot be discussed within the space now at our disposal: we therefore conclude by commending to the attention of our readers the words of Cromwell on this important subject. Two hundred years ago he thus addressed the Parliament of England:—"Look how the House of Austria is prepared to destroy the whole Protestant interest in Hungary. You may say, it is a great way off, what is it to us? If it be nothing to you, let it be nothing to you, but I tell you that it is something to you. It concerns all your religions, and all the best interests of England." Those words were never more applicable than now.

ART. III.—THE SANITARY CONDITION OF THE ARMY.

A Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the Regulations affecting the Sanitary Condition of the Army. The Organization of Military Hospitals, and the Treatment of the Sick and Wounded, with Evidence and Appendix. (Presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of Her Majesty). London. 1858.

ENGLAND has always been jealous of standing armies. In their long struggles for freedom, the people have found how important it is that they, as well as the Sovereign, should have a hand on the hilt of the sword of state. Even when the relations of the governor and the governed have been at the best, the latter seem never to have lost sight of possible contingencies, and took care that, in case of recourse to the *ultima ratio*, no danger should arise from any incautious confidence in quiet times. A large home military force, maintained irrespective of foreign enemies or foreign apprehensions, imbued with a thoroughly military spirit, and animated by a devotion to their colours, in which the sense of citizenship is altogether lost, is what we never have seen in this country, and probably never shall. We have maintained large armies abroad, in foreign wars—large armies at home, to resist apprehended invasion—but the former were not standing armies, for they ceased to stand from the moment that peace was attained; and the latter were composed chiefly of militia, who have always claimed to be the parliamentary, or people's army. It is true that this distinction is a good deal lost, simply because the Queen's army—voted by parliament, paid by parliament, disciplined, distributed, and governed by ministers responsible to parliament—has lost its character as the personal instrument of the Crown, and has accordingly ceased to give ground for jealousy or apprehension on the part of the people. We still object to large armies, but on other grounds. Of our two great services, the navy is the popular one. As islanders our first and best defence must always be on the water. It is not till that line is broken through (and woe betide the day!) that our safety can depend on trained battalions. Again, it is by sea only that our vast colonial empire can be defended. It is on the sea that our unnumbered merchant vessels, scattered over every ocean, require protection. It is on the sea that our greatest, because most undivided glory has been attained. Our interest as traders,

and our vanity as a martial nation, alike combine to make the sea-service our *decus et tutamen*. The standard of both our services is kept within limits by economy; for being an industrial people we are also a thrifty people; we grudge men to unprofitable employments, and we do not like expenditure, because we do not like taxes.

But for the reasons above stated, when the pruning-knife is applied, it is the army that is first reduced. We have ceased to fear it for our liberties, but we fear it for our pockets. We feel, too, that large armies have their temptations to ministers. They have before now been the origin, as well as the instrument, of a captious, arrogant, meddlesome, "spirited" foreign policy, which diverts public attention from domestic reforms, for which, may be, the minister has no stomach; and little bullying piratical wars are undertaken, to justify the retention of a large force. An ambitious minister, particularly if a popular one, requires under these circumstances to be kept low. It is unnecessary to give further reasons why our standing army will always, probably, be a small one; and the fact that it is raised by voluntary enlistment alone, is a reason why its numbers cannot be rapidly augmented.

But in proportion as it is small it ought, if on that account only, to be as efficient as care and discipline can make it. We would compensate, by efficiency for want of numbers. What we have we must have of the best material, worked up into the most highly-finished and enduring article; for our army is a nucleus, and there must be in it skill and efficiency to spare, enough indeed to leaven the accession of mere brute force, which alone upon an emergency we can add to it.

This is not the place to discuss the relative value of compulsory as against voluntary service. For the purpose we have in view, it is sufficient to state the fact, that whatever be the case with the militia, for whom by law, though not now in practice, we have a conscription, we have none for the regular army. We cannot afford to spend our men as continental monarchs can, who know that every stroke of the pen will set in motion another decimation of the peasantry, which will be equivalent to so many thousand men. We get our men with difficulty, by every kind of cajoling and inducement we can devise, and in our necessity descend to those means which men do not have recourse to till they think all others are exhausted. We cannot then afford to waste our men, but as we want to use them, we must learn to husband them.

Of all the causes or means of destruction to which the profession of arms exposes mankind, that which ranks lowest in point of blood-guiltiness, consists of shot, shell, bayonet, and sabre. The actual destruction effected upon one another in fair fight, in the field, by contending armies, is as nothing. That which de-

stroys an army in the field is disease ; superinduced by exposure, by fatigue, by insufficient and unwholesome food, by insufficient clothing, by want of cleanliness in camp and in person, by ill-chosen sites for encampments, by crowding in insufficient buildings in towns,—in short, partly by necessity, but partly also by ignorance, and by a kind of traditional disrespect for precautions, and indifference to all but the more stirring but less fatal risks attendant on collision with the enemy.

The greatest commanders have always been great precautionists, and have habitually entered into the minutest details connected with the preservation of the health of their men. The Duke of Wellington said if he knew anything he knew how to feed an army ; no mean matter when health is to be preserved ; and his quick observation and intuitive sense soon made a sanitarian of him. Napoleon, who, perhaps, was the greatest general the world has seen, epigrammatized his experience of the means of strategic success in the well-known irreverent form, “*Le bon Dieu se range toujours du côté des gros bataillons.*” And his whole object was to produce his *gros bataillons* in the best possible condition at the decisive moment. He bestowed much thought therefore on the preservation of his army in the intervals between fighting. Not from humanity but from calculation ; for he would sooner bury his men when once sick, than treat them ; inasmuch as sick men take the pay and consume the rations which would maintain sound men in their places. But even Napoleon lost far more men out of action than in it. The Russian Campaign of 1812 was a signal instance of this ; for, though he fought the bloodiest battle on record since the use of gunpowder, the killed and wounded make but little show in the wholesale destruction which mismanagement brought upon the “*Grande Armée.*” The statistics of that campaign are so curious that they deserve to be reproduced. The policy of Napoleon, as admitted or rather held up to imitation in his correspondence with his brother Joseph, was always to magnify his forces before battle, in order to intimidate the enemy and encourage his own men ; to understate his losses for the same reasons, and for the heightening of his own success and reputation ; and lastly, to lay the blame of failure on anything and anybody except himself. The popular belief still remains extant that the *Grande Armée* consisted of 400,000 men, that there was a great victory at Borodino, and a triumphant march to Moscow, but that the army was subsequently destroyed by the rigours of a winter unusually rigorous even for Russia. Now the “*states*” of the *Chef d’Etat Major* quoted by Carnot, who was war minister, give the numbers of the invading army which crossed the Niemen on the 24th of June, at 302,000 men and 104,000 horses. On the advance to Moscow was fought the

great battle of Borodino. In this battle there were put *hors de combat*, that is killed and wounded, on the side of the Russians no less than 30 generals, 1600 officers, and 42,000 men. While the French, according to Marshal Berthier's papers, subsequently taken at Wilna, had in killed and wounded 40 generals, 1800 officers, and 52,000 men. The French, however, claimed the victory, inasmuch as the Russians fell back after the battle, and left the French in possession of the ground.

The cold began on November the 7th; but three days before the cold began, namely, on the 4th of November, there remained of the mighty host that had crossed the Niemen but 55,000 men and 12,000 horses; 247,000 men had perished, or become ineffective in 133 days. Of the 55,000 men, however, plus any reinforcements they may have met on the way, 40,000 returned to France, showing how few men were lost in that masterly retreat, either by the severity of the winter or the harassing attacks of the enemy. But even if three-fourths of the wounded at Borodino had died, and allowing for those killed in minor actions and operations, there would remain nearly 200,000 men who perished by insufficient commissariat—by want of forethought. The Count de Ségur, the historian of this campaign, considers that the genius of Napoleon had culminated before he undertook this expedition, famous among the world's disasters; and that constant prosperity had led him to look on success as so certain that he neglected the means of attaining it. Any way, here is an instance under the greatest of generals, that it is not the enemy, however numerous or skilful, who effect the destruction of armies. It is fatigue, exposure, want of food, want of shelter, want of clothing, want of sanitary prevention.

We cannot enter now into the question how far this is remediable—how far energetic precaution may counteract, in part at least, the ill effects of risks which must be encountered. That they must be encountered, and that war must be more or less destructive of armies' apart from collision with the enemy, is obvious; but the question arises, why should peace too be destructive of armies?—why, when there need be no exposure, no fatigue, no deficiency in food or clothing, no exceptional circumstances whatever, should the profession of arms entail on those who adopt it a higher rate of mortality than almost any other profession?

No argument can be so eloquent as the figures which give the comparison of the mortality of different avocations, and different localities, with that of the army. In order to avoid fractions, we have taken the number of deaths of 10,000, instead of 1000 men.—

Deaths per 10,000 per Annum at the Soldiers' Ages.

London Fire Brigade (ages 40—60)	70
Metropolitan Police	76
England (Healthy Districts)	77
Agricultural Labourers	80
Out-Door Trades in Towns	85
Navy (Home Stations)	88
City Police	89
England	92
Twenty-four Large Towns	119
Manchester	124
Infantry of the Line	187
Foot Guards	204
Household Cavalry	110
Dragoon Guards and Dragoons	133

And yet these facts, appalling as they are, and unaccountable as at first sight they seem to be, were established beyond a doubt twenty years ago by Colonel Tulloch, who, by command of the War office, then administered by the present Lord Grey, compiled from the Regimental Returns some admirable tables, showing not only the absolute but the comparative mortality of the army at home. Mr. Hume moved for the returns, and they were laid on the table of the House of Commons. But there the besetting sin of the veteran reformer left them. His diffusion over many subjects left the greater number uncompleted. He was content to rest when he had got that which he was always asking for, "information," and it remained useless because unused. The world in general knew little, perhaps cared little, about the matter. The subject was dry; the figures looked repulsive; and no recent military successes, or military disasters, had fired the imaginations or roused the indignation of the public—so the matter slept.

Later events have excited the popular interest and the popular sympathy with the army. We have felt anew the responsibilities of a nation towards those to whom we entrust the defence of our soil and our honour. While in this mood the report of the Royal Commission on the Health of the Army was laid before Parliament. It was eagerly taken up by the Press. It was extracted, abridged, analysed, commented on, and excited a marked interest among all classes of society. This was not owing to any discoveries made by the commissioners, for they did not affect to have made any, but their report showed knowledge of detail, a conscientious and rigorous examination of facts, a careful abstinence from exaggeration, and a brevity in statement, which tended greatly to popularize the subject. The report also derived authority, not only from the composition of the commission, but from

the names of the witnesses who were examined, and on whose evidence the commissioners founded their conclusions. The only fear was, that the almost universal assent with which the report was received, would be fatal to the practical adoption of its recommendations; that the subject would die out for want of controversy, and, in the silence of universal consent, that the pressure would be wanting which would set in motion the cumbrous torpor of the vast department on whose action the adoption of the reforms indicated must depend. The English people, however, cannot afford to let this subject die out; and it is only by discussion that they can maintain their property in it. Large administrative offices, if inclined to shelve a question, have wonderful facilities for doing it. It is done without parade or ostentation, with a respectful silence, but the interment is none the less complete. Other subjects arise, which however ephemeral in their character, have an interest for the hours during which they last, and the public gaze is diverted from the graver matter which is kept in the background.

We confess, then, that we left this subject when last we had occasion to treat it, with considerable misgiving as to its future. Its success seemed to be its danger. Nothing was yet done. It was the success of an essay, not of an act; the advice had been admitted to be sound, but it had not yet been followed; the prescription was good, but it had not yet been taken, nor even as yet made up.

We promised to revert to the subject, and it is well in doing so to take stock of the progress, if any, made in the interval.

Believing, as we do, that a strong continuous expression of public opinion is the true motive power to impel to action public offices and public men, and holding, as we have said, that without the fuel of controversy the continuous fire of public opinion cannot be maintained, we have rejoiced to see that the conclusions of the report have been subjected to question, attack, and contradiction, by opponents more or less formidable. There can be no doubt, that the cause of army sanitary reform derived a fresh impulse from the onslaught made by the Guards' officers in the House of Commons on the figures which represented the mortality of the Guards not only as more than double that of the civil population, but as exceeding that of any other corps in the whole army. The officers disbelieved the fact, and the history of their disbelief is curious and important too, as showing how great is the disadvantage under which the regimental authorities, medical as well as combatant, labour for want of a good system of military statistics, and the constant promulgation through all corps of the results as affecting the whole and all the component parts of the army.

The Guards' surgeons, it is said, had counted up the deaths in the respective hospitals, and found the numbers less than those given by the Royal Commission as the mortality of their regiment; but they forgot the men, and they are not few, who die out of hospital and on furlough, the practice, it appears, being to give leave of absence to those poor fellows whose lung diseases are confirmed, whose cases are hopeless, who yearn for home, and who are humanely allowed to go and close their eyes among their own kith and kin. The medical officers had thus misled the Parliamentary Guardsmen; but the error being discovered before the return was presented to Parliament, a corrected edition was finally produced which established the accuracy of the statistics on which the arguments of the Royal Commission were founded.

The statistics, therefore, now stand much better than if they had never been questioned, but the error of the Guards' medical officers bore excellent fruit in other ways. First, all the officers, medical and combatant, were induced to look closely into the facts. They began an investigation which turned out far more serious than they expected, and which they will not now abandon, for it is an error to suppose, as some people seem to have assumed, that there is among the officers of the Guards an indifference to the welfare of the men. On the contrary, it was remarked by more than one intelligent observer in the Crimea, that the personal relations between officers and men were perhaps on a better footing in the Guards than in the Line, partaking less of the austerity of discipline, and showing more individual interest in the men. But habit and ignorance make all men in all professions wonderfully acquiescent in evils which, if once known and felt, are remediable. If any one two years ago had told a Guards' or a Line officer that the mortality in the respective corps was twenty or eighteen in a thousand, he would have told them that which they did not know, but which would have made no great impression on their mind. They would have taken for granted that the rate was about that incidental to adult males of the same ages under any circumstances, and everything would have gone on as before.

Some discussion, however, next arose as to the order of precedence in which the causes of this mortality, as assigned by the Royal Commission, ought to stand. The report enumerates over-crowding in barracks, combined with want of ventilation, sometimes with defective sewerage, night duty, want of variety in exercise, and want of employment, and, lastly, as the result of the former, dissipation and excess as the main cause of the fearful mortality which thins the ranks of the army in England.

The Commission seemed disinclined to attach any great im-

portance to night duty, and adduced the example of the police, who perform much severer night duty than is ever required from soldiers, with a far lower rate of mortality. This comparison was objected to, on the ground that, though the mortality of the Guards and the corps of the army which habitually perform the most night duty was greater than in the police, yet that invaliding is less in that corps than in the police, provided all the discharges in the former case and all the resignations in the latter, are included under the general term of invaliding; the fairness of this objection appears, at least, doubtful, the resignations in the police being very numerous and to be attributed, no doubt in many cases, as also the discharges in the army, to other causes than the failure of health. Taking a mean, however, between the metropolitan and city police, and adopting this mode of comparison, the difference between that force and the Guards probably would not amount to much. We object, however, to the comparison, on the opposite grounds, namely, that there is no parity, either as to the frequency or duration of the night work done. The night duty of the policeman lasts eight hours, and is given every night in the week, till the term of his furlough comes round—that of the soldier is stated at the utmost, if it be taken at three nights in the week, and four hours in the night; indeed, with the larger battalions we have maintained of late years, it might be stated as low as two nights in the week. Those four hours are not consecutive, but are divided into two spells, of two hours each, with two hours' interval, spent on the guard-room plank bed; whereas the policeman is on his legs, in all weathers, without intermission, every night for eight consecutive hours. Clearly, if the mortality and invaliding corresponded with the duty, the deleterious nature of which is insisted upon, the police would die or be disabled at a rate much exceeding that of the Guards. The same objection applies to a case much stronger than that of the police, and for which we are indebted, not to the Commissioners, who seem to have been ignorant of it, but to Dr. Guy, who quotes it in his lecture on the sanitary condition of the army, delivered in 1858, at the United Service Institution, namely, that of the London Fire Brigade, the details of whose service were communicated to him by Mr. Braidwood, who is the superintendent:—

“The ages of the firemen range from twenty to sixty and upwards; and there is one man now in the service in his 70th year, quite able to take his turn of duty with the rest. The men are carefully selected, full three-fourths of them having been men-of-war's men. Each man, on the average, has been on duty, three days and three nights, of twelve hours each, in every week of the past year. This is exclusive of attendance to clean the engines and tools, and keep the hose in order, and of a sort of engine-drill for the younger men twice a week. The men

also attend and work at fires, where they are in the midst of intense heat, steam, and smoke, saturated with water, and obliged to stand in elevated situations exposed to severe and cutting winds, so that the men are often seen in winter, literally encrusted with ice. They are sometimes called out by fires, or alarms of fire, as many as four times in a night. But, notwithstanding this hard duty, for the first thirteen years of the establishment, the deaths were at the rate of 96 per 10,000; while for the last twelve years they have fallen to 70 per 10,000. Both these calculations include deaths by accident. The higher mortality of the early period is attributed, and probably with justice, to less careful selection; but the moderate rate prevailing throughout the whole period of twenty-five years is evidently to be attributed to the unusual care and attention bestowed on the comforts and health of the men, who live either at the stations or in houses provided by the establishment, and subject to careful inspection.

“Here, then, we have a case of night-work and exposure to weather certainly far exceeding in severity the night duty which the foot soldier has to perform, but being accompanied by the most scrupulous care of the health and comforts of the men, it is compatible with the very favourable rate of mortality shown in the Table. May not the unfavourable death-rate of 204 in 10,000, prevailing among the Foot Guards, be partly accounted for by the substitution of carelessness for care?”

The very pertinent question with which Dr. Guy concludes his description of the service and health of the firemen was answered by anticipation by the officers of the Guards, who pointed out that the policeman, with his well-spun cloth coat, his sound boots, his oil-skin cape, was far better protected than the soldier, who came every two hours into the ill-ventilated guard-room where, in bad weather, his wet clothes were steaming in the close and heated atmosphere, till his turn came again to leave that vapour-bath and plunge into the cold and wet to pace up and down for another two hours, opposite his sentry-box. Truly, it is not the night duty, but the way in which it is done, which kills the men. The extreme length of the duty performed nightly by the police appears most questionable, and would fully account for the greater mortality of the night than of the day force; but the description given by military witnesses of the soldier's night duty, shows that, though far less trying to the strength, human ingenuity could scarcely devise a system more trying to health. Are spongy clothes, absence of waterproof, and frequent and violent alternations of temperature, indispensable to discipline? And cannot the good sense of the military authorities devise a remedy for evils which appear to have no compensation, and from which no earthly being derives advantage? So far as the Guards are concerned, the public has taken up the subject of their peculiar mortality, with great and not unna-

tural interest, since they garrison our metropolis, and are a corps whose magnificent appearance and perfect discipline is ever under our eyes; but the Royal Commissioners, dealing with the army as a whole, suggested remedies as for the whole, and contented themselves with pointing out the higher rates prevalent in the Guards, without attempting to account for them. Indeed, the President of the Commission stated frankly in the House of Commons, that he for one could not account for them; he only showed that it was not, as had been stated, the result of greater sexual debauchery than in other corps, for he showed that their admissions into hospital for venereal complaints are less instead of more than in the infantry of the Line; and he certainly did not simplify the problem, when he further showed that there is a permanent standing difference in the rates of mortality of the three regiments of Guards, which has been rather increasing than decreasing of late years, till the Grenadiers stand at 21.05 per 1000, the Coldstream at 18.20, and the Scots Fusileers at 15.60—a difference which, as their barracks, their clothing, and their duty, are identical, can hardly be attributed to minute differences in discipline alone, though the latter regiment, we have heard it said, claim a certain superiority in point of conduct. More is probably owing to greater strictness in the original selection of the men, or to a recruiting connexion with hardier races of some of our healthy districts.

These are questions of great interest, and can only be solved by a careful comparison of the drill, punishments, hospital treatment, conduct, and habits of the three regiments; and we trust that the officers of the Guards, whether combatant or medical, will not lose sight of them.

The result, however, of these discussions certainly was not to shake the credit nor to invalidate the conclusions of the Royal Commission, for in the course of them not only did the Secretary of State for War give his general adhesion to them, and pledge the Government to their adoption, but the House of Commons, after a protracted discussion, with a general and rare consent, passed a series of Resolutions, at the instance of Lord Ebrington, pledging the House to carry the recommendations of the Commission into effect. So far, so good

Since that time, however, an opponent more formidable than the Guards' officers has arisen to question, not the data on which the Commissioners have argued nor the facts which they have exposed, but the deductions they have drawn from them, and consequently the remedies which they have advised. Mr. Neison, the eminent actuary, (in an elaborate paper read before the British Association at Leeds) challenges the medical opinions hazarded by the Commissioners. He denies that a vitiated atmo-

sphere can be the cause of pulmonary disease. He shows which towns are the most and which are the less overcrowded, and that diseases of the zymotic class vary, increase, or diminish accordingly, but that these differences in crowding have no perceptible influence on consumption at all.

The logical consequence of Mr. Neison's argument seems to be, either that soldiers are not overcrowded inasmuch as they die of pulmonary more than by zymotic disease, or that they are overcrowded, but that the disease of which they die is not pulmonary; that the diagnosis of the medical officers is defective; and that a hectic complexion, pain in the side, cough, wasting, and expectoration are symptoms, not of consumption, but of cholera or typhus, which would be absurd. We therefore assume that the first is Mr. Neison's meaning, and if he be right it will follow from it that the soldier does not require additional space; that the sanitary condition of the barracks is on the whole good, and that any attempt at improvement would be no more than a wanton, because unnecessary, expenditure of money.

• These consequences are so serious, and the prospect they offer so inviting, especially when held out by so high an authority, that it will be well to examine the arguments by which the theory is supported.

This controversy seems to have arisen, as half the controversies in the world do, from the inaccurate use of terms. Mr. Neison says that overcrowding, *per se*, does not generate consumption, in which assertion we cordially concur; and he goes on to say what overcrowding, *per se*, does produce, and he tells us it produces fevers and bowel complaints, and the whole class of zymotic diseases. This we utterly deny. Overcrowding does not generate disease at all. It is the presence or absence of a sufficient supply of air for the consumption of each person in a room which affects the health. It is not on the size of the room, but on the size of the apertures into the room, that life depends. Dr. Bence Jones, in his report on the method of determining what number of persons ought to be accommodated in a given space, addressed to the Poor-Law Board in 1856, says:—

“If a single man constantly inhabits the largest room, he will, if it be perfectly closed, be poisoned in it just as certainly as in the smallest room, the difference will only be in the time required; and whether in the small room or in the large room, to live healthily he would require only the same amount of ventilation. The rate of passage of the air (depending on the size of the openings, and the difference of temperature within and without the room,) is the important question; for the cubic contents which are enough or too much when one amount of ventilation exists are quite insufficient when the ventilation is less; that is, when the expired air is not sufficiently removed.”

And he illustrates this position very happily by the example of a fish confined under water in a glass tube open at the two ends:—

“The time during which the fish would live in the tube would not depend on the cubic contents of the tube, but on the quantity of water caused to pass through the openings; so the cubic contents of a room will give no more information than the cubic contents of the glass tube.”

Men may therefore be thoroughly well supplied with air in a very small space, and very ill in a large one. A man in a diving-helmet has the smallest conceivable amount of cubic space—merely a few inches—round his face, but a pump at the other end of a tube is filling his lungs with fresh air all the while; on the other hand, many a wealthy but ignorant invalid is being gradually poisoned in a vast apartment, which the most accurate joiner's work, aided by paste and tow, has made as impervious to fresh air as the coffin to which it is sending him.

The truth is, there can be no fixed rule as to cubic space, unless you combine with it a fixed amount of ventilation per head.

But that a certain cubic space is indispensable to comfort in every room thoroughly ventilated on any plan yet known, is so evident that it may be assumed to be an invariable rule. A few words will explain this.

There is very great difference of opinion as to the amount of fresh air which should be supplied per minute to each inhabitant of a room, to keep him in health. Carbonic acid is a poison, and it is expired from the lungs, but it is by no means established that it is the only poison so expired, but being both detectable and appreciable without difficulty, it may be used as a rough index to the quantity of foul air which should be removed from and the quantity of fresh air which should be supplied to a room inhabited by any given number of persons. The foul air must be so expelled, and the remainder so diluted, that the whole atmosphere of the room shall contain a per centage of carbonic acid so small as to be innocuous. How much this should be is a matter of dispute. Dr. Arnott thinks that one part of carbonic acid in three or even four hundred is injurious, and therefore that a supply of three or four cubic feet per minute, which is calculated to effect that per centage, is insufficient. Dr. Reid recommends ten cubic feet per minute, which would reduce the carbonic acid to one thousandth part. In the French Chamber of Deputies each person had a supply of three cubic feet per minute in winter, and six in summer. These estimates are all given by Dr. Bence Jones. In the prisons Colonel Jebb gives to each prisoner a supply of 1800 cubic feet per hour, or 30 cubic feet per minute, which, in a cell of 900 cubic contents, would give an entire change of atmosphere every half hour.

Now, the great difference in these estimates, all formed by competent and skilful men, shows how rough they are, and how little is yet positively ascertained on the subject. But if there be difference of opinion as to the quantity of air which should be admitted, still greater is the difference of opinion as to *how* it shall be admitted. Extraction of air by single shafts, by double shafts, by shafts with furnaces, by shafts without furnaces—impulsion of air by fans, through hollow beams, through openings below, openings above, openings from under the floor, openings over the windows—ventilation which acts by the opening of windows—ventilation which will not act unless every window is kept closed—each of these systems has an inventor, a prospectus, and certificates without end, from learned and unlearned men, testifying to their complete success in unnumbered instances. Each derides his co-inventor, and maintains that his own is the one and only infallible nostrum. In truth they are all good, for they all succeed in bringing in pure air and letting out the foul; and they are all unobjectionable, so long as they are applied in moderation and in rooms not too densely inhabited, and when, consequently, the amount of air to be brought in for the consumption of the inmates, bears a small proportion to the whole amount of atmosphere in the room: or, where the room is inhabited but a part of the twenty-four hours, or of the day; or in halls and churches, where the stock of pure air at the beginning is so large that it nearly lasts out the audience or the congregation temporarily contained in them. But when you have, as in a barrack-room, a large number of adult men inhabiting it both day and night, so that the process of vitiation is constantly going on, and the whole mass of air is hardly ever thoroughly replaced, then it is clear that the amount of air to be constantly brought in is so great that it will cause most sensible disturbance in the atmosphere of the room, and the more you reduce the room while you maintain the stream of air into it, the more intolerable will be the hurricane in which you will compel the inmates to live. The man in the diving helmet has fresh air and plenty; but even though the whole of his body, except the head, is protected from draughts, such a mode of respiration would be intolerable for a continuance. Clearly, you may effectually ventilate any barrack-room, but the men will stop up every one of your apertures rather than be blown out of their beds; and, if they cannot succeed, will troop to the pot-house so long as you convert their own room into a temple of the winds. It is common to see in barrack-rooms an open grating in the external wall, two feet from the ground, and eight or ten inches from the bed of the man nearest the wall, and in the grating an old jacket tightly stuffed, rather than let the supply of air destined for twenty men be blown through a

funnel, in a concentrated form, into the lungs of one man as he lies asleep in his bed. The difficulty is, how to diffuse the air so as to render its admission insensible—how to admit the greatest quantity with the least disturbance. It is obvious that this difficulty increases or diminishes as the requisite supply of air is increased or diminished, and that must depend on the proportion borne by the number of men to the area of the room to be supplied, or, in other words, on cubic space. The commissioners therefore asked for increased cubic space, not because cubic space will in itself give the soldier more air, but because it will enable them by other means to give him an increased supply of air with a greater certainty of comfort. They laid down an arbitrary minimum of 800 cubic feet per man, which Dr. Guy quarrels with as too low, but they have not attempted to make a Procrustean rule even of that; for we hear that the barrack commission, acting in the spirit of the recommendations of the royal commissioners, vary the amount under different circumstances; not, for example, requiring so large an amount in wooden huts, where the whole building is pervious to the air, as in masonry constructions, in which there is no admission of air except through openings made for the purpose; nor, again, do they require the same space per man in high airy situations as in barracks surrounded by buildings, or where from any other cause there is stagnation in the external atmosphere.

It is clear, therefore, that cubic space is only important in connexion with the more or less ventilation by which it is accompanied, but that when ventilation as a rule is deficient, the amount of cubic space hastens or retards the injurious results from such deficiency.

But there is another point, for the elucidation of which an accurate use of terms is necessary. What is over-crowding? Are density of population on a given area, and density of population in a room of given dimensions, the same thing? Is a town area, that is, an area covered by houses, the same thing as a municipal or political area, conjoined within the limits, say of a parliamentary borough? These questions are suggested by the paper read by Mr. Neison at Leeds in which the same term is used to cover all these different conditions. A comparison is made between the density of population in different municipal boroughs; but the limits of the one may comprise nothing but streets and alleys, while the other may include gardens, market gardens, accommodation land, villas, and parks. The division of the population of a parliamentary or municipal borough by its acreage proves nothing as to its density.

Clearly, any argument founded on the indiscriminate application of the same terms to conditions so essentially distinct as these, must be hopelessly bewildering. Especially is this the

case, when comparing the condition of the soldier with that of the civilian inhabitant of a town. There is never, or scarcely ever, any area density of population in a barrack, inasmuch as its limits comprise parade ground, stables, chapel, reading-room, officers' quarters, racket courts, in short, great area space compared with that on which the dwellings of mechanics and labourers are built. No one has complained of density of population within barrack-walls: it is density of population in barrack-rooms which it is maintained has injured the health of the soldier.

No rational man, however, will deny that over-crowding an area is frequently followed by over-crowding in rooms, and that the latter, aided by the evils likely to accompany it, will produce a state of health peculiarly susceptible to attacks of fever, diarrhœa, and cholera. All authorities seem to agree on this point, and Mr. Neison, in his Leeds paper, has yielded his assent to it. He has had experience of it. Dr. Guy quotes the case of Church-lane, a part of the old rookery in St. Giles's, which he inspected in company with Mr. Neison, and where the cubic space without ventilation ranged from ninety-three down to fifty-two cubic feet. It was a perfect fever factory, one house alone contributed twenty-two cases of sickness and fourteen of fever. "Yes," Mr. Neison would at once answer—"fever—that is my case; over-crowding produces fever, cholera, and zymotic diseases generally, but not consumption." Now it may fairly be assumed that this wretched population were not suffering from want of ventilation alone. Such neighbourhoods are not remarkable for decency or comfort. The worst fever, the most filthy habits, dirt on the person, dirt in the houses, open gutters, unemptied cesspools, were no doubt all present to contribute their share to the sickness and mortality. Now of all these causes which combined to kill the inhabitants of Church-lane, the first is the only one from which the soldier, comparatively, with such a population as that in Church-lane, can be said to suffer, and that in a far lesser degree. The cases in which they suffer from sewerage and cesspools in the barracks are, comparatively speaking, rare, though it is bad enough that they should suffer from such causes at all. Still they do suffer from them, and when they do, as has happened lately at Gosport, at Croydon, and at Canterbury, fever breaks out among them. But in all these comparisons of the effects of different diseases, it is necessary to take into account the *modus operandi* of each disease. Allowance must be made for the more or less rapidity with which each variety of disease acts on the human frame. Take, for example, the case of drinking. The effects of habitual indulgence in the use of spirituous liquors affect the nervous system and digestive organs; sots die of liver complaint. In his evidence before the Royal Commission, Mr. Neison shows how great are

the ravages made by this disease among classes and in countries addicted to intemperance, and he argues from that fact and from the comparative scarcity of liver disease in the army, that the men do not drink. But soldiers do drink. We need not go to the defaulters' book, to know that. Every man has ocular demonstration of it in the streets. This mode of argument, indeed, presupposes that men who drink are specially guaranteed against all other diseases except the one which is the legitimate consequence of this peculiar vice: that an immunity against fever and consumption is accorded to them, in order that poetical justice may be satisfied, and that they may die as drunkards should do, by the drunkard's disease. But clearly, it would not be more absurd to argue that all men who die by disease of the digestive organs have been drunkards, than to say that all drunkards die by failure of the digestive organs. Other and more rapid causes may intervene. A man who is shot does not die of liver complaint, though he may have been an habitual sot, and typhus or cholera are sometimes little less rapid in their effects upon a frame, already debilitated by intemperance. The characters, however, of men so dying would, on Mr. Neison's theory, be relieved from the stigma of intemperance, because they had been cut off by the action of a disease more rapid than the appropriate liver complaint. For liver-diseases, fatal as they are, are not rapid; the victims of intemperance die off at forty, forty-five, or even fifty, but these be it remembered are not soldiers' ages. There are very few soldiers of forty years of age, and those are certainly not the worst conducted. Those who are discharged, invalided, pensioned, or not pensioned, may or may not die of disease of the digestive organs. It is very likely that they do, but we have as yet no evidence on the matter one way or another. We know what soldiers in the ranks die of. They die young, and they die of diseases far more rapid in their execution than those which affect the nervous system and the digestive organs.

Surely it is not unreasonable to suppose that as, under circumstances favourable to their development, typhus and cholera will anticipate consumption, so consumption, under circumstances favourable to its development, will anticipate the diseases of the nervous and digestive organs. Popular terms are not bad indices of the peculiarities which they describe. We hear sometimes of galloping consumption, but never of galloping liver disease.

But what are the circumstances incidental to the soldier's life in England which favour the development of consumption? Mr. Neison says want of healthy exercise, and so say the Royal Commissioners, who appear to have been struck by the amount of deficiency in that respect from which the soldier suffers. But Mr.

Neison says it is that alope, whereas the Commissioners say it is that in combination with other causes, some of them even more important. In his evidence Mr. Neison seems inclined to lay down that a man's health depends on what he does, and is not affected by the where or the how he lives. External circumstances, except as regards drink, are nothing, muscular exercise everything; and we look upon his Leeds paper as a great advance, on his part, towards sound doctrine, inasmuch as he there admits the danger to health of external circumstances, such as the impurity of air, the deficiency of water-supply, the absence of sewerage, &c.

But that the habitual admission of vitiated air will injure the lungs and produce pulmonary disease, just as the admission into the stomach of poisoned food will destroy that organ, seems so obvious, that but for its being questioned by so acute a statist it would hardly be justifiable to detain the reader by adducing evidence to support the proposition. Evidence certainly is not wanting. Dr. Neil Arnott, before the Health of Towns Commission, tells an instructive story about certain monkeys in the Zoological Gardens for whom

"A house," he says, "was built to insure to those natives of a warmer climate all attainable comfort and safety. For warming it, two ordinary drawing-room grates were put in as close to the floor as possible, and with low chimney openings, that the heated air in the room should not escape by the chimney, while the windows and other openings in the walls above were made as close as possible. Additional warm air was admitted through openings in the floor from around hot-water pipes placed beneath it. For ventilation in cold weather, openings were made in the skirting of the room close to the floor, with the erroneous idea that the carbonic acid produced in the respiration of the animals, being heavier than the other air in the room, would separate from this and escape below. When all this was done, about sixty healthy monkeys, many of which had already borne several winters in England, were put into the room. A month afterwards more than fifty of them were dead, and the few remaining ones were dying.

"It was only necessary to open, in the winter, part of the ventilating apertures near the ceiling, which had been prepared for the summer, and the room became at once salubrious."

Now the disease of which these animals died was consumption. They died of inhaling a vicious atmosphere. They had no symptoms of typhus, nor diarrhoea, nor cholera, nor of any zymotic disease in any form or degree, and they were overcrowded, that is, overcrowded in the sense of the Commissioners and not in that of Mr. Neison. They were confined in a room, in which the supply of air was insufficient for the number of the inhabitants who were to consume it, though there was not too great density of population in the area; on the contrary, the Zoological Gardens

constitute an ample space, which divided by the number of men, birds, and beasts quartered upon it, would give far larger cubic contents to each individual than the Commissioners ask for the soldier. According to Mr. Neison's test they were not overcrowded, and ought not to have died at all; or if overcrowded, they ought to have died of zymotic disease. The fact is, that they were overcrowded, in comparison with their ventilation—they did die, and what is more, they died of consumption.

Dr. Guy gives another instance of the effects of vitiated air in producing consumption, which appears by anticipation to have completely answered Mr. Neison's theory. He says:

“I am able to prove to demonstration, that if you do put men into such narrow spaces as our soldiers are condemned to live and sleep in, they will certainly die of consumption. Several years ago, being struck with the high rate of mortality prevailing among letter-press printers, I went carefully through a great number of printing-offices. I measured the area of the several rooms, and calculated the cubic space to each inmate; I inquired of each man particularly whether he had ever spit blood, and to what other diseases he was subject. The object of this first question will be very apparent to a medical man. Spitting of blood is one of those symptoms which is so common in consumption, and so rare in other diseases, that if we are dealing with a considerable number of persons, and comparing one large group with another, this symptom of spitting of blood may stand for consumption without leading to any serious error. I encountered 104 men unfortunate enough to have less than 500 cubic feet of air to breathe, the average, of course, being much less than that. Now, these men had spit blood at the rate of $12\frac{1}{2}$ in every hundred; and the same number, $12\frac{1}{2}$, said that they were constantly suffering from what they called colds. I found another body of 115 men who had from 500 to 600 cubic feet of air to breathe, and, therefore, very much more than the first group, of whom some had, as you have seen, as little as 202 cubic feet of air to breathe; and these 115 men, instead of suffering to the extent of $12\frac{1}{2}$ in the 100 from spitting of blood, suffered at the rate of little more than 4 per cent., while the liability to colds fell in nearly the same proportion. Lastly, I found a third group of 101 men who had more than 600 cubic feet of air to breathe, and their liability to consumption was still further reduced to a little less than 4 per cent., and their liability to colds to a little less than 2 per cent.”

We think we have now said enough to show wherein the fallacy of Mr. Neison's ingenious paper lies. He imagines that the Commissioners in their report had asserted, that too dense a population on a given area produces consumption; this they never did assert; and he proceeds to demolish an untenable theory, which nobody had advanced, by setting up another which is equally untenable, having unfortunately confounded two separate conditions, either of which, if taken to include the adjuncts by which

they are generally accompanied, are injurious to the human frame, but neither of which can be said to produce one class of disease alone as their result.

One word more on the general topic of overcrowding and ventilation, and we have done with that part of the subject.

It is often objected, how can overcrowding or non-ventilation be so deleterious to soldiers, when the Dorsetshire labourer, with his two bed-rooms and his large family, is among the healthiest of all classes? If the fact be so, we answer, that if he breathes a vitiated atmosphere for the eight hours that he is in bed, it is for that time only: for twelve hours he is breathing the purest and freshest air possible. On his downs, when he is hoeing or ploughing, he has ventilation without stint in a cubic space which is illimitable, and he breathes this air while taking strong and most varied exercise. In his cottage, too, his kitchen, which serves for parlour and all, opens directly on the external air, of which the exit and entrance of every child or neighbour gives him a fresh supply. Neither is any part of his house probably so air-tight as the barrack built by the Royal Engineers, who pique themselves on the solidity, whatever may be the beauty or the convenience, of their constructions. But there is great reason to doubt the fact. It is true that the close packing and indecency of the labourer's cottage has been such as to excite the reprobation of those most practically acquainted with the result. If it be no worse than that of the soldier's, the case of the Government authorities who have tolerated such a state of things in their establishments, does not seem to be much improved by the fact that the comparison is possible. Certainly on the score of indecency, the practice of married couples pigging in the same barrack-room with the unmarried soldiers, equals anything to be found in a cottage. But so far as ventilation is concerned, that comparison by numbers and cubic space is not a fair one. A man and his wife and three children cannot be counted against the same number of adult soldiers. On this point we recur again to the authority of Dr. Bence Jones, who says:—

“For women and children the amount of air required is different. If M. Andral's experiments are true, an adult man burns about ten grammes of carbon per hour, a boy of eight years burns about five, an adult woman, whilst regular, burns from six to seven, a girl of fifteen years six, and an adult woman, after change of life, eight and a half.

“That is, two children of eight years are equivalent to an adult man, and a girl of fifteen is equivalent to a woman. Two women, up to the change of life, are rather more than equivalent to a man. After this time a woman is nearly equivalent to a man. Probably three children of four years would be equivalent to an adult.”

This at once disposes of the comparison of the man, wife, and

three children, with the five adult soldiers. Their value as consumers of air would probably little exceed half that of the five adult males, and the inconvenience, the danger, and the injury to health must be halved likewise. •

So much for the subject of space and ventilation in barracks. It has taken up more pages than it ought within the limits of an article, for of all the points raised and discussed in the Report of the Royal Commission, it is the one which can best take care of itself. It was the most intelligible, and the remedies the most obvious, and therefore it has been the one most taken up by the public; but for all that, it is not the most important. The controversy which has arisen, and the prevalence of some popular errors on the subject, have alone induced us to enter so fully into it.

Our main object is to take stock of our progress in these proposed reforms, and to ascertain to what extent the recommendations of the Royal Commission have been, or are in a fair way to be, practically carried into effect. Two Secretaries of State have expressed their approval of those recommendations. This, however, *per se* would not necessarily inspire an unhesitating confidence in the result. But the Commissioners themselves, to do them justice, do not seem inclined to let go the subject. General Peel informed the House of Commons that the President of the Royal Commission had offered, by means of four or five sub-commissions or committees, to elaborate the details, and put the chief recommendations into a working shape, ready for immediate adoption. This proposal he accepted; and the sub-commissions, composed of some members of the original Commission, namely, the late and present Directors-General, Sir James Clarke and Dr. Sutherland, with the addition of the Quartermaster-General, Captain Galton, R.E.; Mr. Croomes, late Chief Clerk of the War Office; Sir Alexander Tulloch, Dr. Burrell, and Dr. Farr, were forthwith appointed to various sub-commissions, Mr. Sidney Herbert acting as chairman of each. To one was entrusted the inspection of each barrack at home, and the suggestion of the necessary sanitary improvements in each; to another, the drawing up of a complete code of regulations for the Army Medical Department, for the sanitary as well as medical treatment of the army in the field or in quarters, and for the organization of general and regimental hospitals. To a third, the drawing up of a complete system of statistical forms for the army. A fourth undertook to draw up the regulations under which candidates should be admitted to the Army Medical Department, and to place on an efficient footing the Medical School, which has hitherto languished in a state of inutility at Chatham. A fifth was to define the duties, and to devise a scheme for the

transaction of business for the council by whom it is proposed that the directors-general shall be assisted. And, lastly, a draft warrant, fixing the pay, retirement, rank, promotion, and status of the army medical officers, was to be prepared for the consideration of the Secretary of State.

It is understood that all these sub-commissions have reported; but the results have, as yet, in one case only been promulgated. The new warrant for the Army Medical Department has been published. It improves financially the position of the medical officers, it simplifies and diminishes the number of ranks, it lays down intelligible rules by which promotion is to be regulated, seniority being the rule in the first promotion, when the value of the men has hardly yet been tested, and selection for the upper ranks, when the comparative merit of the different officers has been shown by their services. Lastly, without materially altering the rank which each grade of medical officers should hold relatively with the combatant officers, it makes that rank carry with it the substantial advantages which had been previously withheld. This warrant is a kind of charter to the Army Medical Department. It defines their rights and privileges as well as their material advantages. Their pay was unjustifiably low, looked at merely as a naked matter of salary for work done, and accordingly it repelled the better class of students from a branch of their profession which afforded so low a remuneration. But its indirect effects were worse, for in this country, where money is not overlooked as an element in the attraction of social respect, the rate of salary is held to indicate the social position of the recipient. Still more valuable, therefore, are the provisions which define the relative rank of the medical officer. They practically recognise, for the first time, the status which a scientific body, on whose efficiency the efficiency of the army in a great measure depends, ought to hold in the hierarchy of army rank. In a military body no position can be secure without rank, for in it there can be no overwhelming force of opinion to confer socially and by custom what authority withholds.

Again, the new warrant, by fixing the rules according to which promotion is to be awarded, removes an objection which has hitherto deterred medical students from entering the army service. The warrant embodied the two principles laid down in the following passage of the Report of the Commission :—

“To attract a fair proportion of the best medical pupils to the military service two conditions are necessary—certainty of a competency, and the hope of distinction. Men, who enter a profession after a long and expensive course of study, and who give proof of their proficiency by subjecting themselves to the ordeal of a competitive examination, have a right to expect that, if their professional and personal

conduct be unobjectionable, they shall have guaranteed to them the prospect of rising to a rank in the service, which, while assuring to them the means of subsistence, shall give them a certain standing and position in society. On the other hand, the hope of rising, by merit or distinction, to high rank, or to posts which, though unattainable except by a few, confer on those who succeed the highest honours which the profession has to give, operates strongly at the age at which men choose a profession, and when each is sanguine of success in the race in which he is about to engage."

This is clear and sensible, and it was high time that something clear and sensible should be enunciated on the subject. It is necessary to read the evidence before the Commission, not of disappointed juniors, but of officers eminent in their profession, to appreciate the dissatisfaction which prevailed throughout the department on that subject; but in order to understand how just that dissatisfaction was, the late Director-General's evidence should be carefully studied. We have not space to describe the system, even if we understood it. Some faint conception of it may, however, be found from Dr. Andrew Smith's *naïf* statement, that the rules have never been written, are known to no one but himself, and are only to be found scattered over a correspondence of forty years; and, again, that it was his practice to make a new rule to meet each special case, but that the rule was never promulgated. In fact, it was a system which combined all the evils of seniority without its certainty, and all the evils of selection without its stimulus.

The warrant has been received with nearly universal approbation; and General Peel and the Horse Guards deserve every credit for the readiness with which they have adopted it.

As regards barracks, the column in the newspapers headed "Military Intelligence," gives daily information of new ventilation, new sewerage, redistribution of numbers, and the introduction of proper cooking apparatus, following the inspections of the Commissioners; and there is every reason to believe that the pledges given last Session, in the course of the debate on Lord Ebrington's resolutions, are being faithfully redeemed.

But what is being done with our military hospitals? We do not mean with the buildings—with the brick and mortar. They, no doubt, will, like the barracks, have their share of whatever improvement their faulty construction is capable of (always, of course, excepting the extravagant blunder which is being persisted in at Netley); but what new organization is to be given them—what is the system to be practised? Are any precautions to be taken to prevent, at the outset of another war, the recurrence of the horrors of Scutari? Are we to have general hospitals at all, and if so, how are they to be organized, and how governed?

There is a great prejudice among army medical officers against general hospitals, and not only among all medical, but among all military officers. We have none during peace, or nearly none. Our system has always been regimental, and the nearest approach to a general hospital is only an aggregate of regimental hospitals. The fact is, that in this, as in many other things, we have for years maintained an army as though it was never to be used. We neither expected nor believed in war; and we failed to give our army in peace the organization which would be necessary for war. On the contrary, we attempted in war to continue the organization, if it could be called an organization, which had insensibly grown up in peace. Thus, in war, we adhered to the regimental hospital system as long as we could, because the records of general hospitals having been records of failure and suffering, the authorities were satisfied that the regimental one was the best (which it may be, provided you have no great number of sick); and, also, because they are used to no other. But a great battle and harassing march, and, what is more common than either, the spread of disease, sooner or later necessitates a recourse to the general hospital system. But the only organization to which every man is accustomed, namely, the regimental, is inapplicable to the general hospital. They have, therefore, suddenly to devise a system, or to do without one. Great mismanagement, great suffering, great mortality, and, moreover, great waste ensue, and every one piously exclaims that general hospitals are great evils; and, therefore, that regimental hospitals are the real thing. They forget that it was the failure of the regimental which forced them to have recourse to the general hospital; and it is the absence of proper system which has converted general hospitals into charnel houses. Great evils they are, because wounds and disease, and their remedies even, are great evils. An amputation is a great evil, but that is no reason for submitting the limb to an inexperienced operator, who does not know how to set about it. No one would expect ten companies of infantry, none of whom had ever learned more than company drill, or even attempted to act together, at once to be an efficient regiment; nor will ten regiments, none of whom have ever been brigaded, constitute an effective army; yet we establish a general hospital in this very way, when the necessity arises, and are then surprised that utter confusion is the immediate result.

It is not, however, the want of practice only which produces this result. Whatever system there is, is in itself radically wrong. In war rapid action is everything. In order to secure it the first conditions are that the machinery should be simple, the number of departments, whose co-operation is necessary, few,

their duties and their position relatively to one another clearly defined, their subordination to a common head unmistakable, and their processes of business simple and rapid.

These objects are not only not attained by the existing system of what are called general hospitals, but the regulations seem to have been framed on purpose to prevent their attainment. It seems to be a realization of Mr. Dickens's "How not to do it." Nothing can be more complicated or more cumbrous than the composition of the staff of the Military General Hospital, and the mode in which the business is conducted. Look first at the organization of a London civil hospital. They could afford to have a complicated system, and a great subdivision of labour, for they are not exposed to the chances nor the roughness of war, nor have they the same necessity for promptness and vigour of action. Yet in a London hospital, then, what are the departments? There is a governor or a committee, who are supreme over all, a steward, a matron, a treasurer, and a medical staff, each with their own distinct duties and responsibilities, but all subordinate to the one head.

Now for the army. It is fair to suppose that Scutari in its latter days was more than a fair specimen of military hospital organization. It had been inquired into, and reported on by commission after commission, and it has been held up as the most perfect example of what skill and energy (and we must add money) could effect. We have seen that the civil hospital has five departments—one to govern, one to pay, one to supply, one to nurse and keep house, and one to treat—five in all. At Scutari there were eight—the engineer, the paymaster, the commissary, the purveyor, the medical department, the quartermaster-general, the adjutant-general, and the commandant, or general commanding the forces or the garrison in which the hospital is situated. That is to say, one to build and repair, one to pay, two to supply, one to treat, three to govern, and one to nurse—eight in all. At home and in the colonies, there is also the barrackmaster, making nine in all, of whom two are to build and repair. Again, the duties of matron are performed by the wardmasters or the hospital-sergeants; the latter of whom, being the lowest paid of any, seem to do a good deal of everybody else's business in addition to their own.

But the three who compose the governing power are not in the hospital at all, nor does its management constitute their only or their chief duty. The quartermaster-general and the adjutant-general have an authority over the patients; not, however, as patients who are part of the hospital, but as soldiers who are part of the force. The commandant has a general authority over all; but the hospital is not only not his chief care, but, in point of

numbers, it forms a very insignificant part of his command. He can have little opportunity of knowing, and little time to inquire into details, and, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, he has neither the taste which would lead him to interfere, nor special aptitude which would justify his interference. To insist on an average general officer in command of a force, whether in war or in peace, conducting the administration of a hospital, is not more absurd than it would be to ask the intelligent governor of the London Hospital, in addition to his hospital duties, to undertake the command of the Household Brigade. Occasionally you may find an officer like Sir Henry Storks, in the later days of Scutari, who has a special aptitude and fondness for administration, and who will set things right when they get wrong; but that was a happy accident, on the recurrence of which we cannot rely, and even if we light on such a man, he cannot anticipate, he can only correct what is known, and the mischief is not known till it is done. In most cases the general officer, conscious of his ignorance, contents himself with an occasional formal inspection, carefully turns a deaf ear to reports of differences and unpleasantnesses, and refuses to meddle till the scandal can no longer be overlooked. In fact, there is no governing power at all, nor are the subordinate departments so placed relatively to one another that they can supply the deficiency. All are equal: all can obstruct, none need assist—because none feel that they must obey. The medical officer can ask the purveyor for something which he considers necessary for his patients, and the purveyor may procure it, or he may use his discretion and refuse it as too costly, or as not being according to warrant. The building may require alteration or repair, and the barrackmaster exercises his discretion whether or not he shall apply to the engineer, who exercises his discretion whether he shall or shall not comply. Each covers his own responsibility by asking. He records his requisition, and his conscience is clear. Men under such a system soon learn to acquiesce in refusal, and so save trouble; nor is it to be wondered at, when whatever is done can only be done by a fortuitous concurrence of consents. It would require St. Athanasius himself to define these various co-ordinate authorities. But for the entire absence of unity the task would have delighted his heart. In place, however, of unity, we have an inevitable antagonism.

And yet the War Office attempts, whether at home or abroad, to regulate and govern hospitals organized with such a machinery as this. These jarring elements are to be reconciled, and the machine made to work by a Secretary of State, through the medium of the Post. There is but one condition on which

he can succeed. If he be infallible, omniscient, and omnipresent, the plan is a good one, if he be not it is absurd.

Here is the observation of no inexperienced judge of hospital organization upon this very point :—

“In the military general hospitals,” says Miss Nightingale, “as they are now constituted, the governing power is wanting which, by its superior authority, can compel the co-ordinate departments within the hospital to the complete co-operation necessary for success. In the naval hospitals this object is attained, where the hospital is small, by placing the supreme power in the hands of the medical officer, and where it is large, in the hands of a governor, who is generally a naval officer of rank.”

This last example seems to be conclusive as to the practicability of the change advocated ; for there is an analogy between an army and a naval hospital, which, it may be maintained, does not exist between an army and a civil hospital. As to its efficacy, no one walking through the wards first of a naval and then of an army hospital, could fail to be struck by the superior order, cleanliness, and comfort of the former.

But is this deficiency of a supreme power on the spot, and this unnecessary multiplication of departments compensated for by rapid and simple methods of transacting business ?

Now we have no wish to join the popular cry against the checks imposed to guard the outlay of public money, when the object is to prevent fraud and speculation. Recent commercial revelations lead to the conclusion that, as between too much check and too little, too much is the safest. Character is well worth money. Even if not a sixpence be saved, if every farthing which might have been abstracted from the right channel by roguery is expended on the means of prevention or detection, an immense object is accomplished ; but where outlay alone is to be repressed, a balance must be carefully struck between the money saved and the money spent in saving it. If the latter be the larger, there is a clear loss ; and even if they are equal, it must be remembered that we have nothing to show, in the one case, except two or three clerks the more, whereas the outlay would probably have shown some work accomplished or some end effected, even though neither were indispensable. This seems obvious enough, yet the War Office appears for years to have overlooked it in the management of the military hospitals.

The medical officers formerly had the supervision of the supply to their respective hospitals. The actual details of catering, purchase, &c. &c., naturally fell into the hands of the hospital-sergeants ; for it was not to be expected that the medical officer would leave his patients to higgie with the butcher or cheapen

the greengrocer. The system was altogether wrong. The wrong person superintended and the wrong person bought. Neither the surgeon nor the sergeant was a fit commissariat. The one was too good and the other not good enough. This system, defective in principle, bore its natural fruits. Allegations were rife, and they were by no means without foundation, that extravagance and peculation prevailed in the supply of the hospitals.

The War Office, not without reason, interfered; but if there was reason in their interference, there was little enough of it in the remedy. Purveyors, or rather deputy-purveyors (for the War Office was honestly determined to do the thing cheaply), were introduced into the military hospitals, and superseded the joint commissariat of the principal medical officer and the hospital-sergeant. The new establishment was full of zeal, and determined to justify its creation by the results it might produce. A great diminution was effected in the hospital accounts; but the purveyors were made, what they ought never to have been, supreme in matters of diet over the medical officer. Too expensive a diet—that is to say, a diet which the purveyor knew cost more than a certain sum—was at his discretion by him refused. It might have been the cheapest diet, if the patient was to be cured or saved by it; but the purveyor judged not by the effects it would produce on the patient, but by the effect it would produce on his accounts. The medical officers complained, but the purveyors appealed triumphantly to their books and totals; and the War Office was satisfied that the new system was working well. We doubt whether a farthing was saved. We believe the same money was spent, but spent on different things. Patients were stinted, but clerks were fed. The same money was spent, but some patients were cured more slowly, and some not at all. If the object of a hospital is to save stores, and show cheap accounts, the plan was successful; but if the object of a hospital is to save life, and cure the sick as quickly and as thoroughly as human skill can do it, then the plan was wrong, and, to our belief, expensive into the bargain.

Add to this the disheartening effect on the medical officer, who finds himself thwarted in his efforts to do his duty; who is humiliated by an inferior, comparatively without education, virtually interfering in his treatment, and who is taught the lesson that he need not estimate so very highly the human lives entrusted to his care, since the authorities above him put them in the balance, not against pounds, but against shillings and pence.

When the Russian war broke out, the system was in practice materially modified, and according to the now existing usage, the purveyor obeys the requisition of the medical officer, representing at the same time any apparent extravagance to superior authority;

but we doubt whether any regulation exists compelling him so to do.

The late director-general, however, from first to last protested stoutly against the new evils of the new system; but his remedy was either to revert to the old system, and reconvert the medical into a commissariat officer, or to make the purveyor the immediate servant of the medical officer. This arose from the singular conception of the duties of a physician or surgeon which has hitherto existed in the Army Medical Department, and which is certainly peculiar to that branch of the medical profession. It has been held that young men should practise, operate, and prescribe; but that the higher ranks should be confined to what have been considered the higher duties of administration. A very grand name for very humble offices. To the surgeon very properly, to the assistant-surgeon very improperly, have been made over the knife, the pharmacopœia, and the *corpus vile* of the British soldier. To the experienced physician and skilled surgeon—namely, to the inspector or deputy-inspector—have been entrusted the sacred inspection of stores, the cleanliness of wards, the filling up of returns, the countersigning of requisitions, the necessity of which he has less means of judging than the prescribing officer, the supervision of washing, and even of washerwomen; in short, all the dealings with buildings, with furniture, with stores, with pots and pans, which in civil hospitals are the province of a house-steward, a matron, or a housemaid. To such an extent has this been carried, that in the Russian war a medical officer of some standing was actually employed for weeks in tasting wine, and testing the soundness of corks, bottle by bottle, while in the hospitals close by there was an urgent want of medical men to attend the sick and wounded.

Imagine Sir Benjamin Brodie withdrawn from the bed-sides and the theatre at St. George's, and, in virtue of his experience and ability, set to overlook accounts, countersign demands for extras, check the issue of stores, and see that the broom and the scrubbing-brush have been properly applied.

Messrs. Cumming and Maxwell, the commissioners sent in 1856 to inquire into the state of the hospitals in the East, seem not unnaturally to have been struck by the way in which the time of the medical officers was thus encroached upon by these subordinate and almost menial duties; and they remarked upon the apparently large number of medical officers on duty at the very moment that there were loud complaints of their insufficiency. The supply was not deficient, but the distribution and application of the medical staff was such that the public service derived little or no benefit from their presence. Their skill, knowledge, and experience were being systematically wasted.

They were doing, at large salaries, what uneducated men would have done better on small ones; and what purely medical duties they did perform, and which consisted in inspecting the practice of those who were actually engaged in treating the patients, was probably on the whole more injurious than advantageous to the service, for it relieved the latter from the responsibility of their treatment—a responsibility which is the only safeguard of the patient, who, on the other hand, had gained but little by the interference of the superior officer, who, if more learned as to the rules of treatment, was of course less acquainted with the details, peculiarities, and previous history of the particular case. The Report of the Royal Commission puts this clearly enough:—

“By this system,” they say, “it is true that the juniors are enabled very early to acquire a great amount of experience, but they acquire it, to a great degree, at the expense of the patient—they learn their mistakes by the results. The superintendence of the inspector, who has not observed the case from its commencement, is not of great practical value, especially when the number of cases is very large, and his attention is distracted by the details of the administration of the hospital. A patient treated by an inexperienced junior, and superintended, or rather interfered with, by a pre-occupied senior, is as little likely to gain by the interference of the one as by the original treatment of the other.”

The Report then proceeds to point out the effect of this system on the young medical officers themselves:—

“We cannot but think that, in addition to the direct loss to the State by the misapplication, which is the waste, of the valuable time of the seniors, this system has, indirectly, a bad effect on the juniors.

“Every young man looks forward to the ultimate attainment of high rank, and to the performance of the duties which belong to it. He naturally attaches the highest importance to those functions, and he insensibly learns to undervalue those which seem to belong exclusively to the lower grades, and from the practice of which he hopes, by promotion, to be emancipated. The assistant-surgeon is led, by the present system, to look to the performance of administrative duties as the ultimate object of his ambition, and knows that, when once he can reach an inspectorial rank, it is on their performance, and not on his medical skill, that his reputation and his further chance of advancement will depend. The result must be to lower his estimation of the highest duties of a scientific profession, and diminish his ardour in its pursuit. Neither is it without its ill effect on the senior, who, when retired from the service, does not compete with the civilian practitioner on terms so advantageous as he would have done had not his medical practice been partially suspended, and his skill and science allowed to rust during the years in which he was employed on those administrative duties which occupy so much of the time of the inspectorial ranks.”

These remarks are well worth consideration. It was not only the low pay, or the advantages of rank withheld, that lowered the Army Medical Department in the esteem of the medical profession and their own. Employed at the commencement of their career in a manner which their inexperience did not warrant, but at the same time over-inspected, because untrusted, they felt that they were treated like schoolboys, and not like gentlemen; and if, while collecting their hazardous experience, they acquired a strong interest in and love of their profession, that interest and love were repressed by the reflection that the fruits of their experience would never be gathered, but that they would take leave of the higher and more scientific duties of their profession just when they became fit to perform them.

But looking at this system simply as a matter of organization, it is remarkable that, after searching through the whole mass of evidence given before the Commission, not one witness can be found to defend it. Indeed, all the evidence taken on this subject goes the other way. Sir Benjamin Brodie seemed utterly at a loss to understand the practice. He states that—

“his duties at the end of thirty-two years, during which he was surgeon at St. George’s, were the same as on the day he began. He is of opinion that everything which a surgeon requires should be found, and everything which he orders should be done, but it should be done to his hand, his time being too valuable to be spent on any duties to which his medical science and experience are not available.”

This is the common-sense view of the matter, and so obviously so, that it is useless to expend further argument upon it.

It would be endless to go through, in detail, the various misapplications of men and work of which the distribution of the medical department is a specimen. The ward-master or hospital serjeant is overloaded by the amount and variety of the work imposed on him; and the nursing work, which is his first duty, is generally sacrificed to the writing work, because the neglect of the latter is at once detectable, and produces official confusion, whereas the former is not detectable out of the hospital, though its consequences within it may be fatal. The nursing therefore falls into the hands of the orderlies, who are soldiers taken from the ranks, who enter knowing nothing of their duties, and who are liable, as soon as they have acquired them, to be recalled to their regiments. To obviate this evil, the medical staff corps was created, who of course at the outset were as ignorant as the orderlies. If continued, they would in time have acquired a knowledge of their duties; but the evidence of an army surgeon employed on the Netley inquiry leads to the conclusion, that the corps is, or is to be, dissolved, for it appears to be contemplated that at Netley the patients are to nurse one another.

Here is the account given by an eye-witness of the working of the orderly system at Scutari:—"The orderlies do not bring skilled labour to the work." "The cleaning and airing of the wards (at Scutari) would make a housemaid laugh; each orderly worked at it in his own way, and then the patients undid it all, and it had all to be done over again." "Except when the medicine was given by the medical officers themselves, or by the women, it was taken by the patient or not, at his own discretion."

But without dwelling further on the ill construction of the various departments by which the general hospitals were worked, we will answer the further question as to the simplicity, rapidity, and accuracy of the conduct of business, by the following description of the system of requisitions by which the necessary supplies were in a great measure obtained in the hospitals on the Bosphorus:—"The mode of supply by requisitions is faulty both ways, both in pretending to supply that which is not in store, and in not supplying that which is. For the requisition remains, although the supply has never been given; and the supply is often not given, although it is in store." That is to say, that a requisition which had not been complied with, and which as a document has just the same value as a dishonoured cheque, was kept as evidence of a transaction which had not taken place, and as a voucher for the issue of what had never been supplied. A comparison of such vouchers with the original store might have led to a belief in the re-enactment of the miracle of the widow's cruse.

Here is a short but simple sketch of the organization which Miss Nightingale's joint experience, both of civil and military hospitals, leads her to recommend both as regards the *personnel* and the *matériel*:—

"One executive responsible head, it seems to me, is what is wanted in a general hospital, call him governor, commandant, or what you will, and let it be his sole command.

"The departments should not be many:—

"1. A governor, solely responsible for everything but medical treatment.

"2. A principal medical officer and his staff, relieved of all administrative duties, and strictly professional.

"3. A steward, who should fulfil the duties of purveyor, commissary, and barrack-master, and supply everything, subject to the governor.

"4. A treasurer, who should be banker and paymaster.

"5. A superintendent of hospital attendants, who should undertake the direction of the cooking, washing, care of hospital furniture and government of orderlies. All these officers to be appointed at home by the War Department. According to this plan, the governor would cumulate the functions of quartermaster-general and adjutant-general, and, under the advice of a sanitary officer attached to him for that

purpose, would be solely responsible for carrying out the works advised, and for engaging the requisite labour.

“*Supply.* With regard to the mode of supply, let the steward furnish the hospital according to a fixed scale, previously agreed upon.

“With regard to food, let the steward make contracts, subject to the governor’s approval, and with power to buy in the market at the contractor’s expense if the contractor fails. A scheme of diets should be constructed, according to the most approved authorities, in order to save the cumbrous machinery of extra diet rolls. Equivalentents might be laid down, so as to afford the necessary choice, depending on the nature of the climate, the season of the year, the state of the market, the productions of the country,” &c.

This sketch, *mutatis mutandis*, and preserving, which is always important, the traditional military names of purveyor and paymaster for the civil terms of steward and treasurer, indicates an organization at once simple and effectual. The scheme recommended by the sub-commission probably does not differ much from it. Improved and enlarged diet tables were, many months ago prepared by one of the sub-commissions and communicated to and revised by Dr. Christison, the highest living authority on this subject. These revised tables include a great variety of diets; for, it must be recollected, that reversing the ordinary rule in such matters, the greater the number of diets contained in a diet table, the more simple its working is. A short diet table implies a long list of extras, and each extra requires a requisition and a separate transaction for each patient for whom it is ordered; whereas a varied diet table enables the treating surgeon to prescribe the diet for each patient by a simple reference to the letter or number at the head of the various columns in the table, which comprise, in different combinations, the articles hitherto in general use as extras.

It would take too much time to particularize how much of this proposed organization would be applicable to regimental as well as to general hospitals. Both require to be dealt with on the same principles, and with a view to the attainment of the same objects, namely, reduction in the number of departments, definition of the duties to be performed by each, and simplification of the forms and processes by which the business is to be carried on.

But the general hospital is the one on which the greatest pains should be bestowed, because it is there that the existing system is the most defective. You cannot do without them in war, and you cannot have them effective in war unless you give them a good organization, simple and suited to the rough exigencies of war, and in which those who are to conduct them have been thoroughly practised during peace.

But as these military general hospitals have to be extemporized in war, as their habitat is often shifting—as they must frequently be established in buildings never intended for the purpose, and in localities requiring minute inspection and much sanitary precaution before they can be adapted to hospital purposes with any security to the sick, it will be necessary to provide the governor, who is to be responsible for the safety and efficiency of the whole, with the best possible advice on points on which obviously he cannot himself be a competent judge. This is the reason why a sanitary adviser should be attached to him as to the quartermaster-general of an army. The duty of an army surgeon is curative, but it is not so much so as it is preventive. Health is the first condition of success to an army, for health means numbers. Precaution alone can arrest the constant thinning of the ranks by disease. Remedy, however effectual, comes too late. For the mere purpose of the campaign, putting aside humanity and duty to the soldier, the success or failure of the remedy is not very material. Indeed death affects an army less than disease. For death only diminishes numbers, whereas disease not only diminishes numbers, but detracts from the efficiency of the remainder, who are still unaffected by it. The hospital intercepts rations, transport, guards, surgeons, money, all of which are wanted to maintain, in efficiency, the army at the front. No doubt it was some such calculation as this which led the Emperor Napoleon, that great military utilitarian, to cumulate so much medical and sanitary precaution on his fighting men, and to trouble himself so little with the fate of his sick and wounded. But inhuman as it may be thought, the lesson ought not to be lost upon us. It need not teach us to regard our disabled men less, but it ought to teach us to regard our active battalions more. We have not that constant warlike habit and experience which generates a belief in it. Nor is this scepticism, or rather this ignorance, peculiar to military men. It is the same in civil life. Sanitary science is looked upon as mere humbug by the mass of mankind. It is not till we have been decimated by cholera that we can be persuaded to cleanse our dwellings, to remove our cesspools, and attend to our sewers. Neither is the civil surgeon as much in advance of the lay civilian on these matters as his education and knowledge should make him. The generality of civil physicians and surgeons live not by prevention but by cure, and what men live by they most esteem. They neither live by prevention, nor practise it, nor do they teach it. Our army surgeons have acquired the groundwork of their medical knowledge in civil schools, but the specialty of sanitary science they have never been taught. They may have picked it up, and though many may thus be ahead of their civilian co-professionals in this respect, there are but

few among either the civil or the military who have studied it as a specialty. The combatant military officer, again, like the lay civilian, is seldom practically convinced of the necessity of measures of prevention, and is conscious that he is too ignorant to know whether the advice offered him is sound; and, if convinced of the necessity, perhaps doubts, and often justly doubts, whether his adviser knows much more about the matter than himself. There was no lack of evidence to show the royal commission how often medical advice is not asked, because its necessity is not felt; how often when volunteered it is resented as an intrusion, or, if asked, is not acted upon, because not good, or not thought to be good. The commission seems therefore to have attached great importance to raising the standard of sanitary knowledge among army medical officers, and recommended measures to secure that that knowledge when attained shall be produced, and when produced shall be attended to, or, at any rate, not carelessly or capriciously set aside.

When a medical officer goes to the general-in-command who, under a tropical sun, up a river surrounded with swamps, is feeding his troops on salt pork, and tells him that unless he gives them fresh meat and vegetables they will be down with scurvy and fever, he does no more than his duty, and what it is imperative that he should do. But if he is met by the man in authority with the rejoinder, "Sir, when your advice is wanted it will be asked for," he probably vows never again to expose himself to such a rebuke. Six weeks after he is called upon to cure disease which is not curable at all, or not curable in time, though care and precaution a few weeks earlier might have obviated much of it. Such things ought to be impossible, and the Commissioners urge that so far as regulation can effect it they shall be made impossible. "The duty and responsibility of both the commanding and the medical officer," say they, "should be defined by regulation. The medical officer should be made to feel that, charged as he is with the care of the troops in health, as well as with their treatment in sickness, he is responsible for any act or omission which his advice or warning might have prevented; and the commanding officer should be made to feel that he is responsible for disregarding that warning or over-ruling that advice, and should have sound reasons to show for the course taken." The Commissioners therefore proposed to fix on the medical officer, whether in peace or war, the duty and the responsibility of tending his advice in writing, and on the commanding officer that of adopting or rejecting it. In the latter case the reasons for rejecting it might be perfectly sound on strategical, while the advice itself was equally sound on sanitary grounds; but in this, as in any other case, the reasons for reject-

tion would be endorsed on the document in which the advice was tendered.

By this regulation the proper responsibility would be fixed on each; at present a military disaster is like a railway accident, no one is ever to blame; but when once the man whose business it is to advise is made to record his advice, and the man who is to not record his reasons, we shall know, as the Turkish pacha said, whose beard to pull. It is proposed that this regulation should apply to all medical officers in relation to their immediate military superiors; but it is further and most wisely suggested that to the quartermaster-general of an army in the field, and to the governor of a general hospital, a special sanitary officer should be attached. This is right. The duties to be performed are so important that not only must the very best advice be secured, and it can only be secured by previous special study and preparation, but means must be taken to ensure that the whole attention of the officer appointed shall be concentrated upon his particular work. The principal medical officer in charge of the force cannot do it. He is at the head of a large medical staff in charge of divisions, brigades, and battalions, scattered over a vast extent of country. He has an enormous amount of official business to transact. If there be much sickness the work is overwhelming. If, again, the sanitary duty be entrusted to a medical officer not restricted to sanitary, that is precautionary, duties alone, the progress of disease and the consequent want of surgeons will withdraw him first partly, then wholly, from his specialty, and while engaged in treating the sick, he will, by his neglect of his primary duties, be increasing the numbers who are already overwhelming the hospital. These sanitary officers cannot, therefore, be too exclusively devoted to their special science, nor too rigidly restricted to the one paramount duty of precaution and prevention.

There are several capital errors in the system by which candidates are now admitted to the army medical service. They are called upon to produce certificates and to undergo an examination; but of the certificates required, some do, and some do not, constitute evidence of the study of medicine as well as surgery, and the mode of examination is deficient in these points. The examiners are named by the person who names the candidates. There is, therefore, no confidence in their independence. Different men are named examiners at different times, the result is that the standard of the examination varies, that as the examiners are not habituated to the work, nor accustomed to deal with pupils, as teachers are, they are, comparatively speaking, inefficient; and, lastly, that the examination is entirely theoretical, both in medicine and surgery, while in that which is the most important

of all to the army practitioner — namely, preventive science, which we may call military hygiene, there is no examination at all. Now it is clear that the public will never place confidence in the fairness of an examination when the examining body is dependent on the very authority who exercises the patronage. The examination is the only check on the improper exercise of patronage. True, there have never been any imputations of unfair acceptances or unfair rejections of candidates; but, in what we fear we must call the degraded state of the profession, there has been little or no competition for admittance into it, and the favour was all on the side of the candidate and not of the patron. Let us hope that those times have passed away, and that with higher attractions to the profession will come not only a higher class of candidates, but more of them. The prize will be worth winning, and provision must be made that the race be fairly run. The East India Company set an excellent example in this respect. There is a permanent independent board of examiners for the Indian medical service, composed of men whose names are a guarantee, not only for their rectitude and independence, but for their thorough competence for the performance of a duty which requires constant practice to be done well. A chance deputy-inspector pressed into the Director-General's office to conduct an examination, who had long ago forgotten what he learned in the schools, and lately forgotten (thanks to the administrative system) what he learned in his practice, is the very last man to discern the difference between mere memory and ability, between sound knowledge and a superficial cram. All the evidence goes to show that, unless an examiner be a teacher likewise, and conversant with the habits and attainments of students, he is little likely to prove efficient. Nor is a mere book examination a sufficient test, for much theoretical knowledge may be got up by a young man, who, with the dissecting knife in his hand, or at the bed-side of the patient, would prove to be utterly helpless.

What is required, then, in order to secure efficient candidates and an efficient examination, is, first, to require from all a diploma in surgery, and a license in medicine, derived from some competent body; or a degree in medicine, the qualifications for which include the knowledge of surgery. The candidates should also produce certificates of having attended courses of practical instruction, such as materia medica and practical pharmacy, practical chemistry, practical anatomy (in which the student shall have himself dissected the whole body at least once), clinical surgery, ophthalmic surgery, clinical medicine, and attendance on hospital practice of not less than a year. Add to this—if, under the new system, a strong desire to enter the service is manifested—a university bachelor's degree, or its equivalent, as tested by exami-

nation. This test has been applied in the examinations for the fellowships of the College of Surgeons with a marked success in raising the tone and character, as well as the attainments, of the candidates. The man who has had the advantage of a liberal and general education will always be immeasurably superior to the man who has got up a stock of medical knowledge and nothing else. The former has learned to learn. He has braced his mind and enlarged his judgment, and there is far less fear of subsequent stagnating when once his object is gained, than in the case of the latter. No means must be neglected by the military authorities through which the weight and influence of the medical officer in his regiment can be raised. His position, socially speaking, is sure, in a country constituted like England, to be considered inferior to that of the combatant officers. The position which he must aim at is an intellectual one. He is a member of a scientific and a liberal profession, and he must show to those with whom he associates that he is master of it.

As "new brooms sweep clean," possibly under the new Medical Council changes and improvements will be effected which will raise the whole standard of medical education, and so long as the military services wisely trust to the civil schools for their education in medicine and surgery, they will reap the full benefit of those improvements, especially if the examination of their candidates be entrusted to an independent board consisting of the first civil examiners and teachers to be got.

That, however, which is the most important of all to the army-surgeon, remains untouched by these proposals, because untaught in the civil schools. The diplomas, the certificates, the examiners, and the examinations we have indicated, will give to the army as good civil practitioners as can be got, but they will give them nothing more. We shall have got a fair prospect of the means of cure, but none of prevention. Military hygiene is not taught in the civil schools. It is not to be expected that it should; but even sanitary science as applicable to civil life forms no part of the teaching of the civil schools, unless the few lectures given at St. Thomas's Hospital be an exception; and this is natural enough. A young man enters a profession for his livelihood; that which gives no remuneration offers no attraction. The surgeon and physician cure not only that their patients may live, but that they may live themselves. No man fees a doctor except for work done. If he is ill, he sends for him. If he is well, he does not trouble his head about him. The Emperor of China is the only man who has the sense to pay his physician only when he is well, and stop his salary from the day when his illness commences till the day he is convalescent. That is his way, but it is not ours. The aim and object of the medical man, and his hope

of living, depend on his curing, not on his anticipating, disease. The schools can only teach what young men must study, and they will only study that which will bring them in a livelihood. They are to live by disease, not by preventing it. The sanitary doctor's specialty is to prevent. That, however, he cannot live by, unless employed and paid by some public body whose interest it is to do so. His functions are of an entirely different character from those of the curative doctor. His practice is not ancillary to that of the curative doctor; nay, it is almost hostile to it, for the prevention of disease does not contribute to the prosperity of medicine and surgery. The sanitary doctor is to the curative doctor very much what the landowner who shoots foxes is to the master of hounds: he spoils his sport. It is vain, therefore, to expect that the civil medical schools should go out of their way to teach what few want to practise, inasmuch as, except from public bodies, there is no remuneration to be expected from it, and it forms no part of, but so far as it is successful, is incompatible with, a large experience of the curative treatment of disease. The army, therefore, which is a public body to whom preventive science is far more important than curative, must of necessity find the means of teaching it themselves, or must allow the medical officers either to practise it without having been taught, or else not to practise it at all; processes the risk of which can unfortunately be exactly measured by past results. The death returns of the Waleheren, the Burmese War, and the Crimea show what are the fruits of such neglect. The latter, especially, offers the most valuable testimony, inasmuch as, to use the words of the Royal Commissioners, it "offers to our view the most complete case on record, on the largest scale, of neglects committed, of consequences incurred, and of remedies applied."

The Government, therefore, must find some means of teaching that which is not taught in the civil schools, and never will be, and which is far more important to the army than what is taught in the civil schools, and fortunately there lies ready to their hand an instrument well adapted for the purpose. There languishes at the great army hospitals at Chatham, an institution having the semblance—but the semblance only—of a military medical school. The candidates who have passed the ordeal of the examination in the Director-General's office, are sent down to Chatham to the Invalid Depot and Fort Pitt, and the General Hospital at Brompton, and there study medicine and surgery, and receive pathological instruction. In fact, they are taught that which an examination is supposed to have just ascertained that they already know. The practice seems to have arisen from a kind of misgiving that the previous examination was not worth much, and that the intervening course at Chatham would act as a safeguard against an utterly

incompetent practitioner being appointed to a regiment. But even in this it failed; for there is no fixed period during which the candidate is to remain at Chatham, but he stays one week or fifty-two weeks, according as vacancies for assistant-surgeons are few or many. Now if the examination was such as to secure in all cases a thoroughly competent general practitioner from the civil schools (and a soldier's leg is amputated in the same way as a civilian's, and their fever or cholera must be treated alike), the interval between the successful examination and the actual appointment to a regiment offers the time and the opportunity to convert the civilian into a military practitioner. That is the time, now that he has left the civil schools, to instruct him in the treatment of tropical diseases, and all the diseases to which the soldier is peculiarly liable; to make him acquainted with the habits, not only of soldiers but of armies; to show him the dangers to which they are peculiarly exposed, and the best means of defence against them; to impress upon him the importance of vigilant precaution; to imbue him with the science of sanitary prevention, and to store his mind with resources drawn from the great precedents of the history of armies, whether in quarters or in the field.

Fortunately, therefore, there is no Government institution to create in this case. The institution is there; and indeed it is one of those cases in which Government has no option. It is no question whether a government or "private enterprise" can do it best. "Private enterprise" cannot do it at all. Government must do it, or it wont be done; and if it be not done, we know the consequences.

Chatham is peculiarly adapted to a school of this description. No hospitals in England present so great a variety of cases. It is a great depôt of recruits and a great depôt of invalids. The latter, returning from all parts of the globe, offer opportunities of study of the sequelæ of the peculiar diseases contracted in a soldier's life. The recruit shows the type of the material which these diseases threaten, and from which it is to be the business of the surgeon to defend him.

There is a large medical staff for the treatment of these hospitals. Convert some three or four of them into professors, or rather, select for the principal medical officers in these hospitals men capable of instructing as well as treating; make every candidate, whatever be the exigencies of the service, pass through a stated definite course, tested by examination, before he is judged capable of taking up an appointment, and you have at once a school which will not only bring the juniors into the service, with a standard of attainment and preparation never yet seen, but which will, by holding out these professorships as prizes to the

seniors, offer an inducement to scientific observation and study, and to that accuracy of knowledge, which teaching so indispensably requires, and which must ere long elevate the character of the whole profession.

Not many professors would be required. Military hygiene, clinical military medicine and surgery, pathology, and natural history and applied chemistry, would be the subjects of instruction. The two latter need not require a professor. The curator of the museum would teach pathology and natural history, and a good practical chemist (an officer without whom the hospitals are not efficient) would give instruction in applied chemistry. But of all these subjects, military hygiene should be first and foremost. That is the most important to practise and the most difficult to teach. "It is sanitary science," say the Royal Commissioners, "applied to the prevention of disease and mortality, under conditions far more varied, more threatening to health, and above all, more sudden and novel in their character, than those which affect the health of men engaged in the ordinary avocations of life."

To be an effective teacher of military hygiene will require no ordinary attainments and no common grasp of mind. The lecturer must possess a thorough knowledge of the physiological laws relating to health, of the physical geography and the medical topography of the greater part of the world. He must know the character of every climate and every soil, their changes and peculiarities, the dangers arising from them at various seasons and under different conditions, and the best available safeguards against them. In towns, as in the country, he must be prepared against the emanations which produce typhus, plague, and their kindred diseases, as well as against the marsh miasmas, with their train of remittent and intermittent disease. Space, ventilation, cleanliness, personal and local, diet as applicable to climate, with the nutritive value and the wholesomeness of different equivalents under different circumstances, must all have been studied by him. He must be conversant with the habits of armies in the field, and must be able to point out the precautions necessary for the selection of sites for camps, for huts, even for bivouacs; how best, tents, huts, barracks can be drained, ventilated, and warmed; how hospitals should be placed, and how constructed, for health and administration. He must know well the history of disease and mortality, not only in our own, but in foreign armies; in short, he must be physician, physiologist, geologist, meteorologist, topographer, chemist, engineer, and mechanic; and he must be all these things not as a theorist, but as one prepared to make practical application of these sciences to the varying exigencies of military life, and to teach others to do the same. Where is

the man? He must, however, and will be found, and no surgeon must be allowed to practise in the army till he has passed through his hands.

No branch of a profession, however, thrives which has not a head. Knowledge, which is confined to the lower ranks dies with them. Labours which are performed unobserved and unchecked by a competent as well as watchful superior authority, cease to be performed with zeal, till they cease to be performed at all. The sanitary duties of the army medical officer must, if well performed, be rewarded, and be rewarded by distinction and promotion equally with the curative. Sanitary science as well as curative science must be represented at head-quarters.

There would be a direct economy in establishing in the office of the Director-General a sanitary branch, with a competent officer at its head, specially devoted to the overlooking and directing all sanitary measures. We have thrown away not hundreds of thousands, but millions, in the course of the last ten years, from our blind and reckless neglect of the simplest laws in this respect. A man who had seen the modern hospitals at Paris, such as Lariboisière and Vincennes, would have been struck by the wonderful simplicity of the plans, and by the light, the airiness, the cheerfulness of the wards; and that in a climate far more severe than ours. But we had no sanitary department in the office of the Director-General to look to these things, and no one whose business it was to study the construction of buildings for the use of the sick, nor the conditions necessary to a healthy site. Hence, when an immense sum was voted to create a general hospital, with all England to choose from, our selection fell on three acres of clay, standing over ten miles of mud bank, with a soft, damp climate, in a district to which there is no record of any man having been ever sent for his health by any physician that ever lived; and this is to be a place of recovery for our soldiers returning from abroad, the majority of whom come from tropical climates, and whose constitutions, according to the highest living authority, Dr. Martin, require a high, dry, bracing climate! A plan was adopted magnificent in scale, far more extensive than is likely to be required, and far more costly than was necessary, and which, with reduction, was admirably adapted for a barrack, though quite unsuitable to a hospital! Not but that Netley is a step in advance. To get a good barrack instead of a hospital, is an advantage which the sick soldier is not everywhere provided with. In the majority of our stations, the best hospitals are those which were built, not for hospitals, but for barracks. Where a hospital was designed as such, the constructor seems to have racked his ingenuity to devise as many crooked corners, blank walls, dark and unventilated spaces as possible; as though light

and air, instead of being the two first requisites of a hospital, were dangers to be carefully guarded against. At Woolwich—not in the benighted days of the Georges, nor even of King William, but in the reign of Queen Victoria, in this very decade, during the Russian war—a ward was added to the General Hospital, which we venture to say is the largest room with the smallest window-space which can be found in all England, built to be inhabited by human beings.

At Dumdum, within a drive from Calcutta, upwards of 500 women and children perish from disease, in fifteen months, out of a mean strength of about 1000, from sheer overcrowding in unventilated rooms. It seems as though we wanted to rescue the memory of Shah Soujah and the Black-hole from infamy, by showing how, by our ignorance or neglect, or both, we can emulate his world-known crime. For it is ignorance and it is neglect, and it is horrible to find that so little is the responsibility of the authorities felt in this respect, that the Government is actually praised for its energy, because one of its officers, as soon as the details of the tragedy were known (that is, when the victims had been dying for weeks), drove over in a buggy, and made a report. As if a report would resuscitate the dead, or save the living! How came the details not to be known? And who was the military, and who the medical officer, who ordered or who allowed the crowding which destroyed these poor creatures?

These things would not be possible if the army medical officers were made to understand that their first great duty is prevention. But for this purpose their responsibility must be fixed, and they must have secured to them the means of acquiring a really sound sanitary as well as curative education, so as to make them equal to their responsibility.

Lastly, there must be, in the office of the Director-General, a department, with a recognised, competent head, to overlook, to advise, and, above all, to be responsible for the advice given on these subjects. At present, the Director-General has no responsible adviser. Medical officers, who happen to be near at hand, are seized upon and constituted advisers, *pro hac vice*, not because they are competent, but because they are near at hand. Chance makes them advisers, and chance is to blame, not they, if the advice they give turns out to be bad. If they are right they get no credit for it, and it is but fair, that if they are wrong they should escape blame. This was the composition of the office under the late Director-General, and it is so still. The work is multifarious, and in extent and variety far beyond the powers of any one man. There is a vast routine business to transact with the 700 or 800 medical officers over

whom he is the sole professional authority. He must have that undefinable tact in governing men which induces them to follow willingly, and acquiesce in his decisions even when against them. He must be gifted with discernment, to judge of merit and capacity, not only for the purpose of awarding promotion with justice, but of allotting to each the task for which his attainments or qualities especially fit him. He is ultimately responsible for the health of an army of 150,000, or 180,000 men, scattered over the world, in every latitude, and in every climate. He has to deal with sanitary questions, on the largest scale and in the greatest possible variety. He has to deal with medical questions, with surgical questions, with statistical questions. He must be able to interpret rapidly the dry array of figures before him, and argue from them to sound conclusions; to trace the evils detected to their true causes, and to apply the proper remedies. To do all this, he is to be assisted by a few clerks, and his judgment is to be strengthened and informed by whatever medical officers, of a certain rank, happen to be at home on leave, or to be quartered within reach. We mean no disparagement to the talents of the late Director-General, who was an able and scientific man, when we say that the task was altogether beyond his strength. We mean none to his successor, when we say that if he attempts to discharge his duties, with an office constituted like that of his predecessor, he will utterly fail. It is an impossible task. A simple recurrence to the old form of an ordinary board will not meet the difficulty. A board, consisting of members having equal powers, voting on each measure as it arises, is a form of government almost incompatible with a decided and energetic administration. It divides the power without strengthening it. It either produces continual difference and continual bickering; or it results in a series of compromises, in which every convenience except the public convenience is consulted. Little is done, and for that little the responsibility is divided. When representation is an object these evils have to be endured, in consideration of the advantages by which they are compensated; but where administration alone is the object, where rapid but not hasty decision, energetic but well-considered action are required, the responsibility and the decision must be vested in one man, but the mind of that one man must be strengthened by friction with the minds of men whose special acquaintance with each of the classes of subjects on which he has to decide, make them competent to inform him. They should be responsible for the advice they give; but he, and he alone, should be responsible to the Government and to the public for the decision taken.

It is scarcely necessary to remind our readers that these are the principles on which, after long discussion, and with almost

universal consent, the greatest administrative office in the world has been constituted—namely, that of the Secretary of State for India, with his council. A director-general, solely responsible, but assisted by three councillors, one medical, one sanitary, and one statistical, through whom all business would pass which might appertain to the specialty of each before it came up to him for decision, all important measures being reserved for discussion by all, but for the ultimate decision of one, appears to us to constitute a machinery the most likely to perform the duties which have hitherto proved too much either for an unaided autocrat or an irresponsible board.

Lastly, let us reprint from the Report of the Royal Commission the following sentences:—

“Without some publicity we fear that this subject may again fall into oblivion and neglect, and the evils which we have described continue unnoticed and unremedied.

“The publication of the statistics of mortality of the troops in the West Indies enabled the Secretary at War (Lord Howick) to grapple with the evil and apply a remedy.

“It is desirable to ensure to the troops at home the advantage of the same publicity, in order to secure the adoption of the measures necessary to relieve them from the continued influence of conditions deleterious to health and life.”

We have now gone through the measures which appear to us to be indicated by the Report of the Royal Commission as necessary to secure the objects aimed at by them. But one thing is wanting, and on that the Report of the Commission was silent. They propose to educate the medical officer to give advice, but they do not propose to educate the combatant officer to receive it and to appreciate it. True, they fix upon him the responsibility of rejecting it, by compelling him to affix his reasons for the rejection. If the advice shall have been bad, well and good, the reasons will be given and the course will be justified, and if the advice be good and it be rejected, the blame will ultimately fall on the right shoulders; but the mischief done in the interim may be incalculable. Authority may visit the error on the head of the officer, but it cannot compensate for the disaster. Means must therefore be taken to inform the combatant officers on these subjects, that they may be protected from their own errors, and, what is more important, that those under their command may be protected from them. Our army is, perhaps, at present, the least professional of all our professions. The education for the army, and the examination previous to admission, has been as yet but very superficially military. For the first steps of promotion there is a purely technical examination, but it is of

the most elementary character, and refers much more to drill and parade than to the care, management, and utilization of troops. It is an examination for peace rather than war. It omits some of the first and highest duties of an officer, without a familiarity with which no one can be fit for high command. It is not on fields of battle alone that great commanders have won their victories. Our belief is, that unless the military authorities give to our officers the means and encourage them to acquire this knowledge and secure its acquisition by them, through the means of examination, much of the advantage which the measures recommended by the Commissioners, and now, we hope about to be adopted, will be neutralized or lost.

Add this, and it is a complete scheme, thoroughly well balanced in all its parts, which fit and dovetail one into the other.

Throughout, from beginning to end, it keeps the one main object steadily in view, namely, the efficiency of the army. The troops must be kept in health, if they are to do anything. Whatever is necessary to conduce to that end, is fearlessly recommended. Whatever has been asked for, with no other object than the gratification of a class or a profession, is summarily set aside. If much seems to be done for the medical officer, it is because, with a view to secure the health of the men, duties far more onerous—far more responsible—requiring far more knowledge, are imposed upon them. Respect for their opinion is not easily obtained, unless respect for their position be also secured. In England, mere scientific attainment does not obtain the same acknowledgment that it does in France. Social distinctions overshadow them. A young medical officer joining the mess of a fast regiment for the first time, has sometimes no easy task to hold his own. He is one against many, and a large portion of that "many" are of an age and habits which do not lead to a respectful consideration of the superior attainments of others. At that happy age when the schoolboy of yesterday is suddenly transformed into "the officer and the gentleman" of to-day—when, for the first time, he finds himself able to get drunk without being flogged, and possibly to smoke without being sick—he is apt to assert his claim to manhood by imitating its vices, and to look down upon a man who neither drinks, nor hunts, nor rides races, as a sorry creature. For these social deficiencies, authority compensates by marking their estimation of the man on whose knowledge and forethought these very youngsters, when they shall have acquired (as they soon will) not only the name but the character of officers and gentlemen, will often and in critical circumstances have to depend.

On the other hand, the duties and responsibilities of the medical officer are enormously increased, but he is better rewarded if he

performs them, and the opportunity is offered him of rendering himself equal to their performance, and his diligence and success in availing himself of those opportunities are tested before health and life are entrusted to his care. Security is taken so far as it can be taken by improved and simplified organization, that his treatment shall not be debarred from success by want of the requisite appliances, nor the sick be debarred from recovery by the want of necessary material comforts. The whole scheme is left to be watched and directed in each of its parts, medical, sanitary, and statistical, by officers of the highest ability and experience that can be found, acting with and under the authority of the director-general, who will combine and be responsible for the whole. Lastly, as a check upon the whole, and as a security to the soldier and to the country, the publication, at fixed intervals, of the statistics of the army is provided for, as the only safeguard against oblivion and neglect.

We are told that the sub-commissions charged with the elaboration of the details of all these measures have all reported; that the medical regulations have been codified; that a complete scheme of statistics, and a complete organization of army hospitals has been devised; that the whole curriculum of the reformed army medical school has been prepared; and that the duties, the relative powers, and the mode of transacting business by the director-general and his council, have been defined. They wait and we wait for the action of the government. There can be no difficulty about money, for the cost of two or three councillors at the medical department, and two or three professors at the medical school cannot be large, especially when we recollect that the irresponsible advisers in the director-general's office did not work without pay, and that the patients at Chatham must be treated by medical officers of high rank, whether those officers be also professors or not. Why, the interest of the money spent on Netley in excess of what would have built and administered a properly constructed hospital, would in itself more than maintain these officers, even were they net additions to our establishment, which they are not.

But if this matter is to be looked at as a matter of finance and of finance alone, it is hardly possible to conceive a larger proportion of saving to be obtained at so small an immediate outlay. We are recruiting our army, say at the rate of 25,000 men per annum, at this moment it is much more. The mortality in our army has been shown to be more than double that of civil life. Our invaliding exceeds it. Whatever diminishes the one diminishes the other. Reduce the sickness, and not only the mortality but the invaliding is diminished with it. If the health of the army could be raised to the level, or, which is the same

thing, if the mortality of the army could be reduced to the rates of civil life, half of our recruiting would become unnecessary. The vacancies would have been reduced one-half; half the number of recruits would be sufficient to maintain our present force. But that view may be too sanguine, and in order to be beyond all cavil, assume that a good sanitary system based on the reforms specified in this article, reduces the sickness and mortality by no more than one-fifth; and assume that the loss of a trained and efficient soldier can be made good for 50*l.*, which is just half the amount of estimate of the cost of a recruit, enlisted, fed, clothed, drilled, in short, converted into a trained soldier, and transported to the regiment to which he belongs, and the country at once gains an annual saving of a quarter of a million, and this is a very low estimate of the ultimate saving when the measures shall have come into full operation.

But there are other and higher motives for immediate and energetic action. Every month that is allowed to pass while nothing is done, brings into the service fresh batches of young men to whom are entrusted duties for which they have received no previous preparation. They are sent out to be taught in their turn by disaster what they have learned from no teacher at home. Their experience will again be acquired at the expense of the soldier, whose life and health are in their hands. If there be war, fresh sufferings and fresh disasters will again lower our reputation as a military nation, and *pro tanto* deprive us of the security which rests on military reputation. Every day's delay, therefore, is a loss. While these plans, matured by practised and experienced hands, are being bandied from branch to branch in the cumbrous consolidation of the War Office, not only are the evils complained of unarrested, but the seeds are being sown for their long continuance. Delay, then, is not only a loss but a sin, and one which we trust that the country will not long allow our rulers to commit. The army of England deserves better treatment at our hands. Its officers and its men are of the finest material which the world can show. They have undergone much unnecessary suffering, and been exposed to much unnecessary difficulty, but they have endured those sufferings, and overcome those difficulties, with a patience and a courage which have never failed. It remains for us to give them the organization and the skill which shall utilize those great qualities to the utmost, and constitute our army a machine perfect for its purpose. Then we may rest assured, that while so defended, neither envy of our prosperity, nor hatred of our freedom, will induce any nation to risk aggression or court a contest with us.

ART. IV.—CHLOROFORM AND OTHER ANÆSTHETICS.

1. *On Chloroform and other Anæsthetics: their Action and Administration.* By John Snow, M.D., Licentiate of the Royal College of Physicians. Edited, with a Memoir of the Author, by Benjamin W. Richardson, M.D., Licentiate of the Royal College of Physicians. London: John Churchill. 1858.
- 2: *The Obstetric Memoirs and Contributions of James Y. Simpson, M.D., F.R.S.E., Professor of Midwifery in the University of Edinburgh, &c. &c. &c.* Edited by W. O. Priestley, M.D., and H. B. Storer, M.D. 2 vols. 8vo. Edinburgh: A. and C. Black. 1855.

TWELVE years ago, how few, even of the most ardent devotees of science, had faith enough to believe that surgical operations and the labour of childbirth would ever be accomplished without pain! By every tribe, and every nation of the human family, the surgeon's knife, whether held by the "medicine man" of savage life, or by the skilled anatomist of civilization, was regarded as the dread symbol of inevitable torture; while, from the earliest ages, the pangs of parturition have been deemed inseparable from maternity, the suffering, in this instance, being explained by Jews, Mahomedans, and Christians as a result of the primeval curse of Jehovah, "In sorrow thou shalt bring forth children."

Yet there has been a succession of independent spirits who have refused to acquiesce in the inevitableness of suffering; long before the dawn of organic chemistry, century after century, for 2000 years at least, men have cherished the conviction that by skilful and patient questioning of Nature she would be induced to yield up the priceless secret of how pain may be put under the dominion of the human will. It was partly elicited by the Greeks and Romans, who used the root of the mandrake (*atropa mandragora*) steeped in wine: it was given (writes Dioscorides, eighteen centuries ago) "to cause insensibility to pain in those who are to be cut or cauterized; for, being thrown into a deep sleep, they do not perceive pain."* According to Pliny, also, the juice of mandragora, when administered in due proportion to the strength of the patient, has a narcotic effect. "It is given, too," says he, "for injuries inflicted by serpents, and before incisions or punctures are made in the body, in order to ensure insensibility."

* Quoted by Professor Simpson.

bility to pain. Indeed, for this last purpose, with some persons, the odour of it is quite sufficient to induce sleep.* Apuleius, referring to mandragora, makes a similar statement: "Further, if any one is to have a limb mutilated, burnt, or sawn, he may drink half-an-ounce with wine, and whilst he sleeps the member may be cut off without any pain or sense."†

From a work on surgery by Theodoric, who lived in Italy during the latter half of the thirteenth century, and who was a pupil of Hugo, Dr. Snow has extracted the following passage:—

"The making of a flavour for performing surgical operations according to Dominus Hugo. It is thus made:—Take of opium, of the juice of the unripe mulberry, of hyoscyamus, of the juice of hemlock, of the juice of the leaves of mandragora, of the juice of the wood ivy, of the juice of the forest mulberry, of the seeds of lettuce, of the seeds of the dock which has a large round apple [cicuta], each an ounce; mix all these in a brazen vessel, and then place in it a new sponge; let the whole boil, as long as the sun lasts on the dog-days, until the sponge consumes it all, and it is boiled away in it (the sponge). As oft as there shall be need of it, place this sponge in hot water for an hour, and let it be applied to the nostrils of him who is to be operated on, until he has fallen asleep; and so let the surgery be performed."

"An early English writer, Bulleyn (1579), describes," says Professor Simpson, "the possibility of setting patients into an anæsthetic state during lithotomy, &c., by the use of mandragora; but at the same time he speaks of the sleep thus artificially produced as a 'trance or deepe terrible dreame.'" Professor Simpson also states that Baptista Porta, in the 8th book of his *Natural Magic* (1608), gives various receipts for medicines which produce sleep instantly, &c. One is for a "sleeping apple" (*Pomum somnificum*), made with mandragora, opium, &c., and the smelling of which binds the eyes with a deep sleep. In the same work it is stated that certain soporific plants will yield a quintessence which, if held to a sleeping man's nostrils, "will so besiege the castle of his senses, that he will be overwhelmed with a profound sleep, not to be shook off without much labour. These things," Porta adds, "are manifest to a wise physician; to a wicked one, obscure."

Without endeavouring to determine what foundation there may be for the above statements, it is worthy of remark that mandragora was relied upon by the Greeks and Romans, and by Bulleyn, as alone sufficient to induce anæsthesia, and that of the compound alleged by Hugo and Baptista Porta to possess anæsthetic powers, mandragora was an ingredient. Seeing that the *atropa mandragora* "belongs to the same genus as belladonna,

* "Natural History," book xxv. ch. 91, (not ch. 13, as stated by Dr. Snow).
 † "De Herbarum Vertutibus," cap. 131. Quoted by Dr. Snow.

which has a greater power in annulling sensibility than any plant in present use, unless it be aconite," it is not unlikely to possess the anæsthetic quality ascribed to it—at least to such an extent as to justify us in believing that surgical operations have been performed under its influence without conscious pain.

Another plant, the anæsthetic effect of which seems to equal that of the atropa mandragora, is the well-known Indian hemp (*Cannabis Indica*). The Greeks and Romans were acquainted with it; but they seem to have been ignorant of its narcotic and anæsthetic properties. After burials the Scythians used to inhale the fumes of this plant. "They make a booth," says Herodotus, "by fixing in the ground three sticks inclined towards one another, and stretching around them woollen felts, which they arrange so as to fit as close as possible; inside the booth a dish is placed upon the ground, into which they put a number of red-hot stones." Taking some "hemp-seed, and creeping under the felt coverings, they throw it upon the red-hot stones; immediately it smokes and gives out such a vapour as no Grecian vapour-bath can exceed; the Scythians, delighted, shout for joy."* Dr. Royle suggests that Indian hemp "may have been the assuager of grief, or the *nepenthes* (*νηπενθές*), of which Homer speaks, as having been given by Helen to Telemachus in the house of Menelaus. Helen is stated to have received the plant from Egyptian Thebes." The plant has been long known in Africa. "In Barbary," says Sir Joseph Banks, "bang, prepared from Indian hemp, is always taken, if it can be procured, by criminals who are condemned to suffer amputation, and it is said to enable those miserales to bear the rough operations of an unfeeling executioner, more than we Europeans can the keen knife of our most skilful surgeons."† Dr. Daniel states that it is smoked in large quantities by the natives of Congo, Angola, and South Africa. In India it is celebrated as the "increaser of pleasure;" the "exciter of desire;" the "cement of friendship;" the "cause of a reeking gait;" and as the "laughter-mover." It does not appear, however, that the Hindoos ever used it as an anæsthetic during surgical operations; but Hou-tho, a Chinese physician, who flourished under the dynasty of Wei (about 230 B.C.), is recorded to have done so: "If the malady was situated in parts on which the needle, the moxa, or liquid medicines, could not act, he gave to the patient a preparation of hemp (*Ma-yo*), and at the end of some instants he became as insensible as if he had been drunk, or deprived of life. Then, according to the case, he made openings and incisions, performed amputations, and removed the cause of mischief. After a certain

* Book iv. ch. 73-5. Rawlinson's Translation.

† Simpson's Memoirs, ii. p. 792.

number of days the patient found himself re-established, without having experienced the slightest pain during the operation."*

As there seems reasonable ground for the alleged anæsthetic efficacy of mandragora, so the experiments of scientific inquirers render credible Hoa-tho's recorded practice of anæsthesia, more than two thousand years ago, by means of Indian hemp. It produces exhilaration, inebriation with phantasms, confusion of intellect, followed by sleep; in large doses it causes stupor, and it relieves pain. Mr. Donovan found that under its influence his sense of touch and feeling gradually became obtuse, until at length he lost all feeling unless he pinched himself severely; and Dr. Christison states that he felt a pleasant numbness under its use. On Orientals large doses produce a cataleptic condition. Dr. O'Shaughnessy, happening by chance to lift up the arm of a patient to whom he had given a grain of the resin of hemp, found that it remained in the posture in which he had placed it. "It required," says he, "but a very brief examination of the limbs to find that the patient had, through the influence of this narcotic, been thrown into that strange and most extraordinary of all nervous conditions—into that state which so few have seen, and which so many still discredit—the genuine *catalepsy* of the nosologist. We raised him to a sitting posture, and placed his arms and limbs in every imaginable attitude. A waxen figure could not be more pliant or more stationary in each position, no matter how contrary to the natural influence of gravity on the part. *To all impressions he was meanwhile almost insensible.*"†

In 1784 Ambrose Tranquille Lassard, then surgeon to the Hôpital de la Charité, at Paris, recommended the employment of a narcotic previous to serious and painful operations; and in the *Skizzen* of A. G. Meissner, published in 1782, it is stated that Augustus, King of Poland and Elector of Saxony, was surreptitiously narcotized by his favourite surgeon Weiss, a pupil of Petit, of Paris, while a part of his foot, which had mortified after being wounded, was cut off without pain or consciousness. In Guyot's "Causes Célèbres" there are, says Professor Simpson, full details of how the Countess de St. Geran, after being in labour nine hours, was made to drink a potion (*breuvage*) "which rendered her insensible till the following morning." The child was born meanwhile, and was surreptitiously conveyed away, its

* This passage is extracted from a work entitled "Koukin-i-tong," or a "General Collection of Ancient and Modern Medicine." M. Stanislas Julien was the first to direct attention to it in his article on Chinese Medicine. Comtes Rendus de l'Acad. de Sc., t. xxviii., 1849, p. 195, referred to by Professor Simpson and Dr. Snow.

† See "Elements of Materia Medica," by J. Pereira, M.D. Fourth edition. Also, the "Manual of Materia Medica," by J. F. Royle, M.D.

very existence being denied to her. Years afterwards it was proved to the satisfaction of the French law courts to be hers, and was restored to her.

Professor Simpson concludes his very interesting sketch of "Ancient Anæsthetics" by calling to mind that "Shakspeare, besides alluding more than once to the soporific property of mandragora, describes, with graphic power, in 'Romeo and Juliet,' and in 'Cymbeline,' the imagined effects of subtle distilled potions, supposed capable of inducing, without danger, a prolonged state of death-like sleep or lethargy;" and that "Middleton, in his tragedy of 'Women beware Women,' published in 1657, pointedly and directly alludes, in the following lines, to the practice of anæsthesia in ancient surgery:—

'I'll imitate the pities of old surgeons
To this lost limb—who, ere they show their art,
Cast one asleep, then cut the diseased part.'

In 1784, James Moore, then house-surgeon to St. George's Hospital, London, introduced a plan for lessening the pain of surgical operations, by compressing the nerves proceeding to the part about to be operated upon. He applied his compressor to a patient whose leg was cut off by John Hunter, and who is said to have felt extremely little pain; but the success of the plan was too slight to ensure its continuance. According to a statement made by Dr. Liégard, of Caen, in 1844, the peasants in his part of France were then "in the habit of tying a band very tightly round the arm or leg before operations in the extremities." He says that he has himself removed a toe-nail in two cases without pain by adopting the same plan.

Mesmerism has been used as an anæsthetic agent in India, America, France, and England, with extraordinary success; many Hindoos, Americans, and Europeans having been rendered completely insensible during the most formidable surgical operations. In India the first recorded case occurred on the 4th of April, 1845; and in a pamphlet, published in 1852,* Dr. Esdaile gives a list of 261 operations which he had performed on patients while in a state of anæsthesia induced by mesmerism. The published testimony in proof that the patients really were insensible to pain is so abundant and authoritative as to be irresistible. The Calcutta Government, through the Deputy-Governor, Sir Herbert Maddock, ordered a Committee, composed of three medical and three unprofessional gentlemen, with a member of the Medical Board for their president, to witness and

* "The Introduction of Mesmerism, as an Anæsthetic and Curative Agent, into the Hospitals of India." By James Esdaile, M.D. Perth: 1852.

report upon mesmeric operations to be performed by Dr. Esdaile. The report of the Committee concerning the six cases brought before it concludes as follows: "The general result arrived at, then, on the question of pain during the mesmeric surgical operations we witnessed amounts to this, that in three cases there is no proof whatever that any pain was suffered, and that in the three other cases *the manifestations of pain during the operation are opposed by the positive statement of the patient that no pain was experienced.*" On the receipt of this report, Sir Herbert Maddock, with the sanction of the supreme Government, placed Dr. Esdaile for one year in charge of a small experimental hospital in Calcutta, in order that he might, as recommended by the Committee, "extend his investigation to the applicability of this alleged agency to all descriptions of cases, medical as well as surgical, and all classes of patients, European as well as native." By the end of the year of experiment Lord Dalhousie arrived in Calcutta as Governor-General of India. "He found time," says Dr. Esdaile, "to read all the 'Hospital Reports,' as well as those of the 'Visitors,' and made up his mind from documentary evidence alone. Having favoured me with an interview he expressed himself perfectly satisfied; and on my offering to add the evidence of his senses, he said, 'That is perfectly superfluous—there can be no doubt about the matter.'" Shortly afterwards Lord Dalhousie gave a practical assurance of his conviction by appointing Dr. Esdaile a presidency-surgeon of Calcutta, and, countenanced by his lordship, a mesmeric hospital, supported by public subscription, was established and placed under the Doctor's superintendence. He was subsequently appointed superintendent of one of the Government hospitals expressly that he might introduce mesmerism into regular hospital practice. Before he left Calcutta for England, Dr. Webb was appointed his successor, on account of "his knowledge of the subject, and the interest he has long taken in it."

In the "Zoist, a Journal of Cerebral Physiology and Mesmerism" (now extinct), a large number of surgical operations on Europeans, or on Americans of European descent, are recorded to have been performed under the influence of mesmerism without pain. From the volume of that journal for 1844, from the October number for 1845, and from the January numbers for 1846 and 1847, we have collected the following list of forty-seven operations, which were performed on patients while in the mesmeric sleep, and wholly insensible to pain:—Venection, 3 cases; extraction of teeth, 26; insertion of setons, 3; excision of wen, 1; excision of tumour, 1; excision of tonsil, 1; removal of polypus, 1; removal of deep-seated splinter from beneath finger-nail, 1; opening of abscess, 1; operations,

for strabismus (squinting), 1 ; amputation of finger, 1 ; removal of deep-seated tumour from the neck, 1 ; removal of breast, 1, amputation of the leg, 4 ; amputation of the thigh, 1 ; total, 17.

This list does not comprise any of the operations which took place in India : the majority of the cases occurred in England. Two of the amputations were performed at Leicester ; one, as well as the removal of the deep-seated tumour from the neck, took place at Cherbourg, and the removal of the breast was effected by Dr. L. A. Ducas, Professor of Physiology in the Medical College of Georgia. All these cases are thoroughly authenticated. To those who are inclined to investigate the subject, we especially commend Dr. Ducas's very interesting and circumstantial account of the operation last-mentioned. It is published in the *Zoist* of October, 1845. The following is an extract from it :—

“ Professor Ford, who counted the pulse and respiration, states that, before any preparation was made for the operation, the pulse was 96 and the respiration 16 per minute ; that after removing the patient to arrange her dress for the operation, and just before this was commenced, the pulse was 98 and the respiration 17 ; that immediately after the detachment of the breast, the pulse was 96, respiration not counted ; and that after the final adjustment of the bandages and dress, which required the patient to rise and move about, the pulse was 98 and the respiration 16. All present concur in stating that neither the placid countenance of the patient, nor the peculiar natural blush of the cheeks, experienced any change whatever during the whole process ; that she continued in the same profound and quiet sleep in which she was before noted ; and that had they not been aware of what was being done, they would not have suspected it from any indications furnished by the patient's condition.”

As a proof of the deep interest which the above-mentioned facts excited at the time of their occurrence, we may state that shortly after the painless amputations at Leicester under the influence of mesmerism, Mr. Abel Smith offered to raise 10,000*l.* to establish a mesmeric hospital, wherein patients might be rendered insensible before undergoing surgical operations. The offer was made to Mr. H. G. Atkinson, by whose influence one of the patients at Leicester was rendered anæsthetic. He declined to avail himself of it, because he feared that he should be unable to co-operate harmoniously with the gentleman who in the event of the establishment of the hospital would have been its chief physician. It is perhaps fortunate that the money was not expended, for the easier and more certain method of inducing anæsthesia, which was discovered in 1846, superseded the practice of anæsthesia by mesmerism : at all events, we have seen no account of its continuance since that date. Nevertheless, the anæsthetic power of

mesmerism, as actually proved by a large number of experiments authentically recorded, must always command great physiological and pathological interest. In his lectures on Comparative Anatomy, Cuvier, long before the date of those experiments, thus expressed himself concerning the influence of mesmerism:—

“The effects obtained upon persons already asleep, and those which arise in others who have been put asleep by the mesmeric process, with the phenomena presented by animals, do not permit us to doubt that the proximity of bodies, with certain conditions and motions, produces a genuine influence altogether independent of the action of the imagination in either; and it is sufficiently evident that these results are owing to some communication having been established between the two nervous systems.”

Whether Cuvier's view be substantially correct, whether in fact mesmeric phenomena are induced by the transmission of some subtle influence from the mesmerizer to the person mesmerized it would perhaps be hazardous to affirm. It is worthy of remark, however, that those who continue to mesmerize for a considerable time become exhausted, and that as a general condition of successful mesmerism it seems necessary that the nervous system of the mesmerizer should be more powerful and vigorous than that of the person mesmerized. “As I spared neither mind nor body in the wonder-working labour,” says Dr. Esdaile, “I found myself at the end of six weeks suffering from extreme nervous exhaustion, accompanied with irritability and sleeplessness.” He forswore mesmerism thenceforth, and set his hospital attendants, door-keepers, and cooks to work upon patients: “one by one they reduced their subjects to insensibility,” when he operated on those requiring his aid. The natives of India seem to be peculiarly susceptible of the mesmeric influence, and there is reason to believe that the African constitution is equally susceptible; but Europeans are much less easily subdued. The depressing influence of disease seems necessary to reduce their nervous systems to the impressible condition so common among the Eastern nation.* Even Hindoos are often a long time before they come under the mesmeric influence. Speaking of patients “subdued by the mesmeric trance previous to operation,” Dr. Esdaile says of Case 1: “At the end of three-quarters of an hour the man was totally unconscious;” Case 2, required

* “We cannot, in all cases, be sure of producing the sleep, and when an accident happens we have no time to try long experiments. . . . It appears to be certain that the natives of this country are not so easily and certainly magnetized as those of others, for example, of Bengal.”—“Letters to a Candid Inquirer on Animal Magnetism.” By William Gregory, M.D., F.R.S.E. 1851.

“two hours’ mesmerizing;” Case 3, was mesmerized within “twenty-four hours;” Case 4, “was subdued on the first day;” Case 5, required “an hour’s mesmerizing;” Case 6, was “ready for operation at the end of the first day’s mesmerizing.” Of six other cases described, three were mesmerized from one to two hours, and three during the whole day before they were rendered anæsthetic. But though it is often very difficult and laborious to excite the mesmeric action in the constitution, when once effected, “a very slight recurrence to the original process will often bring on,” as Dr. Esdaile says, “the mesmeric paroxysm; and if the excitement of the nervous system is kept up by frequent mesmerizing, an independent diseased action is set up in the constitution; we have, in fact, inoculated the system with a nervous disease, acting spontaneously, and obeying natural laws we do not understand.”

Our present knowledge of mesmerism as an anæsthetic agent may be thus summed up: 1st, that it is capable of inducing complete anæsthesia; 2nd, that, as a rule, liable, however, to strange exceptions, its effectiveness is in proportion to the superior strength and vigour of the nervous system of the mesmerizer relatively to that of the person mesmerized; 3rd, that while generally capable of inducing anæsthesia in Orientals, it is less frequently capable of inducing the like state in Europeans; 4th, that the practitioner of mesmeric anæsthesia suffers extreme exhaustion from the process, and cannot continue it for long without seriously impairing his own health; 5th, that an inconveniently long time is often needed in order to induce anæsthesia; and 6th, that when patients once become amenable to mesmeric influence, they are liable to become “inoculated” (to use Dr. Esdaile’s words) with a nervous disease, “acting spontaneously, and obeying natural laws we do not understand.”

Only from the science of chemistry were the first intimations obtained which enabled explorers to take the true direction in their search for a perfect anæsthetic agent. In 1756 Black announced the result of his researches concerning carbonic acid and its combinations; in 1774 Priestley made his famous discovery of oxygen, and of its power “of supporting combustion better, and animal life longer, than the same volume of common air;” it was he also who discovered nitrous oxide (protoxide of nitrogen); and Cavendish, not only ascertained the properties of carbonic acid, but in 1781 established the radical difference of hydrogen from nitrogen, and by the combustion of hydrogen with oxygen proved, synthetically, the composition of water. As early as 1773 Lavoisier presented to the French Academy an account of his important discovery, that “metals in calcination derive their increased weight from the absorption of highly re-

spirable air," and in 1791 he announced the results of his researches respecting the respiration and transpiration of animals. These great discoveries, the foundation of modern chemistry, gave a sudden and powerful impulse to therapeutical inquiry, and resulted in an attempt to render them available for the cure of disease. It was fondly hoped that by means of the inhalation of various kinds of gases, or by the practice of *pneumatic medicine*, as the new system was called, many maladies—and especially consumption—would become amenable to the power of the physician.

A medical pneumatic institution was accordingly set up at Clifton, near Bristol, by Dr. Beddowes,* "with huge reservoirs of gases for the use of patients;" and in 1799, Humphry Davy, who had just completed his apprenticeship, was appointed its superintendent. In the summer of 1800 he published his "Researches on Nitrous Oxide and the Combinations of Oxygen and Azote, and on the respiration of Nitrous Oxide and other Gases." This work added greatly to the excitement and sanguine hopes already entertained by the gas-doctors. "He found that the nitrous oxide relieved him from headache after a profound fit of intoxication," induced by drinking a bottle of wine in eight minutes, in order to compare its effects with those of the intoxicating gas; he also found that it lessened the pain of cutting a wisdom tooth; and in his summary of the results of his researches concerning the effects of this gas, he says, that "as nitrous oxide, in its extensive operation, seems capable of destroying physical pain, it may probably be used with advantage during surgical operations in which no great effusion of blood takes place."†

This very remarkable passage, if standing alone in Sir Humphry Davy's writings, would make good his claim to be the originator of that prolific idea which has at length become one of the most glorious realities of the present century. But when by a perusal of his "Researches" we find that this idea, instead of being a mere accidental conception of genius, was the elaborated result of ten months of continuous, and often hazardous, experiments, we feel that humanity's indebtedness to this great chemist can scarcely be over-stated. His "Experiments and Observations on the Effects produced upon Animals by the respiration of Nitrous Oxide," are admirable illustrations of his rigorous scientific

* "The Pneumatic Institution, it is worthy of remark, next to Dr. Beddowes, its originator, owed its establishment mainly to two philanthropists, Mr. Lambton, the father of the late Earl of Durham, and Mr. Thomas Wedgwood; they in their love of science and of inquiry, and the hope of benefiting mankind, supplying the principal funds, the former 1500*l.*, the latter 1000*l.*" "Fragmentary Remains of Sir Humphry Davy, Bart." Edited by J. Davy, M.D., F.R.S. 1856.

† "Collected Works," vol. iii. p. 329.

method and of his great sagacity; and though he did not specially devote himself to work out the principles and practice by which pain might be annihilated, the general truths which he discovered and verified respecting nitrous oxide are an invaluable contribution towards the establishment and elucidation of the physiology of anæsthesia. The very first animal he experimented upon—"a stout and healthy young cat"—was so affected as to appear "wholly senseless," and was afterwards recovered. Many animals lost their lives in the course of his researches; but the possibility of rendering animals insensible, and then of reviving them, was several times demonstrated. He afterwards tried a long series of experiments on himself. On April 16th, 1799, he inhaled nitrous oxide for the first time. "The first inspirations," says he, "occasioned a slight degree of giddiness; this was succeeded by an uncommon sense of fulness in the head, accompanied *with loss of distinct sensation and voluntary motion.*" Recording the experiment of the next day, he says, "*I recollect but indistinctly what followed;*" and again, Nov. 27th, when describing the results of his inhalation, he says, "*I gradually began to lose the perception of external things.*" This experience is often repeated. Speaking of an inhalation, May 5th, 1800, he observes, "The pleasurable sensation diffused itself over the whole body, and in the middle of the experiment was for a moment so intense and pure as to absorb existence. At this moment, and not before, *I lost consciousness.*" Many distinguished persons, among whom were Southey, Colridge and Roget, visited the pneumatic institution, in order to try the effects of the wonderful gas. Roget, speaking of its effect, says, "I felt myself totally incapable of speaking, and for some time *lost all consciousness* of where I was or who was near me." Mr. Wedgwood described an experience identical with that of many who take æther or chloroform: "I became as it were entranced. Though, apparently deprived of all voluntary motion, I was sensible of all that passed, and heard everything that was said." Miss Ryland also says, "It entirely deprived me of the power of speaking, but not of recollection, for I heard everything that was said in the room during the time, and Mr. Davy's remark that my 'pulse was very quick and full.'" Another lady is said to have been "thrown into a *trance* for three or four minutes. On recovering, she could give no account of her feelings." But the most complete case of unconsciousness, and, we presume, of anæsthesia, induced by nitrous oxide, when administered, by Davy, is that of Miss E.—a young lady who "breathed four quarts of pure nitrous oxide—her first inspirations were deep, her last very feeble. At the end *she dropt the bag from her lips, and continued for some moments motionless.* Her pulse, which at the beginning of the experiment was strong,

appeared to me to be at this time quicker and weaker. She soon began to move her hands and talked for some minutes incoherently, as if ignorant of what had passed. In less than a quarter of an hour she had recovered, but could give no account of her sensations."

As already stated, Davy did not institute any continuous series of experiments with the specific purpose of discovering an anæsthetic agent; and he seems to have regarded the induction of complete unconsciousness in women as having been facilitated by a hysterical tendency. The main object of his experiments was to discover the therapeutic efficacy of the various gases, which he several times risked his life in respiring, and his conviction of the anæsthetic powers of nitrous oxide is only one of the numerous conclusions he arrived at. Hence it was that the discovery and application of the anæsthetic properties of nitrous oxide, though actually proclaimed by him, did not engage his chief attention. He concludes his "Researches" with this significant sentence: "Pneumatic chemistry, in its application to medicine, is an art in its infancy, weak, almost useless, but apparently possessed of capabilities of improvement. To be rendered strong and mature, she must be nourished by facts, strengthened by exercise, and cautiously directed in the application of her powers by rational scepticism."*

Had the prophecy and precepts embodied in this sentence been appreciated at their worth, it is probable that pain would have been put into subjection to the intellect at the very beginning of this century. But, in fact, 44 years had to elapse after Davy's announcement, that, "as nitrous oxide seems capable of destroying physical pain, it may probably be used with advantage during surgical operations," before this pregnant suggestion was acted on.† Horace Wells, a surgeon-dentist, of Hartford, Connecticut, United States, was present at a lecture given at that town, on the 11th of December, 1844, by G. Q. Coulston, who, in illustration of his lecture, we presume, exhibited the effects of inhaling nitrous oxide. Mr. Wells forthwith induced the lecturer to accompany him to his office and to let him inhale the gas, while another dentist, Dr. Rigg, drew one of his teeth which was troublesome. It was drawn without pain, and Mr. Wells, after recovering from the inhalation, exclaimed, "A new era in tooth-drawing." He then

* "Collected Works," vol. iii. p. 330.

† "In 1828 Dr. Hickman appears to have proposed the inhalation of carbonic acid gas as an agent capable of inducing insensibility in surgical operations; and the anæsthetic properties of carbonic acid have been long known and often witnessed in the experiments constantly performed before travellers or the dogs which are made to breathe this gas in the Grotto del Cane, near Naples."—Simpson's "Memoirs," ii. p. 791.

experimented on 13 or 14 cases in Hartford with such success as to induce him, in December, 1844, to administer the gas before the Medical College of Boston. Drs. Warren and Hayward, much to their credit, invited him to administer the gas to a patient who was about to have a limb amputated; but who at length decided not to undergo the operation at that time. It was then decided to try the effects of the gas on a person about to have a tooth drawn: he felt some pain, and the experiment was pronounced a failure. Wells, overwhelmed with ridicule, returned to Hartford in disappointment, "felt sick," it is said, "through vexation, retired from practice as a dentist, engaged himself in stuffing and exhibiting birds, and in the sale of shower-baths; afterwards came to Europe as a picture-dealer, then returned to America, became more and more unsettled in his mind, and died by his own hand in January, 1848." Had he lived but three months longer, he might have taken a more hopeful view of his discovery, for, on the 26th of April, 1848, Dr. Bigelow, of Boston, removed a breast from a patient, who had been rendered completely insensible by inhaling about sixty quarts of nitrous oxide. The inhalation occupied six minutes, and "produced," says Dr. Bigelow, "a most tranquil and complete insensibility." He adds, "though bulky, nitrous oxide is quite likely to prove a certain, as well as a safe and agreeable anaesthetic agent."

After Wells's failure, the experiments and hopes to which nitrous oxide gave rise, fell into abeyance; but his defeat paved the way to success. W. G. T. Morton, who had been successively his pupil and his partner, clung to the idea which Wells had striven to realize. He was settled in Boston, when Wells visited that city to exhibit the nitrous oxide, and along with Dr. Charles T. Jackson witnessed the experiment. He studied chemistry and medicine for a short time under Dr. Jackson, and then practised as a dentist. The possibility of extracting teeth without pain, which Wells had demonstrated at Hartford, though he had failed to do so at Boston, occupied the attention of both Morton and Jackson. Morton learned from Jackson the use of chloric æther as a local application; and was, doubtless, aware (as the fact had been generally known since 1818*) that the vapour of æther, if inhaled, would produce effects similar in some respects to those of the laughing-gas. Having several times rendered himself partially insensible by the inhalation of æther, Morton at length succeeded, on the 30th of

* In 1818 an article, believed to have been written by Mr. Faraday, and published in the "Quarterly Journal of Science and Arts," described the great resemblance between the effects of the vapour of æther and those of nitrous oxide gas.

September, 1846, in making himself completely unconscious during eight minutes. For several hours he was unable to confirm his discovery. Eager to do so, he sent out "diplomats," each commissioned to bribe, with five dollars, some chance foot-passenger to lose a tooth. But in vain. On the evening of that day, however, "a man, Eben. H. Frost by name, applied to have a tooth extracted, and being wonderfully timid, and wishing to be mesmerized, in order that he might feel no pain, he was easily persuaded to inhale some æther from a handkerchief; he soon became unconscious, and Morton extracted a bicuspid tooth—the patient knowing nothing of the operation till he had recovered his senses, and saw the tooth lying on the floor." On the 16th of October following he administered the æther in the Massachusetts General Hospital, at Boston, to a patient, from whom Dr. J. C. Warren removed a tumour in the neck; and on the day following to a patient, from whose arm a tumour was extirpated by Dr. G. Hayward. Dr. Morton withheld at first the name of the agent he was employing; its peculiar odour led Dr. Bigelow to try sulphuric æther; he found its effects to be identical with those of the so-called "Letheon," and immediately made known his discovery. From that time the use of the novel remedy spread rapidly in all directions.

But, according to the testimony of Dr. Bigelow, and as if to confirm the proverb, "A prophet hath no honour in his own country," the discovery received a much more speedy, hearty, and general welcome, in Great Britain, than it met with in the United States. "In January, 1846, a New York Medical Journal announced that 'the last special wonder has already arrived at the natural term of its existence. It has descended to the bottom of that great abyss which has already engulfed so many of its predecessor-novelties, but which continues also to gape for more until a humbug yet more prime shall be thrown into it.' The New Orleans Medical Journal exclaims, in the same month, 'That the leading surgeons of Boston could be captivated by such an invention as this excites our amazement.' A leading medical periodical in Philadelphia says, 'We should not consider it entitled to the least notice, but that we perceive, by a Boston journal, that prominent members of the profession have been caught in its meshes.' It was 'fully persuaded that the surgeons of Philadelphia would not be seduced from the high professional path of duty into the quagmire of quackery by this Will-o'-the-Wisp.'" Dr. Bigelow places in favourable contrast the language of the English journals; one of which observed that "the discovery seems to have a remarkable perfection about it, even in its first promulgation;" and that "it

is almost impossible to discredit the statements" contained in the communications concerning it. But, of course, incredulity retarded its recognition in Europe as well as in America. When in November, 1846, private information of the discovery was sent to Paris, the distinguished surgeons there received the announcement of it with all but indifference. Velpeau "positively declined" even to test its worth.* In London it obtained a more speedy trial. Early in December Dr. Boot received a letter from his friend, Dr. Bigelow, describing the "new anodyne process," and giving instances of its success. On the 19th of that month a lady, Miss Longsdale, was ætherised at Dr. Boot's house, and had a tooth extracted without pain. Then Dr. Boot sent Dr. Bigelow's letter to Mr. Liston, at University College Hospital, where, on the 21st of December, he "amputated a thigh, and removed by evulsion both sides of the great toenail without the patient being aware of what was doing, so far as regards pain. The amputation-man heard, he says, what we said, and was conscious; but felt neither the pain of the incisions, nor that of tying the vessels." These decisive words are extracted from a letter addressed by Liston the day after the experiments to his friend, Professor Miller, of Edinburgh, and were prefaced by exclamations of his intense delight, "Hurrah! Rejoice!" On the day this announcement was received in Edinburgh it was read by Professor Miller and Professor Syme to their respective classes. Professor Simpson, while on a visit to London, secured one of the best inhaling instruments, and, quickly after his return to Edinburgh, a patient in the Royal Infirmary of that city was ætherised, and had a limb amputated by Dr. Duncan "without the infliction of any pain." Experiments were instituted in most of the metropolitan and provincial hospitals, and, despite several cases of failure from mal-administration, attestations of the perfect efficacy of the "Letheon" crowded the professional journals. The accumulating evidence of success in America and Great Britain, and the arrival in Paris of a Boston inhaling instrument, which facilitated experiments, induced full investigations in that city; "and before the first of February the two great surgeons, Velpeau and Roux, averred, in the presence of the two Academies, that the discovery was a glorious conquest for humanity."

And yet, glorious as the conquest appeared to them, they did not see the half of its extent. The number of human beings who, before this conquest, endured excruciating agonies under the surgeon's knife every week in every part of the world was indeed great, and terrible to contemplate; but vast

* "Æther and Chloroform." By Dr. Bigelow. 1848.

as was the aggregate amount of their sufferings, it was small in comparison with the total sum of pain endured every day by women in the throes of parturition. As the woman, by skinning live eels for ten years, arrived at the conclusion that they had "got used to it," so mankind, having witnessed for ages the ever-recurring agonies of women in labour, looks on their sufferings as a matter of course; and if it does not ignore their existence, it certainly ignores their intensity. The anguish usually endured by women during common normal labour has been vividly described by Simpson, Merriman, Nægele, and Velpeau.* The reader may, perhaps, regard their descriptions as too highly coloured; but after making a large allowance for their alleged exaggeration, he can scarcely fail to be impressed with the magnitude of the blessing conferred on women by the power of inducing a state of anæsthesia during the period of labour. To Professor Simpson belongs the great and lasting honour of having been the first to apply the vapour of æther for this purpose, and of having worked most assiduously to overcome the incredulity of the ignorant, the conservative prejudices of the profession, the bigotry of priests, and the religious scruples of pious women, which obstinately opposed its use. Triumphant success attended the administration of the æther in the very first case. It occurred on the 19th of January, 1847, and was a very serious one—the pelvic bones of the mother being greatly deformed. "On questioning the patient after her delivery, she declared that she was quite unconscious of pain during the whole period. * * * She quickly gained full consciousness, and talked with gratitude and wonderment of her delivery. On the fifth day she was up and dressed, and her convalescence was "uninterruptedly good and rapid." From this time forward Professor Simpson continued to administer the æther in all difficult or abnormal cases, the rapidly-following success of each abundantly confirming his most sanguine hopes. Then came the question whether it would be justifiable to use æther in cases of natural healthy labour. He bravely answered it in the affirmative, and acted on his conviction; and thus a new era in the destiny of woman was inaugurated: she was absolved from the curse which is said to have been pronounced on Eve, and upon all her daughters to the end of time; pain was subordinated to volition, and she can now look forward to the joys of maternity unmixed with sorrow.

Æther, the first agent employed in this great revolution, is said to have been known to Raymond Lully, who lived in the 13th century, and to Basil Valentine, in the 15th century. In

* See the quotations in Professor Simpson's "Memoirs," ii. p. 587-8.

1540 Valerius Cordus described the method of making it. He termed it *Oleum Vitrioli dulce*. It is always an artificial product, and consists of 4 atoms of carbon, 5 of hydrogen, and 1 of oxygen. It is usually procured by distilling common alcohol (the hydrated oxide of ethyle) with sulphuric acid; and hence its usual name of *sulphuric æther*. Its present chemical name is oxide of ethyle. Chemists differ concerning the change which occurs when æther is obtained from alcohol, by means of distilling the latter with sulphuric acid. The simplest, but probably not the correct view, is that the sulphuric acid, by virtue of its affinity for water, abstracts one equivalent from the alcohol (*hydrated oxide of ethyle*), and thus leaves the *anhydrous oxide of ethyle*, or æther.

Alas! that we must close this brief history of the discovery and application of the anæsthetic properties of æther, by stating that Morton shared the fate of almost every discoverer—viz., poverty, and the danger of being deprived of the honour of the discovery. The excitement of it injured his health; having taken out a patent for it, and hoping doubtless that it would make his fortune, he neglected his business. Jackson, although he was content to get only a third share of the patent, claimed the whole merit of the discovery in a paper which he sent to the French Academy, and in which he suppressed Morton's name. Chloroform quickly superseded æther, and Morton found his patent valueless, his business destroyed, and "even the bare honour of the invention almost wrested from him."* But the pain with which we think of his misfortunes is greatly lessened by the knowledge of his attempt to keep his discovery a secret, and, under the name of the "Letheon," to secure the possible profits of it exclusively for himself, by means of a patent, contrary to the usages of the profession.

The mixture improperly called chloric æther, which is simply a solution of chloroform in alcohol, and which Jackson commended to Morton as a local application, was inhaled by Dr. Bigelow, but without inducing insensibility, immediately after Dr. Morton first used sulphuric æther. Early in 1847, however, Mr. Jacob Bell, of London, demonstrated the anæsthetic power of this mixture, and exhibited its effects at St. Bartholomew's, and at the Middlesex Hospital shortly afterwards. He also applied it in the private practice of Mr. Lawrence. Mr. Waldie, of the Apothecaries' Hall of Liverpool, first acquainted Professor Simpson with the properties of chloric æther. He says, "When, in October last, Dr. Simpson introduced the subject to me, inquiring if I knew anything likely to answer, chloric æther was

* Druitt's "Surgeon's Vade Mecum."

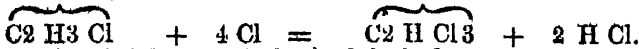
mentioned during the conversation, and being well acquainted with its composition, and with the volatility, agreeable flavour, and medicinal properties of the chloroform, I recommended him to try it." He procured chloroform undiluted, discovered the effects of its vapour, and thus bound his name indissolubly with one of the greatest boons ever conferred on man.

In 1831 Mr. Guthrie, an American chemist, obtained chloroform by distillation of a mixture of chloride of lime and alcohol; but he and Professor Silliman erroneously supposed it to be an alcoholic solution of the chloride of olefiant gas, or the "Dutch liquid," and called it chloric æther—the name previously given by Dr. T. Thomson to the Dutch liquid itself. In the same year Soubeiran produced the same compound in the same manner, stated its composition as 4 atoms of carbon, hydrogen, and chlorine ($C_4 H_4 Cl_4$), and called it *bichloric æther*, because it contained, as he said, twice as much chlorine as is contained in the chloride of olefiant gas, the formula of which is $C_4 H_4 Cl_2$. In 1832 Liebig analysed the fluid obtained by the process adopted by Guthrie and Soubeiran, but failed to detect hydrogen in it. He stated it to consist of $C_4 Cl_5$, and called it *chloride of carbon*. In 1834 it was examined by Dumas, who showed that Soubeiran had not obtained it pure, that Liebig had made an error with regard to its elements, and that its real composition is expressed by the formula, $C_2 H Cl_3$, which, being interpreted, means 2 atoms of carbon, 1 of hydrogen, and 3 of chlorine. From the red ant (*formica rufa*) a remarkable acid is obtained. This acid, named from the insect yielding it,* *formic*, consists of 3 atoms of carbon, 1 of hydrogen, and 3 of oxygen ($C_3 H O_3$). The elements, $C_2 H$, are viewed as a hypothetical radical, called *formyle*, which being united with three equivalents of oxygen, forms the *ter-oxide of formyle* or *formic acid*. Now, if for the three equivalents of oxygen three equivalents of chlorine were substituted, the product would be a *ter-chloride of formyle*. Such being Dumas's ingenious view of the constitution of this important substance, he very appropriately named it *chloroform*.†

* It may be obtained from various organic substances; starch is the one generally used.

† But chemists do not rest satisfied with this view of the constitution of chloroform: the base or radical of wood spirit called *methyl* ($C_2 H_3$), and which is the homologue of *formyle*, forms compounds in the same manner with oxygen, chlorine, &c. Now, if chlorine is made to act on the chloride of methyl, the following change occurs:—

Chlor. Methyl. Chloroform.



We see from this that for 2 equivalents of the hydrogen in chloride of methyl,

When pure, chloroform is a colourless volatile liquid, having a specific gravity of 1.5, its boiling point is 142 F. It refracts light powerfully, and is dissolved by æther and alcohol in any proportion, but in water it is soluble only in the proportion of 1 part to 288. It has a strong fragrant, ethereal, apple-like odour, and a sweet penetrating taste. As it is of the first importance to obtain it pure when it is required to induce anæsthesia, these characteristics should not be forgotten. We may add that it freely dissolves sulphur, phosphorus, iodine, camphor, fats, wax, resins, and caoutchouc. No other liquid is so perfect a solvent of the latter substance, which is left unaltered by it on evaporation.

On the 8th of March, 1847, M. Flourens related to the French Academy the results of some experiments on animals which he caused to inhale the vapour of pure chloroform. He found that it induced complete insensibility; but believing it to be a dangerous agent he did not think of commending it for the prevention of human pain. Chloroform was employed by Professor Simpson for the first time, to annul the pains of labour, on the 8th of November, 1847. The first patient to whom it was given did not awaken until after the child was born. "She stated her sensations to be those of awaking from 'a very comfortable sleep.' It was for a long time a matter of difficulty to persuade her that the labour was over, and that the living child presented to her was her own." In like manner the second patient, delivered under the influence of chloroform, declared on awaking that she had been "sleeping refreshingly." She "was quite unconscious that the child was born, till she suddenly heard it squalling at its first toilet in the next room. An hour afterwards she felt," she said, "perfectly unfatigued, and not as if she had borne a child at all."

By a curious coincidence the first important surgical operation performed under chloroform was witnessed by Professor Dumas, who first established its chemical composition, and who happened to be passing through Edinburgh at the time when Professor Miller and Dr. Duncan first tried its effects at the Royal Infirmary of Edinburgh. Three operations were performed on the same day; these were each of a formidable character, and

2 of chlorine are substituted in order to metamorphose it into chloroform, while the 2 divorced atoms of hydrogen are glad to take up with 2 other atoms of chlorine, forming by their union 2 equivalents of hydrochloric acid (2H Cl). It is therefore thought, says Professor Miller ("Elements of Chemistry," vol. iii.), that chloroform ought probably to be regarded as the homologue of one of the methylic ethers (chloride of methyl), in which two of the equivalents of hydrogen are displaced by chlorine, $C_2 H_3 Cl$ (chloride of methyl) becoming $C_2 \overset{H}{Cl}_2$ Cl (chloroform).

were effected without the slightest evidence of suffering. To multiply instances, whether obstetrical or surgical, would be merely to repeat the same story of the success of the new agent. Its presumed superiority to æther is thus affirmed by Professor Simpson: "It is far more portable, more manageable and powerful, more agreeable to inhale, is less exciting than æther, and gives us far greater controul and command over the superintendence of the anæsthetic state." Dr. Snow remarks that "an impression became very prevalent that chloroform was safer than æther." At all events, whether wisely or not, "chloroform was immediately used everywhere to a greater extent than æther had been;" but in the Massachusetts General Hospital a reaction in favour of æther has taken place, the governors having prohibited chloroform, on account of two "accidents" from its use; in Naples and Lyons æther is chiefly employed; and the paternal government of Austria has decreed that its subjects shall be rendered anæsthetic only by a mixture of 1 part of chloroform with 6 parts of alcohol.

Since the discovery that æther and chloroform will induce insensibility to pain, many other substances have been found to possess a similar power. They all contain oxygen, and the greater number of them contain both carbon and hydrogen—combustible bodies. The one which next to æther and chloroform has been most extensively used is amylene. It consists of 10 atoms of carbon and 10 atoms of hydrogen. Professor Miller describes it as "a colourless and very mobile liquid, with the odour of decaying cabbage"! Dr. Snow says it "has more odour than chloroform, but much less than sulphuric æther, and the odour does not remain long in the patient's breath. The smell of amylene somewhat resembles that of wood spirit"—p. 373. Amylene is exceedingly volatile, boiling at 102° F., and is inflammable, burning with a brilliant white flame. Dr. Snow first administered it at King's College Hospital, in November, 1856, and continued using it until July, 1857. During that period 238 persons inhaled it under his superintendence. In two cases, the 144th and the 238th, it proved fatal. After the last of these two "accidents" Dr. Snow ceased to administer it. It has been used by several French physicians with success, and, so far as we can learn, without any injurious consequences. Its power of inducing anæsthesia is quite equal to that of æther or chloroform, but its effects do not seem to continue so long; and it is necessary therefore during protracted operations to inhale it more frequently afresh than is the case with æther or chloroform. Dr. Snow thinks that amylene ought to be placed between those two bodies, in respect to its comparative safety. M. Giraldès, who has given amylene frequently to children, thus

sums up the results of his experience:—"1° L'amyène est respiré plus facilement, avec plus de tranquillité moins d'effort que le chloroforme. 2° L'anesthésie s'obtient très-rapidement. 3° Le sommeil anesthésique est plus calme, plus naturel, sans stertor. 4° Les malades anesthésiés reviennent vite à l'état normal. 5° L'inhalation ne provoque pas de nausées, de vomissements ou de congestion vers la tête. 6° Les malades ne souffrent pas; après l'anesthésie, il reprennent leur gaieté."* Another continental physician, M. Honriette, who has also given amyene to children, speaks strongly in its favour, and concurs with M. Giraldes in stating that "Il ne produit ni accès de toux, ni nausées, ni vomissements." Dr. Snow observes, "I only saw vomiting occur in two of the 238 cases in which I administered amyene, although it occurred in twenty-two cases out of 100 in which I administered chloroform"—p. 107. He also says that "the patient has nearly always a very cheerful expression of countenance when he recovers from the amyene, and the state of his mind, as indicated by his conversation, corresponds to his look —p. 406. It is moreover alleged that the coma, or unconsciousness which accompanies the anæsthesia induced by amyene, is much less profound than that which accompanies an equal degree of anæsthesia from chloroform.

Without discussing at this stage of our inquiry all the various characteristics of æther, chloroform, and amyene, and the relative advantages of each, we have no hesitation in at once expressing our belief that we are as yet only on the threshold of investigation into the chemistry and physiology of anæsthesia; that of the numerous æthers now known, or still to be discovered, one or more will be found possessing the advantages without the objections which distinguish the vapours already used; and that chemists, physiologists, and physicians, will persist in their researches until a perfectly satisfactory agent of anæsthesia is discovered, until its mode of action is completely understood, and until it is possible to predict with certainty, from scientific data, respecting any given person, whether he may be rendered anæsthetic without danger, and what is the anæsthetic agent best adapted to his peculiar constitution. We must add, however, that we have no expectation that any agent of anæsthesia will ever be discovered which may be used by ignorant, inexperienced, or incautious persons, without incurring the risk of fatal consequences. The very essence of anæsthesia consists of a partial arrest of the vital processes, and is, in fact, a stage on the way from life to death; and only those agents which are capable of leading us along this solemn path, and which, having done so for a certain distance,

* "Annuaire Général des Sciences Médicales." Par A. Cavasse, 1857, p. 86.

will allow us to retrace our steps, are really endued with the power of saving us from pain. This consideration should teach us that these beneficent agents, like that of fire, cannot be recklessly used with impunity, and that only they who possess knowledge and experience of their properties and modes of action are justified in administering them.*

The proposal to annul the pain of surgical operations was discountenanced by numerous eminent members of the profession, on the ground that pain is salutary, and that its annihilation would be hazardous to the patient. Mr. Bransby Cooper, of Guy's Hospital, said, "he should, therefore, be averse to the prevention of it;" and the distinguished physiologist, M. Majendie, "doubted if there was a true advantage 'in suppressing pain, by rendering patients insensible during an operation;' and argued, that 'it was a trivial matter to suffer (*c'est peu de chose de souffrir*);' and that a discovery, the object of which was to prevent pain, was of a slight (*mediocre*) interest."† Many men of lesser note ranged themselves on the same side; and even now many cling to their first expressed convictions with reference to the inexpediency of annulling the pains of labour.

Since the anæsthetic powers of æther, chloroform, and other kindred substances, were discovered, their employment during all important surgical operations has become so invariable and universal in all civilized countries, that any discussion concerning the safety or danger, the benefits or evils, of the custom, would, we believe, fail to modify it in the slightest degree. The blessing once experienced is not likely to be relinquished by either patients or surgeons, unless the proportion of fatal cases of anæsthesia should so increase as to terrify them with fear of death. We are not apprehensive of such a result, but feel on the contrary some confidence that the proportion of such cases will diminish. Assured, therefore, that surgical anæsthesia will continue to be practised to the full extent to which it has become established, we shall restrict our attention throughout the remainder of this article to an inquiry into the safety and expediency of inducing anæsthesia in women during childbirth.

In noting the differences of opinion on this subject, it is instructive to observe the great extent to which they are the products of local influence. In Boston, where æther was first used as an anæsthetic, it was not only generally employed in all surgical

* We are acquainted with a lady who, when prevented from sleeping by headache, poured a quantity of chloroform on a handkerchief, tied the handkerchief over her mouth, and so fell asleep; fortunately she awoke again. But another lady, whom we shall have to mention more particularly hereafter, put herself to sleep in a somewhat similar way, and slept the sleep of death.

† Simpson's "Memoirs," ii. p. 533-4.

operations, but Dr. Walter Channing, one of the most eminent obstetricians, we believe, of that city, set the example of administering it in all cases of labour, and with the happiest effects; while, in Philadelphia, Professor Meigs, who, in respect to midwifery and its collateral topics, is regarded as the highest authority in America, objects to the use of anæsthetics in labour under all circumstances. In Edinburgh, where the anæsthetic powers of chloroform were discovered and applied, scarcely a woman is "confined" without drowning her pains in the Lethe of that fluid, with the sanction of one of the most distinguished obstetric professors in Europe; whereas, in the third edition of the classical work of Dr. Ramsbotham, of London, on "Obstetric Medicine and Surgery," the author writes, in 1851, of the uses of anæsthetic agents, as follows: "I unhesitatingly declare my conviction that the treatment is fraught with extreme danger; and that it will at no very distant time, unless, perhaps, in some exceptional cases, be banished from the practice of the judicious obstetric physician"—p. 151.* This opinion is shared by Dr. Robert Lee, a physician distinguished alike by his physiological discoveries and by his valuable contributions to obstetric science. He steadily sets his face against both æther and chloroform, and throughout his extensive metropolitan practice has to this day refused to administer either the one or the other.

When doctors differ it is no doubt difficult for the public to decide; and the widely-differing extent to which the practice of anæsthesia during childbirth is carried in different places is a striking instance of how greatly the public is influenced and led by the counsels, and, perhaps, by the prejudices, of its physicians. The question which we are about to discuss is one of direct and supreme interest to all women, and, as affecting them, deeply concerns mankind as a whole; moreover, unlike many medical questions, it is one respecting which a judgment sufficiently accurate for practical guidance may be formed by non-professional persons; fortunately, therefore, even if in this instance doctors should continue to differ, the public may decide. Strange to say, few subjects in the medical world have raised a more intense party spirit and more personal animosities than this of the expediency of inducing anæsthesia during labour.* The contest still rages fiercely, and while these professional battles are being fought millions of mothers are suffering agonies from which, according to the advocates of anæsthesia, they might be surely

* As one more proof of the dangerousness of prophecy, and as evidence that the opinions of Dr. Ramsbotham are slowly undergoing a change, we may mention our inability to find in the last edition of his work (1856), the unhesitating declaration which we have printed in the text.

and safely saved. These considerations compel us to change the field on which this great question is to be decided, to appeal from physicians to patients, from the profession to the public. We believe that until the public judges for itself, no final judgment will be pronounced. In order to insure such a judgment we shall now present all the necessary data, including the depositions and arguments of both sides. Though the presentation of this evidence may involve the cognizance of facts not usually discussed in a non-professional journal, we feel assured that, in view of the vast amount of human happiness which is at stake, no earnest reader, whether man or woman, will shrink from examining them. Let us add the expression of our conviction, that no rightly and healthily constituted mind will experience the slightest offence to its delicacy by an earnest study of the organism through which it works and of the laws which govern it.

Professor Meigs' reasons for not using any anæsthetic agent in the practice of midwifery are as follows: 1st, That in cases requiring surgical intervention the sensations of the patients are the best guide for the introduction of instruments. 2nd, That in cases of natural labour the pain should not be annulled because it is "a most desirable, salutary, and conservative manifestation of life force." 3rd, That the pain of natural labour is "a physiological pain." 4th, That by escaping this "physiological pain," the mother incurs a risk of injuring her health, or of losing her life. 5th, That by enduring this pain she endangers neither the one nor the other. Dr. Ramsbotham's tangible arguments against inducing anæsthesia, when not identical with those of Professor Meigs, may be stated as follows. 1st, That when a woman is in a state of anæsthesia, more or less deep, the uterine contractions are often impaired or arrested, or, to use his own words, that anæsthetic agents "interfere with the reflex or automatic actions, the perfection of which is necessary to the expulsion of the child." 2nd, "That so subtle and diffusible an agent as chloroform or æther, after permeating the whole of the maternal system may penetrate the child's, and produce its peculiar influence upon the tender organization of the new being, as well as on the mother's;" and that, therefore, according to the opinions of numerous authors, it may result in "injury to the child." 3rd, That the degree of anæsthesia requisite to annul the pain of labour cannot be induced without endangering the life of the patient." 4th, "That the action of this class of medicines is so uncertain and capricious, that the same person is very differently affected by them at different times;" that "females, and those the most delicate," are likely to "be most easily and most dangerously affected" by them; and that under no circumstances is the constitution of a woman likely to "be so suscep-

tible to their peculiar action" as during pregnancy and labour. 5th, That "pain must be looked upon as an *essential element* in the functions of parturition; and if it be removed the function is imperfectly performed, as wanting one of its chief characteristics." 6th, That anæsthetics are known to have induced puerperal mania; "that paralysis has *followed* their administration, and that puerperal convulsions are to be dreaded as likely to supervene on their use." 7th, That to render a woman anæsthetic by æther or chloroform, she must either be made "*dead drunk*," or, at least, must "be reduced to that condition which the law designates as '*drunk and incapable*,'" and that "if the case was put fairly and honestly before them," few "of our high-born dames," of women "possessing common feeling," or of those "removed above the very lowest orders of society, would be found to avail themselves of the immunity from suffering which anæsthetics hold out at such a price, and at such a sacrifice of moral obligations."* 8th, That to destroy consciousness by inducing anæsthesia is to annihilate "for a time the proudest and choicest characteristics of humanity."

This formidable array of arguments and objections is fairly representative, we believe, of the principles which have animated all opponents of anæsthesia in the practice of midwifery; therefore, the evidence and reasoning adducible in reply to Professor Meigs and Dr. Ramsbotham may be regarded as effectually exhausting this part of our subject. The objections of Professor Meigs have, in our opinion, been completely disposed of in a letter addressed to him by Professor Simpson—a letter distinguished alike by its broad philosophical views, sound reasoning, and tender sympathy with human suffering. Without confining ourselves to the arguments it contains we shall freely avail ourselves of them in the following discussion.

Objection I.—If, as Professor Meigs states, the sensations of the patient are the best guide for the application of instruments in cases requiring surgical intervention, it is not a little remarkable that, until he announced this dictum as an argument against anæsthetics, no trace of it is to be found in his "*Philadelphia Practice of Midwifery*," which for several years has been a text-book for students; and that all other authors omit the inculcation of a like precept. In fact, if the expression of these sensations were depended upon

* From the last edition of Dr. Ramsbotham's work all the "high-born dames," the women "possessing common feeling," and even those "removed above the very lowest orders of society," have alike vanished, their places being occupied only by the meagre pronoun "her"; and, alas! that we must tell it, "moral obligations" have no longer an advocate.

they would often only betray: "under the same amount of pain, scarcely any two women would give exactly the same expression of suffering. What one woman would loudly complain of, another would declare to be nought." But even were there not this fatal objection against trusting to the sensations of the patient for guidance, surely a man who ventures on surgical intervention "ought to know the anatomy of the parts implicated a thousandfold better" than the precept of trusting to the sensations of the patient pre-supposes. What would the surgical world think of an operator who, when passing a ligature round a large artery, should place his chance of discriminating the attendant nerve from the artery "by appealing, not to his own anatomical knowledge, but to the feelings of his patient, as he touched the suspected structures?"

Objection II.—If the pain of labour is, a most desirable, salutary, and conservative manifestation of life force," as stated by Professor Meigs; if, according to Dr. Ramsbotham, it is "an *essential element* in the function of parturition," and if, therefore, it is wrong to annul it, the same argument must inevitably condemn the physician as, a wrong-doer when lessening or annihilating pain in any case. All physical pain, viewed as a physical conscience, must be considered as salutary—as pointing out that the structures in which it is seated are in danger—and we know that, as a general rule, its admonitions may not be neglected with impunity. But shall we therefore, while striving to remove the cause of suffering, refuse to alleviate the suffering itself? Is no narcotic palliation of the agonies of cancer permissible, because those agonies are but the too-truthful declaration that the structures involved are being destroyed? Is it immoral to lessen the tortures of toothache by creosote because they are nature's indication that the tooth in question is undergoing decay?

Objection III.—Both Professor Meigs and Dr. Ramsbotham evade these questions by seeking to establish a distinction between the essential nature of the pain attendant on structural injuries or disease, and that of labour. They call the former "pathological," the latter "physiological," and then refuse to annul the pain of labour because it is physiological. Assuming the correctness of the distinction, the logical process by which they draw from it their precept, that physiological pain must not be annulled, exceeds our comprehension. But we deny the validity of the distinction itself. Each structure is provided with nerves to take care of itself, and when any given structure is involved in a process, howsoever purely physiological, by which its integrity is endangered, or its functions impaired, those nerves give warning of the peril: pain is experienced, varying in degree

from insignificant twinges to throes of agony, according to the danger encountered. The pains of parturition are of this kind.* All those circumstances, such as imperfect health, malformation, and advanced age, which conduce to increase the difficulty and pain of "natural labour," do so by exposing the structures involved to more than ordinary danger; therefore the nerves distributed to each denote that danger by more than ordinary pain. They utterly ignore the fact that the process which is endangering the structures over which they preside is a "physiological" one, and rightly, too, for the danger to the individual structures is no less real than if incurred from any other mechanical cause, and is in no respect different in kind. "Those who maintain that the pain of labour is *sui generis* ought to be able to demonstrate the essential difference between the neuralgia caused by the pressure of an aneurismal tumour, and that caused by the pressure of the gravid uterus. But we imagine they will find it hard to do so; and yet they will surely recognise the latter by the newly-invented epithet, as "a physiological pain." Moreover, the groundlessness of the attempted division of pain into two kinds—"pathological" and "physiological"—is still more decisively proved by the numerous instances, even in civilized life, in which childbirth is accomplished with little or no pain, and by the evidence of many trustworthy authorities that such is the general characteristic of whole tribes of the human race. In view of these facts the physiologist is fairly entitled to affirm that normal parturition is all but painless, and that all pain incidental to the process in civilized life, in excess of that experienced by the women of savage tribes, is abnormal; and therefore, even according to the principles of Professor Meigs and Dr. Ramsbotham, of the "pathological" and not of the "physiological" kind. But without pushing the argument so far as to determine what amount of pain is consistent with the purely normal process of parturition, we feel assured that impartial judges will see in the foregoing considerations conclusive evidence that the essential nature and function of pain are identical in all structures and in all cases; that, therefore, labour-pains are, with reference to the individual structures involved, as much pathological as any other; and that, if in any case, "it is the office of a physician," as Bacon says, "not only to restore health, but to mitigate pain and dolours," there is no valid reason why he should refuse to mitigate or annul the pains of labour.

Whatever may be the philosophical or unphilosophical view of parturient pains, there can be no doubt, we presume, that their

* We are prepared to show that this remark is applicable to the pains of the very first, as well as to the subsequent stages of the process.

indication is the same—viz., to remove their cause as soon as possible. Now, if the presence of those pains will not hasten the expulsion of the foetus—the pressure of which on the maternal structures is producing them—if the pressure must be endured until the expulsion is accomplished; and if the suffering incidental to this pressure, and increasing in proportion to its amount and to the constitutional susceptibility of the patient, may be annihilated without arresting, or even impeding the expulsive forces employed, we are utterly at a loss to comprehend how, as alleged by Dr. Ramsbotham, the annihilation of such suffering is the annihilation of “*an essential element* in the function of parturition, and how, wanting this chief characteristic,” the function is imperfectly performed. We believe all physiologists agree that the *essential* element of labour is the contractile force of the uterine and abdominal muscular fibres; and the recorded experience of many eminent obstetricians—English, Continental, and American—yields abundant and incontrovertible evidence that, for the efficient activity of that force, pain is in no degree essential, and that by judicious management it may be entirely annulled without lessening the rapidity of the parturient process.

Objection IV.—We say *by judicious management* advisedly, for undoubtedly anæsthetics may be so administered as to justify completely the allegation of Dr. Ramsbotham and others—that when a woman is in a state of anæsthesia, more or less deep, the uterine contractions are often impaired or arrested. In order to appreciate this objection at its worth, it is essential to have at least a slight knowledge of the nervous system. In man, and in all the higher animals, the nervous system consists of two great divisions which differ from each other in appearance, arrangement, structure, and function. One division comprehends the brain, spinal column, and all the nerves which branch from these great centres: it is called the Cerebro-spinal system. The other division is constituted by a series of nuclei (ganglia) of nervous matter, disposed on either side of the vertebral column, extending from the upper part of the neck to the lowest central bone of the trunk of the body, the extremity of the sacrum, and connected together by intermediate nervous bands.

Thus united, these ganglia form two knotted cords. The ganglia in each cord correspond in number to the vertebrae, except in the neck, where only three ganglia commonly exist. The superior ganglia in the neck send branches upwards into the head; these communicate with nearly all the cranial nerves, and, by means of several small ganglia in different parts of the skull, seem to connect the upper ends of the two cords with each other. Throughout the entire course of each cord the ganglia on either side of the vertebral column send filaments to every corresponding

branch of spinal nerves, and the lower ends of the cords are united in a single ganglion in front of the extremity of the sacrum. The two cords, linked together as they are both at their upper and lower ends, thus form a sort of endless chain. Its chief constituents—the ganglia—not only send branches to the spinal nerves, as just stated, but also to the blood-vessels and to the different viscera of the body. These ramifications are effected by means of numerous intermediate plexuses, in which filaments from the cerebro-spinal system are generally interwoven, and from which the distributive branches ultimately diverge. This remarkable division of the nervous system has received several names. Bichat, who supposed that it alone influences the organic processes, termed it the nervous system of organic life; but it is more generally known as the Sympathetic nerve.

The functions of the Cerebro-spinal system comprise the reception of sensations and impressions, and their transmission to the spinal column and brain, the formation of ideas, the generation of mental emotion, consciousness, intellection, volition, and the origination and direction of motion. Superadded to these functions, and standing as a mediator or connecting-link between them and the functions of the Sympathetic system, is the distinguishing function of the topmost part of the spinal column—the medulla oblongata—which presides over that partly-voluntary, and partly-involuntary act, respiration.

The functions of the Sympathetic nerve are generally believed to be those ascribed to it by the great Bichat.* It presides over and regulates the processes of organic life, and thus originates and sustains those actions which are essential to the existence of the individual and the continuation of the species. In proportion as any organ is under the control of the Sympathetic nerve are its operations withdrawn from the sphere of the will. The Sympathetic nerve governs exclusively the greater part of the alimentary canal, and all those glands whose action is continuous—as, for example, the kidneys; it shares with the Cerebro-spinal nerves the control of those glands whose functions are occasional, the lachrymal, salivary, and mammary, for instance—a large supply of tears and of saliva being needed only now and then, and milk being absolutely useless, except at far distant and irregular intervals; by means of its ganglia and their branches, imbedded in the muscular substance of the heart, it is the source of its continuous action, and extending its twigs along the great blood-vessels and their countless ramifications, “as ity embraces the trunk and branches of a tree”—to use the words of Dr. Carpenter

* See the article, by Dr. Drummond, on the Sympathetic Nerve, in the “Cyclopaedia of Anatomy and Physiology.”

—it presides over the nutritive processes which are continuously going on in all parts of the body, and imparts its vital influence to the whole vascular system; it causes the iris to contract when the eye is exposed to too much light, and acting on the minute muscles of the internal ear it also exercises its vigilant guardianship over that delicate organ; and, lastly, for more effectually securing the continuance of the species, the reproductive organs are chiefly under the dominion of the involuntary or sympathetic system. Like the heart, the womb is abundantly supplied with ganglionic plexuses of nerves, and their ramifications, chiefly from the sympathetic system;* and hence, like the heart, its action is independent of the will; and hence “it continues its contractions with little, if any, interruption, for a long time after its principal cerebro-spinal connections have been destroyed.”† This fact is proved incontestably by the occurrence of labour in cases of complete paralysis of the lower parts of the body, and also by the *post mortem* power of contraction, which is sometimes retained by women, “whose spontaneous delivery has taken place some time after all evidences of somatic life have ceased.” Dr. Arthur Farre, from whose admirable article‡ the above passages are quoted, concurs in the opinion that though the womb is supplied with nerves, both from the cerebro-spinal and from the sympathetic systems, the former do but co-ordinate it into harmonious relations with the rest of the animal economy, while the latter “serves to regulate the functions which the uterus itself is capable of discharging without co-operative aid.” He also observes, “It is obvious that psychical influences are neither necessary nor accessory to the simple act of labour. They may often be regarded as disturbing, but not as regulating, forces.”

Now, it has been found by experiments, that under the action of æther or chloroform the nervous centres lose their powers in regular succession. First, the cerebral lobes lose theirs, and then consciousness, with the intellectual and emotional faculties, is arrested; next, the cerebellum loses its power of regulating locomotion; next the spinal cord becomes incapable of sensation and of originating motion, but the medulla oblongata, which presides over respiration, still retains its functions. Next, the medulla oblongata is affected; when this occurs, breathing ceases, and death is near; but even yet the ganglionic nerves of

* “Memoir on the Ganglia and Nerves of the Uterus.” By Robert Lee, M.D., F.R.S. 1849.

† Professor Simpson mentions authentic cases of this kind. See “Memoirs,” ii. p. 583.

‡ The Uterus and its Appendages, in the “Cyclopædia of Anatomy and Physiology.” Parts xix, and i. 1853.

the sympathetic system still perform their functions, and the heart and intestines continue to move for a time, often with vigour. Thus, when anæsthetic vapours are inhaled, the different nervous centres lose their powers in the *inverse* order of their essentialness to life: the function of the Sympathetic nerve ceasing last of all, and the heart and womb retaining for a time, therefore, their contractile power during states of anæsthesia so deep, as not only to involve the annihilation of consciousness and sensibility, but also of respiration.

In order to render a patient insensible to the most severe surgical operations, it is never necessary to proceed further than the third stage of anæsthesia; in other words, it is only requisite to arrest consciousness and the sensitive power of the spinal nerves, the medulla oblongata, and the sympathetic ganglia being left unaffected. But, as is proved by the evidence of many witnesses, the state of anæsthesia requisite to annul the pains of labour is far less deep than that which is requisite to annul the pain of surgical operations. Indeed, it is found that by proper management, a woman may be saved the pains of labour, and yet be kept on the borders of consciousness, and often conscious, all the time. "It is quite possible so to regulate the dose (of chloroform) as to affect the sentient nerves only, and not the rest; pain may be relieved, if not removed, and the intellect remain undisturbed."* Dr. Rigby's experience corroborates this statement. The experience of Dr. Ramsbotham constrains him to affirm that "sensibility may be greatly blunted without entirely destroying consciousness; and thus a soothing effect may be obtained, while the integrity of the mind is preserved tolerably perfect."† Dr. Snow says, "There are comparatively few cases in which the suffering can be prevented throughout the labour without interfering with consciousness, although there are very many cases in which it can be in this way prevented in the early part of the labour"—p. 319. Considering the twofold nature of the nervous system, the order in which anæsthetic agents act on its several parts, and the relative degrees of anæsthesia which are necessary to annul the pain of surgical operations and the pains of labour, and assuming that there exists no known element which may modify those here recognised, only one conclusion is possible—viz., that when æther or chloroform is properly administered, the pangs of parturition may be abolished, without weakening the expulsive contractions of the womb, or impeding the accomplishment of the parturient process.

This conclusion, deduced from the physiological data which

* Murphy, "Chloroform in Childbirth," p. 51.

† "Obstetric Medicine and Surgery," p. 175. Fourth Edition. 1856.

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we have presented, is confirmed by the experience of numerous authorities. "I have not in my own practice," says Dr. Channing, "met with a single instance in which diminution or a suspension of contraction had occurred, which had differed from those in which these same things have happened without æther."* The testimony of Murphy and of Simpson is to nearly a similar effect. "In the great majority of cases," says Dr. Churchill, "it [chloroform] does not interfere with the labour pains [uterine contractions], except by suspending all *voluntary* exertions, if the insensibility be complete."† In a paper by M. Blot—"De l'Anesthésie appliquée à l'Art des Accouchements"—it is stated that "L'Anesthésie peut atténuer, supprimer même les douleurs de l'accouchement, sans suspendre les contractions de la matrice, ni celles des muscles abdominaux." M. Spiegelberger, of Bonn, also asserts that anæsthesia, to the extent of annulling sensation, arrests in no degree the uterine contractions.‡ The testimony of Dr. Snow is equally decisive:—"The external evidences of the uterine contractions continue as before, when the patient is rendered unconscious by chloroform; and the muscles of respiration are called freely into play, to assist the action of the uterus in the second stage of labour. The aspect of the patient under these circumstances is generally that of one who is suppressing the expression of her sufferings; and any relative or friend who comes in, without knowing that chloroform has been given, begins to praise the unconscious patient for her fortitude"—p. 312.

On the other hand, several distinguished obstetricians have stated that chloroform sometimes suspends the contractions. We are prepared to believe that it occasionally does so when the anæsthesia induced is deeper than needful. But in such cases the retarding influence is immediately removed by withholding the chloroform; and in the majority of instances, where any weakening of the expulsive action occurs, it is more than compensated for by the great and generally acknowledged extent to which chloroform facilitates parturition through its extraordinary power of relaxing the muscles and other parts concerned in the process. Reviewing all the evidence now adduced, and giving the utmost weight fairly due to the statements that chloroform sometimes suspends uterine contractions, we are compelled to conclude that those statements constitute no valid objection to the inhalation of anæsthetic vapours in order to annul the pains of labour.

* "Ætherization in Childbirth," p. 42 and 233.

† "Theory and Practice of Midwifery," p. 218. 1855.

‡ "Annuaire Général de Science Médicale," p. 91-2-3. Par A. Cavasso. 1857.

Objections V. and VI.—It is alleged that the induction of anæsthesia during labour may injure the health both of the mother and of the child. The briefest and best reply we can make to these two objections is, the statement that, so far as we can learn, not one authentic fact is forthcoming in support of them, although chloroform and æther have been given to tens of thousands of women during the last eleven years. It is desirable however that our readers should know upon what these objections are founded. Dr. Ramsbotham records a solitary case of a lady in which puerperal mania “*supervened* on the exhibition of chloroform,” and then bases on this slight foundation the terrible charge that chloroform has *caused* puerperal mania. This case, which occurred in 1848, is, we believe, the only one in which it is even alleged that chloroform has induced that frightful malady. If it had any tendency to do so, we should certainly have heard of it again, seeing how extensively it has been used during labour since that time. Moreover, as puerperal mania used to occur before chloroform was discovered, perhaps it is scarcely logical to conclude that, as in a single instance puerperal mania “*supervened*” on the use of that agent, therefore in that instance it caused the disease. And, in fact, this conclusion is completely discredited by the extensive experience of obstetricians since 1848. It is now well ascertained and generally acknowledged that the effects of inhaling chloroform are not only immediate but temporary; that after inhalation ceases, whatever amount of it may have been absorbed by the blood, is quickly eliminated from the system, and that therefore it cannot induce a permanently abnormal condition such as puerperal mania.* This reasoning is equally applicable by way of answer to Dr. Ramsbotham’s statement, that paralysis *has followed* the use of chloroform. This statement is also based upon the experience of a solitary case. It would be easy to show that a thousand dreadful maladies have *followed* on the use of chloroform, but it would not be easy to show any causal connexion between its use and those maladies. Puerperal convulsions are also to be dreaded, according to the opponents of anæsthesia, as a result of chloroform. Dr. Ramsbotham cites several witnesses in proof of this opinion. But here again occurs the impossibility of distinguishing between the *post hoc* and the *propter hoc*; while, on the other hand, the Doctor himself tells us that “cases are recorded of puerperal convulsions cured by chloroform.” Professor Simpson says, “Chloroform

* Dr. Churchill mentions a case of puerperal mania, in which he “tried the inhalation of chloroform, and with great benefit”—p. 648. Such a result might be fairly expected, seeing that in this disease, as stated by Dr. Ramsbotham, “of all internal medicines narcotics are the most valuable.”—p. 591.

seems generally capable of reducing and keeping in abeyance one of the most common and most fatal complications in difficult labour—namely, puerperal convulsions.* Dr. Channing records ten cases in which æther was used. Six recovered. "This," he observes, "is very striking success."† Dr. Churchill presents the evidence of numerous authorities and of his own experience to the same effect, and says, "Certainly, so far as we can judge of the cases [of convulsions] on record, it [chloroform] appears a most valuable and successful remedy."‡ Dr. Snow's inquiries led him to the same conclusion—p. 337-8." Respecting the dreaded effects of anæsthetic vapours on the child while yet unborn, we repeat that no case has been adduced to illustrate them. It was alleged that, while the mother inhales chloroform, the pulsations of the child's heart are accelerated to such a degree as to become too rapid to be counted, and as a result effusions, convulsions, idiocy, &c., were anticipated. In the words of Professor Simpson, "the above premises are as gratuitous as the conclusions." Professor Siebold found the action of the child's heart "quite unaltered, not the slightest change in its frequency and regularity being detected."§ But though the well-being of the child is not endangered by the maternal anæsthesia, a very striking case is recorded by Dr. Simpson, and another by Dr. Snow in which violent infantile convulsions were completely and permanently arrested, and, we are fairly entitled to presume, life saved by the inhalation of chloroform. It seems to us that the two objections to chloroform which we have last examined are entirely without foundation, and that neither æther nor chloroform, if properly used, is capable of injuring the health of either mother or child. On the contrary, as Professor Simpson states, and as stated by many other practitioners, "chloroform, by saving the constitution of the patient from the pain attendant on the process of human parturition, saves her strength and constitution, expedites her convalescence, and renders her proportionably less liable to the various affections which occur in the puerperal state."||

Objection VII.—The argument of Drs. Ramsbotham and Meigs, that to induce anæsthesia more or less deep is to render the patient "dead drunk," or at least "drunk and incapable," Dr. Murphy answers by asserting "that the anæsthesia of chloroform has not the least resemblance to drunkenness; they have not a symptom in common." We cannot confirm this unconditional

* "Memoirs." Vol. ii. p. 783.

† "Ætherization in Childbirth," p. 308.

‡ "Theory and Practice of Midwifery," p. 493.

§ "Medical Gazette," 11th June, 1847. Quoted by Simpson. Vol. ii. p. 639.

|| "Memoirs," ii. p. 783.

assertion, and shall have occasion hereafter to show to what extent the physiological action of anæsthetic vapours is identical with and different from that of alcohol; meanwhile, for arguments sake, we are prepared to assume that the action of those vapours is like to that of alcohol. But what if it is? Opium and Indian hemp are celebrated for their intoxicating qualities, and are extensively used on account of those qualities, and yet physicians prescribe them, and "high-born dames" take them without the least compunction. If anæsthesia be desirable as an antidote to suffering, and if it is most easily induced by means of agents which act in a manner like, in some respects, to the action of alcohol, it is mere childishness to allege that, because alcohol (which is akin to anæsthetic vapours) is misused by fools to cause drunkenness, it is degrading and immoral to use æther or chloroform to induce anæsthesia. The argument, if argument it can be called, proves too much. If when fairly stated to our "high-born dames," or to women of any rank, it ought at once to constrain them to "banish anæsthetic vapours from the lying-in room," by what logical plea could they be saved from banishment altogether? If because æther and chloroform are alleged to induce intoxication like to that of alcohol, women possessing common feeling and removed above the lowest orders of society, ought to shrink from availing "themselves of the immunity of suffering which anæsthetics hold out at such a price, at such a sacrifice of moral obligation," by what dispensation can they escape from this same moral obligation, in order to avoid the pain of those surgical operations which fall to the lot of their sex? Moreover, as according to the homely proverb, "What is sauce to the goose is sauce to the gander," we presume the moral obligation just indicated is binding on men as well as on women. If so, then, the moral code of Drs. Ramsbotham and Meigs and of their co-opponents to anæsthesia forbids the induction of insensibility to all persons in all circumstances. Are they prepared to be logical to the extent of this sweeping exclusion? If not, we hold their argument to be utterly worthless. In a work bearing the notable title, "The Human Body and its Connexions with Man," we remember to have seen an array of reasons why "women are sometimes called angels;" perhaps Drs. Ramsbotham and Meigs regard them as such, and believe that the ethical principles which animate them (or, alas! that we must say, which *ought* to do so) are of an order too exalted to be applicable to men, whose obtuser moral perceptions allow them to indulge in the drunkenness of anæsthesia without losing their self-respect. We shall not venture to dispute the correctness of this very interesting view of the relative obligations of the two sexes; but we fear that the "angels" will disclaim the transcendental morality as-

cribed to them, and will degrade themselves to the level of men, if, by so doing, they may escape the agonies which it calls upon them to endure. The only other shadow of a reason we can think of for urging women voluntarily to comply with the requisitions of a moral code which men are not expected to observe, and which only the dire necessity could force them to submit to, is contained in the novel doctrine already described, concerning the twofold nature of pain." We have demonstrated how wholly unphilosophical and baseless that doctrine is; therefore, if the argument that women cannot avail themselves of anæsthetics during labour without a sacrifice of moral obligation, be good for anything, its supporters must accept one or other of the two following conclusions: either the moral law forbids the use of anæsthetics altogether as well by men as by women, or there are two moral laws on the same subject—one for men and another for women—each differing so essentially from the other as to prescribe two precisely opposite courses of conduct.

Objection VIII.—If it be sinful to annul consciousness, "the proudest and choicest characteristic of humanity," physicians have a great deal to answer for: every time they give narcotics they affect the consciousness, and, in a large proportion of cases, they are guilty of suspending it altogether. How often are opium, morphia, conium, hyoscyamus, and even Indian hemp administered in order to alleviate pain, and to drown it in sleep? Nay, the most earnest opponents of æther and chloroform we have met with, make free use of these very drugs for the very purpose of preventing pain, of annulling consciousness, of inducing sleep! But they who argue against the use of anæsthetic vapours because they destroy consciousness, are not only confuted out of their own practice, they are confuted by Nature herself, who has ordained that we shall be deprived of consciousness each night, and who, when the agonies of childbirth become so intense as to be no longer tolerable, sometimes induces that complete state of both unconsciousness and anæsthesia called puerperal convulsions.*

Objection IX.—We shall not attempt to lessen the force of the religious objections to anæsthesia during childbirth by any grave arguments, with those who prefer the perpetuity of suffering (when not borne by themselves) to any acknowledgment of fallibility in their theological creed. * With reference to this subject we shall perform only the function of the historian. Those physicians and priests who, in order to vindicate the consistency and unchangeableness of the God whom they worship, feel called upon to condemn the myriads of women now living, and those of

* See "Murphy's Chloroform in Childbirth"—p. 35.

the countless generations who will succeed them, to endure in the aggregate a sum of agonies beyond the power of the human mind to conceive of, are guided by a wisdom which "is not of this world," and which therefore we shall neither venture to discuss, nor, at the risk of being charged with impiety, attempt to understand. We may remark, however, in passing, that to our uninitiated and sublunary minds, there is something inexpressibly ludicrous in the consciousness of self-importance which inflates insignificant human creatures with the belief, that without their executive aid the ordinations of the Great Spirit will not be fulfilled.

"Along with many of my professional brethren in Scotland, and perhaps elsewhere," says Professor Simpson, "I have, during the last few months (1847) often heard patients and others strongly object to the superinduction of anæsthesia in labour, on the assumed ground that an immunity from pain during parturition is contrary to religion and the express commands of Scripture." Not a few medical men refused to relieve the agonies of their patients, believing that to do so would be "unscriptural and irreligious." Teachers in medical schools denounced *ex cathedra* the impious conduct of Professor Simpson "as an attempt to contravene the arrangements and decrees of Providence, hence reprehensible and heretical in its character, and anxiously to be avoided and eschewed by all properly-principled students and practitioners." The professor was also "favoured," he tells us, "with various earnest private communications to the same effect." Women who were anticipating their time of "travail," consulted their clergymen as to whether they might let the cup of bitterness pass from them, or whether they must drink it to the dregs. According to the sense of their advisers were the answers given to them. Some sufficiently hardened to dare to sin, and sufficiently tender to repent, first inhaled the tempting vapour, and obtained exemption from suffering; but afterwards, tortured with remorse, besought their spiritual fathers for absolution.* A section of the clergy was of course not wanting to vindicate the well-earned reputation of all priesthoods as the most powerful obstructives to human progress. One of their body declared chloroform to be

* That fear of eternal punishment operated in England as well as in Scotland, and that it still operates to constrain women to endure their sufferings, is manifest from a pamphlet just published. The author says—"There is a point which I approach with reverence and diffidence; but as it has to my knowledge prevented many excellent persons from partaking of this blessing, I do not feel justified in evading it. I mean the conscientious scruple that in childbirth the inhaling of chloroform is a wicked attempt to evade a prominent part of the curse. This would be a natural and reasonable thought in the unconverted Jew (!); but," &c.—"Chloroform and its Safe Administration," by W. M. Coates, Surgeon to the Salisbury Infirmary. London. 1858.

“ a decoy of Satan, apparently offering itself to bless woman, but that in the end it will harden society, and rob God of the deep earnest cries which arise in the time of trouble for help.” But to the honour of the priesthood we must add that, “ some of the best theologians and most esteemed clergymen of all churches, Presbyterian, Independent, Episcopalian, &c.,” assured Professor Simpson of their approval of his views and proceedings; and that when Dr. Chalmers was consulted as to how the clerical opponents of anæsthesia in childbirth should be dealt with in an article on *Ætherization* about to be written for the *North British Review*, he advised that such “ small theologians ” should not be heeded. The opposition, however, of these “ small theologians,” both clerical and medical, was so formidable as to constrain Professor Simpson to consume twenty-four octavo pages of good paper and print, in attempting to silence them. His biblical learning is quite astonishing; he quotes Hebrew like a Rabbi, and labours to show that *etzebh*, sorrow, does not really mean physical and bodily *pain*, but toil, labour; that therefore the words, “ In sorrow thou shalt bring forth children,” have hitherto been misinterpreted, and that the true meaning of the original would best be rendered by the words, “ In *labour* thou shalt bring forth children ”!

Though wholly ignorant of Hebrew, we confess to some distrust of this ingenious version.* It is an universally acknowledged truth that in every part of the world, and as far back into the past as any records tell of, women have brought forth children *in sorrow*.† We are confirmed in this opinion by the eminent Hebrew scholar Professor Noyes, of Cambridge, Massachusetts, who says, “ I cannot agree with Professor Simpson that the Hebrew terms ‘ *itztzabhon*, ‘ *etzebh*,’ in Gen. iii. 16, refer merely or chiefly to the muscular exertion with which the child is expelled, without regard to the pain and trouble which attend it.” To those whose biblical studies compel them to disclaim belief in the verbal inspiration of the Pentateuch, it seems more than probable that the author (or

* In a new translation of the Book of Genesis, by a Jew, Dr. Kalisch, who is distinguished alike by his scientific and philological knowledge, the passage in question is rendered thus:—“ To the woman He said, I will indeed multiply thy *pain* and thy conception; in *pain*, shalt thou bring forth children.” And in a note to this passage the Doctor, speaking of Eve, says—“ She also suffers a threefold curse: *agonizing pain in her travail*,” &c.

† “ Although childbirth is in the East considerably easier than in more northern climes, it is frequently most painful, and not seldom fatal; so that a heart-rending cry of despair and anguish is, in Biblical language, compared with the cry of a woman in travail.”—*Historical and Critical Commentary on the Old Testament, with a New Translation*. By M. M. Kalisch, Phil. Doc., M.A. Genesis. 1368.

authors) of the Book of Genesis was profoundly impressed with the mystery of suffering, especially manifest in childbirth, and that hence, in order to account for it, the touching and beautiful myth of Eve's temptation and fall. We cannot but regret, therefore, that Professor Simpson should have attempted to divest this poetical narrative of one of its most essential elements, in order that his ever-memorable application of anæsthesia to midwifery might find favour in the eyes of modern bibliolaters. We cordially concur in the opinion of Professor Noyes, "that the cause of science and benevolence in which," as he says, Professor Simpson and Dr. Channing, to whom he writes, "are engaged, is not likely to be relieved by mere Hebrew philology from the opposition which is made to it. More general considerations must be relied on."* A large proportion of discoveries pregnant with blessings to mankind, have had, and we fear still will have, to run the gauntlet of priestly persecution and popular fanaticism. Happily truth can wait for her day of triumph. Professor Simpson himself gives some curious instances of theological opposition to innovation, which are now established practices. Dr. Rowley, condemning vaccination, said, "small-pox is Heaven-ordained," but spoke of cow-pox as "a daring and profane violation of our holy religion." "The projects of these vaccinators seem to bid defiance to Heaven itself, even to the will of God." Winnowing machines were opposed by some of the more rigid sects of Dissenters on the ground that "winds were raised by God alone, and it was irreligious in man to attempt to raise wind by efforts of his own." One Scotch clergyman at least actually excluded "from the Communion table of the Lord's Supper those members of his flock who thus irreverently used the 'devil's wind.'"

Useless, and worse than useless, as we think the practice of appealing to the Hebrew Scriptures for approval of scientific discoveries and their applications, we cannot resist the temptation to close this section of our article by the following very ingenious observations:—

"Those who urge, on a kind of religious ground, that an artificial or anæsthetic state of unconsciousness should not be induced merely to save frail humanity from the miseries and tortures of bodily pain, forget that we have the greatest of all examples set before us for following out this very principle of practice. I allude to that most singular description of the preliminaries and details of the first surgical operation ever performed on man, which is contained in Genesis ii. 21:—'And the Lord caused a deep sleep to fall upon Adam; and he slept; and he took one of his ribs, and closed up the flesh instead

* Channing "On Ætherization in Childbirth," p. 146.

thereof.' In this remarkable verse the whole process of a surgical operation is briefly detailed. But the passage is principally striking, as affording evidence of the Creator himself using means to save poor human nature from the unnecessary endurance of physical pain."*

Objection X.—The fatal power of anæsthetic vapours as illustrated by the numerous and well-authenticated cases of death from their inhalation, is of course the most formidable objection of all against their use. The appalling reality of this objection is confessed alike by the advocates and opponents of anæsthesia, and is felt too deeply by the public at large to need any emphasis from us. We have reason to hope that by obtaining more accurate knowledge than we now possess of the physiological action of anæsthetic vapours, we shall be able to learn why in one case they have killed, and why in others they have not; and, therefore, how fatal consequences may be avoided. But until we can do this, a dark cloud will hang over the whole subject of anæsthesia, and every thoughtful patient who is constrained to submit to the surgeon's knife, will have to choose between the torture which it inflicts, and a descent into "the valley of the shadow of death," with the *possibility* that he may be unable to return.† We have stated the alternative in the most terrifying shape which it can assume, because, considering only the number of deaths which have occurred, regardless of the circumstances attending them, it may be fairly alleged that whenever a person inhales chloroform or any kindred vapour, until total anæsthesia is induced, he at least encounters a risk of death. But, viewing the subject in the light of experience only, let us see what that risk amounts to.

It is, we believe, impossible to obtain accurate statistical information of the average number of surgical operations performed each year in the United Kingdom. As yet no attempt has been made, so far as we know, to supply this great desideratum. At the present time, therefore, we can only offer a conjecture. There are in London fifteen hospitals where surgical operations are being frequently performed. Some of these are small; we will, therefore, confine our attention to the ten largest metropolitan hospitals. St. Bartholomew's is immensely large; at the lesser Hospital of University College 4440, and at Charing Cross Hospital 1600 operations have been performed under chloroform during the last ten years. St. George's, though larger than University College, is probably of medium size, and may therefore be fairly taken as

* Simpson's "Memoirs," ii. p. 621.

† We do not forget that the anæsthetic power of mesmerism offers another resource, but while the chances of death from anæsthetic vapours remain what they now are, surgeons are not likely to consent to use mesmerism, which therefore is virtually excluded from consideration.

representing the *average* number of operations which are performed in each of the other nine. In this hospital 3000 operations are said to have been performed within the period just mentioned. If we multiply this number by ten, which is the number of the principal hospitals in London, it appears that at least 30,000 operations have been performed in the metropolis during the ten years in which chloroform has been used. We are aware that according to the statistical statements respecting the surgical operations performed in London, which have been published in the "Medical Times and Gazette" during the last four years, and which we have carefully examined, not more than 10,000 operations have been performed in London during the last ten years. But those statements comprise only the "principal operations," and must exclude, as indeed we know they do, and, as is proved by the data obtained from St. George's, University College, and Charing Cross, an immense number of cases in which chloroform is given. Now if, without considering the upper classes, who do not resort to hospitals, we regard the hospitals of London as affording surgical aid to all who require it out of a population of, say 3,000,000; if we suppose that the rest of the population of the United Kingdom, and the population of France, Germany, and the United States demand surgical aid in the same numerical proportion as the people in and around London seem to do; and if we estimate the total population of these countries at 120,000,000, we arrive at the conclusion that during the last ten years the number of surgical operations which have been performed in the United Kingdom, the United States, France, and Germany, collectively is 1,200,000. We have confined ourselves to these countries because it is from them mainly, though not exclusively, that the reports of deaths from anæsthetic agents have been collected. Among the deaths ascribed to chloroform there are seven, the cause of which is uncertain; assuming four of these to be due to chloroform, the following is a statement of all the deaths which we have been able to learn of as having occurred either in Europe or America from the inhalation of anæsthetic vapours:—Deaths from chloroform, 68; from æther, 2; from mixture of chloroform and æther, 1; from mixture of chloroform and alcohol, 1; from amyleno, 2; total, 74.

The practice of rendering patients insensible, before submitting them to operations, was so rapidly and generally adopted, after the possibility of it became known, that we are justified in assuming that, during the ten years that anæsthetic vapours have been used to annul the pain of surgical operations, all or nearly all have been performed under their influence. If so, and if the induction of anæsthesia has caused 74 deaths, then 1 case in 16,216 has proved fatal.

Of course, considering the slight data from which this conclusion is deduced, it can only be accepted as a reasonable conjecture. In estimating the number of surgical operations, we have excluded all those which are performed in private practice; all dental operations (although several deaths from chloroform have occurred during dental operations); and all the cases, which have been very numerous, of operative midwifery, although two of the deaths included in the above statement have happened to women during childbirth. It seems to us, therefore, that the conjectural number we have stated is below the truth; and that when we affirm that the chance of death from the induction of anæsthesia by chloroform occurs once only in every 16,216 times, we are presenting a more unfavourable view of the actual practice of anæsthesia than would be obtained by means of careful statistical inquiry.

Suppose a formal statement were made to every person about to undergo a surgical operation, that if he chooses to be rendered insensible during the process, there are 16,000 chances in favour of his safety, and that there is one against it, how many would elect to preserve their consciousness and bear the necessary torture, rather than run the amount of risk we have indicated as the condition of becoming wholly oblivious of suffering? Indeed, we incline to think that were the induction of anæsthesia in labour accompanied by a risk fully equal to this, a large number of women whose sufferings are, from various causes, more than ordinarily severe, would resolve to incur that risk. But, in fact, unlike surgical patients, they are not called upon to choose between any such painful alternatives. As we have already shown, the degree of anæsthesia necessary to prevent the sufferings of childbirth is so much less deep than that which is necessary to prevent the agonies of surgical operations, as to exclude the risk of fatal consequences altogether. When æther and chloroform were first employed in the practice of midwifery, they were administered with undue confidence in their safety, and to such an extent as to induce needlessly deep states of anæsthesia; they have been given to tens of thousands of women by medical men who in many instances were but slightly acquainted with the properties of the agents they were using, and were altogether inexperienced in their administration; and yet not one woman has died in childbirth from the effects of either chloroform or æther when administered by professional men.

Two women have lost their lives from inhaling chloroform, but in neither case was a medical man present. The first case occurred in England, in 1855, and is thus recorded by Dr. Snow:—

“The patient had inhaled chloroform in America in a previous

labour; but her medical man, on the last occasion, who was her particular friend, forbade that agent, and said if she was determined to have it he would not attend her. She procured chloroform unknown to him, and a number of scents to put on her handkerchief and hide the odour of it from him. He went to bed in the house, and was not called up till his patient had been dead about an hour. The monthly nurse, who had procured the chloroform for the patient, said that she snored very loudly for an hour after she fell asleep. About five drachms of chloroform were used from the bottle, and the handkerchief from which it was inhaled remained close to the patient's face till she died. The death seemed to have taken place very slowly, and the monthly nurse was extremely stupid to allow the patient to die. It may also be remarked, that the accident would not have taken place except for the medical man's extreme aversion to the use of chloroform." (p. 328.)

The other fatal case occurred at Wemyss Bay, near Largs, in Ayrshire, on the 20th of September, 1858. Her usual medical attendant, Dr. Campbell, of Largs, who gave an account of the case to Dr. Lee, says:—

"Mrs. B. was a tall, thin person, who always during the married life was in delicate health. . . . She suffered from indigestion, and was unable to take any considerable amount of exercise; nor could she nurse any of her children. In July last she had a feverish attack, and a decided threatening of premature labour, . . . and from that time her pulse was unnaturally full and frequent."

During her first confinement, in 1850, manual interference being necessary, Dr. Campbell, caused her to inhale chloroform.

"Since that period she has been six times pregnant, and she had chloroform at each of her confinements; at least I am told so, for at two of these labours I did not arrive in time to witness delivery. It is not my practice to give chloroform in natural, easy labours; . . . but Mrs. ——— having experienced the comfort of exemption from pain, and no unpleasant result from the use of it, insisted on having chloroform, and her husband would give it. . . . On the occasion of her last and fatal labour, I understood I was to be called as usual; but, for some reason not very satisfactorily explained, I was not sent for. . . . On the morning of the 20th (of September) I had occasion to go to Wemyss Bay to visit a patient, and I landed at the pier at ten minutes past eight, A.M. I was met by a servant of Mrs. ———, who told me that she was alarmingly ill, and begged me to go to her without delay. I went directly, and you may guess my horror when I found her stretched lifeless on the bed. She had been dead about ten minutes. I spent half an hour in fruitless attempts at reanimation. . . . About twenty minutes to eight A.M. expulsive pains came on, when she called for chloroform; on giving it probably for the fourth time, she threw herself violently back, gave a gasp or two, a slight gurgle was heard in her throat, and respiration and the pulse instantly ceased. . . . The quantity of chloroform given in all probably did not exceed two drachms. The bottle from which it was taken could not have held

more than an additional half-ounce, and it was not full when Mr. — (the husband of the patient) began to administer it. I applied for a *post-mortem* examination, but it was declined. The chloroform was given on a common muslin handkerchief.*

We have given the foregoing circumstantial details of these two deplorable cases, in order that our readers may have the amplest possible means of assigning to them their due weight before they decide upon their verdict. In the first case, the patient was allowed to sleep herself to death, although by her snoring she gave a signal of danger during a whole hour—her medical man being fast asleep in another room meanwhile. In the second case, all the circumstances seemed to have conspired to cause death: the patient's health had been bad for years; during the two months previous to her confinement "her pulse was always unnaturally full and frequent;" her husband, having given chloroform to her in former confinements, felt, in all probability, that overconfidence which arises from empirical success, and neither fearing nor knowing the danger which attends the unskilful administration of chloroform, he was not likely to provide against it; "the chloroform was given on a common muslin handkerchief,"—a method the most inconvenient of all for regulating the amount of the vapour inhaled, and for securing its due admixture with air, and therefore the most dangerous of all in the hands of a non-professional man; and lastly, no medical man was present, either to superintend the administration, or to adopt prompt measures to avert danger if it should appear.

Objectors to anæsthesia during labour may and do remark that although these are the only two authenticated cases of death from chloroform in childbirth, there are, in all probability, many others which are never published, or which are carefully hidden from the public eye. We have made diligent inquiry concerning alleged cases of this kind, and are compelled to discredit altogether the assertion of their occurrence. Indeed, seemingly by a beneficent ordination of Providence, certain gifted men, among whom, as the most distinguished, we may name Professor Meigs, Dr. Ramsbotham, and Dr. Robert Lee, are kept ever on the watch for the discovery of such cases; and seeing that the vindication of their own views is made dependent on the success with which they explore every part of Europe and America, and collect every fact which can be made subservient to the condemnation of obstetric anæsthesia, we may rest assured that their eagle gaze, aided as it is by coroners and other like functionaries, will not fail to detect each fatal instance of death from chloroform wherever it may occur. We are therefore justified, we believe, in affirming, that the two

* "Medical Times and Gazette," November 6, 1858.

deaths during childbirth which are known to have been caused by chloroform, are the only two which have occurred.

But while chloroform is responsible for only two deaths, it has, in all probability, saved several lives. "Puerperal convulsions," says Professor Simpson, "constitute one of the most common and fatal complications of difficult labour." According to statistical tables compiled from the observations of a large number of practitioners, by Dr. Churchill, it appears that 273 cases of convulsions occurred in 190,313 cases of labour, or 1 in about 693 $\frac{2}{3}$, and that of those attacked 2 out of every 9 die. This rate of mortality is much less than that which many have experienced. "Jacob states that in his time scarcely any survived. Dr. Parr, in his Medical Dictionary, that six or seven out of ten die. Dr. Hunter, that the greater proportion were lost."* Out of 105 cases which have occurred to Dr. Ramsbotham, 21 were fatal. Now, Dr. Simpson, as already stated, says, "Chloroform seems generally capable of reducing and keeping in abeyance" this frightful malady. We have also shown that Dr. Channing, Dr. Churchill, and several other practitioners, give like evidence; and we may add the testimony of Dr. Murphy, that chloroform not only arrests convulsions, but that, by annulling the paroxysms of anguish, it prevents their occurrence.† How many lives chloroform may thus have saved it is impossible to tell; but that its beneficent influence has been exerted in this way there can be no doubt.

There seems also to be strong evidence that it often averts death by preventing the constitutional shock which intense pain is apt to inflict, and which is not unfrequently fatal. "Pain," says Mr. Travers, "when amounting to a certain degree of intensity and duration, is of itself destructive." This opinion, frequently emphasized by him, is insisted on by many other professional authorities.‡ From data supplied by Dr. Collins, in his Report of the Dublin Lying-in Hospital, Professor Simpson has calculated that of the women whose sufferings were terminated within two hours, 1 in 320 died; of those whose labours lasted from two to six hours, 1 in 145 died; of those whose labours lasted from seven to twelve hours, 1 in 80 died; of those whose labours lasted from twelve to thirty-six hours, 1 in 23 died; and of those whose sufferings were prolonged beyond thirty-six hours, 1 in every 6 died. A new Report of the same Hospital has just been published. It extends over seven years, ending with 1857, and comprises an experience

* "Churchill's Theory and Practice of Midwifery."—pp. 480, 481.

† "Chloroform in Childbirth."—p. 35.

‡ See "Travers on Constitutional Irritation," and other works quoted in "Simpson's Memoirs." Vol. ii. p. 535.

of 13,748 deliveries. According to this Report, the rates of mortality are as follows:—Of the women delivered within six hours from the beginning of labour, 1 in 178 died; of those whose labours lasted from seven to twelve hours, 1 in 144 died; of those whose labours lasted from thirteen to twenty-four hours, 1 in 121 died; while of all those whose labours were prolonged beyond twenty-four hours, but with which there was no interference, 2 out of 41 died. The evidence condensed by a writer in the “*Medical Times and Gazette*” from the extensive tables contained in the second of these two Reports, differs somewhat in form, and still more so in substance, from that of the first; but that the increase in the rate of mortality is in proportion to the duration of suffering, is established with equal conclusiveness by both.* We freely admit that the existence of a relation between the rate of mortality and the length of suffering is no demonstration that that relation is a causal one; and we know that several causes may contribute to establish it. Of these, however, we believe that continuous pain is the chief. If this be so, chloroform doubtless often saves life by merely annihilating pain. But the most striking facts illustrative of the fatal effects of pain are obtained by observing the per-centage of deaths which follow surgical operations without and with the use of chloroform. Before chloroform was employed, the mortality from amputations of the thigh, leg, and arm in British Hospitals, averaged 29 per cent.; whereas out of 302 cases collected by Professor Simpson, in which anæsthesia was induced, only 71 died, or 23 per cent. Again: in cases of amputation of the thigh (one of the most fatal operations commonly performed), the average mortality in the same hospitals was 38 per cent.; but out of 145 cases collected by Professor Simpson, in which anæsthesia was induced, only 37 died, or 25 per cent. Dr. James Arnott, who advocates the induction of anæsthesia by freezing the part to be operated on, has striven to demonstrate the injurious effects of chloroform by the publication of a statistical table seemingly invalidating the evidence presented by Professor Simpson. He has also endeavoured to prove that chloroform so depresses the vital powers of patients as to prevent many from recovering, who would otherwise do so, from the effects of surgical operations. We have read the whole discussion which the statement of his views has elicited, and are satisfied that experience does not substantiate them. Dr. Fenwick, in a series of papers on the results

* During the seven years to which the last Report refers, chloroform was not usually given in ordinary labours; but it was employed in nearly all cases to annul the pain of obstetric operations, or of manual interference, and without a single accident attributable to its use. It would be interesting to learn whether its administration in difficult cases has chiefly conduced to the lessened mortality observable throughout the last period.

of operations performed in the Newcastle Infirmary, proves conclusively that the indiscriminate way in which Dr. Arnott's tables are compiled renders them valueless as illustrative of the effects of chloroform on the mortality of patients who have submitted to surgical operations under its influence. From the tables of the Newcastle Infirmary, extending over the period from 1823 to 1856, Dr. Fenwick shows that if the amputations on account of accidents are separated from those on account of disease, and if like be compared with like, the results are as follows:—Before the introduction of chloroform there were 141 pathological amputations, with a mortality of 19 per cent., while during its use there have been 61 similar amputations with a mortality of 13 per cent.; and while of 81 traumatic operations without chloroform, 32 per cent. were fatal; only 31 per cent. were fatal when it was employed. In certain operations, forming a small proportion of the whole, the results were less favourable; but summing up all the facts, Dr. Fenwick demonstrates the truth of the conclusion, that the practice of anæsthesia lessens considerably the immediate mortality from surgical operations, and as a general rule, liable to exceptions, instead of retarding, hastens the convalescence of the patient. The experience of the Salisbury Infirmary is to the same effect:

“Whereas we lost,” says Mr. Coates, “in the six years previous to the use of chloroform 22·58 per cent., we had a mortality of 9·259 per cent. during the six years following its introduction. The still more favourable results since December, 1855, when the tables from which the above figures are drawn were made up, reduces the mortality of the whole period after the introduction of chloroform to 6·41 per cent. as against 22·58 per cent. before its use.”

The number of operations during anæsthesia here given is undoubtedly small as a basis for a large generalization; but we are assured, by abundant surgical testimony, that though a more extensive statistical inquiry might modify, it would also strengthen the conclusion to which the above figures lead us. Moreover, chloroform often saves life in other ways. In the valuable pamphlet just referred to, Mr. Coates says—“I twice had the misery of watching persons dying from strangulated hernia, because they dreaded the pain of the operation;” and he gives three instances from his own practice in which the formidable operation necessary to save life in these cases was rendered needless by the relaxing power of chloroform. The same testimony to its wonderful efficacy in averting operations in similar cases, repeatedly appears in the medical journals.

Reviewing the evidence now presented in proof that the mortality of women in childbirth is in proportion to the duration of their sufferings; that by annihilating pain, death may often be averted; that chloroform has the power of subduing puerperal

convulsions, and sometimes of preventing their occurrence; and that it saves life by rendering certain operations needless—we are, we believe, fully justified in affirming that even now the number of patients who are lost is less than that of those who are saved by the practice of anæsthesia.*

ART. V.—SPIRITUAL DESTITUTION IN ENGLAND.

Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords appointed to inquire into the Deficiency of Means of Spiritual Instruction and Places of Divine Worship in the Metropolis, and in other Populous Districts in England and Wales, especially in the Mining and Manufacturing Districts; and to consider the fittest means of meeting the difficulties of the Case; and to Report, &c. &c. 1858.

THERE has been much said of late concerning spiritual destitution, without, we fear, defining very intelligibly what spiritual destitution is. It may consist in an absence of spiritual supplies; it may consist in an inability to accept and use them. Yet it will make all the difference in the world as to the proper remedy for this disease, whether it be an incapacity or a poverty, an atrophy of the soul or a famine. That might be called a state of spiritual destitution with which the Alpha and Omega reproaches the Church of the Laodiceans:—"Thou sayest, I am rich, and increased with goods, and have need of nothing; and knowest not that thou art wretched, and miserable, and poor, and blind, and naked."—(Rev. iii. 17.) In a different sense Milton complained of the spiritual destitution of his day: "The hungry sheep look up and are not fed." With some, spiritual destitution will mean the absence of ordinances, of churches and ministers: with others, a too satisfied use of outward forms, and a defect in doctrinal teaching. The word spiritual, uncertain in its own

* We say, *even now*, because we believe the time will come when the mode of action of anæsthetic agents will be perfectly understood, and when the knowledge obtained concerning them will so direct their administration as to avert altogether those fatal effects which too often hitherto have resulted from their use. We shall endeavour, before long, to justify this belief by an article on the Physiology of Anæsthesia, in which we hope to point out how anæsthetic vapours act, how they kill, and how they may be safely used.

meaning, carries ambiguity into any phrase in which it is combined; it may mean no more than ecclesiastical, it may mean as much as conscious union with the Deity.

It will, however, be sufficient for our present purpose to follow the meaning affixed to the expression in the Report of the Lords' Committee above designated, according to which it signifies absence of the means of religious instruction and improvement. And we shall hope, without affecting to be very critical, to make some practical suggestions in the course of what we shall say.

The Committee, of which the Report stands at the head of this article, was moved for by the Bishop of Exeter, on the 23rd of April of last year, in a speech which carried with him not only his audience, sufficiently prepared for it, but also the public at large. Neither the evidence, nor the Report founded thereupon, responded to this note of preparation. The witnesses examined were exclusively clergymen of the Church of England, or others especially engaged in the working of its machinery. They do not appear to have been persons of narrow or illiberal views, and were impressed with the solemnity of the subject before them; they felt that the spectacle of multitudes perishing in every physical and moral sense of the word, must throw into the background all merely dogmatic questions. The evidence, moreover, showed that in practice, when dealing with the more unhappy and degraded portions of our population, Churchmen and Nonconformists do not thwart each other; they have something more imminent to think of. But, that being so, it was the less excusable for the Lords' Committee to confine themselves to summoning witnesses from one religious section of the community, when seeking for information upon a question of vital interest to all. They have thus detracted immensely from the weight of their recommendations. The inquiry cannot be said to have embraced the whole question of spiritual destitution; but only that question as it appeared in the eyes of Churchmen; nor in the remotest degree any comprehensive plan for its remedy, only so much of a plan as might be consistent with Church extension. Some recommendations of the Report and some portions of the evidence, regarding the mode of Church extension are not by any means without value; although we shall presently point out, how even that part of the question requires to be opened in a way which the members of the committee and their witnesses do not seem to have dreamed of.

There is, of course, traceable throughout the evidence given, and still more in the questions put by the members of the committee, the usual under current of controversy, the usual sub-acute polemical tone which characterizes the proceedings of Par-

liamentary committees. But the polemics which the committee or its most influential members carry on, is not only with each other, as is common in all such arenas; there are views outside of the room, already expressed, or already acted on, to which the committee find themselves in opposition. We refer in the first place to some conclusions drawn by Mr. Horace Mann in his most impartial summary respecting the extent and the causes of the absence of the people from public worship. The committee would have it inferred that the misery and degradation of great masses of the people, in portions of the metropolis, in Newcastle, Liverpool, and other large towns, arises from the paucity of churches, from the deficiency of church means. The inferences to be drawn from Mr. Mann's statistics are very different; and they are drawn not only from the statistics of the Church, but of all religious denominations. And we must say again, that if it might be fair and right for bishops and persons strongly attached to the Church of England to consider the case both of religious demand and supply relatively to the means of the National Establishment exclusively, the House of Lords generally ought to have taken a larger view, should have looked upon it as their duty to inquire into the religious statistics in large places of other besides the Anglican communion, to obtain information from leading persons in other denominations, and should have given further instructions to their committee to that effect. The first part of the subject, then, to which we shall direct attention is to a comparison of certain conclusions at which the committee arrive, with those of Mr. H. Mann, and we shall have to point out how very defective the Lords' Report is in comparison of Mr. Mann's comprehensive and lucid statement concerning the extent and nature of the disease which it is sought to remedy. We shall then offer a few remarks upon some details of the working of the Ecclesiastical Commission, to whose funds the committee look to supply a remedy, in part at least, for the spiritual deficiencies complained of. We must here, in great degree, take the side of the committee; but must venture to make suggestions beyond any recommendations which they have made.

First, then, the pivot of the whole question is, whether the large numbers of our population who attend no place of worship, absent themselves from want of opportunity, or from want of inclination. It must not be supposed that we ourselves confound an attendance at public worship with religion itself, or presume it to be, in individual cases, a necessary evidence of spiritual life. But public worship of the Deity has always, not only among modern nations, but in all civilized and even semi-civilized communities, exhibited itself as a phase of the national life. It has never died away, even under the more mystic and individualizing

forms of Christianity. And if the habit of it should drop off from any people, the phenomenon would be so strange as to demand the greatest attention, not only of ministers of religion, but of statesmen. Some deep moral change must be imminent or in operation either as cause or as effect.

It appears from Mr. Horace Mann's statistics that there were absent from the available means of religious worship on the Census Sunday, 5,288,294 persons able to have attended once at least, but who neglected to do so. The proportion of persons able to attend *one and the same* service on Sundays, that is, not reasonably prevented by age, sickness, and necessary avocations, is estimated at 58 per cent. of the entire population; and the proportion able, without physical hindrance, to attend *some one* religious service, is taken at 70 per cent. of the population. If 70 per cent. had attended, their number would have been 12,549,326, but there was only an aggregate of attendance, at the three services in all places of worship, amounting to 7,261,082. Some of these were, no doubt, attendances by the same persons on more than one service; on the other hand, some who were absent on that day might at other times attend. But were there means of more persons attending *then*? The total number of sittings within reach, when the churches and chapels were open, was 20,226,797. "So that it is tolerably certain that the 5,288,294 who every Sunday neglect religious ordinances, do so of their own free choice, and are not compelled to be absent on account of a deficiency of sittings." (Abr. Report, p. 89.) It is still more worthy of remark, that out of the total of 10,212,563 sittings in all places of worship, 4,894,595 are described as free, and the fact of the other sittings being actually paid for, indicates that they are principally the free sittings which are unoccupied.

"If, therefore, we were to measure the required additional supply of accommodation by the extent of the present demand for it, the use now made of our existing provision, as revealed by these few statements of attendance, would appear to indicate that very little more is wanted. The considerable number of available sittings which are every Sunday totally unoccupied might be adduced as proofs so manifest of unconcern for spiritual matters on the part of a great portion of the people that, until they are impressed with more solicitude for their religious culture, it is useless to erect more churches."—(p. 90).

The causes of the neglect of religious opportunities were classified by Mr. Mann under the heads of "Social Distractions," "Supposed want of sympathy for the poor on the part of the members of churches," "Misconception of the motives of ministers," "Poverty," and the consequent degradation of the keeper at home. But he recurs to the "alarming number of

non-attendants upon means of religious worship and instruction already provided," as "the most important fact which the investigation has brought to light" (p. 98). In the Report on the other hand, agreed to by the Bishop of Exeter's Committee, the attention is fixed on the supply of church accommodation. Upon Mr. Mann's estimate that 58 per cent. of the population *might attend* at each occasion of public worship, if they were so disposed, it is argued that a provision of sittings, which in each parish or neighbourhood shall raise that provision to the due proportion, is the one thing needful to provide for the spiritual destitution of England. It is assumed, naturally enough, considering the influence under which the committee was appointed, that the extra provision of sittings in places of public worship ought to be provided by the Church of England. Leaving out of sight in their Report, as much as possible, almost entirely, the fact of the indisposition of the people to avail themselves of the places of worship already provided for them, the Lords' Committee think that the remedy for spiritual destitution is to increase the extent of church accommodation until it has reached such an amount as will accommodate everywhere 58 per cent. of the population. There is a haziness and feebleness about these recommendations which contrast very unfavourably with the simplicity, straightforwardness, and *thoroughness* of Mr. H. Mann's Report. "There are 5,000,000 and more of people," says Mr. Mann, "who might go to church or chapel and don't go. What will you do with them?" 'Build more churches,' says the Lords' Committee. "But they will not go to them," repeats Mr. Mann; 'and they do not go to them,' confesses the Rev. Mr. Stooks." 'Build more churches,' continues the Lords' Committee.

A certain *civilizing* effect, no doubt, attends the building of churches, and as a mere assistance to speculation, builders who cover new ground with house property, are anxious to have a church raised in the new neighbourhood. But the question at present before us is as to the value and effect of planting churches in demoralized and pauperized districts for the purpose of reclaiming the inhabitants. A certain number of attendants will, no doubt, be obtained; a certain effect produced, for the church implies a minister, and he cannot in the week-days be wholly inoperative. Evidence, however, has now accumulated sufficient to convince the most reluctant, of the comparative inutility of placing churches in the midst of a population which has been unaccustomed to public worship. What is wanted are men. A church is valuable because it brings with it one or more men; and it appears generally that a church is more valuable than a chapel, as tending to produce a *civilizing* effect upon the population, for this very reason, because the minister of the

dissenting chapel is often occupied in other pursuits on the work days, the minister of the Church is engaged among the people on the week days likewise.

The Rev. T. F. Stooks is honorary secretary of the London Diocesan Church Building Society. He took a properly extended view of the duties of the committee. He says (*Minutes of Evidence*, p. 57):—

“I suppose it falls within the scope of this committee to advert to the very serious political and social mischiefs that result from the present state of the east of London. I am sure that there are large masses of population congregated in the east of London, whose whole moral, social, and political state is becoming, year after year, in a more unsatisfactory condition and more formidable.”

This extremely unsatisfactory condition is due to the entire severance of the operative class, in those localities, from the classes above them. There are no gradations, no nicely-shaded social relations and interwoven charities of life.

“The landholders and the employers of labour are not resident among the people. Directly a man becomes at all independent, or makes a competency, he moves off to some suburban residence, or to the west of London, and the consequence is, that the workmen are left without the controlling influence of their employers or the landholders. Therefore, I do look with exceeding dread to any political questions arising, where there shall be a marked difference of opinion, and an apparent difference of interest between the different classes of society; and I think that unless measures are taken in some way to break up those vast masses in the east of London, it will be found a very formidable political evil, before many years have passed, in case of any question arising that will stir popular feeling. The old associations which have so much weight with the English character are almost entirely wanting now, from the way in which those people are congregated together, all of one class. There are miles upon miles of poor houses, without resident gentry, almost without clergymen, and without any sufficient means of education.”
—(*Ibid.*).

The considerations pointed at in the above passages are wholly left out of view in their lordships' *résumé*. So we must say, that the same witness takes, as well as others, a liberal and really comprehensive view of what a clergyman should do when brought into immediate contact with persons who would be generally called without religion, both in the intellectual and moral sense. Thus, Mr. Stooks says, in answer to the question (821), “Do you think infidelity has much weight?”

“Yes; but in saying this, I should like to be understood. I think there is a good deal of floating doubtful scepticism, chiefly from the poor people not having been better taught. I do not think, generally speaking, there is anything like systematic infidelity. I very rarely

have found an instance where men, who are often called infidels, would not be glad of a visit from a clergyman to talk with him in a friendly manner. More than once I have been sent for by those so-called infidels when they have been on a sick bed.”

Likewise the Rev. T. J. Rowsell, in answer to a question (1147), “Is there much infidelity in your parish?” replies in a spirit which shows him to be capable of appreciating difficulties and excusing deficiencies, though they may appear to him very grievous:—

“No; I do not think so, if you mean a person who does not believe in a God; but it is a very undefined term; but if you mean that he does not believe in our blessed Saviour, I think it is very likely; but they certainly have a very vague and awkward way of expressing it. I never found that a man on a sick bed had not very distinct feelings, though he had a vague and awkward way of expressing them. I have met with many poor fellows who did not know the Lord’s Prayer, and who had led a very sad life; but it is clear that our blessed Saviour had dealt with them, though I had not. There were feelings, and hopes, and thoughts in them which were very sacred.”

Then we find him regretting the currency of obscene publications among his people, and he describes his endeavours to shame them out of reading them, and to substitute a better literature for them—lecturing in his school church upon Shakspeare and Walter Scott, and circulating cheap editions of good authors.

We should have anticipated this to be a part of their subject to which the Lords would have directed their special attention, and which would have received some special notice in their Report. One incumbent, in the heart of London, speaks of certain localities in his parish being the centre for the sale both of profane and obscene publications. Their lordships make no allusion to his peculiar case. Now, both the infidelity and the immorality appear to be open to aggression; but the aggression must be by men, and not by brick and mortar. The Rev. W. Cadman, rector of St. George’s, Southwark, states that he has preached to the people in his parish in the open air; having attendances of from 100 to 2000. The audience, on such occasions, has been so peaceable and respectful, that when an attempt has been made to disturb the preachers, it has been put down by the people themselves. Mr. Cadman and his friends have perfect confidence in their cause and their own powers. They have sometimes addressed the people at the Obelisk as late as ten o’clock at night; they always put on their gowns and bands,—a proceeding which, certainly, in the more palmy days of orthodoxy and Toryism, when George was Regent, would have insured their being pelted; the result of it has been, that it would

“go through the crowd that the parson was coming, and the orator for the time being would make an excuse for going away” (*Evidence*, p. 159). The Rev. J. F. Lingham, rector of Lambeth, who has likewise had recourse to open-air preaching, as well as his curates, gives evidence to the same effect; they have never met but with one momentary interruption, and that mode of addressing the people “has tended in a great measure to remove that feeling of distrust on the part of the people towards the clergy which has been such a hindrance to their spiritual work.”—(*Ibid.* p. 476.)

The Lords, however, can think of no remedies for the spiritual wants and difficulties of the people but building of churches. They have a cold “satisfaction in referring to those expedients which have been adopted by clergymen in different parts of London, such as Mr. Rowsell’s school church; the erection of a temporary church; the division and multiplication of services; but not a word of street-preaching. Also, they “cannot overlook the various societies, whose praiseworthy exertions have been alluded to in the evidence.”

Some of the members of the right reverend committee have evidently a vague terror of the monster, Infidelity; but they are indisposed to examine him closely, or to rouse him in his lair. Perhaps it would be too dangerous to bring him out in all his deformity; or, perhaps, it might not be really agreeable to discover that, after all, he had no tail. Why did they not pursue the investigation as indicated by Mr. Mann, taking the facts boldly as they are? The working classes, many of them intelligent, quick, irritable; many of them poor, depressed, licentious, are absent from the ordinances of religion, not because they are unprovided with them, but because they decline to use them. When churches are raised in neighbourhoods occupied by the higher and middle classes, they soon fill. Public worship is become with such persons a propriety of life, and when it has no deeper source, it is a sentiment, an efflorescence of civilization. The other classes, though brought up in the schools of the various religious bodies, become soon after their contact with the realities of the world “thoroughly estranged from our religious institutions in their present aspect.” Is such the fact, or is it not? That is what it most behoved the bishops to ascertain. Undoubtedly the people in neighbourhoods where churches are worst attended will, for the most part, receive willingly the visits of the missionary or the clergyman. They are not indisposed to look upon the latter as a friend, when he is out of his church. In many cases they do not like him the less because he is a gentleman, he is no longer the representative of the three orders and the Thirty-nine Articles. Mr. Mann then says, probing into the mat-

ter, "Probably the prevalence of infidelity has been exaggerated, if the word be taken in its popular meaning, as implying some degree of intellectual effort and decision." But he goes on to speak of "secularism," a word which we think does not occur in the "Report on Evidence before the Lords' Committee."

When persons well acquainted with Liverpool, Newcastle, and London were before the Committee to give evidence on Spiritual Destitution we should have expected this word would have emerged, and the nature of the thing have been inquired into. It is thus described by Mr. Mann, and it would be very well if those who are in spiritual high places would take cognizance of the facts indicated.

"There is a sect originated recently, adherents to a system called 'Secularism;' the principal tenet being that, as the fact of a future life is (in their view) at all events susceptible of some degree of doubt, while the fact and the necessities of a present life are matters of direct sensation, it is therefore prudent to attend exclusively to the concerns of that existence which is certain and immediate, not wasting energies required for present duties by a preparation for remote, and merely possible contingencies. This is the creed which probably with most exactness indicates the faith which, virtually though not professedly, is entertained by the masses of our working population; by the skilled and unskilled labourer alike—by hosts of minor shopkeepers and Sunday traders—and by miserable denizens of courts and crowded alleys. They are *unconscious Secularists*—engrossed by the demands, the trials, or the pleasures of the passing hour, and ignorant or careless of a future."—*Religious Worship in England and Wales*, Abm Rep. p. 93.

But is the above a fair statement of the reality? We imagine the individuals of the committee can have no doubt about it. We suppose as individuals they have all practical logic enough to know, *sublata causa tollitur effectus*; and if secularism has emptied the churches, their method, as the spiritual friends and pastors of the people, was to go to the root of secularism; to ascertain its real doctrines or quasi doctrines; to review the localities and conditions under which it flourishes; to investigate the intellectual and social causes of it—concede to it the acknowledgment of so much truth as it involves—and then seek to eradicate its residue of error. No doubt, if such a course had been pursued, many things, shocking to preconceptions and to amiable feelings, must have been listened to,—must have been published. And they must be known sooner or later. It is not merely that to persons in an abject social and moral condition, public worship, moral exhortation, and elucidation of religious truths are things above them. The special matter which is heard at church and chapel is not that which corresponds to the

wants of their nature as it is. Doctrines, as generally preached, do not solve their difficulties, nor agree with their own experience; are not confirmed by their observation of the course of the world in which they live. It is now well acknowledged by those who have studied the distribution of religions ethnologically, how very much the development of specific forms of religion must have depended upon the conditions in which different races and tribes of men have from time to time found themselves. Christianity itself has been deeply modified by the circumstances of human life in the East and West, the North and South, on the plains and in the mountains, in the sparsely inhabited country or in the crowded city. And we must expect when congregated thousands, though living not far apart in local separation from other denizens in some huge metropolis, are nevertheless as utterly separated from them in condition—in everything which forms the man—in air, water, food, clothing, experience, knowledge, as is the Negro from the European, their religious conceptions will be proportionately distinguished. What inferences concerning the course of the world and the character of the Supreme Being can we expect to be formed by the squalid inhabitant of Whitechapel or of Spitalfields? To him the inexorable Deity manifests himself in the collector of the weekly rent, and his gentler providence dwells in the pawnbroker's shop. Are not such unhappy ones infinitely less prepared for any preaching of Christianity than the heathens whom Paul addressed at Lystra or at Athens? He could speak to them of their being of one blood with the rest of mankind and of a common father of all men, who had not left himself without witness of his benevolence, "sending them rain and fruitful seasons, filling their hearts with food and gladness." What witness of a benevolent purpose can the city missionary declare in the midst of hunger, ditchwater, and gin?

It requires a very calm philosophy, or a very far-seeing faith, to enable any observer to embrace such unhappy destinies in a benevolent design. We cannot expect the sufferers themselves, especially when in a mass, to do so. When the Evangelical preacher would address them, we may well suppose them leaving his church doors with some such words as these:—You would have us believe of One who came to redeem us from sin and death—what evidence or token have we, that it is the will of the Father we should be mercifully or justly dealt with? Whether, indeed, this condition that we are in, be what you call a state of sin, we know not. We know that it is a state of misery. Whether there be any other life and death we know not; we do know this to be a living death. As to your book evidences, and the relations of events said to have taken place more than 1800 years

ago, we, having little learning, can be no judges whether those things really happened, nor whether your interpretation of their "meaning is the true one,—Such difficulties as these cannot be dealt with to any effectual purpose in the pulpit. They must be dealt with man to man; tenderly treated, whatever is to be the issue of them, not as if they were sinful, or to be put down with an anathema, or to be superciliously prayed for, as suggestions of the Evil One, and the fruit of a stony heart. There are not wanting indications of many of those clergymen and missionary agents who come into relation with the unchristianized masses being capable of appreciating fairly the thoughts and feelings which are seething in the midst of them. If such ministers were more at liberty in respect of dogmatic bondage, they would be able to do far more good. And we come round at all events again to this: to the necessity of providing men, fit men, for this work.

That persons may be found who have both heads and hearts to deal with the difficulties and distresses of infidelity, secularism, or whatever else it may be called, we are forcibly reminded by receiving, as we write, a volume of lectures and addresses by the lamented Mr. Robertson, of Brighton, and we cannot forbear making an extract from his "Address delivered to the Members of the Working Man's Institute, at the Town Hall, Brighton, on Thursday, April 18, 1850, on the question of the Introduction of Sceptical Publications into their Library."

"There is an infidelity," he said, "with which no good man should have any sympathy." There are infidels who are such, knowing what they oppose. There are men who, in no mistake, know the difference between good and evil, and distinctly knowing it, choose the evil and reject the good. But there is a state *called* infidelity, which deserves compassion rather than indignation, the dreadful state of one who craves light and cannot find it. I do think the way in which we treat that state, is most unpardonably cruel. It is an awful moment when the soul begins to find that the props on which it has blindly rested so long, are, many of them, rotten, and begins to suspect them all: when it begins to feel the nothingness of many of the traditionary opinions which have been received with implicit confidence, and in that horrible insecurity begins also to doubt whether there be anything to believe at all. It is an awful hour—let him who has passed through it say how awful—when this life has lost its meaning, and seems shrivelled into a span; when the grave appears to be the end of all, human goodness nothing but a name, and the sky above this universe a dead expanse, black with the void from which God himself has disappeared. In that fearful loneliness of spirit, when those who should have been his friends and counsellors only frown upon his misgivings, and profanely bid him to stifle doubts, which, for aught he knows, may arise from the fountains of truth itself, to extinguish as a glare from hell that which, for aught he knows, may be light from Heaven, and every-

thing seems wrapped in hideous uncertainty, I know but one way in which a man may come forth from his agony scathless ; it is by holding fast to those things which are certain still—the grand simple landmarks of morality. In the darkest hour through which a human soul can pass, whatever else is doubtful, this at least is certain. If there be no God and no future state, yet, even then, it is better to be generous than selfish, better to be chaste than licentious, better to be true than false, better to be brave than to be a coward. Thrice blessed is he who, when all is drear and cheerless within and without, when his teachers terrify him, and his friends shrink from him, has obstinately clung to moral good. Thrice blessed, because *his* night shall pass into clear, bright day.”—pp. 65, 66. *

Few men, it may be said, can be expected to be equal to Robertson ; many might be found like him in their different degrees, if it were known that such were the ministers whom our rulers in Church and State were in search of.

It has been observed how contemptuously the Lords speak of the agency of certain societies ; nothing finds favour with them but the bringing up of the church sittings to 58 per cent. of the population. But many of the clergymen examined spoke most gratefully of the aid which they had received from the agents of the Scripture Reader's Society, and of the London City Mission. This latter association, which is not exclusively a church society, has been in operation about twenty-three years, and is under the presidency of the Earl of Shaftesbury. It will be readily understood, that the agents employed by it, although they are not subjected to the ecclesiastical test of the three creeds and the Thirty-nine Articles, are examined as to their fitness for their work in accordance with what are called usually Evangelical views. There will also occur naturally in the Reports of the Society phraseologies peculiar to the school of its chief supporters, and which do not sound genuine to the ears of others. But in the face of the service which they undertake, peculiarities of views may well be pardoned ; and with little sympathy ourselves with those schools of pseudo-theology above indicated, we must express our astonishment at the Lords' Committee having the hardihood to ignore the attempts—if they be no more—of a society which now has, more or less, under the action of its agents one half of the metropolis ; which has risen in a few years to an income of £33,000 per annum from voluntary contributions, and without whose assistance some of the regular Church clergy of London acknowledge they do not know how they could get on at all. This Society, whatever its peculiarities, does employ human agencies, and whatever the narrowness of the theology of its patrons may

* "Lectures and Addresses on Literary and Social Topics." By the late Rev. F. W. Robertson, M.A. of Brighton. London : Smith, Elder, and Co. 1858.

be at the root, it does endeavour to grapple with the immorality of the metropolis.

The missionaries on the staff of the London City Mission are 360. Little knowledge of what they effect can be gained by a tabular statement of visits paid, hours employed in reading, and the like. Their usual work consists of visiting the sick, reading the Bible, distributing tracts, persuading parents to send children to school; and they are restrained by some very proper rules from involving themselves in any affair of money with those whom they visit, from writing begging letters, or anything which may give them a double character in the eyes of those on whom they call. The particular work assigned to some of the body is really appalling. One missionary, for instance, has been appointed for the special purpose of visiting the night-houses of the metropolis. These are supposed to be about 250 in number, and 152 have been regularly visited by him. "The conversations and scenes in these houses baffle all description;" and the greatest surprise is often expressed by the abandoned people who are found there, when the titles of the tracts are read by those to whom they are delivered. "The missionary," it is said, "has felt it a sad infliction to come into contact with so much vice, and he often returns home not only exhausted, but unable to sleep, through the memory of what he has had to pass through." He begins his rounds about midnight, and continues them till morning. And as the late Mr. Robertson could, without his own belief being called in question, meet on the ground of a common humanity the members of the Brighton Mechanics Institute—men prone to debate whether there were a God or no—so others are able, on the same ground, without pollution to themselves, to address the most profligate and abandoned of both sexes as friends, with words of warning and of hope. But these things are too irregular to be brought before their Lordships' Committee, at least to find a place in their Report.

The two most influential religious communions in the country are those of the Established Church of England and of the Independents, or Congregationalists. In theory the principles of these two communions are very distinct. In the theory of the former all are its members in some sense who partake of its privileges, and it has not yet shaken off the hypothesis that all who are born into the nation are entitled to become partakers of its privileges. With the latter none are members of the Church visible except those who are presumably members of the true Church invisible. Into the discussion as to the true definition of a Church in the abstract, of course we do not enter, nor does the great body of the people of England. The practical thinkers among us are very eclectic. They may acknowledge the Independent theory to be nearer to the Scriptural

idea—whether ever realized in primeval Churches they dare not say—and, if they be spiritually minded persons themselves, and without any traditionary and æsthetic predilections, they may naturally join themselves to that communion which claims to be composed of persons immediately accredited from above. The characters embraced by a national Church are necessarily more various, but not without many things to say for themselves. At least they may say this—where our prophets are, there are the people of God—with others the prophets may be here, and the Spirit seeking his people where they know not. If, however, we must acknowledge ourselves quite incompetent to draw out any contrast between the principles of these two great communions, to say nothing of a multitude of others, the Supreme Assembly of the nation ought not to have been:—they ought to have been able to take a standing point far above the waves and storms of ecclesiastical controversy, calm and unobscured by any clouds which hang heavily in the valleys of religious journalism, and will even gather about the midway peaks of *Quarterlies*, and to discern, as in a shaded rain-map, the degrees of spiritual darkness and immorality in which different portions of the population are dwelling: they should, as a “council of the nation,” have meditated on the adaptation of the different existing sects to an action upon different sections of the community; they should have considered how they could best enlist the services of voluntarism and the services of the endowed Church in a common cause; they should have calculated especially the forces actual or latent of the national establishment; and have courageously and skilfully devised new methods for its application. Evidently they came together without any clear conception of the problem before them. How, then, could they solve it? They were incapable of distinguishing between the work of raising a mass of ten cubic feet of earth ten feet, or of raising it one, or of raising one foot, ten—or that the operations would require different machinery.

The Select Committee of the Lords' House was appointed “To Inquire into the Deficiency of Means of Spiritual Instruction and Places of Divine Worship in the Metropolis, and in other Populous Districts in England and Wales, especially in the Mining and Manufacturing Districts; and to consider the fittest means of meeting the difficulties of the case.”^a The formula strikes us as one of singular looseness; it was wide enough in terms to have authorized an inquiry into the action upon the masses of all the religious denominations in the country—actually, it was confined to the operations of the Church of England; it appeared to point to a *bonâ fide* and painstaking comparison of different means for meeting the difficulties of the “case”—actually, the only practical recommendation which it has made has been, that the Eccle-

siastical Commissioners should be authorised by law, in all cases, of spiritually destitute neighbourhoods, to appropriate to the relief of those neighbourhoods any funds which may be derived to them from property therein locally situate. As the law at present stands, the Commissioners "are not authorised, in considering the various claims brought before them for the relief of spiritual destitution, to give preference to the places from which a revenue is received (from any source except tithes)." So far as the relief of the spiritually destitute population is to be accomplished by way of endowment, this proposition of the committee seems only reasonable. But it suggests some other reflections upon the nature and application of the property now administered by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, with which we shall continue this article.

During the earlier years of the Ecclesiastical Commission it was necessary to establish, in an unmistakable manner, the principle, that certain estates of lands or tithes, heretofore vested in the bishops, whose incomes were to be subject to arrangement, and in the capitular bodies, some of whose members were to be suppressed, should vest henceforward in the commissioners, and the proceeds be applicable to their general purposes. To have allowed claims to be put forward on the part of the localities from which the incomes of suppressed canonries had issued, or the like, would have had the effect of encouraging struggles to increase the value of the property of particular patrons and the incomes of clergymen already sufficiently provided for. On grounds therefore of public policy, these separate proceeds were to be merged in a common fund. Then a new danger naturally ensued. When trust funds from different sources are thrown together in a common caldron, the employment of the gross total is likely to be much more careless than it could have been, if account had to be given separately of each separate estate. And there has certainly been a reckless expenditure on the part of the commissioners out of the common fund, for the providing episcopal residences. Thus a real grievance has continued, though it could not be listened to; for the listening to it might have operated to augment existing sufficient endowments—have imperilled the very principle of the commission—have swallowed up its funds for no adequate public object. The Ecclesiastical Commissioners, or the Church Estates' Commissioners, in whom the properties now vest, are non-resident proprietors, absentees, who do not, in the vast majority of cases, return the produce of lands or tithes to the localities from which they spring. If those localities felt themselves otherwise in need of endowments for spiritual purposes, they naturally were the more aggrieved that no consideration should be given to their case. The commissioners have indeed more recently become empowered to give a preferential consideration

to the spiritual necessities of those places from which they were in receipt of tithes, but not of those where they had property in land. This distinction was merely a technical one, and could be accounted for only upon some theory of the peculiar origin of the one description of property. And it so happens that some instances of peculiar hardship will arise, if the commissioners are not enabled to modify their rules in this respect. In Newcastle there is a considerable property shortly about to fall into the possession of the commission. And the more glaring case of the Finsbury property, which will come into hand to the amount of 60,000*l.* a-year in 1868, renders necessary some effectual enactment, which shall prevent those revenues being thrown into a common fund, to be dribbled away in insignificant grants, while immense populations, in or near the very neighbourhoods whence they arise, are crying out for the moneys to pay their missionaries and teachers. It seems to have been acknowledged generally by the Lords' Committee, and to have been again forcibly laid down by the Bishop of London in his recent Charge, that, with respect to the distribution of revenues accruing within any part of its circuit, the metropolis, as it now exists, should be taken as a whole; and the same will hold good, by parity of reasoning, with respect to other populous towns and districts where the commissioners shall be the administrators of the ecclesiastical property.

The Episcopal Fund was created in 1836 for the purpose of regulating the incomes of the bishops; it was to receive from some sees a surplus, and to pay over to others a deficiency, and it was expected there would be a surplus on the whole. In 1840 the Common Fund was created out of the proceeds of suppressed canonries and other capitular sources. The application of its surplus was intended to be for the augmentation of small benefices. From 1840 to 1850 the two funds were kept separate; at the latter date they were fused; the effect has been, that what would have been the fund for the augmentation of small benefices has suffered. In the year 1856 the loss to the Common Fund was 20,000*l.* In 1844, the commissioners ceased to make further grants to small benefices, the whole of their available funds having been absorbed by the miserable arrangement, financially speaking, under which they were enabled to constitute districts by Sir Robert Peel's Act. In the year 1843 there had been a great alarm relative to spiritual destitution, and it was of course hopeless to expect any grant of public money for the purpose of Church extension, as understood by the Church party; for then, as now, the cause of the moral amelioration of the people was bound up to stand or fall with an increase of churches and clergymen, sworn to the Thirty-nine Articles. So Sir Robert Peel came down

to the House of Commons on May 5th with his notable plan "for supplying the deficiency which exists in the means of attending divine worship, and of receiving the benefits of pastoral instruction and superintendence, according to the doctrines of the Church of England, in many of the populous districts of the country."—(*Hansard*). It was arranged that 600,000*l.*, in Three per Cent. Stock, belonging to the governors of Queen Anne's Bounty, on which they received dividends amounting to 18,000*l.* a-year, should be handed over to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. The commissioners were to constitute districts requiring endowments to the extent of 30,000*l.* a-year, and this sum they were to take annually out of the capital, which, it was calculated would thus be exhausted in about seventeen years, or in 1860. At the end of that time they would have incurred two obligations:—First, to continue the 30,000*l.* which they would have granted to the districts; secondly, to secure to the Bounty Board their interest of 18,000*l.* annually: to pay, that is, in all, a perpetual annuity, at the rate of 8 per cent., upon a swallowed-up capital of 600,000*l.* This was a scheme eminently characteristic of Sir Robert, be it said with unfeigned gratitude and respect for his memory. It had the appearance of an "operation," and enabled him to shuffle out of an immediate difficulty. So the staunch churchmen were obliged to submit, for did they not know it was of no use to resist, when their leader had abandoned them? Mr. Hume had kept tight hold of the public purse; the Dissenters could not but be pleased, for the Church was now driven in its necessities,—*manger son blé en herbe*. Lord John Russell, indeed, ventured not on any resistance or opposition, but on a very faint and somewhat supercilious criticism of the project.—

"As regarded the scheme itself, he was not disposed to bestow any extraordinary approbation upon it. It did not appear to be of *vast extent* or of *high principle*, or to be likely to produce any extraordinary results. . . . By the scheme, as he understood it, the right hon. baronet took the *capital* already belonging to the Church, and by his mode of dealing with it, *forestalled*, to a certain extent the amount of income which many years hence would accrue to the Church."—(*Ibid.* 16.)

At the present time the whole of the stock is exhausted, or nearly so, besides which it has not been limited in its disbursement to the objects of Sir Robert Peel's Act, but has been applied to the general purposes of the Common Fund, including the providing of episcopal residences. We have dwelt upon this transaction, in order to show the fatality by which the revenues of the Church have been eaten up, and a property, large in itself, lost, bit by bit, to really beneficial purposes, because public men and the nation had not learnt in time to recognise it as a really national

property. We will now illustrate the same truth in another way, from another part of the same history, and in so doing must compare, or rather indicate a comparison between the managements of two equally national properties. We can only indicate this comparison, because to enter fully into it would require a volume.

The State never dies. And if this Church property had really been considered a State property—that is, as a property held on trust for the highest uses—which it is, instead of a property belonging absolutely to the teachers of a specific creed, then the method of dealing with it would before this have been very different from what it has been. A natural jealousy of the ecclesiastical order, a natural jealousy of a dominant sect, has prevented the making the most of the property. But in the issue the State has impoverished itself, by suffering the impoverishment and alienation, directly or indirectly, of this public inheritance. The lessees of the Church estates were able to make much more out of their equitable claim, under the theory of the freehold interest really belonging to the ecclesiastical persons, than if it had been recognised that the State, as a trustee, was really the other party concerned. Indeed, if the State had not neglected its trust, means would have been taken for improving the ecclesiastical property long ago, by running out the beneficial leases. In the case of a private person, in the case of a charitable trust, and in the case of the Crown, the running out of a lease for the purpose of aggrandizing the property, at the end of the term, for the benefit of the private person, or of the trust, or of the public, as interested in the Crown estates, has needed no apology, has been attended with no practical difficulty. This has, in fact, been the method by which private property has, in the last 300 years, been immensely improved. Ecclesiastical corporations did not invent copyhold tenures, or leases for lives, or terms renewable on fine. They found tenants on their manors when granted to them, just as other lords of manors did when they succeeded to their properties by inheritance. But the present necessities, as well as the frequent cupidity of ecclesiastical persons, caused them to continue the system of beneficial leases, in cases where private persons would have run them out long ago.

The cases of the land revenues of the Crown and of the ecclesiastical Estates are as nearly parallel as possible. Each of these properties has been supposed, according to medieval theories, to belong to the usufructuaries by some kind of prerogative or sacred right. Over each the State has at length established its supremacy. In the case of the Crown, the indirect interest of the public in the good management of the land revenues has been recognised for 150 years at least, the acknowledged principle being, "That the land revenues of the Crown may be increased, and consequently the burden upon the estates of the subjects of this realm

be eased and lessened in all future provisions to be made for the expenses of the civil government." The management, no doubt, for a long while carried out this principle very indifferently; but about the beginning of this century it underwent great improvement. No leases on lives were granted since 1806, leases for terms have been curtailed, and the property generally brought into hand. Alienation has been confined to manorial rights only, in places where no land was likewise in possession or expectation, to fisheries, mills, small intermixed pieces, and the like. Tenants have only been allowed to effect enfranchisement where copyhold payments were of small amount, "dry, fixed, and unimproveable." And the present Earl of Carlisle, then Lord Morpeth, and first Commissioner of Woods and Forests, said in evidence before the House of Commons, in 1818, that "he did not think it within the functions of the board, or in the spirit of the duties imposed on them, or consistent with the letter of their Acts of Parliament, to make either gradual or total alienation of the property." Unhappily, from the circumstances already alluded to, like principles have not been applied in time, nor are indeed applied now, to the ecclesiastical property. If they had been, there would have been resources at the command of the State which would have "eased and lessened the burden upon the estates of the subjects of the realm," which now comes upon them partly in the shape of taxation for educational grants, partly in the shape of irresistible appeals for voluntary contributions for church purposes, partly in the effects of demoralization in localities where no moral or educational superintendence can be exercised, and in a consequent increase of police force. Even now the true position of the State towards this ecclesiastical property is not distinctly acknowledged, and it is in danger, if not in process of, continual diminution and alienation. We are not going to re-open questions which have already been settled by Parliament, nor to invoke attention to rules under which the Church Estates Commissioners now act, and according to which they are always ready either to enfranchise the tenant or to purchase his interest; and in calculating the lessee's interest to give him credit for one renewal beyond his existing term. These things have been sanctioned by Parliament. But bad as is this diminution of the fiduciary interest, it still runs infinite further risks in the carrying out of these transactions. This danger may be illustrated in two instances.

It appears from the correspondence relative to a proposed enfranchisement of the Chardstock estate, in Dorsetshire.—(Reports from Committees, 1858, Vol. xi.)—that there was great risk, by sale for a very inadequate sum, of the loss of the reversionary interest of the church in no less than nearly 4000 acres of land.

The late Bishop of Salisbury and his valuer—the bishop having no further interest in the property beyond a certain proportion of the money to be realized by the sale, agreed provisionally with the tenant to enfranchise, subject to the approbation of the Church Estates Commissioners, for the sum of 20,092*l.* This alienation, for a most inadequate consideration, was prevented by the acuteness of the surveyor (Mr. Clutton), who recommended the Commissioners rather to purchase the leasehold interest than to sell the reversion. The case is somewhat too complicated to state fully here, but there can be no doubt that an immense sacrifice of public property would have been the consequence of carrying out the arrangement to which the bishop had provisionally assented. In the instance, likewise, of a much smaller property, the Bishop of Hereford had agreed, subject to the approval of the Commissioners, to enfranchise an estate, on which their surveyor thus reports:—

“In this case it is proposed to sell the reversion of 181*l.* 2*r.* 30*p.* of land, worth 25*l.* 12*s.* yearly, held by four lives, now aged 56, 51, 45, 27, at a reserved rent of 10*l.* 18*s.* 7*d.*, for a rent-charge of 40*l.* 11*s.* 1½*d.*; and also of 41*l.* 0*r.* 33*p.* of land, worth 58*l.* yearly, held by four lives now aged 56, 51, 45, 43, at a reserved rent of 8*s.* for a rent-charge of 7*l.* 17*s.* 7½*d.*, making a total rent charge of 48*l.* 11*s.* 9*d.* as the price of both reversions. This rent-charge being equivalent at 25 years' purchase to 1215*l.*, and the value of the reversions, according to the usual scale, being 3250*l.*, I advise that the board decline to approve this proposal.—*E. J. Smith.* It was declined accordingly.”
—*Id. ib.*

If the Church Estates Commissioners had not been served by able and experienced persons, the powers of enfranchisement of ecclesiastical property would have been exercised most ruinously, and to the entire advantage of the lessees; as they had originally been granted in their interest, and in contradiction to public policy. As a maxim, no corporation, holding in trust for its successors, should ever alienate a reversion; least of all the State, for it can have no doubt of living long enough to come into possession.

Among other risks which the ecclesiastical property of the State has run of being seriously diminished—not in reduction of any taxation, of any alleviation of rates, or for any public purpose whatsoever—but only for the advantage of the persons who were in a condition to make the bargain—may be instanced the case of the Finsbury prebendal property already referred to. This is a large extent of house property, held upon an ecclesiastical lease, which will expire in 1868. The City of London are the lessees. Mr. E. J. Smith gives an exceedingly clear statement of the interest which was at stake when the city had agreed with the

late Bishop of London in 1840 to purchase the reversion of the Church for three and a half years' purchase, the lease at that time having twenty-seven and a half years to run. The annual value in 1868 was then estimated at 47,500*l.*, and the city were to have given 156,750*l.* Mr. Smith shows very plainly that in this way the corporation would have been making six per cent. of that sum of money during the remainder of the term. As it is, the church is making six per cent. during the running out, and will come into possession of an estate that will turn out much more valuable than was then supposed. The bill by which the transaction in question was to have been carried out passed the Lords, and then fortunately came to an end.*

Now, we contend that any additional value of Church property which may be developed by running out of leases by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, or by their other management, resembles a surplus arising to trustees from the improvement of a fiduciary estate, and for the application of which surplus no specific provision has been made under the original constitution of their trust. A trust may be limited to the mere receiving and paying over a rent-charge; but if an improveable estate is vested in trustees, their first duty is to manage it to the best advantage, and to suffer no part of its value to lie dormant. This, their first duty, is anterior to the question of the application of its revenues, and altogether irrespective of it. But when such improved value has resulted, either from accidental circumstances, or from good management, trustees are well understood to be more at liberty in respect to the employment of their surplus, than in regard to their original revenue. Courts of equity are reluctant to sanction schemes at variance with the expressed intentions of donors, where trust revenues are exhausted by specific directions, and do not very willingly interfere with appropriations sanctioned by

* Mr. Smith says:—"The ordinary practice of estimating the reversion of a house is to take the reversion on the scale of interest represented by the number of years' purchase at which the annual value is set to find the fee-simple. In this particular case, the annual value being taken at the end of the term at 47,500*l.*, comes at sixteen two-thirds years' purchase to 792,000*l.* Then the Church interest is taken upon that, and the six per cent. scale gives 156,750*l.* as the result. Now *(the sale of any such estate in the immediate vicinity, indeed in the heart of a city such as this, is in itself wrong; but passing over that), I say that if you do sell it, you sell, not houses, but the sum of 792,000*l.* The property sold has ceased to be houses by the application of a small number of years' purchase. You reduce it from a casual estate to a capital sum of 792,000*l.*, and the question is then, you say, 'What ought I to take for that 792,000*l.* due to me on a certain day?' I say that you should only accept such a sum as, if put out at common interest, will return you the 792,000*l.* at the end of the term."—*Report, Minutes of Evidence,* p. 367. This is perfectly correct. The question is, The present value of 1*l.* due at the end of a term of years.*

long custom. But as to the application of improved revenues, they take a wider view; and the existing Board of Commissioners of Charities for England and Wales readily concurs with local trustees in applying to purposes of general education the surplus revenues of charities originally founded for the bestowing of doles of bread and similar gifts, now found in practice to have a demoralizing effect.

In the year 1868, as has been said, there will come into the hands of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, or into the hands of whomsoever the State shall appoint for the administering of that property, a revenue from the estates heretofore belonging to the prebendal estate of Finsbury, of 60,000*l.* per annum. What is to be done with it? Let us suppose, as probably most persons will be agreed, this income is to be applied to the benefit of the metropolis generally. It should go to secure the services of men, and not to the rearing of fabrics. In the next place, it should not be used up,—appropriated in fixed grants to the endowment of miserably paid clergymen. The committee seem to recommend an additional supply of 1000 clergymen for the metropolis, to receive stipends at the rate of 100*l.* a year. Whether such stipends should be sought from a fixed or a voluntary source, we can imagine nothing more injurious to the respectability of the ministry of the church itself, or to its efficiency as a spiritual instrument. If ministers of the higher grade are to be had at all, and to be provided for at all, they must be provided for at a higher rate than that. In theory, and in some regions of populations in practice likewise, the question may fairly be debated between the voluntary and the fixed principles—in the regions of spiritual destitution which we are now contemplating, two things are very plain; 1st, That the people who are most in want of ministers and teaching will not invite them; in other words, according to Mr. Mann, the spiritual action must be *aggressive*; 2ndly, That they will not, probably cannot, sustain a ministry among themselves by voluntary contributions. No doubt when the Lords calculate a thousand clergymen to be wanting in the metropolis, and reckon their stipends at 100*l.* a-year each, they have some expectation of a voluntary effort being made to raise the capital of 3,000,000*l.*, which would ensure the payment of those annual stipends. We will suppose some such an effort might be made, but very much doubt whether any fund for the purpose would reach a capital amounting to more than a sixth of that sum in several years. But have the Bishop of Exeter and his friends considered what it is they are inviting a thousand men to do? Have they considered whence the thousand men are to come? Have they considered what is to become of the men,—not in the next world, but in this?

Doubtless there are men, and always will be, while the course of this world shall be continued, who will be willing for "the kingdom of God's sake," to make any sacrifice, and to throw themselves into any breach. But if a whole army were willing to devote themselves, as upon a forlorn hope, it would be wicked for a general to permit them, could he attain his end at a less cost, though he ought to permit a few to hazard themselves even to death for the many—or for many to do so for the rest, at the risk of wounds only, and curable disasters. A thousand clergymen to be sent—to be tempted, into certain poverty, with wives and children, and with no power of retiring when the gulph opens beneath their feet, entangled by a lifelong vow, and when others would do the work as well or better! Presenting to ourselves the realities of things, such a proposition seems utterly desperate, if made in good faith; we do not suppose, indeed, that it was made in bad faith, but in entire oblivion of what human nature is, of what English society is, of what the resources of the Established Church really are. It may be thought indeed that the throwing of a thousand men, with a stipend of 100*l.* each, into the ministry of the Church of England, would not have any appreciable effect upon the *status* of its ministers, and the many relations connected with it; yet it would lower the average income of the incumbents of England from 300*l.* to 275*l.* a year, which alone would not be without a very appreciable effect. It must be remembered, these men could not, in fact, be removed after a certain period of service, into higher or less onerous positions. The benefices of England are about 12,000—of these more than 6000 are in the gift of private patrons—and without staying to make any observation on that kind of patronage, it should be considered, whether a person who may have laboured for twenty or thirty years of his life on 100*l.* per annum, in the east or south of London, has any prospect of being promoted by a private patron, in preference to his own brother or his own son. About 3000 more preferments are in the gift of colleges and ecclesiastical aggregate corporations, whose members succeed to them by an acknowledged right; 3000 are in the bestowal of the bishops and the Crown together; about 2000 to the former; and if the bishops are disposed to bestow these benefices as a reward of merit, they must consult first for the meritorious clergy of their own dioceses. How far will the 1100 benefices of the Crown go, dispensed as may be expected, towards affording some retirements for the worn-out spiritual servants of the metropolis? A large proportion of course of this total number of 12,000 benefices, including those of the Crown itself, are, of not much more value than the pittance of 100*l.* a-year above spoken of.

Readily, however, it will occur to our readers, there is found a

supply of scripture readers and of city missionaries to the extent of 350 persons for each of those societies, and perhaps as many more by other associations. These men, it is acknowledged, are very efficient; probably more efficient than the clergyman up to a certain point. Their stipends are on an average about 80*l.* a-year. They are led to form no expectations of advancement, and, above all things, they have it in their power, should their spirits fail, or their health, or they should find the work they have undertaken in any way unsuitable for them, to revert to some other occupation. We cannot perceive any sufficient reason why a portion of the endowments at the disposal of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners out of the improved Church property should not be applied to the moral and spiritual advantage of the people in a way unfettered by old precedents. Our dense populations require a new and variously modified agency. We cannot see that an assent to all the propositions contained in the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England ought to be required of those who are to become social and moral instructors, merely because the funds out of which they would be salaried should be derived from ancient ecclesiastical sources. It is surely competent to the State, as the trustee of a property devoted to the highest national objects, as they shall be understood in each succeeding age, to apply a portion of its proceeds to the remuneration of agents urgently required—not under any vow of orders—agents willing to devote themselves for limited periods, or from year to year. A clergyman of great experience in populous places, the Rev. W. W. Champneys, says, "I think practically we want the deacon, which we have not in the Church of England." We want an agent for a state of things which has never yet existed in Christendom, and we think that he had better be called by an unambiguous name. New deacons will melt into priests, as the old ones have done. We want Instructors for the people, who shall teach them, not so much the mechanical arts of reading and writing, as the laws of God's universe, the laws of the world in which they live,—material, social, mental, moral. If existing ecclesiastical authorities were willing to co-operate in any such scheme, it would be well it should be carried out with their co-operation; it would be the commencement of a relaxation of the organization of the Established Church of England, which it is sorely in need of. Otherwise it would be in the power of the State to constitute a subordinate board of the Ecclesiastical Commission, to which should be entrusted the administration of the properties set apart especially for the benefit of the dense populations in the metropolis and elsewhere, with the appointment and payment of the educational and other agents. These would act as missionaries and pioneers, and would, no doubt, soon be followed by the

ministers of the several churches, to occupy under a more complete organization the ground already broken up by these more hardy labourers. Many objections may, of course, be raised against any such plan—those which affect its principle we have already endeavoured, in some degree, to anticipate. One of considerable weight against its practical working deserves especial attention, and to that we must now confine ourselves. It may be said, that the supplying out of ecclesiastical or national funds the salaries of a number of public Instructors in the dense populations will tend to paralyse the voluntary efforts, which are now being made by various associations for the spiritual improvement of the people. Under a prudent management, we do not think that the Instructors whom we contemplate need clash with the agents of the voluntary societies. They will occupy, to a great extent, different ground. For instance, they will not clash with the missionaries of the London City Mission, for it will not be comprised in their duties to insist upon “the depravity of man,” or “the doctrine of justification by faith alone;” nor even with those of the Scripture Readers’ Association, for they will read other things besides the Bible. We need not say that in our estimation they would be able to teach things infinitely more serviceable to suffering humanity, than those abstruse and at least dubious doctrines can possibly be. Have not those doctrines, in fact, been tried and found wanting? At the best, they are suited for moral natures already raised to some elevation and dissatisfied with their own progress. And has not the Bible been sown broadcast over the land? Has not the wish of a not unamiable, but certainly not very clear-sighted monarch, been accomplished to the letter? Is there a cottage fireside in the kingdom where there is not a Bible, or has not been one? Has not that book been distributed with such an entire absence of discrimination, and been expounded with so little judgment—been set so vainly in opposition to the declarations of the Divine will which are made known in the laws of the universe—that the very same pages which are regarded with the utmost awe and veneration by some, are made matter of jest and ridicule by others! This is a scandal for which many who would call themselves friends of Bible religion are, in fact, answerable. It is a scandal which cannot exist without a most demoralizing and unsocializing effect upon the people.

It should also be distinctly borne in mind, that the progress of education among the working classes has been far from unsatisfactory, that is, as respects its quantity: for of day-scholars, Mr. Mann states the increase from 1818, to 1851, to have been at the rate of 218 per cent. of the population; and of Sunday-scholars, at the rate of 404 per cent.; while the increase of the population itself was at the rate of only 54 per cent. Evidence is given to the

same effect before the Lords. Education, measured by its quantity, by the number of scholars, is gaining rapidly on the population; it does not, however, appear to be telling anywhere with really beneficial effect, and we are forced to the conclusion, that it is not of the right sort; that the denominational principle and the biblical principle render comparatively worthless the lavish State expenditure which we have witnessed of late years. Attempts have been made in vain on the part of secular schools, as they are called, to obtain a participation in the State grants. One of the latest of these was, we believe, in 1856, when the committee of the Manchester Model Secular School memorialized the Privy Council, in order to its being admitted to participate in the Government grant. The school was stated to be situated in the midst of a dense and poor population, containing about 356 boys from seven to twelve years of age. Most of these, on Sundays, attend the schools of the various denominations. The promoters of the school urged in their memorial, that their attempt is to impart "a course of practical instruction really valuable, so far as it goes, and decidedly religious in its tendency, as it unfolds the laws of God as instituted in the records of creation, and teaches the consequence of obedience and disobedience to those laws." Such a course of instruction, it was urged, might be communicated in common to the children of persons of all religious persuasions, without partiality, prejudice, or cause of offence. But their lordships rejected the application, as they had done the application of similar schools in 1853, on the ground that it made no provision for religious instruction.

By a process of exhaustion we arrive at the knowledge of what is really required for the amelioration of the condition of the people. It is not churches, for when built they are not filled; it is not Bibles, for of Bibles there has long been no lack; it is not education, as at present carried on, for the difficulty respecting the physical and moral condition of the masses has been increasing along with the increase of education. And it is a mistake to suppose that the "spiritual destitution," as it is called, is confined to metropolitan and other very densely crowded districts. The evidence of a clergyman, recently removed from a country town to a crowded metropolitan parish, teaches us, what we have other reasons for believing, that the London population is not worse morally than a country population. The Rev. G. Eyre, lately appointed to the rectory of Marylebone, considers the physical condition of the London poor to be worse, their "social package" to be frightful; but their "moral and religious condition not worse, probably better than in the country, speaking of a country town" (Q. 3519, 3518, 3521). In fact, in the country the education is wholly of the biblical kind we have been speaking of; in the metropolis there is indirectly, if not directly, an infinitely greater extent of

education of intellect, of education in life. And as the biblical instruction supplies no education which fits our scholars for the real duties of life, its defects are prominently seen in the condition of the female part of the population. The morality of a people depends mainly upon its females; but the females in the lower stratum of our people have less education, in any proper sense of the word, than the males. A boy has indeed little schooling: is removed from school, probably at so early an age that the little instruction he has received is soon forgotten. Nevertheless, he soon begins to learn something relative to his future trade or occupation; he becomes conversant, not only with words, but with things. And when he has once begun to earn his own bread, the necessities of life and the order of his employment become to him a discipline, beneath which, unless he is very stubborn or reckless, he must succumb; there is outside of him not only a material compulsion, but a force of opinion. But there is little in the action of circumstances really to improve the girl, however obedient and teachable she may have been up to the age at which the temptations belonging to her sex begin to arise. She may say well her catechism, sing hymns, tell the "History of David," and that of the "Dairyman's Daughter" to boot; but at school she receives no education in the duties of her after-life. She has not that readiness in doing common things which is the best safeguard against a silly vanity. So, without speaking of extremes in either case, while the men become better, more fit for their place in society as they grow up, the women become worse: the rude boy will often turn into the steady man, while the flighty girl, no worse than he, becomes an irrecoverable slattern, and the hopeless mismanager of a household. And with respect to a subject which recently engrossed much of the public attention, it seemed to be admitted by influential persons at the meeting held at Liverpool last summer for the advancement of social science, that the unhappy class which throngs all our public places, is not, for the most part, recruited by means of seduction properly so called. It therefore should be well weighed by the friends of that which has hitherto been called a religious education of the people, what the real value of it can be. It has been in full and exclusive operation for many years, but has proved ineffectual to prevent the females who have been brought up under it from meeting the libertine and the profligate at least half way.

The agency required, then, appears to us to partake both of a school and of a missionary character. In the school should be taught things really useful, things which will bring home, at an early age, to the apprehension of the classes we wish to benefit, that they are living under a system of divine law and government; that they cannot transgress those laws with impunity,

and especially that the antecedents and consequences under the several laws do not interchange; that neither praying nor Greek will preserve from fever in the midst of malaria, any more than the being a good accountant would save a man from shipwreck in a leaky ship. But it would be necessary to supplement the secular and industrial school with a further agency. Many are passed beyond the age at which the school can generally be of service, who are yet not beyond the reach of human aid, though under great difficulties and entanglements; and the way in which the approaches of ministers of religion are for the most part received, even by those who might be expected to be strongly prejudiced against them, shows the power which a really benevolent intention exercises over the human heart. But we want a species of agents more immediately and practically useful than the existing minister of religion. We want men who can carry to the grown-up sufferers from their own and others' errors, that information which might have preserved them from much woe, if it had been imparted to them sooner. We want men to supply all sanitary knowledge to those who stand most in need of it; not in the way of policemen or constables, but as friends. We want men to convey practical explanations of such matters of political economy as it most concerns the labouring man to know. We want men to teach the preparation of food and the nature of nutriments to the ignorant and improvident. And we want men, if they can be had, with at least a rudimentary knowledge of medicine, both for the sake of the immense mass of human misery which may in that way be directly alleviated, and for the sake of the character of friend, which always belongs to the physician. The "doctor" arrives at the root of most matters of domestic sorrow sooner than the clergyman, and, in nine cases out of ten, can do more towards the remedy. Such public Instructors, as we feel to be necessary in many parts of our population, should abstain from all religious controversy; be charitable towards all systems; not unaware of the difficulties which beset all; not forward with solutions, but rather ready to recommend forbearance and submission to inevitable mysteries. The higher qualifications could be expected only in a few. Many useful agents might be found for definite and limited purposes. And the action of any such scheme, though we have little hope of our rulers in Church or State forwarding such a plan, should be, as the late Dr. Chalmers would have termed it, *general* and not *general*; each school and each Instructor should have a *district* and *radius* within which to operate; their force should be *emanating* and *attractive*; as some would call it, *missionary*; as Mr. Mann would entitle it, *aggressive*; and an experiment might easily be tried in a single locality and on a small scale.

ART. VI.—CARLYLE'S HISTORY OF FRIEDRICH THE SECOND.

History of Friedrich II. of Prussia, called Frederick the Great.
By Thomas Carlyle. 2 vols. London. 1858.

THE publication of the first half of Mr. Carlyle's history of Frederick II., before the second half is completed, is at once a check, and an inducement, to earnest criticism. Prudence and fairness will warn the reader to suspend his judgment on the part until he has the whole before him; while the more deeply interested he feels, and the more competent he may think himself, the more anxious he will be to make his opinion available for the rest of the work. The task, however, of balancing these conflicting motives is maternally facilitated by the circumstance that it is just, at the accession of his hero where the author bids the reader pause. The published part of the work might stand by itself. In addition to that long series of biographical sketches which, as a kind of illustrated pedigree, fills a large portion of the first volume, we have the life of one Prussian King, Frederick William I., fully and lovingly depicted. We see how Mr. Carlyle does that kind of work; we may legitimately conclude what will be the style, the artistic arrangement of the remainder. And on those great problems of public morality that continually present themselves in the growth of a nation, Mr. Carlyle has pronounced his opinions so distinctly and so emphatically, that we need not be under any apprehension of seeing them modified before his history is completed.

The old books on Prussian history almost invariably begin with the complaint of the author that he did not know how to begin. Should he commence with the Mark Brandenburg, which is the stock and taproot of the State, but did not give it its name? or with the Duchy of Prussia, though it be one of the later acquisitions? or with the family of the Hohenzollerns, who flourished for centuries without being in any way connected with any of the present territories? The peculiar character of his book as a biography enables Mr. Carlyle to overcome this difficulty in a very satisfactory manner; he begins by taking the reader to a picture of Frederick towards the end of his life, when he was old Fritz, seated in his cradle, surrounded by pictures of father and mother, showing them the extraordinary genius of his hero, to whom he is to devote his work, and then he turns resolutely to start down the long catalogue of the Mark. Following up the

history of that territory under successive dynasties (the Ascanians from 1142 to 1319, the Wittelsbacher and Luxemburger from 1319 to 1414), and arriving at the time when the Hohenzollerns got possession of it, he takes up their pedigree and brings it down to the same period; whence the history of the family and that of the land flow in one channel. Why the author should go back so far, why he should begin in the tenth century the life of a man who was born in the eighteenth; why he interweaves with the records of the family the annals of each of those multifarious territories that constituted the inheritance bequeathed by Frederick William to his son—all this is easily understood by any one at all conversant with historical research. There is this distinction between the mediæval and the modern way of writing history, that then the writer, no matter what person, what period he was going to treat of, at once embarked in the ark of Noah, and floated himself down the stream of history as well as he could, until he reached the theatre of his intended exploit; while the historian of to-day, always anxious to confine himself to the selected spot, is always lured away to follow up that stream towards those misty fastnesses where its waters spring. Such allurements must be particularly strong where the area of a state is not marked out by any natural configuration of the soil, the population composed of fractions of various races, where the germ has been so small and the growth so steady, catastrophes so terrible, and recovery so wonderful, where conflicts between classes, races, creeds within, struggles with neighbours, rivals, political and religious antagonists without, so constantly reappear in a long course of centuries, slightly modified but essentially always the same, where hardly any of these conflicts and struggles are settled and laid for ever; where the whole state is eminently unfinished, forced by the law of its existence to grow and to devour.

While we fully appreciate the plan of Mr. Carlyle, we cannot equally approve of its execution. We admire the sharply delineated and vivid representation of what he chooses to represent, but we wish he had chosen otherwise. What he gives is too much of a family story. A really good novel, "Gil Blas" for instance, while relating the adventures of a few persons, will give the reader a fair picture of the people and country; how much more may we expect the same from the history of a dynasty! In pointing out the extraordinary difficulties besetting the formation and growth of the Prussian monarchy, we shall manifest our readiness to do justice to the achievements of its rulers; and as to the advantages of "guidance," so strongly insisted upon by Mr. Carlyle, we wish we could find space before laying down our pen to show fully how high we rate them; confining the work on the one hand, to the operation of mind upon mind, but extending,

on the other hand, its application both to good and to evil. We cannot, however, for a moment harbour the supposition that Mr. Carlyle, wedded though he be to his dogma of hero-worship, has adopted the creed of the Prussian *Ceil de Bœuf*, that the dynasty "made" the State, that the history of the Hohenzollerns is the history of Prussia. Speaking, even of a private estate, and calling it the creation of its owner, it is fully understood how many favourable conditions, wholly independent of his will and action, are required to enable him to perform that creation; not only the geological structure of the soil, the climate, the character of inhabitants, local communication, and junctures of trade, but equally the midnight toil of the solitary thinker who draws from Nature her secrets, and the swarthy brow of the distant adventurer who wrests from her her treasures. In fact, it appears almost absurd to dwell on the general proposition. In the case of Prussia, moreover, when we come to consider her princes, not through the medium of books published under modern censorship, we have at once to make a considerable abatement from that "extraordinary series of distinguished rulers." The Elector Joachim II. (1535-1571), left a debt, contracted to no purpose, of 2,600,000 thalers, an enormous sum considering the limited extent of the country, and the value of money, when a sheep was bought for sixteen pfennigs, 250 of which went to the gulder. His successor, John George (1571-1598), except the Economist, kept about him an Italian Fine Arts Count, Lynar by name, at a yearly salary of 12,000 thalers, 250 barrels of beer, 12 ohms of Rhine wine, 24 ohms of country wine (fearful to think of), 6 oxen, and 50 sheep. George William (1619-1640) painfully weak and vacillating when left to himself, was guided during the most momentous period of the Thirty Years' War by his Minister, Count Schwarzenberg, which noble friend was really the Minister of Austria. After the redeeming reign of the Great Elector (1640-1688) we have with Frederick William I. (1713-1740) again the same story, Austrian Minister Seckendorf enjoying and betraying for seven years the unlimited confidence of the king.

The successor of Frederick the Great, Frederick William II. (1786-1797), while devouring the substance of the country by senseless dissipation, and poisoning by his vices the social atmosphere, is again governed by foreign traitors and religious mountebanks, crushing life within by a brutal reaction, and making up abroad for the loss of military prestige by sacrificing in diplomacy every principle of honesty and prudence. We need not allude to the foreign policy and wars of the long reign of Frederick William III. (1797-1840). By a certain right reverence he is baptized the Just; and just he was in small things;

but a great, a frightful injustice was committed by him, disturbing the peace of his country, and jeopardizing the throne of his descendants for an unmeasured future, by according (ordinance of the 22nd of May, 1815) a representation of the people, while that people was rushing to the western frontier to meet the invader and "not thinking it time yet" to carry out that ordinance when the enemy was slain. Of his successor, the present king, we speak with reluctance: broken by that terrible fall between the dusk of one day and the dawn of the other, he expiates his error and his crime by a penalty more awful than death, being an idiot, and knowing it.

There must have been some elements at work that counteract the evil deeds of the Hohenzollerns; and elements powerful enough to do that will have a great deal to do with their meritorious achievements too. Of such elements Mr. Carlyle does not afford us a single glance; neither of the country, except as far as it provides his heroes with battling, hunting, and travelling grounds; nor of the peculiarities of the races; nor of the economical and social condition of the people and its intellectual life. And in confining himself in this manner to the precincts of the palace, he does injustice not only to the people, but also to his heroes. There are many achievements of the Hohenzollerns not even touched upon by Mr. Carlyle, more glorious, more lasting, more cosmic, as he has it, than double marriage projects and royal fustigation of idle apple-women. In making the demand that those elements, whatever they are, should be worked out, so as to form a background and by-play for the figures, the princes, we are aware that we are setting a very difficult problem, but we are setting it to a very gifted writer. No doubt it might be solved in some other way than that which we propose in the following pages,—by a sketch of the history of Prussian law

True, that "law" reminds us of sickening litigation, squabbling attorneys, ridiculous subtleties, tinkering legislators. But true also, that all this is not more equivalent to law than hospitals, anatomy, and the great metropolitan drainage question are equivalent to health. True, that a very general saying declares the lawyer to be incapable of writing history. But true also, that no man will ever understand the history of a country without a more than dilettante knowledge of its laws. "Jurisprudence is the knowledge of all things divine and human," teaches the *corpus juris*. That divine idea of justice every man may keep alive within himself; but to read it off those mountains of legislative rubbish, that pretend to be the incarnation of it, requires, indeed, a little knowledge of everything human. For there is nothing in the life of a nation that does not leave an impression on the coeval stratum. "This is self-evident with respect to

public or constitutional law; no man can read the history of England without finding himself involved in Magna Charta and Bill of Rights. But it is as true with respect to private law. In fact, that distinction of public and private law is nothing but a help for the mind, for the student and the teacher; it cannot arrest the historian. The life of a nation is an organism, every part reacts upon every part. The laws on marriage, on trust, on real property, on public worship, on crimes, are more vital elements of that life, are more eloquent witnesses of its inmost nature, than Glorious Constitutions and Corrupt-Practices-Prevention-Act-Continuance-Acts. In the East, where law is sanctioned by religion, this, so to say physiological unity of all law, is so firm and active that it cannot be dissolved even for the purpose of contemplation and study. What is public law in the Koran, and what private? The same is the case, and for the same reason, in the canon law. In modern European states it is looser and fainter, amongst other reasons, because people, by the scientific distinctions of jurisprudence, are led to overlook and to forget it. To restore it on a new basis, to harmonize again the whole of the functions of national existence is the instinctive aim of that tremendous movement which is convulsing a decayed world.

There is the same unity in decay which there is in growth. To illustrate, in both periods, the intimate connexion between history and law, perhaps no state affords a better opportunity than the German Empire; and subsequent to the example set by Eichhorn* and Phillips,† no writer on the subject has departed from their method. There are valuable contributions of the same kind (more especially a series of brilliant monographs on single towns, written upon their statute-books) to the history of that State which grew up under the protecting shelter of the Empire, drew nourishment from its decay, and was instrumental to its fall, and to the history of that dynasty which the more eagerly it yearned after the Imperial crown, the more effectually it debased it, and when nearly strong enough to grasp it, saw it crumble to dust. A peculiar temptation and a peculiar facility for treating Prussian history in this manner is to be found in the codification of the Prussian law, the amalgamation of the common law of Germany, the Roman law, and numberless provincial laws, customs, and statutes, to "one body of intelligible laws," a work attempted by Joachim-H. (died 1571), John George, (died 1598), and the Great Elector (died 1688), and carried out by Frederick the Great. We are, indeed, at a loss to see how Mr. Carlyle is

* Eichhorn, "Deutsche Staats- und Rechtsgeschichte." Berlin, 1818.

† Phillips, "Deutsche Geschichte mit besonderer Rücksicht auf Religion, Recht und Staatsverfassung." Berlin. 1832.

to do justice to this, perhaps the greatest achievement of his hero, without going again over a great deal of ground covered by the first volume of his book.

Let us, then, enter at once a mine, and explore a stratum dryer than Dryasdust, the statutes at large.* Let us take up the first strange crusty pebble of mediæval Latinity, *scultetus*, and try whether not a little rubbing and polishing will turn it into a Highland show-stone, capable of reflecting something of the past, and shedding a welcome ray of light on the present and sundry of its "unintelligibilities."

Scultetus means *schulze*, *schultheiss*, the headman of a community, village, or town, the reeve. The peculiar origin of the Mark Brandenburg, could not but impress peculiar features on its local groups. Mark is a frontier defence; such the Mark Brandenburg was against the eastern neighbours of Germany, the Wends. It was not established on German territory, but on a soil wrested from the foe. Although cruelly decimated during the struggle, the natives were by no means extirpated or expelled; nor was it the policy of the Ascanian princes to dispossess them indiscriminately of their lands. The bulk of the Wendish population, always held in subjection, only changed their masters, and on the whole for the better. Some classes were decidedly raised in the social scale, and the Wendish noble was admitted on equal terms with his German conqueror. After the victories of Albrecht the Bear, there were no risings; yet for a long time to come the German settler would think it safer to have a German neighbour, still better a headman within call, or, as the peasant in those regions would express it, within dog's bark. The headman having certain duties to perform, would claim certain privileges, and what people are liable to become who perform magisterial functions and enjoy privileges all history teaches. The new settler, coming from agricultural provinces, would stick to the plough; the Wend, like most Slavonian tribes, although never at home on the sea, is an excellent fisherman on lake and river, both abounding between Elbe and Oder. Endless bogs and marshes promising splendid pasture to settlers skilled in draining and embanking, attracted numerous immigrants from Holland. The burgher of the flourishing Imperial cities, the trader, the craftsman would seek his congenial element. Race and tribe would to a great extent determine occupation, and occupation the choice of the dwelling-place. Then there was a distinction between simple freemen and nobles among the Wends as well as among the Germans. Lastly, each German settler would

* Raumer, "Codex Diplomaticus." Mylius, "Corpus Constitutionum Marchicarum." "Gesetzsammlung für die Preussischen Staaten," from 1807 to 1838. Fiedlin, "Beiträge zur Geschichte von Berlin," etc.

bring with him and maintain the laws and customs of his home. It is tolerably well recorded how, under the Ascanian dynasty, these various elements blended into a healthy and powerful commonwealth, the very microcosm of the Prussian State. It is written in a few scattered deeds and ordinances, and more copiously in the law, part of it indestructibly graven on the land, some naturally absorbed by more progressing legislation, some stifled by forms, smothered by force and fraud, not dead yet, living in dumb tradition, and shaking from time to time, like subterraneous fire, the conscience of the guilty and the peace of the world.

Wherever there was a score of colonists anxious to settle either on waste land, or on a township taken from the Wends, the founding of the village was entrusted to one man, whom able editors now-a-days would call an extensive and enterprising builder. It was his business to find settlers, to allot the lands in certain prescribed proportions, to collect the rent for the markgraf, and, assisted by some good and lawful men, elected by the community, to preserve the peace. In compensation for this he enjoyed his lot rent free, and was entitled to a certain quota of the fees. The office always went with the land. Old parchments speak of colonists settled "on German law," or on Franconian, Dutch, and Flanders law, meaning that, in measuring their lands, and in everything relating to the rights of persons, they followed the customs of the respective provinces from which they came. In default of any importation of this kind, the Saxon law prevailed, the Mark Brandenburg being one of the seven banner-feofs of Saxony. All which laws, how different soever in details, were quite in harmony on certain great principles becoming freemen, the foremost of them being that no man could be tried but by his peers, no peasant but by those good and lawful men, the jury; for jury is not to be connected etymologically with *jurare*, to swear, but with *ius*, right or law. The Wend, provided he tilled the ground, was frequently admitted to the full privilege of Saxon law. All this is to be understood of the peasant proper, the freeman who held lands sufficiently large to maintain a certain number of teams or ploughs. His tenure was of a very high order, subjected to hardly any other restriction but that of selling and bequeathing the lands undivided. Around them, on the outskirts of their villages, or in separate hamlets, certain inferior castes existed, partly of German descent, mostly Wends, of which only one, out of deference to the "mud-gods," may receive a passing notice, the kothsussen, that is to say, dwellers in mud cabins.

Separate from the peasant, elevated above him in rank and estimation, but originally in no way his lord or master, nor even his magistrate, lived the noble in his more pretentious house, fortified, if the markgraf would grant permission to do so, and surrounded

by the huts of unfree labourers—villains we may call them, for shortness' sake. The nobleman, being the vassal of the markgraf, was not bound by common law, but by feudal law; instead of paying rent, he did military service; he would not intermarry with the peasant; he might be appointed superior judge and magistrate; he could lead a host to battle; but other connexion with the peasant he had none by law. There might be, however, and there were, voluntary arrangements which brought the noble otherwise in connexion with the peasants, gave him a hold over them, and paved the way for progressing encroachment, usurpation, and tyranny. The markgraf, for instance, from want of cash or other motives, would pledge or sell the rents of a certain village to a neighbouring nobleman; or the latter might buy the land, and with the land the office of the *schulze*, and he might, and did in course of time, pervert the function of the headman of a free community into an attribute and appendage of his baronial seat. Thus originated the nuisance of manorial, or as the Germans say, patrimonial police and jurisdiction—a nuisance which in England, fortunately, was early crushed by the iron arm of her Norman kings. No study is required, only some knowledge of mankind in general, and of squires in particular, to see how the noble would work his position. Assisted at a somewhat later period by the civil law of the Byzantine Emperors, and by lawyers bred in its principles, he strove to bring down the free peasant of the village to the level of the upfree labourer of the manor, his freehold to a precarious tenure saddled with *scharwerk*, that is, charwork; his peers, those good and lawful men, to beadles and bum-bailiffs. He grasped at the pasture-ground, at forest, peat, and lake, allotted in common to the colony, or preserved from times anterior to the conquest. The customary right of the mud-gods and other *Dii minores* to participate in the enjoyment of such common property was perverted into a permission of the "gracious lord," coupled with the injunction of gathering fagots, spinning wool, going on errands, working in the fields, and paying fines on birth, marriage, and death; all which services became gradually attached to the person or the cabin, and were rigorously exacted, while too frequently the corresponding enjoyments were denied or made dependent on new services, or on payment.

Not everywhere did the squires succeed equally; in justice to human nature we may add that perhaps they did not intend it everywhere. Villages, with no manor within the boundaries of the parish, frequently maintained their footing, so much so that in the vicinity of Magdeburg peasants held their court-leet under the vault of heaven as late as the last century. The peasantry of the domains was always better protected; and nowhere in the old provinces of the kingdom do we find the

poor ground down with such ruthless rapacity and violence as in Silesia; an important point for the history of Frederick II., and an explanation of the fact that that province returned half-a-dozen of agricultural labourers to the National Assembly in 1848. It would be absurd to compare the present state of the peasantry with what it was under the Ascanians, as differing only in degree, not to see how different they are in essence. But, making allowance for modern production and administration, and for the changes they have worked in the relations of the individual, and in the nature of property, we are justified in saying, that to restore the old law, to undo the encroachments of the nobility, to raise the peasant, comparatively, to his original position, did require centuries of cautious and groping steps on the part of the Crown, fifty years of incessant bureaucratic toil, and two revolutions, and is not accomplished yet. Amongst the devices for improving the state of the agricultural population, there is one in the reign of King Frederick I. which utterly failed because it came utterly before its time, and which is, therefore, extremely curious. Without access to more original sources, we have mainly to follow Ranke. The plan is usually ascribed to one Luben von Wulfen, although he was not the first originator, and was designated as a system of grants in fee at a fee-farm rent*, but it was of far wider scope. It was recommended to the approbation of the freely-spending king as one likely to yield a larger revenue, and it was tried on certain domains by granting in fee at a quit-rent both the manor-farm, hitherto let for a term of six years, and the farmsteads of the peasants attached to it, commuting the taskwork and all payments in kind into a rent-charge. It will require some explanation how such a process could, by any possibility, be an advantage. The whole tendency of the law in Prussia was, at that time, and is now, entirely in favour of the leaseholder; he may claim remissions, charge for improvements, and, by going to law, worry any landlord to death. There is, indeed, "tenant-right" in Prussia. Besides, Wulfen rested his plan on three suppositions, two of which were correct: that a prince could not watch over his estates so well as another man; that taskwork was the most expensive for the man who did it, and the most valueless for him for whom it was done; that, subsequently to the discovery of America the value of money would not change. It was, however, with him not only a matter of putting money into the king's purse, he had in view the political and military importance of an independent yeoman class; and he foresaw, with rare

* This comes much nearer to the German *Erbpacht* than the term chosen by the translators of Ranke. "hereditary leases."

sagacity, the impulse to agricultural industry, and the revolutions in the whole economy of the nation which would be effected by the general application of his system to the peasantry. He felt the liberating power of money, he sniffed from afar the "dismal science." Red-tape, of course, said the thing, was utterly impossible, and perhaps it was so at the time. After a short success, the experiment broke down.

It was partially taken up again towards the end of the century, by giving grants in fee at a fixed rent to the peasants settled on the Crown-lands. It is obvious, and may be illustrated by a reference to the successive steps taken by Russia in emancipating the serfs, that there was more difficulty in dealing with those far more numerous classes of peasants who held of nobles: and with respect to them there is only one great step earlier than the beginning of this century, an ordinance of Frederick II. forbidding the noble, "*den Bauern ohne raison aus dem Hofe zu schmeissen*," to kick the peasant out of his farmstead without *raison*. How much was still to be done will be elucidated in the best and shortest manner by quoting the edict, dated Memel, October 9, 1807 ("Codex Const.," March, vol. xii. p. 253), which inaugurated the regeneration of the State after one day, that of Jena, had annihilated the army, and scattered the whole fabric of the Government.

Art I.—Every inhabitant of our dominions may acquire any kind of real property, the nobleman the land of the burgher and the peasant, and the peasant and the burgher the land of the nobleman.

Art. II.—Henceforth the nobleman may carry on any kind of trade and business without injury to his rank and precedence; the peasant may become a burgher, and *vice versa*.

Arts. X. and XI.—Existing villenage ceases, and cannot be re-established under any title.

The indication contained in other articles of this edict of a universal change of all tenures into freehold, without any kind of service attached to it, was carried out, in spite of a violent, in some instances, criminal opposition of the squires, by the two celebrated ordinances of the 14th of September, 1811; the general principle being either to divide the land cultivated by the peasant between him and the lord of the manor in a certain proportion, varying according to the circumstances of the case, or to leave the whole to the peasant, subject to certain annual payments, varying with the price of corn, and redeemable on payment of a certain fixed sum; which was being in fact a grand realization of Wulfen's idea, together with the enclosure of commons, has occupied the boards created for the purpose for fully forty years. How much the social and economical elements of

the State and the structure of its political organization were changed during that time is evident. The work, however, was not carried out in the spirit in which it began. Let the reader observe and bear in mind the dates. It was in 1813 that the war against Napoleon began, in 1815 that it was brought to a conclusion. It was in 1811 that the king, advised by men who did not despair of the State, ordered the carrying out of what he, a fugitive in the remotest corner of his inheritance, had foreshadowed; it was in 1810, surrounded by flunkeys of a greedy nobility, and by the sophists of the Restoration, that he clipped and debased by a mis-called "declaratory" statute, the large and generous principle of 1811. Numerous classes who had fought and bled, or sent their sons to die, in the belief of an honest execution of the edicts of 1811, were thus precluded from the acquisition of freehold, and deprived even of the frail tenure they held. Similar steps in the same "conservative" direction followed. In 1814 a laconic ordinance appeared legalizing agreements, illegal till then, of perpetual rent-charges without redemption. That very clumsy and very serious Assembly of 1848 looked into the pigeon-holes, and got hold of a report of the Minister, Count Arnim-Böyzenburg, proposing that ordinance on the ground "of the high political importance of keeping small proprietors in a connexion of dependency with some landlords." An Assembly, numbering day-labourers amongst its members, lost no time in tearing that ordinance to pieces.

Nor have we done yet with our loadstar in this juridical perambulation, the *scultetus*. Manorial police and jurisdiction were incompatible with the new order of things; they were to be abolished; they were, they are abolished; yet they exist. In the *Gesetzsammlung* of 1812 (p. 141) we meet with a curious ordinance—the more curious as it has a decidedly English look about it. There are to be counties, and cities being counties of themselves; there are to be county boards with a "representation;" the police to belong to those boards, &c. The realization of this comprehensive and elaborate ordinance was delayed by the war. After the peace it was whispered to the king, "Why carry it out? it is so constitutional, so subversive!" And a dead letter it lay: and the police remained with the squire. There was a cause for that terrible groundswell of the agricultural population in 1848, although a great historian declared in Edinburgh, in 1851, that he could not see any, and although the Conservatives in Prussia pay to a few agitators the compliment of making them responsible for it. Simultaneously rose the cry, "Our land! three acres for every man! no more manorial police!" And most emphatically was the promise given, even before the fight, "No manorial police." But manorial police there are to this day.

Another turn at our pebble, and it will show us something of the towns; no town without its *scultetus*, though in later Latinity he may become a *consul*, and in German, a *Bürgermeister*. Looking at their origin, we find three different classes of towns on the right bank of the Elbe. Some existed before the conquest; some had grown up in the protecting shade of a stronghold; some were regular colonies planned by the markgraves, as we have seen it done with villages, to be the home of trade and manufacture. The settlers in this instance were frequently Dutch, skilled in weaving and other handicraft, and attracted from other places by valuable privileges and immunities. There were, again, some enterprising builders, who contracted with the markgraf, paid him down a round sum of money, and were installed in the possession of the ground, to dispose of it according to certain general principles. One half to be tilled, one quarter preserved as pasture ground, one quarter allotted for gardening. The ground-rent from field and garden to go to the markgraf's exchequer: a small fee, collected from those who sent their cattle to graze, to be disposed of by the community. The contractors were allowed certain advantages and, no doubt, helped themselves to more, forming at once the germ and nucleus of an aristocracy, a patriciate, which would soon attract analogous elements and tendencies in guilds, mysteries, and worshipping companies. The strongest man amongst them would be invested by the markgraf with the hereditary office of a *schultheiss*, *scultetus*, and with the right of receiving the whole or part of the fees. If the community or the patriciate bought the office, which they might and almost universally did in lapse of time, they were at liberty to dispose of it at pleasure, either by popular election or by aristocratic co-optation. In any case he was assisted in the administration of justice by some *schoppen*, good and lawful men, and in the general business of the community by a council, always aristocratic or inclined to become so. Of legislation there was little need. The settlers brought with them, or received on their application, the body of laws in force in some old and famous seat of trade and industry, Magdeburg or Lubeck, consisting in a few general principles that might be written on a single sheet. Guided by these principles, it was the business of the *schoppen*, in any given case, to "find" the law, that is to say, to make the correct application of the principle. If they could not find it, they applied for information and enlightenment to the *schöppen* of Magdeburg or Lubeck. If there were a conflict between the interests of the town and that of the prince or the nobility—we can hardly say of the whole, because there was no whole yet,—if that conflict could not be settled by the jurisdiction of the markgraf, and if it had become quite unendurable, the representatives of

the Estates would arrive at some agreement, bearing much more resemblance to an international treaty, concluded under the mediation of the prince, than to a modern act of legislation. In other respects, too, the prince appears very much like a foreign power. Although very fond of their town, the burghers strongly objected to have it embellished by a princely residence, however artistically castellated. They would not grudge him a good dinner in the town-hall; but as goldsticks, yeomen, and beefeaters were a very serious affair at that time, and as burghers did not like to see heavily armed men within their walls, they most respectfully declined the honour of the "presence," unless the prince could make out by special title "the right of aperture," and they were apt, in default of such proof, most disrespectfully to bang the gate to.

Limited as the central power was in its sphere, it was strong enough, if wielded by an energetic man, to keep everybody else within his sphere; and, fortunately for the young State, the Ascanians were of that description. What stuff they were made of, this single notice will show, that Otto with the Arrow (d. 1308) conceded some civil rights to the Jews, then outlaws everywhere. The progress of the country under their rule was marvellous, and stands recorded in the "Landbuch" of the Emperor Charles IV., a work akin to "Domesday Book." There is a deep significance in the fact that their wild men of the Hartz are still the supporters of the armorial blazon of Prussia. A sad fate willed it that out of nineteen members of that distinguished race assembled at the Markgraves' Hill, near Rathenow, in the beginning of the fourteenth century, not one remained or had even left an heir in 1320. Then followed a century of idlers, spendthrifts, absentees, the country being mostly "in the pawnbroker's shop;" a period of which an old chronicler says, "The nearer you approach to the Mark, the more unsafely do you travel; each one has usurped a power that he had not before, and does only that which he liketh." The sources of that anarchy cannot be explored without reference to the state of jurisdiction, which again will lead us to some peculiar features in the growth of this peculiar monarchy. The German Emperor, or, to speak correctly, the King of Germany and Roman Emperor, was chief captain and chief judge of all freemen. He delegated his military authority to a number of dukes; and the exercise of his judicial functions within the duchy to a palatine, with the view of checking one delegate by the other. An exception, however, was made with respect to the Marks; these frontier posts requiring a kind of dictatorship, the markgraf was allowed to combine both functions. This judicial power was even higher, or more original than that of the palatine. There is much obscurity and controversy amongst antiquaries; but one circumstance important for general history is

sufficiently clear. The palatine kept his court in the name of the emperor, the markgraf in his own "grace;" *die maregreue dinget by sines selwis Hulden ; Sachsenspiegel, III., 64., §7.* Whatever may be the precise meaning of this passage, or the effect of such distinction, there can be no doubt in the mind of any man who has ever reflected on the power of symbols. Necessarily, in the imagination of the people, the emperor would be kept in the background, distant, faint, unable to hear and to help; while the rebellious peasants in the south and west, of whom we shall presently have a glance, crying from the depth of their misery, touchingly appeal to him against his cruel representatives, and, in the flush of their momentary victory, decree, by one of their "articles," there shall be no lord but the emperor! The palatines appointed vice-palatines from amongst the powerful families of the country, for life; but with a strong and generally successful tendency to make their office hereditary. The markgraves of Brandenburg, at least in the country between Elbe and Oder, managed to dispense with such dangerous deputies. They appointed a comparatively greater number of *voigte* (bailiffs), with a smaller circuit, with smaller family possessions and retinue, and, therefore, more easily kept in due obedience, more resembling altogether a modern functionary, especially in this respect, that to enforce obedience they had to rely upon the support of a central power. This explains, on the one hand, why the Hohenzollerns, in spite of other and in some respects preferable acquisitions, continued to look upon the original Mark as the heart of their dominions, and made it the seat of their power; on the other hand, why the administration of justice, the preservation of the peace, broke down, as soon as that support began to fail. As the bailiff could not fight a powerful nobleman, the nobleman, nothing loth, turned robber; whereat the towns took the law into their own hands, and to do so more effectually, entered into extensive confederacies, got the best of their adversaries, although similarly associated, but were embarrassed by a peculiar difficulty in definitely setting them at rest. The custom of the time acknowledged the right of private war; parties engaged in it were welcome to knock out each other's brains; but if the noble and gallant highwayman had given in, he was prisoner of war, to be kept in confinement till he ransomed himself, not in durance vile, but in *ritterhaft*, durance noble, becoming a gentleman—no doubt a tedious and unpromising proceeding with some of the chivalrous footpads. But might not a robber be tried as a robber? Perhaps so, if he had acted contrary to the usage of war; but then by his peers; which process of empannelling a jury of highwaymen was scarcely more advisable, even if the bailiff should be forthcoming to preside at the trial.

With the help of this commentary we may read a passage in old Loccelius stating that at last the towns began "industriously (*flüssig*) to behead every robber caught on the highway, no matter whether noble or not;" with what outcry against breach of privilege we can imagine. It is impossible not to recognise a shadow of those struggles in that furious contest between town and squire, which, during a few months in 1848, was actually verging on civil war. Four centuries had done with private war, trial by jury; but their exemption from common jurisdiction, both in criminal and in private cases, the nobility had preserved, being amenable only to certain high courts of justice established for the purpose and kept up with ridiculous pedantry—a standing slight to the commoner, besides being a serious inconvenience to untitled creditors of noble lacklands. In 1848 the privilege was abolished; but other sources of irritation remain. The owner of a manor still enjoys the immunity from taxes which his predecessor had filched in the time of the markgraves; there is no intermarriage between "a nobleman and a woman of the common class of burghers;" a nobelman convicted of stealing is made a commoner, while the corresponding demand that a commoner convicted of stealing should be made a nobleman, is unheeded, and likely to remain so. Everything conduces to the belief that the eternal contest, stifled these ten years under the triumphant sway of the Junkerparty, is on the point of breaking out anew in a more or less malignant form.

Finding the country in such a state, Frederick I. (1414—1440), the first Hohenzollern Elector, at once sided with the Towns. From Nürnberg, where he had been the Emperor's lieutenant, he knew the value of towns and their proud spirit, and was resolved to preserve the one and to break the other. He encouraged them to clear the roads, and gave to certain places, Prenzlau, for instance, explicit authorization to behead industriously, as stated by the same Loccelius. Having completed his arrangements, and procured that darling "Lazy Peg," he succeeded, by means of her, and by the support of the towns, to batter down the last strongholds of chivalrous robberdom. After that he tried his hand with the towns, and failed. Having acquired a house in the Klosterstrasse in Berlin, he claimed the right of aperture spoken of before; in fact he wanted a latch-key. The town would allow him ingress whenever asked, but demurred to his retinue and to the claim of a right. Resistance prevailed, owing, as distinctly stated by the chroniclers, to the harmony subsisting between council and commonalty. Frederick brought together, it seems, for the first time, all the Estates of all divisions of the country, and proclaimed a general peace, which, as shown by the very words of the document, contained the germ

of the modern State. Every one who was an enemy to the Elector, or to those comprehended in the peace, to be considered and to be treated as the enemy of all. Not less conspicuous is Frederick I. in the history of the constitutional law of the Empire. It was he who suggested all those measures by which the dissolution of that unwieldy body was prevented in the fifteenth century; division into districts (*Kreise*, circles) with the view of a more effectual preservation of the peace, abolition of the right of private war, establishment of a court to decide between members of the Empire.

His son, Frederick II. (d. 1471) again tried Berlin, and succeeded, owing to a struggle between the patriciate and the commonalty, and between the two sister towns, Berlin and Cöln or the Spree, both of them merged in the present metropolis. We have stated already the reason why the Hohenzollerns placed the seat of their government in the country between Elbe and Oder; equally distinct and more explicitly recorded is the reason why they fixed just upon Berlin. The Elector himself, in 1440, informed the Estates that, in order to strengthen the union of the different provinces, and the efficiency of Government, he intended to take a fixed residence, and that he thought Berlin the most convenient spot. The further reason—suppressed, as usual, in his speech from the throne—why he thought Berlin the most convenient spot, is fully supplied by Leuthinger (“Comment.” lib. xxiii. § 34). He says that Berlin was eminently turbulent, and fond of changes, *novis rebus studens*, and that Frederick, to repress their spirits and curb their impetuosity, erected a castle within the walls, “contrary to their right of a free town, and to other privileges.” The Elector might well expect an opportunity for interfering, as the struggle between the aristocratic and the democratic elements was already endemic in the German towns at that time. It arrived in 1441, when the city authorities, bent upon a union of the two towns, and a common town-hall “near the mill-dam,” resigned their offices, and gave up the keys of the gates to the Elector. Next year he decreed the separation; complying in so far with the demands of the commonalty, and imposed at the same time upon the *scultetus* and other magistrates the obligation of seeking his confirmation before entering into office. Against this infringement of their chartered rights the Berliners rose before the end of the year. The Elector, now supported by the nobles, got the upper hand, and compelled the town to give up the right of high jurisdiction, honestly bought from one of his predecessors and paid for, and to cede him a plot of ground to build a stronghold, “*antiquæ libertatis frenum*.” He set to work at once, making at the same time a breach in the wall to secure communication. But building is

tedious, and Berliners are impetuous; they rose once more, took possession of the gates, filled up the breach, ejected the judge installed by the Elector, and, as it appears, maintained themselves for several years, the Elector proving long-suffering, and busy with the trowel. In 1448, having roofed in the castle, and filled it with trustworthy retainers, he fell upon the town, and had it tried before a committee of the Estates. The judgment confirmed the decree of 1442, deprived Berlin of a great part of their corporation property, besides inflicting heavy penalties on a number of individuals. In the execution of this last part of the sentence the Elector showed much leniency, and the whole community soon received signal marks of his favour. Contented with having broken, in their most forward representative, the political power of the towns, he was anxious to reconcile their inhabitants, and to preserve their prosperity, seriously affected already by an incipient emigration to Imperial free towns.*

The number 48 seems to indicate a climacterial year in the history of the Hohenzollerns. In 1448 they took possession of the castle, parts of which still exist in the river front of the palace, and kept it undisputed for 400 years. In 1848 the Berliners rose once more. A banner, black, red, and gold, appeared opposite the castle near that self-same mill-dam; hoisted by whose hand? wafted by what breeze? Was it brought by the raven of Barbarossa, the great Hohenstaufen, who sits deep under the Kyffhauser till the day when his Empire shall rise again in more than pristine glory? You may find out the man who raised it; you may examine him on what he thought; you may believe him if you like: but what conducting chain of thought and fact it was that struck the spark in his brain, he could not tell himself; how could you? That chain, stretching through a thousand years of glory and shame, of woe and hope! Never had an Emperor's banner been displayed in the Mark; even the Empire had gone; and to muse on its past, and to dream of a future, had been made felony. Yet there the banner stood, a riddle, but a defiance. Hohenzollern tried to tear it down, tried for fourteen hours with steel and grape, but could not. Tried then to clutch it, "Prussia to be absorbed by Germany." But there were "articles" attached to it, as in the Peasants'-war; and no articles, no Empire. Hohenzollern has

* The whole transaction is admirably summed up by the Franciscan monk, Detmar. "Aldus heft he beyde partye ghedwungen, den rad unde ok de meynhey, wente se syn beyde eghen, dar devor vryg weren unde wol mochten hebben vryg ghabloven." Or in vernacular: "Thus had he conquered both parties, the council and also the commonalty: and since then they have a lord both of them, while they had been free before, and might have remained so."

not soived the riddle, has again proscribed its emblem; and nothing is left of that strange drama but ponderous gates, making the palace a stronghold once more, a field of graves, gallantly defiled by the "pious," and a poor old man who cannot remember and cannot forget. "Not yet," says Barbarossa, and dozes on.

Why did Berlin rise on that 18th of March? Newspapers speak of two shots fired by the soldiery, as there was a shot at Versailles on that 6th of October, 1789. But many shots are fired without producing a revolution, so let us ask, then, why was Berlin like a powder-barrel, to be ignited by those shots? We clearly discern one element: the king was suspected of disowning Protestantism, suspected of leaning to Popery, of attempting—and this was more than suspicion—to crucify the living spirit of the Reformation on the scaffold of the orthodox theology of the sixteenth century. Few days ago he had issued an ordinance establishing a kind of theological star-chamber, *ober-consistorium*; and it is justly and forcibly said by Mr. Carlyle, that Brandenburg is "to this day in an honourable degree incapable of believing incredibilities, of adopting solemn shams, or pretending to live on spiritual moonshine." We wish, however, he had gone more deeply into the history of the Reformation in Brandenburg. Buchholz in his ponderous five quartos ("Geschichte der Churmark Brandenburg"), gives a very quaint, but very detailed and very graphic account of how the new doctrine came to be received in that country. In one town it was that some tramping "*schuhknechte*," shoeknaves, that is to say, journeymen boot-makers, having learnt the new German hymns, that were substituted for the Latin ritual in Saxony, went to church just to give the congregation a taste of the thing. In other places regular preachers made their appearance. Whether preacher or boot-knaves, the bulk of the people joined them at once. Speaking of a time long before the question, whether Protestant or not, had forced itself upon the court, old Buchholz says (vol. iii. p. 339):—

"So deeply had the Reformation penetrated into the Brandenburg country, that the majority of the inhabitants did not any more respect the Roman Catholic rite. It is, however, not to be surmised that it was purity of faith with the common people. O dear no! They were far too ignorant for that. Their whole belief amounted to this: that the Catholic priests were good-for-nothing lazy bellies, feeding upon the marrow of the country. They liked to hear evangelical preachers, because of their teaching that gifts, and alms, and other things touching people's pockets were not the right worship. That was just the thing for them: they took it up at once, and discontinued giving gifts, alms, or anything whatever, although the income of the clergy was almost entirely of this voluntary description (?). Whenever an evangelical preacher made his appearance, laymen thought his preaching very nice indeed, because they got it for nothing. They gave him

their praise, but that was all, not a bit for his living. Now-a-days certainly the same thing would happen, but that a scanty permanent provision was made just in the nick of time."

Need we inform the reader that Buchholz was a clergyman? There is some truth in what he says; but the reason of what he calls the ignorance of the people, which is also the reason of that uncommonly easy delivery from Papacy, lay far deeper than he saw, or was willing to see. In Brandenburg, in Pomerania, all along the coast of the Baltic, the Roman See had never obtained the same hold as in the rest of Germany. In a newly-settled country, in the midst of a hostile population, the clergy greatly depended upon the protection of their territorial princes; and when they began to feel safe from danger they found the protector grown too strong to brook leanings towards Rome and her pretensions. Christianity in those countries had always been more apostolic than Italian. Nor is this all. There was very little Christianity, and that little direly tainted with heresy. With the Wends the old Adam was not drowned in the baptismal font. If the fane was broken, the sacred chorus slain, there was still the shade of the forest to receive the votaries and the night wind to strike the firs like chords of a gigantic harp, sounding the praise of the old gods who made all that. Creed might wither, but why should poetry die? Could the new teacher unteach a man to feel that light is life, and that there is mystery in silent waters? The race of priests dying out, the key being lost, deep science became superstition, the sacred rite a childish lore, but rooted in that deep poetical perception of nature which underlies all paganism, traditions hostile to the new-comer and his Latin book would survive with wonderful vitality. The stork is as sacred to-day as the ibis ever was in Egypt; but, in the language of the country people, the Protestant clergyman is still what he was in Catholic times, the *preister*, priest, and still with a decided smack of foe. Arndt, the author of the well-known "*Mährchen*," relating, in the Low German dialect, a charming little story, entitled "*Skipper Gau un sin Puck*" (Skipper Gau and his Puck), adds his testimony from personal observation that as late as the beginning of the present century little shrines existed in some houses of well-to-do people in the seaports and on board of trading vessels, dedicated to some dwarfed progeny of either Belbog or Zernibog, the good or the evil deity, it does not much matter which; and if we are rightly informed, there is even more recent evidence. Less surprising is the continuance of unmixed paganism in Prussia Proper. It is to be expected from that remarkable tribe, which by the evidence of its language stands in such wonderfully close relation to that unknown common stock of Brahmanic and Teutonic races, which held by its gods cen-

turies after all nations around were converted, and which bowed at last not to the Cross but to the sword. We remember criminal records of the end of last century revealing deeds and actions only to be accounted for by the supposition of a system of belief utterly disconnected with professed religion; and Tettau and Temme in their *Volkssagen Ostpreussens*, published in 1837, both editors being likely to command excellent sources of information, speak of the oblation of a sow to obtain success in a fishing expedition, and of the expiatory sacrifice of the goat, as of things according to common belief not yet extinct. Of the latter sacrifice they give a minute description, in which the curious reader will not miss the never-failing concomitant of propitiatory rites, "the little cake of flour."

However obstinately people might preserve their old creed from oblivion, they could not for any length of time prevent it from partially amalgamating with the new one, the result being heresies. There was always a plentiful crop of indigenous growth, and there was generally, not always, a favourable ground for foreign importation. To get a glimpse of this state of things we need not study the lamentations and execrations of clerical chroniclers; we may read it in the topography of the time. There are plenty of villages, enjoying in their names the prefix *ketzer*, meaning heretic, which in the present time has given way to that of *wendisch*, both being used for centuries as convertible terms. Nor was this kind of nomenclature, and that state of things which occasioned it, restricted to villages; the goodly town of Angermunde, half-way between Berlin and Stettin, goes in old records by the name of *Ketzer Angermunde*. There are traces in Thuanus, and elsewhere, that Petrus Valdis in his wanderings visited Stettin and other places on the Baltic. Certain it is that since the thirteenth century, in Bohemia and all adjacent countries, the doctrines of the Waldenses were widely propagated.* The Brandenburgers would never fight the Hussites, and, in the criminal records of Berlin and other places, we meet with repeated executions on account of Bohemian heresy. It was a Brandenburg knight, von Hacke his name, who perpetrated that excellent piece of humour of buying of Tetzels remission of an intended sin, and, having carefully pocketed the ticket, informing him, while suiting the action to the word, that he intended to rob the holy man of his money-bag.

* As the fact is very curious and little known, we give our authority:—
 "In Bohemia Valdenses duobus fere seculis ante Hussum doctrinæ suæ semina sparserant, quæ inde in Moraviam, Poloniam, Silesiam et quasdam Balthici littoris regiones multis ante Hussum annis propagata sunt; etsi non ita aperte et confertim." Regensvolsii Historia Ecclesiarum Slavonicarum. Ed. 1652. Lib. i. c. 3.

c. We tear ourselves away from the pursuit of disquisitions so highly interesting, and bearing directly upon the judgment which, in speaking of the Reformation in Brandenburg, Mr. Carlyle feels called upon to pass on Catholicism and on nations that refused to become Protestant. Why is it that in the South of Europe a pagan element equally strong should have so heartily blended with Catholicism? Which was the character of the indigenous heresies in Brandenburg? Why is it that the chiliastic enthusiasts of Bohemia, corresponding to the fifth monarchy men in this country, did not find an echo in Brandenburg? From those chiliastic heresies an unmistakeable trace leads to the terrible peasants' war which devastated the Empire in the first quarter of the sixteenth century. The original demand of the peasants, "forest, water, pasture, free for everybody," was the reaction against the encroachments of the nobles, was in fact an attempt to restore the law. Not so the later manifesto, proclaiming "Christian fraternity and community of goods"—manifesto issued by Thomas Münzer, who would not suffer any longer "God to be made a painted manikin." Why is it that from the fearful conflagration raging in Franconia and Thuringia not a spark fell into Brandenburg? Why is it that at present communistic principles wont make way in the eastern provinces? We record one positive result of these negative phenomena: while in the centre and the south of Germany the power of the nobility was very much reduced, many families ruined, many individuals compelled to enter the service of territorial princes; in the north and east the squire stood his ground.

After Huss, and before Luther, between the first shock and the final crash, we meet with an institution, singularly significative of the time, strangely revived in our days, and fatally connected with the most recent history of Prussia. The man who founded it was Frederick, the second Elector; the same who built the castle at Berlin, and whom Mr. Carlyle complacently depicts as the Iron or Iron-teeth, pouncing upon a sobriquet which he is said to have borne in some chronicles, either for tenacity of purpose or on account of his iron armour. This Frederick the Iron, created, in 1443, the Order of Our Lady's Chain-bearers, *Unsere Lieben Frauen Kettenträger*, or shortly the Order of the Swan. It was not an order of knights or monks—Frederick had the sense to see that their time was gone; nor was it like one of those numerous more popular imitations, as the *Kalandsbruder*, and other brethren of the Odd Fellows—they were no fit instruments for his purpose. The form belonged to the old creed; but the spirit of a new time was to fill it. The order was devoted to the Queen of Heaven; its purport was to make mankind gain merit, not by slaughtering heathens, torturing nature, or idle

contemplation ; but by making life pure and holy ; woman was to be the priestess of that religion. Members had to show four quarters ; but even sixteen would not admit a robber. In an eminent sense the order was the ratification of the peace proclaimed by the father of the founder. The badge showed the Virgin with the Child, surrounded by the sun ; at her feet the moon ; it bore the inscription :—

“Gegrüßet seist du, der Welt Frau !
“Welcome thou spouse of the world !”

Suspended from the image was a swan. Of the intended meaning of this symbol we are not informed—probably it meant purity. A supervening allegory will present itself to the reader in the belief of the ancients, that the swan when about to die poured forth melodious melody. The church *was* destined to die, to petrify. This attempt to expand and raise her with the growth of time and the progress of intellectual culture, entirely in harmony with the old tendencies, disappeared in the turmoil of the Reformation, after an existence and a prosperous growth, well discernible in the improved manners of the nobility, of little more than a hundred years. Yet is it so unimportant as not to merit a line in a book devoting so much space to so much trifle ? If a young mother with the child on her lap cannot teach Mr. Carlyle the everlasting truth and beauty of that worship, are we to conclude also that he, the historian, does not judge the thing by the exigencies of the time ; that he, the man, has never read a lesson of gentleness and wisdom in the eye of woman ? Much in the life of Frederick II. is in harmony with this institution of his ; little with that questionable surname. Old Pauli gives his confession of faith, dated Thursday after Exandi, 1445, breathing meekness and resignation. But, for the fall of Constantinople, he would have undertaken a pilgrimage to Jerusalem ; two crowns, that of Poland and that of Bohemia, he declined. Frederick William IV., by an edict, dated Christmas-day, 1843, restored or “revivified” the Order of the Swan, for the purpose of “appeasing physical misery ;” he himself to be the Grand Master, and his wife—never looked upon with favourable eyes by the whole Protestant population—the Grand Mistress : princely members to wear a “bijou ;” the whole set forth in a language of mystic vapour. This mimicking shadow of a grand reality was, at the time, received with a growl, waxing to a yell in 1848, somewhat difficult to describe in German, but very easy in English : it meant, “No Popery !” Of the actual state of this remarkable institution we are not aware.

The Order of the Swan, not that of 1843, but that of 1443, leads us to the question why the Electors, in spite of the universal

disposition displayed by their subjects, hesitated so long to declare for Protestantism. It was in 1530 that the Protestant confession of faith was delivered at the Diet of Augsburg; and the *Kirchenordnung*, the ordinance for the government of the Church, which marks the Reformation in the statute-book, is dated 1542. The hesitation appears the more strange, when we notice a plan which was entertained by the Hapsburg Emperors, in the beginning of the sixteenth century, and which makes us claim once more the indulgence of the reader for some lawyer's barbarity of language. The Brandenburg bishops were *landsässig*—that is to say, subjects of the elector, who, again, was a subject of the Emperor and empire. Just in the critical period the Emperor got hold of the very clever device of making those bishops, with their extensive and widely-scattered possessions, *reichsunmittelbar*—that is to say, immediate subjects of the Emperor and empire—which plan, if carried out, would have honeycombed the country by territories either almost sovereign, or exposed to Imperial and Catholic influences, and which could not be obviated more effectually than by embracing the Reformation and secularizing the property of the Church. The reader will not fail to recognise the struggle of the same conflicting interests in that noisy quarrel between the Government and the Archbishop of Cologne, in the last years of the reign of Frederick William III., and in the appearance of a "Catholic party" in the Prussian Chambers. The answer is to be sought in the character and situation of Joachim I. (1491—1535). He is described, with much felicity, by King Frederick II., as the Leo X. of Brandenburg; he had a striking affinity to the Medici. Following heartily his predecessor, Frederick II., in the endeavour to reform the Church, both head and members, insisting for that purpose upon a general Council of Christendom, and fully asserting the *jura majestatica circa sacra*, he was too much a man of cosmic tendencies, and too much interested in the revival of letters, to reconcile himself to the idea of destroying, for the sake of some faults, however glaring, the whole of that majestic fabric, through long ages the only home, and just then the friendly shelter, of so much that was noble and beautiful—to destroy it, and to put in its stead what? Reformation he desired, but he disliked the reformers. Nor were his doubts and objections at all exclusively of a personal nature. He was an alchymist and astrologer; and how much we may be inclined and justified to laugh at those arts, yet we should always remember that people could never read anything in the stars but their own thoughts. When he prophesied to a seion of his race a royal crown and the highest dignity amongst Christians,* he gave utterance to an

* "Exstant illius vaticinia et prognostica;—inter alia spondet principi familie Brandenb. regiam et summam inter Christianos dignitatem." Leuthinger, l. i. c. 19.

ambition springing from the consciousness of forces residing in the geographical position of his country, the character of his people, the relative position of the world around, the hereditary qualities of his race, in the vitality of the State. . But far, indeed, was he from those dreams of an apostolic Popedom, into which the most unfortunate of his descendants was beguiled, by musing over his prophecies and loitering in St. Peter's. Of the German empire he thought as it was, of Rome as it was; how could he gain them both by breaking with both?

Running parallel with the religious movement of the sixteenth century, and seriously impairing its results, is another struggle—we mean the struggle between the German and the Byzantine law, that strange phenomenon—well worthy and still waiting to receive the attention of a historian of the highest order—of a body of laws alien in origin, in race, in language, in spirit, in every fibre of its texture, invading and subjugating a country politically independent and geographically as distant as Germany is from Constantinople. In 1495 the authorities of the empire indirectly acknowledged the fact that the Roman law was in force, without defining the sphere of its application: in territorial and provincial legislation, in the practice of the courts, and the science of universities, the struggle continued, and, with regard to Prussia, cannot be said to have come to its end before the emanation of the Code of Frederick II. We need not expatiate on the public law of Byzantium, “The prince above the law:” and in justification thereof, a certain apocryphal *lex regia*, “by which the Roman people had conferred all its power on the Emperor.” Apocryphal, then; not so now, thanks to the “progress of the species;” five millions of votes have ratified the dictum, “In crowning me, France crowns herself.” This doctrine of princely power, falsely called Oriental, for, according to the Koran, the Manu, and all Chinese teachings, law is the king of kings; this unique produce of a unique compound of rottenness and foulness, heaped up the Bosphorus, was perfectly victorious over the German law in that final compromise, the Code of Frederick II., modified, however, by a new doctrine unknown equally to the Roman and to the German law, the philosophy of the eighteenth century. Equally victorious did the Roman law prove with respect to obligations and the mode of procedure. In rights of things there was a compromise. Concerning the order of succession and the relations between husband and wife, the German law, on the whole, kept its ground. The distinction of castes—for that is the proper word—of nobles with their various gradations, burghers and peasants, was too firmly established, the attachment to local custom too powerful to make the attempt advisable of enforcing one law for all. Since the publication of

the Code the roles are changed; a desire for uniformity in the people came to a violent manifestation in 1848, and has been as violently opposed by Frederick William IV. To the present hour, in the eastern provinces of Prussia, inherited property is divided, by a rough guess, after some fifty different orders of succession.

Returning to the reception of the Roman law in Brandenburg, generally connected in chronology with the name of the Elector Joachim I., we have to notice one more effect less obvious, less direct, though hardly less powerful or lasting. ° Before one priest was fairly expelled, another priest had intruded—a priest, also with his book, talking Latin, railed off from the laity, supplanting the co-operation of the community, working in gloom and twilight, and performing mysteries inscrutable to the people. The German law starts from palpable facts—possession, for instance; the civil law from abstraction, *dominium*. Besides fostering arbitrary power; robbing the poor by an incredible extension of the *regalia*, smothering trial by jury; obstructing the healthy growth of law, and unsettling the fundamental ideas of right and wrong, the Roman law is fairly chargeable with part of the unfortunate tendency of the modern German to look at the fact through the eye-glass of what he calls a notion, and what, too frequently, is but a word.

The effect of all these changes becomes distinctly visible in the beginning of the seventeenth century. It is the *Landesherrliche Gewalt*. There can be no translation, no equivalent for a word which designates a thing so peculiarly German. It is with this protest that, for the convenience of the reader, we substitute the term "territorial power." The best way of defining it, will be to show what are its relations with the empire, with the dynastic family, with the Estates, and with the people. The Elector of Brandenburg is still a subject of the empire; but the empire, by the religious schism, is split in two hostile camps, and the imperial dignity, though nominally still elective, has, *de facto*, become hereditary in a Catholic dynasty incumbered with non-German interests: Elector and Emperor appear more and more in the relative position of foreign powers. Owing to the firm establishment of primogeniture in the Hohenzollern family the territory has changed from the character of a private estate with a live stock of featherless bipeds, to that of a state, the dwelling-place of a people. The Estates are far from powerless, clinging tenaciously to the old principle, that the prince should defray the expenses of the Government mainly by his hereditary revenue from land, reserved on the original settlement of towns and villages, and from fees, eked out by occasional "aids;" which aids are collected in the country by means of a tax on lands and

buildings, in towns by various devices, generally by an impost on beer, the *bierziese*. But there are these differences from modern taxation: the Estates first want to know the reason why; they grant the aid for a limited period; they decide on the way of raising it, collect it themselves, and watch over the manner in which it is applied, by standing committees. Of course they couple the grant with suitable petitions, assuming frequently the character of an explicit bargain with His insolvent Serenity. In the recess of 1570 the Elector promised not to undertake any important affair touching the country, nor to enter into any alliances without the knowledge and consent of the standing committees. In 1519 he was warned by the towns "to restrict his disorderly housekeeping;" and so sore was his plight that he meekly thanked "the worshipful towns for their good intention towards His Electoral Grace." The greatest stride towards centralization was made by a new organization of jurisdiction, centring in one high court of law, the *Kammergericht*, 1516, and by a new system of defences. There was no standing army yet; but instead of castles and walled towns along the eastern frontiers we see all around the Marches a chain of modern fortresses requiring some kind of permanent garrison. The key-stone of this modern organization is the creation of a privy council, *Geheimraths collegium*, in 1604.

This council was composed partly of nobles, holders of hereditary offices, enjoying large salaries and doing little; partly of commoners, doctors of civil law, working hard for scanty pay. In lapse of time this latter element, of course, would get the upper hand; nevertheless a personal predilection for the nobility remained; and it is, indeed, so much a prevalent trait with the Hohenzollerns, and so essential for a right view of the actual state of Prussia, that too much stress cannot be laid on it. Conscious of princely favour the nobility of the Marches have always been prone to abuse it. Knocked down by Lazy Peg under Frederick I. (d. 1440), the nobles were at their old pranks again under Joachim I. (d. 1535). It is related that the noblemen about the court, chamberlains, and gentlemen of the bed-chamber, used to ride out at night to do some stroke of business as minions of the moon, and, when the Elector sent a couple of them for trial, placed the following piece of poetry on his dressing table:—

Joachimeken, Joachimeken hüde di!
Kriege vi di, so hänge vi di.

Little Joachim, take care!
If we catch thee, we shall hang thee.

Nothing daunted by the threat, the Elector, in a single year,

handed over as many as seventy ancestors of the Junker party to the hangman, most of them by the evidence of their names being of Wendish descent; yet notwithstanding their bad return he preserved his favour to the class. So did his successors; even Frederick the Great towards the end of his reign issued an edict that the estate of a nobleman should not be sold to a commoner, and made up, for the economical disadvantage inflicted thereby upon the nobility, by large subsidies from the exchequer. Fully to understand these things, and to judge correctly the attempt made by the National Assembly in 1848, "to abolish nobility," one ought to bear in mind, that in Prussia, as a rule, rank, title, and social pretensions of nobility, descend equally on all children of a nobleman.

We pass over the thirty years' war, *inter arma silēnt leges*. The treaty of Westphalia (1648), which put an end to that terrible calamity, admitted France and Sweden as guarantees of certain stipulations concerning the internal state of the German Empire, and conceded to its members the right of concluding alliances with foreign States, reducing thereby still further the power of central authority, and raising in a corresponding degree that of the territorial princes. That the Brandenburg prince, Frederick William, called the Great Elector, who was benefited by this change (1610-1688), should have attempted to extend his power equally within by further encroachments upon the rights of Estates and municipalities, might be presumed from the fact that a similar tendency is observable all over Europe at that time, pointing perhaps to the operation of a common cause, or at all events inviting imitation. In France Louis XIV. reduced the functions of parliaments and broke the social power of the nobility. In Denmark burghers and peasants set up absolutism to save themselves from oppressive, turbulent, unpatriotic nobles. The crown of Sweden, not any longer diverted by war and foreign politics, strove after the same end. We should, however, be more cautious than some writers have been, in instituting a comparison between those occurrences and the Great Elector's struggle for sovereignty. The well-authenticated story of Frederick William's one day making his two sons write down and learn by heart, with a promise of six ducats for him who did it best, the following sentences: *Sic gesturus sum principatum ut sciam rem populi esse non meam privatam*; (I shall so wield the princely power that I may know that the people's business is not my private business), is more than an anecdote, it is a direct denial of the "l'état c'est moi" of Louis XIV. We differ altogether from Ranke who, by way of analogy, points to England where "restored monarchy just then carried everything before it." In looking for a parallel in this country we should precisely exclude that period when a

nobility frightened by religious democracy submitted to an arbitrary government. We should select two epochs, one anterior to, one following immediately upon, the Restoration: the importation of "that new word, sovran power," by a crowned metaphysician from Scotland; and the importation from Holland of the excise "against Law and the Petition of Right, and only fit to be eternally damned" (opinion of the Lords expressed in conference with the Commons). In Brandenburg two causes strongly operated in the direction of concentrating power—one residing in the geographical position of the State, the other in the intellectual features of the Prince. The provinces which he united under his sceptre were scattered over the whole breadth of Germany: in the remotest east—the Duchy of Prussia, far towards the western frontier—the Duchy of Cleves; in the midst, and separated from them by long intervals, a cluster of territories, the Marches, part of Pomerania, and the secularized bishoprics of Cammin, Halberstadt, and Magdeburg. Each of these provinces possessed a separate constitution, differing in detail, but the whole of them agreeing in this, that they restricted the administrative actions of the prince, and prevented what would be his wish, the coalescing of the respective inhabitants into a kind of artificial nation. The other reason alluded to is connected with the education and the early life of the Elector. It was in Holland that he made his early studies, in Holland, just then at the height of its prosperity—the England of the seventeenth century. It was there that he witnessed the practice and the early results of a financial dexterity totally unknown in his native country. After a long struggle, variously modified in the different provinces, he succeeded in founding a standing army, in securing a revenue sufficient for its maintenance independent of any vote of supply, in reducing the Estates to a shadow, to be evoked only for purposes of pageantry, and in destroying self-government in town and country by centralized administration. His first step was to create a standing army, and to secure in peace a corresponding revenue. It could not be achieved without a violent conflict with the Estates. First in the Mark. As to-day, on the Continent governments and oppositions delight in wrangling on the practice and constitution of England, sometimes without knowing much about either of them, so they did then about Holland. In 1661 the Elector tried a device quite analogous to ship-money, fortifying it by a reference to the model country. In refusing it the Estates of the Churmark reminded him "that in the Netherlands those measures were taken *externis necessitatibus tempore belli*: whereas in Brandenburg it was attempted *in statu pacato* to force them upon the Estates contrary to their privileges." The difficulty was overcome, or rather circumvented, by a tax on consumption, likewise copied from the Dutch. The con-

tribution on land, fixed in 1786, has remained nearly the same ever since, apart from war and other extraordinary emergencies. The later increase of revenue has been effected by customs, excise, and other indirect taxations. The remnant of control over the expenditure soon disappeared. If we had the problem set before us of composing a pedigree of the Hohenzollerns, and characterizing each member in a single line, this we should say of the Great Elector—to him is owing the preponderance of indirect taxation. In maintaining that this change in the manner of raising the revenue does change the character of the State, we should feel sure of assent from most opposite quarters—from those who rejoice in the facility of filling the exchequer and satisfying the demands of modern administration, and from those who think such advantage too dearly bought with the destruction of municipal control, the loss of business habits, and knowledge of affairs.

The struggle of the Elector with the Estates of the Duchy of Prussia is thus described by Mr. Carlyle:—

“He had some trouble, considerable trouble, now and then, with mutinous spirits in Prusessen; men standing on antique Prussian franchises and parchments, refusing to see that the same were now antiquated, incompatible, not to say impossible, as the new sovereign alleged; and carrying themselves very lofty at times. But the Hohenzollerns had been used to such things: a Hohenzollern like this one would evidently take his measures, soft but strong, and ever stronger to the needful pitch with mutinous spirits.”

It may have been unavoidable that Mr. Carlyle, for the earlier periods, should have mostly relied upon second-hand authority; but, in this instance, we think, the merits of the case might have been brought out in better relief. The resistance of the Prussian Estates was not mutiny. When Frederick William succeeded to the Duchy, it was a fief of the crown of Poland. By the Treaty of Wehlau, however, the King of Poland renounced his rights, and acknowledged the Duchy a sovereign State, its duke a sovereign—that is to say, a prince with no liege-lord above him. The Estates objected to this treaty, because contracted without their constitutional consent; and even Mr. Carlyle seems willing to allow this objection. But this was not all. The Duchy had a constitution: there was a chancellor to examine any order emanating from the duke, and, if found illegal, to withhold his seal; there was a privy council to control income and expenditure; and to a Diet, the members of which were provided with instructions from their constituencies, belonged legislation, and the superintendance of international business. It was, of course, a point in this constitution, observed by his predecessors, that the duke, before receiving the oath of allegiance, had himself to confirm and

to swear to the privileges of his subjects. Frederick William refused to give that confirmation; and playing, as it were, on the word sovereign, claimed first to receive allegiance, promising to prove very gracious hereafter. This "message of love," to borrow an expression of Coke's, was rejected by the Estates; and so weak, indeed, was the Elector's case in point of positive law, that he did not even attempt an argument. His right rested on his mission, if he had it, to amalgamate his territories in one monarchy, to be the founder of a great power. We see, then, before us one of those truly tragical contests that *will* arise from time to time in the life of a nation; tragical, because they are brought about by agencies beyond the power of the individual; tragical, because each adversary is under the impulse of a moral necessity, his sense of right and duty; contests to invite the poet and distress the thinker. Various will they affect judgment and feeling as long as human nature lasts, from whose conflicting tendencies they spring. But in all time to come they will claim from a generous heart—nay, even a cultivated mind—the privilege to be stated with fairness and to be judged without levity. As usually, in cases of this kind, there are some individuals prominent in representing their cause, bearing the brunt of battle and suffering, the penalty of defeat; one a nobleman, the other, Hieronymus Rohde, *sculptetus* of Königsberg. Of the first Mr. Carlyle gives the following account:—

"Another gentleman, a Baron von Kalkstein, of old Teutsch-Ritterkin, of very high ways in the provincial estates and elsewhere, got into lofty, almost solitary opposition, and at length into mutiny proper, against the new, 'non-Polish' sovereign, and flatly refused to do homage at his accession. Refused, Kalkstein did, for his share; fled to Warsaw, and very fiercely, in a loud manner, carried on his mutinies in the Diets and Court conclaves there; his plea being, or plea for the time, 'Poland is our liege lord' (which it was not always) 'and we cannot be transferred to you, except by our consent asked and given,' which, too, had been neglected on the former occasion of transfer. So that the Great Elector knew not what to do with Kalkstein; and at length, as the case was pressing, had him kidnapped by his ambassador at Warsaw—had him 'rolled into a carpet' there, and carried swiftly in the ambassador's coach, in the form of luggage, over the frontier into his native province, there to be judged, and, in the end (as nothing else would serve him), to have the sentence executed, and his head cut off. For the case was pressing! These things, especially those of Kalkstein, with a boisterous Polish Diet and parliamentary eloquence in the rear of him, gave rise to criticisms, and required management on the part of the Great Elector."

Rohde fares still worse with Mr. Carlyle, not even his name is thought worth mentioning; all we read about him is:—

“One *Bürgermeister* of Königsberg, after much stroking on the back, was at length seized in open Hall, by Electoral writ—soldiers having first quietly barricaded the principal streets, and brought cannon to bear upon them. This *Bürgermeister*, seized in such brief way, lay prisoner for life, refusing to ask his liberty, though it was thought he might have had it on asking.”

Considering the graphic power of Mr. Carlyle, we think this a very faint representation of the facts which are narrated and commented upon even by Prussian writers, as follows: Rohde was tried for treason and condemned by an “extraordinary commission”—that is to say, not by his lawful judges; was carried out of the Duchy, first to the fortress of Colberg, in Pomerania, then to Cüstrin, lastly to Peitz. He was a man of rare attainments and spotless character, far superior in every respect to Kalkstein; and “the Elector knew right well that he was rather a vanquished enemy than a convicted criminal.” After some time he went to Peitz, and while walking round the ramparts had the prisoner told that the Elector was there and would likely grant him mercy, if asked for it. Rohde answered, “I shall not ask for mercy, but expect my liberty from the justice of the Elector;” and died in prison sixteen years afterwards.

Why this incident, illustrative, by the way, of a trait of Hohenzollern character, which may have received another illustration before these pages reach the reader's hand, is little to the taste of Mr. Carlyle we are at no loss to understand. He does not like municipal life; in his gallery of heroes there is no one from Greece. He does not like the stoa; but smiles upon men holding colloquy with necessities, and being loyal to facts. Yet, in that very town of Königsberg, a glimmer was preserved of intellectual life, comity of manners, of human interests beyond learned stupidity, and military drilling, the almost solitary spark of indigenious culture in a lurid reflex of France under King Frederick I., and in that total darkness worthily presided over by a drunken, rattan-swinging successor, and his brutal Olympus of “Houyhms.” Yet that spirit and tenacity of the Estates of Prussia Proper that prompted resistance against the Great Elector was chiefly instrumental in raising the great, shall we say “mutiny,” against the French in 1812, and in guiding; or pushing on a commonplace and timid King to peaceful revolution within and glorious victory abroad. And how could it be otherwise? A man will not be, at bidding, both coward and brave, a machine and a citizen. This, too, is tragical in those conflicts, that the vanquished do not suffer in vain; out of a stand-up fight between men grows a lasting compromise of things. For such fight there is a field everywhere. There is more than wrestling between “sham-kingship and ballot-box anarchy;” there is something earnest and noble also in the

struggles of the Continent; and, if it be little, the more it wants cheering.

The system of guidance established by the Great Elector lasted for four generations without any material alteration, and much good did it and much evil; wielded by a Frederick II. it carried him through the seven years' war; steadily "perfected" by his successors, it brought on the annihilation of the monarchy in 1806. After that remarkable period of regeneration, from 1807 till 1815, which we have repeatedly anticipated, the system was restored, slowly and cautiously under Frederick William III., with infatuate rashness by the present King. To delineate its struggles with the Corporation Act (*Staedte Ordnung*) of 1808, its breakdown in 1848, and its subsequent combination with sham representation by Manteuffel, would far outstep the limits both of Mr. Carlyle's work and of our space. Nor need we enter into a disquisition on its merits—a disquisition carried on around us, in theory and practice, every day of our life. We content ourselves with pointing out an opportunity of observation as rarely bestowed upon the student as it is destructive of fallacy.

It is a staple argument of party rhetoric in defence of a change effected in the system of government, to compare the state of the nation before and after the change, and to affirm from the superiority of the latter state the preference of the latter system. A mind trained in scientific investigation will at once object that the general improvement might be attributable to a thousand different changes constantly going on in the life of a nation; and that the old system, if suffered to continue and to enjoy the benefit of those changes, might have produced far superior results. To exclude fallacies of this kind, the natural philosopher resorts to experiment; he effects a certain intended change, while rigorously maintaining all other conditions as they are. In politics we cannot experiment in this manner; the operation of the most scientific Act of Parliament may be affected by a frosty night or a whispered word. We are left to comparative politics. For this science, still in its swaddling clothes, if it can be said to be born at all, a valuable illustration is afforded by the history of Pomerania. The country stretches along the coast of the Baltic on both banks of the Oder; that part on the left bank called Vor-Pommern, that on the right Hinter-Pommern. The race of native princes died out during the Thirty Years' War. Their heritage was claimed by the Great Elector; but the Swedes being in military possession of Vor-Pommern, had it formally ceded to them by the Peace of Westphalia. At the conclusion of the great northern war, in 1720, they gave up to Brandenburg that part next to the Oder; but the rest, lying to the west of the river Peene, and including the towns of Greifswald, and Stralsund,

and the Isle of Rügen, remained with the Swedish crown till 1815. The whole country lies in the same latitude, has the same climate, is inhabited by the same race, and the soil in Hinter-Pommern, although not so uniform, is, in large districts, more especially along the coast, fully as good as that of Vor-Pommern. The history and constitution of the towns were on the whole the same, most of them being settled on Lubeck law. After having parted company both were nearly equally visited by war, and certain advantages of geographical position and lighter taxation; enjoyed by Vor-Pommern, were pretty well balanced by disadvantages of inland trade inflicted upon it by the jealous policy of Prussia. The Swedish Government, anxious to secure the goodwill of a distant dependency, abstained from any interference, contenting itself with sending over a governor. While the towns on the right bank of the Oder had the benefit of the Prussian system, those in Swedish Pomerania preserved their medieval, and very curious, constitutions. Yet so enormous was, in 1815, the difference in wealth, cultivation, capacity for public business, and contentment of the people, that even now it will strike the most casual observer. As we are anxious not to impair, by a seeming over-statement, the effect of a truly valuable illustration, we especially restrict its application to the towns, and to the difference between self-government and government by commission.

Illustrations of this kind are the more valuable, as the fallacy in reasoning, which they tend to destroy, is closely connected with that fault in ethics, of judging an act by the success—a fault more pernicious, indeed, than the famous formula of the Jesuits. For he who says the end justifies the means, pre-supposes that the end is good in itself, otherwise he could not make it serve for a justification, and acknowledges the means to be bad in itself, otherwise it need not be justified. We wont take Mr. Carlyle to task for the passage where he moralizes on Albert of Hohenzollern, who robbed the Teutonic Order of its possessions:—

“A transaction giving rise to endless criticism then and afterwards. Transaction plainly not reconcileable with the letter of the law; and liable to have logic chopped upon it to any amount, and to all lengths of time. The Teutcheister, and his German Brethren shrieked murder; the whole world then, and for long afterwards, had much to say and argue. To us, now that the logic-chaff is all long laid since, the question is substantial, not formal. If the Teutsch Ritterdom was actually at this time *dead*, actually stumbling about as a mere galvanized Lie, beginning to be putrid—then, sure enough, it behoved that somebody should bury it, to avoid pestilential effects in the neighbourhood. Somebody or other—first flaying the skin off, as was natural, and taking that for his trouble. All turns in substance on this latter question!”

We consider this as a frolic of the humourist, forgetful for a moment of the philosopher. Nor should we at all take up the subject, if he confined his peculiar ethics to the past, where, at a little expense of his consistency he may save a little of his conscience, by refusing, for instance, worship to Peter I. of Russia, successful, and cosmic, though he be. But we meet with substantially the same argumentation in that very serious chapter on the *Matinées de Roi de Prusse*; and we cannot accept an energetic condemnation of the "damned sect" who believe "that Beelzebub made the world," as a sufficient safeguard against a most pernicious misapplication of that argument to current events, the results of which may turn out contrary to our expectation and to transactions in private life. Mr. Carlyle, in *Past and Present*, teaches with Timæus, "In the centre of the world-whirlwind, verily now, as in the oldest days, dwells and speaks a God, the great soul of the world is just;" and he tells us in another place, that "the laws of England, if not an exact transcript of the laws of this universe, should passionately study to become such." All this is familiar to lawyers; even Blackstone says it. The Creator "has laid down only such laws as were founded in those relations of justice that existed in the nature of things antecedent to any positive precept." But by learning that we make little advance to any practical purpose. How are those laws to be discovered, by whom interpreted? Not every one is a "sacred poet;" and *il n'appartient pas à tout homme de faire parler les dieux, ni d'en être cru quand il s'annonce pour être leur interprète.* (*Evangel of Jean Jacques*, ii. 7.) Blackstone—we do not quote him as an authority, but as a witness and a stepping-stone—goes on to say: "Such, among others, are those principles: that we should live honestly, should hurt nobody, and should render to every one his due: to which three general precepts Justinian has reduced the whole doctrine of law." But Justinian, the Christian emperor of the sixth century, only transcribes the words of Gains, the stoic lawyer of the third. Till now no better teaching has been discovered: and the distinction of a *grande morale*, for great princes, and a *petite morale* for small folks, should be left to *Monsieur Nisard, de l'Institut*.

Conflicts, as we said, will arise to day as of old; and for the dire necessity of breaking those precepts that man will be best fortified who did most scrupulously obey them. No man is safe; nor does Mr. Carlyle feel so. "I tell you and them," he writes in *Parliaments*, "it is a miserable blunder, this self-styled law of their's, and I for one will study either to have no concern with it, or else by all judicious methods to disobey such blundering, impious, pretended law!" Which enunciation, however judicious,

would be considered mutiny proper in some countries. In England no Elector can block up a street, be it ever so gently, or seize a man who does right, and make him either confess that he did wrong or die in a dungeon; and well that it is so! for tremendous would be the laugh at the folly of resistance. We may not think in this country morals so low, knowledge so perverted, public life so hopeless as depicted in that burst of indignant eloquence, the *Latter Day Pamphlets*. But if there is some truth in it, if there exists tyranny without bayonets, and pusillanimity without compulsion, insincerity in what is holy, and devotion in the worship of mammon, ignorance in the masses, and deception in the few; if the responsibilities of a future are guiled away by the enjoyments of the present; should not, then, that man who gave us that picture, be teaching with all his heart and all his great powers resistance and individual exertion, be preaching faith in right and rousing hope with its redeeming power, instead of muttering about necessities, and waving compliments to triumphant might? It is a strange spectacle to see Mr. Carlyle, so sturdy amongst the living, dialogizing with their majesties in the land of shadows! Let us implore him to leave for a while that world for a healthier atmosphere, to fly, for an hour a day, from Dryasdust to Tacitus. Let us hope that in the remainder of the work we shall recognize again, and no one more gladly than we, the hand that drew the battle of Dunbar and laid a wreath on Wallace's tomb.

ART. VII.—RECENT CASES OF WITCHCRAFT.

1. *Case of Charlesworth and Tunnecliffe, Stafford Spring Assizes, 1857. Case reported from Hockham to the "Times," 7th April, 1857. Case of Murder of a Witch at Westbrook, near Much Wenlock, Shropshire, "Times," March 23rd, 1858. Case reported by the Clergyman of East Thorpe, Essex, 1858. Case of Mary Anne Gable, at the Worship-street Police Court, "Times," September 2nd, 1858. Case of a Somersetshire Carrier, "Times," September 11th, 1858. Case of Mary Ireson and Anne Williams, October 7th, 1858. Case of Jeannette Myers, 1858. Case of Mog and Steinthal, September, 1858.*
2. *Geschichte der Hexenprocesse. Dr. W. G. Soldan. Stuttgart und Tübingen, 1843.*

IT seems to be an admitted rule that eccentric persons are always in the wrong. Happy, therefore, must we think it, considering that the concurrent testimony of physicians and philosophers adjudges all men to be more or less insane, that society, in obedience to secret laws of affinity, resolves itself into distinct circles, allowing each prudent lunatic to reserve the display of his aberrations for congenial company, and to enjoy his madness without forfeiting his self-esteem. What a Bedlam would the world be were the innumerable vagaries of mankind indiscriminately jumbled together, and Belgravian table-turners required to try conclusions with the witch-doctors of Somersetshire or Essex! Lord Brougham, in one of his recent admirable addresses, pronounced witchcraft to be an exploded hallucination of the past; yet numerous localities have very recently given proof that belief in it is still extensively entertained, and that in this species of delusion the nineteenth century successfully emulates the worst absurdities of the sixteenth. There is the same ungenerous tendency to make the gentler sex responsible for the ills of life, and to trace a relation of cause and effect between a sick cow and a superannuated female. Spells have been muttered in churchyards by swarthy women carrying dragon's blood, and suddenly vanishing with the artfully appropriated wardrobe of a too confiding housemaid at the conclusion of the ceremony. A pig was recently seen by the assembled members of a highly respectable family regaling itself with fruit in the upper branches of a cherry-tree. Through the malice of an envious neighbour, the wife of a substantial Norfolkshire yeoman is "harassed about night and day, continual worrying like wind

teasing her stomach, and like a sow with all her little pigs a pulling her to pieces' In a case at the Stafford Spring Assizes of last year, a quarrel with the mother of the prosecutor ended in the cheese not turning, and on application to the prisoner, recommended by reputed skill in the art magic, it appeared that the prosecutor's wife, horses, cattle, cheese, and cheese kettle were all of them bewitched, the wife, who was addicted to the habit of curing the obsession of one evil spirit by another, deposed that she had often been "snatched up in her sleep in bed, as straight as she then stood, and shaken all to death, at last, on horrors head horrors accumulating, a fiery dog burst through the street door, terrifying the housemaid out of her wits, and illuminating the house with disastrous light In the village of East Thorpe in Essex, a county always famous in the annals of wizardry, the bad language of an ill conditioned girl was conjecturally traced to the insidious spells of a seemingly inoffensive neighbour where upon the peasantry rushed tumultuously to the assault thinking themselves as ill-used in being prevented from burning a witch as the Hindoos when thwarted in a similar propensity as to widows.

And not the frequency only, but the calm and confident tone of modern witchcraft, show that its roots are deep and strong,—that credulity is not, as has been asserted, a mere exceptional blot in a general enlightenment but a common failing,—and that the few may still, if adequately conscience-sewed, enjoy the ill natured luxury described by Lucretius, of seeing the many tossed helplessly on the breakers of superstition "Think!" cries a Somersetshire carrier to his surprised interrogator, when disdaining veterinary aid, he lies to the wise woman of Somerton about his ailing cattle, according to the ancient precedent recorded in the book of Samuel, 'Think! I do know it, why, d ye mean to say that a man could have four hesses die in one day, without nothing done to um' There's no more the matter with them hesses than there is wi you or I And when on a late occasion, at the Worship-street Office, Mrs Mary Anne Gable, that lady like person who, after appealing in vain to the medical skill of Dr Ramshotam, took refuge at last in the burnt powders of Mrs Macdonald, observed in the exact words of Ougen ("sunt quidem hæc, De Princip. Proem. ch 6) "Well, sir, we all know that there are such things, —it is remarkable, that beyond an expression of surprise at the paradoxical union of respectability and folly before him, the magistrate had no argument to adduce in refutation of the proposition. It has been said that the English are too sensible to be consistent, and that an instinctive unwillingness to carry out extremely ridiculous practices prevents them from seeing the real absurdity of their principles. All men, however, are not equally capable of the nice tact which knows where to stop, and before complaining of the general inadequacy and uselessness of

education, it may not be unreasonable to ask whether the delusions we ridicule and deplore do not receive indirect encouragement from anxiously cherished institutions and ideas; ideas which, while exercising the most indisputably powerful control over opinion, were practically found by the rationalist controversialists against witchcraft to be most inconveniently in their way, and to oppose the most formidable obstacles to their victory.

It is not of direct legislative enactments that we now speak. Upwards of a century has elapsed since the penalties of witchcraft were erased from our statute-book, and a still longer period since a similar change was made in the laws of Prussia. Yet Prussia as well as England, represented by Mog, Myers, and other worthies named at the head of this article, have recently and simultaneously exhibited their educational shortcomings in our police courts; a fact proving abrogation of penalties alone to be insufficient to eradicate an infatuation, which, indeed, has often attempted to supply the absence of judicial cruelty by Lynch law. The vagaries of legislation and theology are naturally incomprehensible to common people, who cannot see why that which was true yesterday should be false to-day; or why a time-sanctioned hereditary crime should suddenly vanish from the catalogue of possible offences. In 1731, shortly before the repeal of the Act of James, a poor woman was drowned by the populace in attempting to exemplify in her person the general theory of the absence of specific gravity in witches; and to this day Norfolk farmers and Essex labourers are unable to comprehend why the power of Satan should have ceased, or why the *modus operandi* in dealing with his infatuated victims should be altered. The consequence is, that the rector of East Thorpe is obliged seasonably to mount guard before the door of an aged parishioner until the arrival of the witch-doctor; and the remonstrances of the Norfolkshire magistrate, appealed to for the purpose of subjecting "old Mrs. C——, who live near the Lion," to the devil's ordeal of shaving and cold water, are summarily met by a reference to the Witch of Endor and the Dæmoniacs of the New Testament. The self-complacency which looks at the play, and enjoys the fun of the exposure, seems to afford satisfactory proof that our conscience is clear and our withers unwrung. Our neighbours, who enjoy the monopoly of the Lady of Salette and the miracle of Lourdes, are probably worse off than ourselves. A number of swindlers were sentenced by the Correctional Police of Tours (March 25, 1856), for imposing, by magical pretences, on the peasantry. In Catholic countries every convent had, it seems,* until recently, its "hexenvater" or witch-finder, and

* See Garinet, "Histoire de la Magie," p. 344.

even within a few leagues of our own shores, Capucin "peres apothecaires" conducted themselves very lately in nunneries in a way qualifying them to exchange places with the "demon d'impudicite" whom they affected to exorcise. Still, even among ourselves, the witch-doctor is abroad as well as the schoolmaster, and the pretence of his exceptional rarity is but an anodyne administered on principle to soothe the "feminine" susceptibilities of the upper ten thousand. Unfortunately the statistics stand in the indicative, while the cosy consolation is but hesitatingly insinuated in the potential. "Witchcraft," says the authority quoted, "must be pretty popular in Essex, when we find two witch-doctors within hail in a single village; not only well known and in good practice, but subject, in regard to their merits and talent, to a discriminating estimate in public opinion."—"The public mention of a particular case brings out other allusions, anecdotes, and confessions, until at length it becomes plain enough that the applicant's opinions on this subject represent pretty nearly the private creed of the whole parish."

It has been said that humanity owes lasting gratitude to men who, like Weier, Reginald Scot, and others, undertook the championship of reason against witchcraft, in the hey-day of its popularity and triumph; but we are also not a little beholden to those individuals who, from time to time, exhibit themselves to public observation as specimens of a malady extensively prevalent and very difficult to cure. It is right we should be made to feel how dense is the ignorance, how unquestioning the credulity of the great mass of our fellow-creatures; and the lesson will be still more wholesome, if, in addition to commiseration for them, it leads us to suspect ourselves; to trace through all the corners and avenues of our own minds those points of superstitious attachment which, but for a supercilious negligence usurping the place of logical inference, would inevitably ripen a harvest of folly quite as gross as any emanating from the agriculturists of Somerset or Essex. The self-conceit of superiority requires an occasional pestilence or Crimean failure to rouse it to the necessity of sanitary arrangements, and to correct deficiencies of military organization. So in other matters; we might go on for ever in mechanical attendance at church, and unintelligent reading of a faulty translation of the Bible, if there were not an occasional witchcraft exposure or theological squabble to convince us that there may be something unsound in our church, and radically defective in our education. The case would certainly be much worse than we believe it to be, were it true, as lately asserted by the press, that education is no cure for superstition, that no amount of culture affords a guarantee against follies as monstrous as those recently divulged in the cases of the German

wizard, Steinthal, and the "Seventh Daughter" of Hackney. Jeannette Myers, it appears, had been ten years at school; the yeoman-farmer of Hockham was "well-conducted, well to do, and possessed of at least as much scriptural and general knowledge as usually falls to the lot of his class." The *Saturday Review* generalizes the dogma of the impotence of education, arguing that nothing is more likely to produce superstition than a great and sudden increase of general knowledge:—

"A clergyman not long ago was earnestly pressing on the attention of a dying Lincolnshire boor certain doctrines which have presented difficulties to clearer heads under more favourable circumstances. 'Wut wi' faath,' was the faint response, given in the sick man's native doric; 'wut wi' faith, and wut wi' the earth a turning round the sun, and wut wi' the railroads a fuzzin' and a whuzzin', I'm clean muddled, stonied, and bet;' and so saying he turned to the wall and expired."

That the crowding of new phenomena and discoveries on minds incapable of classifying and assimilating them should favour the growth of superstition may be true, because here there is a disproportion between the faculty and the objects presented to it, and, in the absence of real causes, the imagination is sure to suggest fictitious ones; but it were strange reasoning to infer from these premises that knowledge, not ignorance, is the source of superstition. The latter is not in the perplexing multiplicity of objects, but in the undisciplined mind of the beholder. To mere superficial appearances and impressions the word knowledge is inapplicable; and, before acquiescing in discouraging inferences as to the uselessness of education, may we not ask for better assurance that the education obtainable at Hockham and Hackney is of a genuine kind; or rather question whether this miserable exhibition of its ostensible results justifies its retention of the name? The *Times'* correspondent, to whom we are indebted for one of these specimens of modern civilization, compares with it the account given by Mr. Andersson, of the savages of Lake Gnam, whose belief in the black art, and in male and female conjurors, precisely resembles that of his own parish. Admitting our advantages in science, in free circulation of opinion, in a well-paid church, and numerous dissenting teachers, there may still be an undiscovered defect in the teaching giving occasion for the comparison. The pupil must have a hard heart or a bad memory who does not imbibe some little of that faith in the supernatural which is so laboriously impressed on him, and ascribe at least a qualified reality to those "works" of the devil which he is solemnly required to abjure. James L., in his book on dæmonology, ingeniously contrived to miss an important truth, when remarking, in regard to the great prevalence of witchcraft

in Lapland, Friedland, and the Orcades, that wherever human ignorance was densest, there the foul fiend was most rampant and impudent. The rector of Thorpe is said to have been deeply pained to find that after many years of earnest labour such gross ignorance should prevail in his parish;—the Worship-street magistrates, too, expressed their surprise that educated and respectable persons should have acted so foolishly. We, too, are surprised; but not so much at the facts, as at what to us appears the illogical mortification of the clergyman, and the gratuitous astonishment of the magistrates. Our surprise would have been greater had other consequences resulted from the conditions; and thus, as requiring no arbitrary alterations of the text, we may hope that the interpretation here offered, in the shape of a short historical retrospect, may prove to be the true one.

The assumed extent of the supernatural depends on ignorance of the natural. Habit effaces common objects and occurrences from the category of the miraculous; yet even these, under special circumstances, as in the instance of the shower of rain invoked by the Bishop of Annecy in Rousseau, reassert over ignorant minds an imposing influence. Habit alone is no cure for superstition; to be so it must include acquaintance with things in their causal connection, or as parts of a general order, amounting under these circumstances to intelligent familiarity or knowledge, with whose rational advance the limits of the supernatural become permanently contracted, leaving faith an ever-narrowing circle in which to seek the only proofs of divine agency it is able to appreciate. With the consciousness of moral distinctions and establishment of religious creeds, there arises a further subdivision of the supernatural element itself, which, according to varieties of opinion and feeling, assumes a different complexion as holy or unholy, miraculous or magical; the former emanating from God, the latter from a supposed adversary power, or prince of evil. Gesenius tells us that the term Satan, or "adversary," was first used in the later Jewish theology to designate the chief of hostile spirits; the remarkable contrast between the two passages, 2 Sam. xxiv. 1, and 1 Chron. xxi. 1, added to other evidence, making it highly improbable that in earlier times any such notion could have existed. The intense feeling of antimundane antagonism characteristic of primitive Christianity, conjoined the two antithetical ideas of the World and the Devil, making the latter the "Princeps hujus mundi," and abandoning to him the general dominion over a degenerate scene in which its own adherents were as "strangers and pilgrims," a chosen few elected for the inheritance of a "far off and better city." But when, substituting a visible reality for a distant expectation, the new religion became an earthly establishment or church, to leave so wide a margin to the

enemy was clearly incompatible with its position; and Irenæus (Hær. v. 24, 3) is obliged to admit that the devil lied when he said—"To me they are given, and I give them to whom I will." The claim of catholicism or universalism degraded Satan from a legitimate monarch into a desultory invader or marauder, who, lurking with his subject fiends in obscure corners, was to be dislodged by Christian exorcisms, and otherwise habitually worsted in his encounters with the armoury of the Church. The saints were supposed to be continually engaged in conflict with aerial powers, representing, by their own confession, according to Lactantius, the dethroned gods of heathenism; and disease being supposed to be a diabolical infliction, the sacraments, chrism, and holy water were the legitimate specifics for effecting a cure. In those early times the clergy had a therapeutic monopoly, and several instances are mentioned by Gregory of Tours, in which the bones of St. Martin gave significant tokens of professional jealousy, invasions of their privilege by secular medicine being supernaturally punished. Under these circumstances the Church could afford at least to deal leniently with those lay magical pretensions, which by the Emperors had often been visited with extreme severity as a political crime, endangering the State and savouring of treason. It treated sorcery as criminal indeed, and punishable by ecclesiastical censures, but as a criminal delusion rather than a reality. In the celebrated "Canon Episcopi," supposed to embody a decree of the Council of Ancyra in A.D. 314, and whose authenticity afterwards became the subject of hot dispute between inquisitors and rationalists, the bishops are required to exercise vigilant supervision over magical practices, and especially to excommunicate certain impious females, who, blinded by the devil, imagined themselves riding through the air in company with Hecate and Herodias. The injunction is repeated by the Synod of Agatha or Agde, A.D. 506, which, with other decrees of the sixth and seventh centuries, represent divination and sorcery as pagan delusions. The Synod of Bracara or Braga condemned the Manichean notion of a demoniacal influence over the weather; and Chrysostom among the Fathers, as afterwards Agobard of Lyons and John of Salisbury, treated magical pretensions generally with merited contempt, the former exorcising a possessed person with a whipping, and in his writings deploring the growth of popular ignorance. But these instances of liberal construction are exceptional. It was generally believed that the devil, the author of magic as well as of heathen auguries and oracles, had, since the advent of Christianity, been more than ever mischievously active, as exasperated by the near prospect of final discomfiture, in working evil to the souls and bodies of his human victims; and Irenæus especially recognises in heresy the expres-

sion of the embittered malignancy of him who, in immediate prospect of eternal fire, ventured for the first time upon the unprecedented extremity of blaspheming God. If, among the fathers, magical arts are sometimes treated as illusory, they still retain as illusions the reality of diabolical suggestion; and Augustin, though occasionally deriding the pretensions of conjurors, is generally far more eager to accuse the innocence of lay magic and depreciate its efficacy, than to deny its existence. The power ascribed to demons by Tertullian and Lactantius, of producing blight, sickness, and frenzy, was supposed to be exerted through the illicit arts of those whom they favoured; and the conflicting claims of ecclesiastical and Satanic power were finally determined by the ingenious distinction of Aquinas, that although the devil cannot alter the course of nature, he may still, under Divine permission, exert a subordinate influence, artificially interfering to produce contingent effects, just as the bodily members are moved by the will.

But the leniency of the Church in these matters lasted only so long as its ascendancy was safe and its spiritual prerogatives unimpeached. The case was altered when, concurrently with increased power in the hierarchy, schism began to assume a determined and dangerous attitude. Under the influence of fear, severity took the place of moderation, and Papal, following the example of Imperial Rome, adopted as its policy the superstitious cruelties which Charlemagne had prohibited. A schismatical minority is sure to be misrepresented. The spirit of fanaticism reverses that of charity, and, by distorting motives and magnifying errors, easily contrives to enlist prejudice and passion against the object of its dislike. The charges which had been so gratuitously brought by heathens against early Christianity were soon under altered circumstances launched by Christians against each other. The hideous description given by Cæcilius in Minucius Felix of a secret and desperate faction leagued against God and man, and celebrating the foulest nocturnal rights, became the type of accusations levelled by the orthodox Christian against his dissenting brethren. That enmity to orthodoxy implied enmity to God, and enmity to God alliance with the devil, was the natural logic of the Church. The precedent of Simon Magus, and the use made of it in patristic legends, show how the combined charges of heresy and sorcery, once brought by the Pharisees against Jesus, might at any time be used to prove the diabolic character of dissentient opinion. The Gnostics, the earliest dissenters, were the first victims of calumny, the legitimate successors of the legendary arch-heretic; Montanists, Manichæans, Priscillianists successively underwent the unscrupulous obloquy engendered by theological hatred. As the area of heresy increased, the accusa-

tion, hitherto vague and general, assumed greater emphasis and malignancy. The sectaries who, under various traditional nicknames of Cathari, Manichæans, Paulicians, &c., represent the spreading popularity of dissent during the eleventh and twelfth centuries in the Rhine countries and France, were actuated by a very reasonable dislike of glaring abuses, such as the worship of crosses, saints, images, &c.; but the offence which was inexpiable in the eyes of Rome was soon exaggerated, by the angry feeling excited by their success, into enormities unpardonable in those of reason. The consummation regarded as desirable by Dr. Hook, which, under the triumphant success of Roman absolutism, once made philosophy the handmaid, or, as Matthew Paris phrases it, the harlot of theology, submerging sense and learning in monkish legend, marks the time when heresy became permanently identified with sorcery, and sorcery a substantive crime, involving, according to ecclesiastical legists, the worst of heresies. It is to the inquisitors who, at Toulouse and elsewhere, followed up as a permanent institution the twenty years' crusade against the Albigenses, and their subsequent literary champions, Dominican and Jesuit, that we owe the elaborate monstrosity known to modern history as witchcraft; an ideal aggregate, comprising under the general form of devil worship the quintessence of all imaginable abomination. The indictment is generally conceived in one uniform strain, and its arbitrary character betrays itself in the monotonous iteration of the same charges. Riding through the air to a conference and compact with Satan, followed by cannibalism, incest, promiscuous intercourse in the dark, and afterwards murdering and eating the offspring, are the established routine of horrors distinguishing what St. Bernhard calls the peculiarly Satanic character of contemporaneous heresy. The ceremonial in which certain sects abjured Romanism to receive what was called the "consolamentum," received the perverse construction of abjuration of Christ, and reversal of baptismal renunciation of the devil. The kneeling at the feet of the new pastor was adoration of Satan; the brotherly kiss an obscene homage performed to the Prince of Evil. The Cathari, according to Alanus, were so called from the word *cat*, "*quia osculantur posteriora cati, in cujus specie, ut dicunt, apparet eis Luciferus.*" In this, as it was termed, "exceptional crime," the usual forms of justice were dispensed with; and when in the summary proceeding consequent on secret denunciation the spiritual authority had decided as to innocence or guilt, the secular arm blindly executed the sentence. Yet inquisitorial tyranny was not established unopposed; occasional protests were read from kings, universities, and councils; the fate of Peter of Castelnau and Conrad of Marburg show that the holy office though a lucrative was not always a safe one. Some-

times the jurisdiction was disputed; sometimes the revenue, fed by confiscations, failed from scarcity of victims, and the retirement of heretics to a safer asylum. The skilful combination of the charges of heresy and sorcery enabled inquisitors to vanquish those difficulties; they secured jurisdiction on one hand, and popularity on the other. To the civil tribunals they pleaded the ecclesiastical right of pronouncing upon heresy; on the other hand, the charge of sorcery—which was not, like the other, an unpopular one—afforded abundance of victims, being of that arbitrary and fanciful kind which is easiest to make and hardest to disprove. As punishers of witchcraft they led public opinion instead of opposing it, and the persecutor and oppressor took the semblance of liberator and benefactor. A mandate issued by Pope Alexander IV., in 1254, confining the inquisitorial jurisdiction in sorcery to cases of manifest heresy (“*si aperte hæresin sapiant*”), operated as a concession instead of a restriction, since the unlettered victim was readily entrapped into heretical utterances by captious questioning; and it was the constant strain of sinister ingenuity in this direction which resulted in stamping sorcery or witchcraft as a substantive and distinct heresy. Up to the year 1323 the annals of the Toulouse Inquisition report few executions except those of Waldenses, Beguines, and other sectaries; from this date witchcraft cases increase, and the Dominican writers who theoretically worked out its criminal details—Eymericus, Nider, Bernhard of Como, and Jacquier—speak of the “*secta et hæresis maleficorum*” as a new species of guilt originating about a century and a half before the last of these writers, 1458–1460. Eymericus in his “*Inquisitorial Directory*,” written about 1357, lays it down that “all magic implies apostacy from the faith, on account of the compact entered into with the devil; since no man can serve two masters.” The authority of the Inquisition was confirmed by its appointment as a royal court in 1331, and the personal fears of Pope John XXII., who lived in constant apprehension of spells and poisons, contributed in no slight degree to increase its severity. Nor should it be forgotten, in estimating the secret springs of opinion, that the first efforts of revived learning in Western Europe, when the scholars of France, Germany, and England resorted to the schools of Cordova and Toledo, hence imagined to be the headquarters of necromancy, were calculated to dazzle rather than enlighten, and that the marvels of infant science seemed to justify instead of dispelling the general credulity.

Through the instrumentality of the Inquisition the Church thus succeeded in cultivating the most abject prejudices and superstitions to guard its inviolability by terrifying disobedience. But towards the close of the fourteenth century affairs took a

new turn. The papacy was in a declining state, and the activity of the Inquisition was proportionally enfeebled. The great schism in which one half of the Catholic world excommunicated the other half, arrested the prosecution of special heresies. In 1390 the jurisdiction over witchcraft in France was transferred by the Parliament of Paris from the ecclesiastical to the civil tribunals, and with this change, although belief in it was far from abandoned, the severity of its punishment was intermitted. But while France became comparatively indulgent, cases began to be more frequent in neighbouring countries. At the beginning of the fifteenth century male and female sorcerers were burned at Berne, and during the Council of Basle the Dominican Nider wrote his book called "Formicarius," with the view of initiating Germany into these abominable mysteries. A circular of Eugenius IV. in 1437, urging inquisitors to more stringent measures against sorcery, seems, at least in France, to have had little effect; for in 1451 the enlightened Nicholas V. found it necessary to repeat the injunction in louder and fiercer tones. The palmy days of the Inquisition and of scholasticism appeared to be past, and many, among them William Edelin, ventured, though not altogether with impunity, to assert the nullity of witchcraft from the pulpit. To counteract these heterodox tendencies, the Dominican Jacquier published in 1458 his "Flagellum hæreticorum fascinatorum," and in the following year, appeared the " Fortalitium Fidei " of Alphonsus de Spina; their arguments being generally based on the schoolmen, monkish legend, and judicial confessions, including a special attack on the authenticity of the "Canon Episcopi" relied on by the opposite party. At this time the near approach of the Reformation began to be ominously felt, and the success of the Hussites, with other insurrectionary symptoms, made the Papal party proportionally active in measures of repression. Among these, the old stratagem of prosecuting heresy under the name of sorcery was not likely to be omitted. A nearly contemporary jurist, Franciscus Balduinus, relates that "much was said at the time about Vaudois or Waldenses, who, as their adversaries pretended, had commerce with unclean spirits." The fearful persecution at Arras, which occurred at this period, and which was instigated by inquisitors and clergy against parties suspected of heresy or "Vaudoisie," is memorable not only for its confiscations, torturings, and the shameless mendacity by which confessions were extracted, but especially for the prophetic anticipation uttered by Canon Dubois, who, declaring Christendom to be full of diabolical heresies, predicted the speedy arrival of a time when some powerful prince placing himself at their head would imperil the existence of Catholicism. Since the violent death of Conrad of

Marburg, the Inquisition had been comparatively inoperative in Germany, and Dr. Soldan congratulates his countrymen on the good sense with which its extravagances were opposed, and the numerous, even clerical, voices raised to exhibit witchcraft as a mere creation of credulous fancy, imputing to the black art the effects of unknown causes. It was under these circumstances that James Sprenger and Henry Institor, appointed inquisitors for Upper Germany, obtained in 1484 the celebrated bull of Innocent VIII., which, though far from being the origin of witch-prosecutions, acted with signal effect in promoting their subsequent activity. The holy father, who, as Dr. Soldan says, boasted the parentage of seven natural children in addition to this unnatural one, enveloped his real object, which indeed is barely mentioned, in copious amplifications about sorcery; and to facilitate operations, Sprenger followed it up with his well-known treatise, called "*Malleus Maleficarum*," as a guide to judicial theory and practice.

No object is gained by dwelling on details of the epidemic which, engendered by the Inquisition, for three centuries devastated Europe, giving free scope to the worst passions, and destroying so many lives. Yet two particulars challenge inquiry and remark: one, the strange uniformity of the offence as elicited by confession; the other, the question as to the sources which suggested its details. To prove an imaginary offence, confession was the most desirable kind of evidence; and this when extracted by torture easily assumed any desired form. Yet the uniformity has excited surprise, and been variously accounted for; some supposing that there must have been some external reality in the way of profane imposture, a remnant of heathen practice; others referring it to morbid subjectivity in the accused, either caused by melancholy and hypochondria, or, as Lord Bacon suggests, artificially produced by a stimulating ointment. Similarity of effect indicates identity of cause; and the disease producing as its symptom a stereotyped formula with such mechanical precision necessarily supposes some guiding routine of tradition or suggestion. There can be little doubt that from the commencement of these prosecutions direct suggestion was used; a simple yea or nay being required to articles of impeachment made up from the known particulars of the witches' sabbath. For nature could not hold out against protracted tortures, and found simple acquiescence its easiest resource. Mr. Chambers, in his "*Annals of Scotland*," relates how suspected persons were hung up by a loop formed by tying their thumbs, two Highlanders meantime employing the whip, and applying lighted candles to the feet and other parts of the body. "The accused, after confessing many ridiculous things, including frequent commerce with the devil,

declared to the judge he had been dreaming; the truth being, that he was in so miserable a plight that he confessed, or rather said, whatever was put into his head." "The presbytery ordered the parish minister to wait on suspected persons, and to take pains by prayer and exhortation to bring them to confession." Frederick Spee, whose "*Cautio Criminalis*," published in 1631, originated in the horrible scenes witnessed in his capacity of confessor, describes the shameless way in which a prescribed confession was wrung point by point from the joints and muscles of the accused, and how simple people, who had at first proclaimed themselves to be guilty, afterwards spoke in quite a different tone when they found that the sympathy of the questioner might be trusted. During the persecution at Arras, the executioner stood by the rack with a drawn sword, threatening to cut off the heads of those refusing to confess; at Offenburg, in 1608, confessions of riding on a goat and other matters were read out of a book to the accused, who, already speechless with torture, gave an enforced and impotent assent. "Some witches," says Bodinus, "confess, because they desire to die, not for glory, but from despair, as being tormented in their lives;" a pregnant admission to which Weier gives a truer turn; "these miserable wretches prefer being burnt at once, to repeated and protracted tortures."

It was thought important that confessions should be voluntary; but in the lax construction given to the term every admission was so called which was not the direct result of violence. Threats and fatigue, long incarceration, cunning cross-questioning and lying exhortation, were thought no infringement of its freedom and fairness. The "*Malleus*" recommends the fraud of unlimited promises with a mental reservation, or with the view of leaving in ulterior proceedings the place of the judge so pledged to be supplied by another. A notable instance of such deception occurred at the memorable proceedings at Arras in 1459, when the prisoners, who after arraignment and confession were led off to execution, piteously exclaimed that they had been deceived by hypocritical pretences of mercy, and were in fact ignorant of the nature of the crime imputed to them. The word voluntary, in the opinion of the writer above quoted, was a mere abuse of language; for sometimes the so-called voluntary admissions were found on inquiry to have been obtained *only* by crushing the shin-bone, or flattening the arm into a pulp. Any treatment might pass unquestioned in the case of a "*crimen exceptum*," where the proceedings, as prescribed by the bull of Eugenius IV., were to be "*sine strepitu et figurâ judicii*," i. e., summary and arbitrary, dispensing with regular forms of justice and evidence.

But the explanation in these instances does not reach the

source of the hallucination which was often so decidedly, though irregularly, shared between persecutor and victim, that Mr. Chambers (vol. i. 219) declares it to be difficult to say which of the two were deluders or deluded. The course of such epidemic dreaming is like the passage of the wind, and our knowledge in regard to it depends on our acquaintance with the mental laws governing the propagation of mythical opinion. Superstition is the mistaking a fancy for a fact; the delusion once formed, its extension is mere matter of opportunity and time, depending, however, on its original adaptation to existing feelings and prejudices. A writer of the seventeenth century says:—"Qui est l'homme ou la femme, pour rustiques et campagnards qu'ils puissent estre, qui ne sçache desormais jusq'aux circonstances les plus menues de ce qu'on dit estre en ces Sabats? Il ne faut qu'avoir esté assis une demi-heure sous l'orme ou sous la tille devant l'église de son village en conversation avec ses commères, au four, au moulin, aux veillées d'hiver, pour sçavoir dans ces particularitez autant a peu près que Reni, Bodin, Delrio, et le Maillet des sorciers nous en ont appris." Remigius, Bodin, Delrio, only propagated ideas inherited through a long series of fanciful tradition; and it may seem strange that Professor Faraday, who would exercise the greatest circumspection in testing a metal or a gas, should in regard to higher objects refer us, in his Lecture on Education, to that precarious guidance of "testimony" which has so often been a vehicle for the blindest delusions. "The uniformity of the hallucinations ought of itself," says Chambers, "to have put magistrates on their guard against misjudging these unfortunate beings." "Ignorance of the influence of imagination," he adds, "was one cause of the long persistence of belief. The ignorant, seeing an effect, ascribed it to what at the time seemed the most probable cause: and the enlightened, who, knowing little of the power of imagination, took refuge in blunt denial of the facts, naturally got no attention or credence. Accusations, utterly unfounded, easily carried home the conviction of guilt to the conscience of the accused, because they were consistent with current notions, the witches themselves believing the reality and turpitude of the offence as sincerely as others."—(Vol. ii. 291.) Faith once raised into life, and stimulated in the forcing-house of the Inquisition, grew in geometrical ratio. It exhibited its fervency in works, and then the works were appealed to in corroboration of the faith. How impossible to imagine, cried the advocates of witchcraft, in reply to sceptical assaults, that belief could have been so universal, that so many laws should have been enacted, so many trials and executions have taken place, had there not been something in it? On the first establishment of the Munich Academy of Sciences, one of

the members read a paper to prove the nullity of witchcraft; in consequence a violent outcry arose among the monks, who had been immemorably selling amulets and crosses for its cure; "This discourse," said one of the most vehement of the objectors, "is manifestly injurious to the blood-besprinkled particle of the Holy Cross of Scheyrn. Why, the crosses of Scheyrn have been sold all over Europe, more than 40,000 being frequently distributed in a single year, and found a sure preservative against magio, witchcraft, storms, unclean spirits, &c." If this worthy academician is right, then we, the monks of Scheyrn, are cheats, and the crosses we sell impostures!

The tale thus monotonously propagated was borrowed in the outset from Roman and Oriental superstition. Many of the antecedents of witchcraft occur in the classics; in the laws of the twelve tables; in Lucan, Virgil, Tibullus, and Arnobius: and Reginald Scot deservedly ridicules the credulity which "accepted poetries for proofs." The impious revels of Saganæ and Canidia, and the nocturnal errands of the Striges, supplied the model for the flights and foul repasts of modern witches. Apuleius tells of conversions of human beings into animals; and Petronius, the favourite reading of the convents, gives a curious instance of lycanthropy. In short, when the Church in successive bulls committed itself to witchcraft, it only availed itself of data offered by existing superstition, and, as in the memorable instance of transubstantiation, converted what had been only a vulgar idea into an instrument of its purposes. For, as Gerson remarked, "many things were tolerated which it was impossible to eradicate, and it was better that such ideas and practices, if they existed at all, should be enlisted in the service of the faith." The monks, who so well knew how to cherish the husk and discard the kernel, fed their avidity for the marvellous on Latin story, and the inquisitors took care that the lesson traditionally impressed on the popular mind should be neither neglected nor forgotten. But these notions could not have been so easily engrafted from paganism, had there not been in Christianity itself a general aptitude to receive them. The dæmonology of the Old Testament, aided by other Jewish writings, such as the book of Enoch, for which Tertullian claims equal authority, formed the general framework in which were incorporated both the ideas and deities which the new religion superseded, and the objective representation of its own struggles and sufferings. Never, it seemed, had the power of the devil manifested such intensity as at the critical epoch which was to witness its definitive decline; and hence the ecclesiastical history of Eusebius assumes the form of a continuous warfare, carried on by orthodox Christianity against the powers of darkness, now working in the controversies of heretics in comparative obscurity,

now making open and desperate attacks in the persecutions of Decius and Diocletian. The origin of devils had been variously accounted for by the rabbins; Justin and Lactantius follow "Enoch" in ascribing it to the "sons of God" in Genesis, who committed themselves by cohabiting with the daughters of men. The passage about Lucifer in Isaiah was early applied to show, in opposition to Manichæism, that the devil was not originally evil, but an apostate angel, solacing his natural envy by counter-acting, as in the instances of Job and St. Paul, the designs of God, and tampering with the allegiance of men. The evocation of Samuel by the witch of Endor caused no little perplexity to the fathers, some of whom, as Justin and Origen, made use of the fact to prove the soul's immortality; others, as Tertullian, disclaimed the derogatory notion that the soul of a holy man, which, as a modern commentator remarks, ought at least to have come downwards instead of upwards, could have been so dictated to by the devil.* Satan's horns and hoofs are supposed to be derived from the Bible "*sehirim*," a word which, used at first in the sense of goats (Levit. iv. 24; xvi. 9), betokens in Isaiah the satyrs or goat-footed inhabitants of the desert (ch. xiii. 21; xxxiv. 14), translated "*dæmons*" and "*onocentaurs*" in the LXX., and, according to Consul Rich, still believed by the Arabs to haunt the borders of the Euphrates. Belief in the dæmoniacal possessions recorded in the New Testament has prevailed, not only in the patristic age, when, as Lactantius tells us, unclean spirits were compelled by Christian exorcists to disclose, as if by force of blows, their name and character, but down to our own day, despite the progress of medical knowledge and Hugh Farmer's essay.† That men, contrary to natural probability, should be led to gratify Satan's hankering for worship, was proved, not only

* Delrio proves the lawfulness of capitally punishing witchcraft from the words of the Pentateuch and the corresponding practice of inquisitors; the Jesuits of the seventeenth century blindly followed their example founded on the Bible and the code, taking the dicta of Exodus and Leviticus as conclusive. As for the supposed fact of witches being generally females, Maimonides supposed the use of the feminine; in Exodus xxii. 18, to address Hebrew gallantry, which, though punishing men, would otherwise not have extended the penalty to women. The learned physician Varius gives physiological reasons about "*melancholike blood*;" "*old, beetle-browed women*" being, according to this authority, "*the most infectious*;" others appealed to etymology,—*e. g.*, "*fe minus*," or "*less faith*;" or *mulier*—"quasi ex *mollitie*;" King James's reason was, "*that sex is frailer than man, and easier to be entrapped in these grosse snares of the divell, as was over well proved by the serpent's deceiving Eve at the beginning, which makes him the homelier with that sex sensine.*"

† Luther said that the physicians who pretended to heal infirmities of lameness, deafness, &c., as proceeding from natural causes, were ignorant block-heads, knowing nothing of the power of dæmons, who in these cases are the root of the evil."

from the Old Testament (Psalm xcvi. 5.—LXX.) and the practices of certain sects, but from the scriptural account of Christ's temptation, since it seemed an inevitable inference from the narrative that weak mortals should occasionally succumb to those ever-ready lures which it was the privilege of Divine virtue alone to have been able to resist. The offer of dominion, in exchange for the stipulated homage, implied a reciprocal compact like that of mediæval witchcraft, for which Torreblanca and others appeal to Isaiah xxviii. 15; and the Greek patriarch Euty chius only gave a narrative development to the idea in the story, often afterwards repeated, of the disgraced Theophilus, who in his desperation made himself over to the devil by a formally-executed deed. The theory of Incubus and Succubus, or sexual intercourse with devils, discovered by the author of the book of Enoch, by Justin, Lactantius, and Augustin, in Genesis vi. 1, was afterwards enlarged by monkish writers, like Cæsarius of Heisterbach, with fresh legendary importations from Oriental sources, and finally perfected by the great Dominican oracle Aquinas, who undertook to explain, by very odious allusions, how such notions could attach to incorporeal spirits. The subject is discussed at length in the third chapter of the first book of the Malleus, where it is shown that, to deny this strictly Catholic doctrine, with its nice and nasty distinctions, is not only to contradict the Fathers, but to fly in the face of Scripture. Nider, Sprenger, and others, quote in corroboration the passage 1 Corinthians xi. 10, as to the covering of women's heads, changing, in their usual arbitrary way, the scriptural word "angeli" into "incubi." "This," says the Malleus, "is confirmed by Bede in his histories of angels;" but we must add that Chaucer, a more impartial authority, declares the incubus endangering female chastity in his day to be neither the shaggy faun nor ministering angel, but only the liminary friar, "as he goeth saying his matins and holy things in his limitation." In the opinion of the fathers, inherited by writers on witchcraft down to James I., Satan was accounted the ape as well as hangman of the Almighty, whom he accordingly travestied in his attributes and acts. He had three personalities—Satan, Lucifer, and Beelzebub—parodying the Trinity. The ceremonies supposed to occupy the frequenters of the witches' sabbath on the Staffelstein, the Kreidenberg, or the Blocksberg, were a mimicry of the Christian sacraments.* The profession of diabolical allegiance accompanying a formal renunciation of Christianity was accompanied by the infliction of a mark called "stigma dia-

* The kiss of homage was given to the most ignominious part of the devil's person, because Moses, in Exodus, was said to have only been allowed to see the hinder parts of God.

bolicum," by the devil's claw upon some part of the body, which became ever after insensible to pain, and afforded a sure indication to the awl or needle of the witch-finder. Baptism was performed with blood or sulphur, and confession made of what were presumed to be the devil's catalogue of offences, such as attendance at church, although partaking of the mass was not forbidden, provided the communicant took care to spit during the elevation, and carried away the host in his mouth to be used for purposes of insult or magic. The ceremony concluded with a diabolical parody of the mass, administered in some nauseous ingredient by Satan, followed by a scene of promiscuous debauchery. The seasons of assembling were the great Church festivals of St. John and St. James, Christmas eve, Easter, Pentecost, and, in the north of Germany more especially, the Walpurgis night, or May-day eve.

The times immediately following the Bull of Innocent VIII. were specially distinguished for intellectual and religious activity. And yet it was then that the witchcraft mania most furiously raged, destroying man and beast, depopulating town and country, in short realizing the very injuries attributed to the imaginary offence. The Reformation seemed to have no effect, except to initiate a horrible rivalry between the parties. Catholic writers most erroneously charged Protestants with denying the crime, and Theodore Beza reproached the Parliament of Paris with remissness in its punishment. Both testified their zeal by parading their abhorrence of a common abomination. The reaction from an external to an inward faith gave free play to superstitious fancy, and the diabolism thus intensified by subjective emotion was in Luther still further stimulated by the arduous struggle in which he was engaged. He fancied himself in those personal conflict with the devil, represented by the Pope, Munzer, Carlstadt, and other adversaries; the misgivings of his own mind seeming as the wily suggestions of his spiritual foe. "How," whispered Satan, "if your doctrines be erroneous? if all this confusion has been stirred up without just cause? how dare you preach what no man hath ventured for so many centuries? how set the gospel in opposition to the law, if both be the word of God?" Witchcraft, with all its grotesque accompaniments of diabolic storms, possessions, Incubus and Succubus, followed of course; and this naturally humane man would have drowned a child in the Moldau on pretence of its being an imp. We might laugh at the stories of the Prussian soldier and Thuringian musician, did they not exemplify the unreformed papal superstitions which were so unfortunately allowed to pass unquestioned into Protestantism to corrupt and betray it. Protestants and Catholics vied with each other in acrimonious obloquy, the latter declaring the former to have "filled the land with witches." A few

feeble attempts to stem the general insanity were followed by impetuous reaction. Towards the close of the sixteenth century appeared the systematic treatises of Bodinus, Remigius, and Delrio, rivalling the "Malleus" itself in ingenious devices to make heresy odious, and the escape of the accuser impossible. Remigius professes to look back with self-approving pride at his sixteen years of magistracy in Lorraine, during which no less than 800 witches were condemned; professing compunction only at having once, out of deference for the feelings of a colleague, punished certain children by merely thrice whipping them naked round the place where their parents had been executed. The Jesuit Delrio, whose "Disquisitiones Magicæ," published in 1599, were written to confute the liberal opposition, especially that of Weier, lays down the broad principle that denial of witchcraft is in itself abnegation of Catholicism, and to be punished as the worst of heresy. He declares that sorcery follows heresy as shadow substance; that the whole pest was the inevitable consequence of departure from the faith; that Germany was overrun by Lutheran sorcerers then, as Nider and Sprengor had described it to have been formerly by the Hussites. He cites his fellow-Jesuit, Maldonatus, in explanation of the curious fact of the invariable connexion of sorcery with heresy; the chief reason being that devils have a proscriptive affinity for swine, and heretics are particularly swinish. At Treves certain persons confessed under torture the having been infected with witchcraft at the exact time when that "arch-wizard and hellish supporter of Lutheranism," Margrave Albrecht von Brandenburg, overran the land with his troops, and Le Loyer, in his "Histoire des Spectres," avails himself of the admissions of Luther and Zwingli to prove the general fact, that commerce with the devil is the necessary accompaniment of heterodox teaching. The peace of Augsburg arrested the direct infliction of capital punishment for heresy, and exile threatened to snatch from the grasp of the inquisitor the wealth of the accused as well as their persons. But no law prevented prosecutions in the name of sorcery; by a little management the two offences were easily confounded, and under this mask the persecution of Protestantism continued. The era of revived sorcery in France curiously coincides, as remarked by Delrio, with the struggle of the Huguenots for existence, an existence which, when seemingly secure, was ever imperilled afresh by dexterous fanaticism; and while witchcraft cases were comparatively rare, wherever, as in Spain, the priest could proceed directly to his object, in other countries, as Poland, they became frightfully numerous from the moment when the Jesuits began their operations.

Catholic writers naturally prefer dwelling on Protestant cruelties, and these are certainly not wanting. For although, as

observed by Reginald Scot, Protestants were not slow to perceive how Popish charms and conjurations were but devices to keep the people blind, and to enrich the clergy, they remained unaltered in general belief, being "abused by beggarly juggling and witchcraft." Sir Walter Scott remarks, that "the Calvinists, as comprising the common people, were, of all the contending sects, the most suspicious of sorcery, the most undoubting believers, and most eager to punish it;" that wherever "they became predominant a general persecution followed as of course." The "Domestic Annals" already referred to present a dismal catalogue of the proceedings of the Presbyterians, who hunted down witchcraft and Popery with equal fury. The suspected were taken in hand by the minister and his consistory with the view of obtaining confession; the poor wretches, partly moved by their own religious feelings, generally confessed; after which a commission was issued for a trial, which was little more than form, as condemnation almost invariably followed—(p. 186). Clergymen sometimes acted personally as executioners, and a Rev. Mr. John Aird "thrust ane preen up to the heid into the shoulder of Catherine Oswald, being the devil's mark, nae bluid following, nor she naeways shrinking thereat,"—(p. 32). It was in attentive study of such scenes that James I., the contemporary of Shakspeare and Bacon, acquired scientific experience to form the basis of a work on demonology, which he used to stimulate the backwardness of his English subjects. He is said to have personally presided over the working of boot and thumbscrew, taking a deep interest in the declarations of the prisoners, and, when the nails of the poor wretches were torn off with pincers, their fingers pierced with needles, and their legs crushed "till the blood and marrow spouted forth," he was but the more convinced by their resistance of the powerful hold obtained by the devil upon their hearts. The ignorant frenzy of Protestantism continued what to the Catholic had been the calculated engine of policy; and the sinister proceedings of Matthew Hopkins and others, who burned old women at twenty shillings a head, were only its more signal manifestations. Yet Protestant zeal was exceeded by that of the original inventors of the crime. The struggle with Protestantism was carried on in France with fearful energy by the Jesuits, who, introduced in 1560 for that object, grew suddenly and strangely rich on confiscations. France, after a long calm, represented as criminal lenity by ecclesiastical writers, is said by Bodin to have contained, through the encouragement given to Satan, the enormous number of 300,000 witches. Under Charles IX. a criminal offered, on condition of acquittal, to convict all the witches in France, and, needle in hand, succeeded in incriminating 3000 persons. In consequence of having

detected and exposed a simulated case of possession, Henry III. was himself accused of favouring, if not practising witchcraft, shortly before his murder by Clement. Under Henry IV., the parliament of Bordeaux, represented by Espagnet and De l'Ancre, burned six hundred persons among the Basques of Ladourd; and the following year occurred the great auto da fé at Logrono in Navarre, described by Llorente, in which the witnesses were children exorcised by the vicar in his bedroom. The administration of Richelieu was disgraced by the memorable tragedies of Gaufridy at Aix, and of Grandier at Loudun, both effected by the machinations of monks, and the weak or malicious co-operation of nuns under their influence. But the acme of atrocity was reached in Germany, in the ecclesiastical States of Wurzburg and Bamberg, where Jesuit-confessors employed the usual pretext of sorcery to suppress Protestantism. The bishops, having tried in vain to check its progress by repressive measures, as a last resource introduced the Jesuits in 1649. The state of affairs immediately changed. Six hundred persons were burnt in five years at Bamberg, in Wurzburg nine hundred in two; persecution at last dying out for want of victims to kill and money to confiscate. Frederick Spee, who, in his capacity of confessor, witnessed these enormities, and anonymously remonstrated against them, became prematurely grey from the horror of his situation. The fate of the youthful Ernst von Ehrenberg, a relative of the prince-bishop, who forfeited his life at the schloss at Wurzburg for indocility to the monks, is one of the most tragic scenes in these occurrences. Immured in a darkened chamber, and assailed by the exhortations of the priests, the exhausted youth, still proudly refusing to confess a falsehood, was struck by the executioner from behind, and the Jesuit narrator concludes the complication of horrors with the pious ejaculation—"May his fall not have been a fall into eternal flames!"

But though Protestantism, as vulgarly understood, was no immediate cure for superstition, it at least supposed a principle, whose due development no mental hallucinations can eventually resist. Luther's formal repudiation of authority was only one act of a general revolution, a partial assertion of the mental independence which in other departments was at least equally vindicated by Machiavelli, Columbus, Paracelsus, Galileo, and Descartes. But science could not effectually grapple with superstition until itself emancipated from its influence. The process of disentanglement was slow, and the intermixture of fanciful elements at its first European revival had throughout encouraged misapprehension. The multiplication-table seemed to confer miraculous facilities in arithmetic, and Peter of Apono's familiarity with the seven liberal arts gave him the credit of keeping seven fami-

liar spirits in a bottle. Infant science was liable to misconstruction from its affectation of mystery, and especially from its overwrought enthusiasm, and that tendency to exaggerate which was scarcely more conspicuous in the sanguine mechanical anticipations of Roger Bacon than in the speculative notions of his illustrious namesake. When pharmacy began to achieve wonders which had baffled the bones of St. Martin, and R. Bacon talked mysteriously of flying through the air and artificial thunder, it seemed as if the *elixir vite* was on the point of being realized, and the weather-wizards of antiquity eclipsed on their own ground. In short, science appeared under the inevitable form of magic; but its cultivators pleaded for a distinction not very intelligible in itself, though obviously necessary for their personal security. They claimed a peculiar kind of magic, intermediate between theology and sorcery, uniting the legitimacy of one with the powers of the other; and hence the notion of "white magic," so called by way of contrast to black magic or "nigromanty," itself a verbal corruption of "necromancy." The distinction was difficult to maintain, since no such exceptional magic had been admitted by the Church, Aquinas following Augustin in recognising only sorcery or the sacraments, the alternative of divine grace or diabolic power. Reforming or aggressive tendencies, as in the instances of Arnould of Villanova and R. Bacon, at once convicted the suspicious proceedings of the adept as an illicit correspondence with Satan; but it was impossible to be equally severe with men who, like Gerbert, rose by superior merit to the higher dignities of the church, or who, like Raymond Lully and Albertus Magnus, were zealous defenders of its doctrines. In such cases it was apologetically suggested that the Virgin had by special dispensation reconciled the interests of science and religion, or that the remorseful sage had in his old age voluntarily renounced his learning preparatory to a Christian death. The only sphere in which learning enjoyed free and full encouragement was the argumentative defence of church dogma. But here its efforts, however persevering, necessarily failed, and the disfigurement of misapplied ingenuity, called the fall of scholasticism, is perhaps quite as appropriate an era as any that have been proposed as the boundary of mediævalism, as well as the most important prelude to the Reformation. Yet even when emancipated by this event, whose full import was but slowly felt, from its ancillary relation to theology, the mind still had self-created obstacles and prejudices to surmount. The grand aim of reactionary enthusiasm was Nature, now declared by that extraordinary man, Nicolaus Cusanus, to be the really divine volume revealing God's wisdom to the intellect. But the first appeal to Nature was made with an awkward mixture of presumption and timidity, too sanguine an estimate of the aims of science on one

hand, and on the other an inexperienced hesitation and distrust, which sought for some traditional prop to replace the authority which in philosophy had been relinquished. Recourse was had to Plato and Aristotle, the Bible and the Cabala. The Florentine Platonists undertook to rescue religion by re-uniting it with philosophy on a sounder basis; but the over-hasty attempt reverted to theosophy and magic. Ficinus refused to believe that heaven, which had given to beasts the instinct of self-preservation, had been less indulgent to man, in neglecting to supply him with subsidiary intuitional help in the failure of ordinary remedies; and Picus of Mirandola, while deeming the study of physics to be only preparatory to religion, formed a notion of religious illuminism not less fanciful than the astrological superstitions he protested against. Were the obvious deficiencies of the senses and of science ever to be made good by that pre-eminent infallible knowledge of which man had not yet learned to despair, recourse must, it was thought, be had to intuitions; not indeed the arrogant surmises of the present generation, but the hoarded wisdom of venerable tradition. Hence the "Mirific Word" of Reuchlin, and the work on "Occult Science" by Cornelius Agrippa, both professedly based on nature and ancient tradition, on the Bible and its cabalistic interpretation. In the commencement of the tenth book of his "Natural History," Lord Bacon shows how the Pythagorean and Platonic notion of an *anima mundi*, or ensouled world, necessarily leads to that of sympathies and corresponding magical practice; and it was on this principle that Reuchlin, Agrippa, Paracelsus, and others founded their system of religious theurgy, in which the human will, purified by divine love, was to exercise a commanding power over nature. The skill with which Agrippa compounded his multifarious materials long made his book the most popular manual of magic. But in later life his thoughts took a different direction; and nothing is more interesting in the history of that time than the sceptical revulsion which took place in the mind of the remarkable man who wrote his own refutation in the treatise on the "Vanity of the Sciences." This work, said to be a worthy antecedent of the "pars destruens" of the "Novum Organum," was little relished by the world, which, with its usual discrimination, lavished its patronage on the crude and nonsensical one. In the maturer production, Agrippa apologises for the wasted labours of his youth, from which, however, he at least derived the advantage of knowing by what arguments to dissuade others from following the same path.

Sir Thomas Browne, in the "Religio Medici," describes the mythical genealogy of science, which, supposed to have been originally learned from the Devil as magic, assumed in human hands the form of a traditional philosophy, and was at last

admitted to be only the honest effects of nature. The scepticism of Agrippa may be viewed as the first step in the transition. While, transferring the basis of authority from Church to Bible, the Reformers mechanically clung to the dry bones of nominalistic belief which survived scholasticism, theosophy was better off in this, that any appeal to nature, however perverse and fantastic, has a tendency to self-correction, its errors being rapidly, or, at least, surely checked by the authority it invokes. Nay, theosophy did something towards opening the new path of which Agrippa felt the want. Paracelsus, the earliest assertor of the general importance of chemistry in medicine, anticipated Bacon in describing man's true office as interpreter of Nature, and in an emphatic claim to that mental independence, without which even the philosophical heritage of antiquity is a doubtful advantage. Modern science originated in special attention to the "elemental," or lowest grade of the theurgic science of Agrippa. Nature was, however, still universally dealt with on magical principles, although the magic was admitted to be "natural;" a qualification indicating that intermediate condition of the mind in which superstition gives place to curiosity, and the uncomprehended is no longer the incomprehensible. Under this designation, Baptista Porta and others published their collections of physical observations and curious receipts; and the word is employed with equal propriety by Sir D. Brewster, in reference to the emotions of surprise produced by strange experiments on the minds of uninitiated spectators. "Certainly," says Reginald Scot, "God endoweth bodies with wonderful graces, whereto man hath not reached: there exist among them love, society, consent, and on the other side, discord and enmity; the convenient application of these virtues is natural magic; but when deceit and diabolical words are coupled therewith, then extendeth it to witchcraft and conjuration." It should be remembered that neither on the Protestant nor the Catholic side was philosophy yet emancipated from external theological control; no dogma could be safely interfered with, and its very existence was conditioned on deferential demeanour. What anxiety is shown by Agrippa, by Campanella, even Pomponatius, to avoid the most remote suspicion of heterodoxy! They either make a preliminary proviso that anything seemingly contravening dogma is to be considered as unsaid, or shelter their eccentricity under the name of Aristotle. In the Italian schools of Cosenza, Pisa, Bologna, &c., physical science was pursued with comparative independence and a qualified toleration, but always under condition of subordination to spiritual authority. In this inferior sphere, nature was supposed by Telesius, Campanella, and Taurellus to be independent and self-supporting; and, fortunately, the Church could not foresee that her uniformity, once recognised in this seemingly unim-

portant sphere, would eventually absorb the whole extent of her operations. Perhaps the immaturity of science required the external crutches of Church and creed, and to secure the essential of freedom, it may have been necessary that man's higher interests, then scientifically inexplicable, should for a time be kept aloof from his philosophy, in order to prevent his passions and prejudices from blinding him as to facts. And independently of theology, there were the old prejudices to contend with in matters purely physical. Nature, though degraded from the higher attributes of divinity, was still viewed as an animated thing, and the gratuitous humanizing ideas of a mundane soul, occult qualities, sympathies, and antipathies, perpetuated magical theory. Nature must be killed before she can be analysed; man must wrest himself from the great whole and take a separate *locus standi*, in order to treat it with the requisite impartiality; in short, he must view it as the mechanism of Descartes, or even eliminate final causes like Hobbes and Spinoza. Lord Bacon cut away the root of magical belief by reversing the theosophic method of the Platonists, and approaching nature from below through the senses. Yet, even by him, the preliminary condition of success was but imperfectly observed, and the reluctance to relinquish a living and sympathising world is still seen in his notion of "forms," which are not the dead laws of modern scientific language, but self-conditioning agencies, the expression in the inner world of the "Natura Naturans" of what laws may represent in the "Naturata." Hence Bacon does not abandon the name of magic, although he distinguishes his own magic, consisting in the practical application of knowledge of forms to the working of natural marvels (or the "Magnalia Naturæ") as differing from the magic of theosophy, and transcending it as much as the real acts of Cæsar do the imaginary exploits of Arthur and his knights.

The state of contemporary science was of course reflected in medicine. "Inscitiæ pallium incantatio;" "one of the chief causes," says R. Scot, "of the continuance of magic was the ignorance of physicians, who ascribed to a mysterious cause the diseases they could not cure." "Carefully avoid," exclaims Agrippa, "those mountebanks who for gain make havoc of our bodies with their monstrous compounds." Montaigne, often borrowing the tone and words of the last-named writer, ridicules their pretensions and specifics; "their drugs," he says, "are mysterious and divine: dung of elephant, the left foot of a tortoise, liver of a mole, powdered excrement of rats, &c.; fooleries carrying the face of enchantment rather than solid science." "That most important science to which is entrusted our health, is, unfortunately, of all others, the most perplexed and uncertain; we might make a mistake in calculating the height of the sun without any serious inconvenience, but here, where our lives are concerned, we abandon ourselves to

chance and contradictory opinions. We prize only medicines we understand not; if the nations from whom we fetch our guaiacum and sarsaparilla converse with medicine, how great a value, judging by the same recommendation of strangeness and rarity, must they set on our cabbage and parsley!" In the hands of those early Christian practitioners, the priests and monks, medicine was of course exclusively magical, a matter of wax images and holy water. Pope Sixtus IV. in 1471 declared the preparation and dispensing of Agnus Dei to be a monopoly of the Holy See. Spiritual remedies failing, men had recourse to magicians of a different class; but it was a change of shop rather than of merchandize. The school of Paracelsus could not raise medicine beyond natural magic; and the Piedmontese physician, Argenterius, judiciously remarked, that empirical art was the utmost degree of dignity it could claim. One of the most sensible remedies in use was to bind up a wound, leaving the physician to exhaust his unguents and skill on the weapon that inflicted it; an expedient which, besides the advantage of leaving nature to herself, was at all times readily applicable, since the ointment, we are told, improved by keeping, and if carefully scraped off might be used with equal success on any number of occasions. The eminent physician Crollius, who was consulted by the Emperor Rudolf II., believed in magical powers of prolonging life, and in medical properties of plants inferred from a fanciful construction of their external forms. Amulets and written charms continued to be employed, though as Weier tells us, they had often been found on examination to contain nothing more than an imprecation, such as, "the devil scratch your eyes out," or merely blank paper. According to the illustrious Argerius Ferrarius, no disease could be so completely taken away but that some dregs would remain; hence, he tells us, physicians make use of "physical alligations, appensions, periapts, amulets, charms, characters," &c., which he supposeth may do good; but harm he is sure they can do none, and certainly a physician ought to leave nothing undone for the recovery of the patient; he ought to cure the sick by hook or by crook, or by any available means. The opinion that bodily distempers are inflictions of demons is attested, says Dr. Cudworth, by the two distinguished physicians Sennertus and Fernelius; the former in his book on madness writing, "though the devil may, by divine permission, possess men without any morbid disposition, yet doth he usually intermingle himself with actual bodily diseases, especially those of melancholy, and this oftener than is commonly believed or suspected." Fernelius, physician to Henry II. of France, says in his work, "*De Abditis Rerum Causis*:"—"Neither do these wicked magicians inflict diseases only on men's bodies, they also send devils into them, by

means whereof they appear distorted with fury and madness, which yet differs from simple madness in this, that they speak of very high and difficult matters, declare things past and unknown, and discover the secrets of those sitting by." Of this he subjoins two notable instances. In one of them, being called in, with other skilful physicians, he applied all manner of remedies, blisters, purgations, cupping-glasses, plasters, &c., but in vain; he adds, "we were all a long way off from knowing the truth, for in the third month it was plainly discovered to us that it was a certain demon who was the cause of all this; he manifesting himself by his speech, and by unusual words and sentences in Greek and Latin, though the patient was entirely ignorant of those languages; and by his revealing many of the secrets of those who stood by, especially of the physicians, whom he derided for tormenting the patient with their frustraneous remedies." Well might Weier ascribe belief in witchcraft to medical ignorance as well as clerical intrigue; if we must admit theology to have been the chief originator of the mischief, the other learned professions certainly contributed in no slight degree to support and perpetuate it.

The ideas of magic so obstinately clung to by cultivators of science were of course more difficult to eradicate in others. However repelled by scholasticism, and eager to investigate nature, no one until Bacon and Descartes saw clearly the path to be followed, or the necessity of full freedom in the search. Reuchlin, Trittenheim, Paracelsus, firmly believed in magic; Cardanus, too, believed generally in the reality of nefarious arts, though questioning the witches' sabbath; in short, the hypothesis of a celestial or natural magic inevitably entailed that of an infernal one. But the case was altered when science, confining itself strictly to physics, asserted in this department at least a peremptory exclusive sway. The enlarged view in which Spinoza identified the all with God, embracing the universe in irreversible law, and necessarily excluding dæmons and supernatural agency of every kind, can only be regarded as an exceptional conviction far transcending the grasp of contemporaneous minds. The great discoveries distinguishing the seventeenth century were made on the hypothesis of entire diversity and separation between the material and spiritual; and it was during this brilliant period that, simultaneously with a rationalistic reaction against the crude dogmatic Protestantism of the first Reformers, a formal attack was first made against witchcraft. The work of the Cartesian Balthasar Bekker, called "*Btzauberte Welt*," or the "*World Bewitched*," 1691—1693, is an epoch in its history. Bekker was the first who denied witchcraft generally; earlier writers had denounced its worst cruelties and absurdities. Soon after the Bull of Innocent VIII., Ulrich Molitoris, Provost of the city of

Constance, addressed to the Archduke Sigismund a sensible protest against the doctrine of the Malleus; Erasmus, in his "Praise of Folly," and afterwards Montaigne, alluded to the subject jocularly; Luther and Melancthon pleaded only for circumspection in practice. Pomponatius controverted witchcraft on Aristotelian grounds, but attributed to the stars what he denied to dæmons. In his memorable conflict with the inquisitors at Metz; who wanted to burn a poor woman for no reason but that her mother had been burned before, Cornelius Agrippa expressed astonishment that human beings should torture and destroy their fellow-creatures on suppositions not only foolish but heretical, as implying a power in the devil to defy the sacramental efficacy of baptism. The work which he afterwards published on the "Vanity of the Sciences," consisting of severe and sometimes cynical strictures on contemporary art and science, exposed many of the frauds and follies of magic, while admitting its reality, as attested by Scripture and by prohibitory laws. In 1563, John Weier, a follower of Agrippa, an^d physician to the Duke of Cleves, wrote his book "De Præstigiis Dæmonum," which had a decided though temporary effect. Weier, it seems, had travelled, and in Fez and Tunis had met with opportunities of comparing Mahometan conjurations with Christian. He detected an imposture, of which several instances occurred at the time, of a girl pretending to live without food. His book is rather an appeal to good sense and feeling, than a thorough elucidation of the subject. It professes to admit the principle, but deprecates excessive and fraudulent practice; affirms the existence of the black art, at least as a diabolical delusion, while deprecating its use, and drawing a distinction between modern witches and those proscribed by law and Scripture. Great was the attention and consequently the panic excited by the work; the cry of atheism was raised; the fanatical Bartholomew de Spina of Rome declared the Church and Christendom generally to be in danger. However, lawyers, judges, and priests recovered from their surprise, and the result was a long controversy and violent reaction. First came the "Magorum Dæmonomania" of Bodinus, and the injudicious defence of swimming old women by the Protestant professor Scribonius of Marburg. Er. Flade and two burgomasters of Treves were burnt (1589) on the ground that denial of witchcraft amounted to participation in guilt; and the enlightened Cornelius Loos, from whom, as the conscientious enemy of Protestantism, a triumphant confutation of Weier had been anticipated, expiated his frank exposure of ignorance and cruelty by forced recantation and imprisonment. The expectation disappointed by Loos was gratified by the Jesuit Delrio, who in his "Disquisitiones Magicæ" threatens opponents with the fate of Edelin, Loos,

and Flade, comically daring them to disprove witchcraft, while declaring in the same chapter denial of it to be capitally punishable as the worst of heresies. In England the cause of reason was boldly and ably pleaded by Reginald Scot on the principle of Divine omnipotence, and the essential absurdity of the several theories of witchcraft, all at variance with one another, but all directly or indirectly degrading the Divinity into a subservient instrument of the malicious designs of witches. He showed how in each instance the seemingly marvellous result was really owing to folly, imposture, or both; and how equal wonders could readily be effected by sleight-of-hand, or natural magic. The succeeding century expiated its neglect of these rational views, by witnessing the worst excesses of the mania. In 1593 occurred the infamous Warbois case; and the close of the century saw, as before stated, a long succession of atrocities in Scotland, which possibly gave a hint to Shakspeare, and certainly suggested the portentous inspiration of King James. From 1612 to 1644 numerous executions occurred in Lancashire, York, Huntington, Yarmouth, Chelmsford, and Bury; in France there were the trials of Grandier and Gaufridy, and the Logrono persecution, causing the humane protest of Peter of Valencia; in Germany, the violences of the Jesuits at Treves, Wurzburg, and Bamberg, gave occasion to the "Cautio Criminalis" of Frederick Spee; in Sweden, Gabriel Naudé or Naudæus, librarian to Queen Christina, wrote his treatise on "Great Men Falsely Accused of Magic," a work which, without directly attacking witchcraft, subverted its historical basis by explaining the real character of men once suspected of it. It seemed as if Swedish superstition waited for an anticipatory exposure before exhibiting its worst; for it was not until 1670, when the epidemic was nearly exhausted, that we meet with the wholesale executions of Molra.

But meantime the children of light were not idle. It was at this time that Philosophy emancipated herself from Theology, taking vengeance for her long servitude only by bequeathing a heritage of wisdom to puzzle her tormentor. The perverse old lady who had burnt so many witches, and still insisted that the sun moved round the earth, received a polite bow from Bacon and Descartes, a few crumbs of charitable assistance from Locke and Leibnitz, and a summary dismissal to the nether regions of the universe from Spinoza. Still more immediately influential were the labours of the experimentalists. How imposing the array of great minds were employed during the interval from the death of Tycho Brahe to that of Huyghens, in deciphering those laws of the material world, a knowledge of which was a necessary preliminary to a due estimate of the mental. At the time when the Jesuits were exterminating Protestants under pretence of sorcery in Germany,

and Pierre de l'Ancre was composing his "Incredulité Convaincue," Galileo and Keppler laid the foundations of modern astronomy; while artful bigotry was employing the hysterical nuns of Loudun to destroy the too liberal Grandier, Harvey was publishing his work on the circulation of the blood; the abominable crusade of the witch-finder, Hopkins, marks the time when Wallis, Wilkins, and Boyle held meetings preparatory to the establishment of the Royal Society; an institution which, devoting itself to the cultivation of mathematical and experimental science exclusively of theology and politics, seemed to seal the doom of the overt acknowledgment of witchcraft, only two cases having occurred since the first publication of its transactions. One of these, coinciding in date with the discoveries of Newton, was the trial of Amy Duny and Rose Cullender at Bury before Sir M. Hale, who was lately referred to by Lord Brougham as one of the great pillars of revealed religion, but whose conduct on this occasion may justify the remark that "his piety and theological reading seem only to have had the effect of making him credulous and unrelenting." From this time writings against witchcraft are more numerous; Ady's "Candle in the Dark," in 1655; Wagstaff's "Question of Witchcraft Debated," second edition, 1671; "Doctrine of Devils, the Grand Apostacy," 1676. It must be owned that there were also voices on the opposite side; but this, in an unsettled state of opinion and absence of clear psychological and historical knowledge, is not surprising. They were but the last yell of drowning superstition. Among them was the hoarse croak of the mystic Henry More, who, in his "Antidote to Atheism," made witches, ghosts, vampires, &c., the basis of an argument in favour of theism. Dr. Cudworth held similar views. He thought the fact of the existence of foul spirits "a confirmation to some extent of the truth of Christianity; the Scriptures insisting so much on these evil demons, or devils, and declaring it to be one object of Christ's coming to deliver mankind therefrom. As for wizards, or persons confederating themselves in a peculiar manner with these evil spirits, there hath been, besides the Scriptures, so full an attestation given to them by impartial persons in all ages, that these our so confident exploders of them can hardly escape the suspicion of having some hankering towards atheism." Glanvil, from a very different point of view coinciding in the witchcraft extreme with Cudworth, first wrote in vindication of Hunt, a fanatical Somersetshire magistrate; Dr. Webster's reply, entitled "A Displaying of Supposed Witchcraft," in its turn originated Glanvil's more elaborate production of "Sadducismus Triumphatus," or "Sadducism Refuted," which appeared after the author's death in 1681. Sadducism, however, survived Glanvil's attack, and by none was more ably advocated than by Bekker, who, though he

had no objection to a devil in his proper place, denied, on Cartesian principles, his ability of egress to harm mankind.

The great difficulty experienced by rationalists in the controversy was to reconcile with their views the witchcraft attestations of the Bible. Sir Matthew Hale, in his charge to the jury at Bury (1664), laid it down that "there were witches, first, because the Scriptures affirm it; secondly, because the wisdom of all nations, particularly our own, hath provided laws against witchcraft, implying belief in such a crime." Blackstone, too, declares that "to deny the possibility, nay, actual existence of witchcraft, is at once flatly to contradict the revealed word of God in various passages of both Testaments; the thing itself being a truth to which every nation of the world hath in its turn borne testimony, either by examples seemingly well attested, or by prohibitory laws supposing its possibility." The argument founded on human laws and legal procedure was easily disposed of. Laws are not always monuments of wisdom; on the contrary, they often create the crime they punish. "If," says R. Scot, "the law condemning witchcraft is good, it can only be on the ground that all laws must be assumed to be good, which would include the Papists' law against Protestants, and the Pagans' against Christians. But the Divine law declaring "Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live," could not be so summarily dealt with. Attempts were made to meet one text by others. Thus Scot quotes, although inaccurately, from Sirach xxxiv. 5, "Sorcery, witchcraft, and soothsaying are but vanity;" and Bekker concludes his treatise with an appeal to 1 Tim. iv. 7, "Refuse profane and old wives' fables, and exercise thyself rather unto godliness." But the subject had to be scrutinised more narrowly, and the argument generally resorted to was, that the Bible magicians and conjurers were either no conjurers at all, or at least performers of a kind very different from modern witches. The difference was inferred from the silence of Scripture as to the stereotyped peculiarities of modern witchcraft. "There is nothing," says Dr. Webster (p. 130), "that doth imply any such kind of killing witch as is commonly imagined, nor none such as make a visible league with the devil, nor upon whose bodies he sucketh, nor no such as are really changed into cats, hares, wolves," &c. Sir W. Scott, having adopted the distinction of absence of the "fatal league" or "contract of subjection" to diabolic power (*Demonology*, pp. 51, 52, 170, &c.), goes on, not very consistently, to say that the Hebrew punishment was founded on the treason and disobedience implied in trafficking and dealing with that power. He gives the option of supposing either a "misapprehension of the meaning of texts too literally transferred to the codes of Christian nations, or else that these, like other parts of Hebrew law, being calculated exclusively for

the Israelites, were abrogated by the more benign dispensation of the gospel." R. Scot, Webster, Hutchinson, &c., deny the accuracy of translation, especially as to the word Chasaph, employed Exod. vii. 11, 22, 18; Deut. xviii. 10. They point to the Septuagint rendering of "veneficus" or poisoner, and would construe the word by "juggler," "cozener," "impostor," anything in short rather than allow a plausible Scripture authority for prosecuting witches. But this is only a random evasion of an unpalatable inference; and when Scot more adroitly than honestly proceeds in the attempt to generalise the meaning of the term, justifying his substituted gloss of "imposture" by referring to such passages as Acts viii. 9; Galat. iii. 1—"O, foolish Galatians, who hath bewitched, *i.e.*, cozened or deceived you?"—he evidently leaves the original problem as to the Hebrew word, arguing from the English version of another word in a case where accuracy in the version is precisely the point at issue.

Again, when he says (p. 163) that the Hachemim or Hachems, the "magicians" of Pharaoh, were not real magicians, but only skilful professors of natural magic, denying their ability to perform the feats ascribed to modern witches, he begs the point as to contemporary belief in the reality of their powers, which is all that the parallelism would require. "Scripture," he says, "nowhere asserts they could work miracles; to affirm they could by themselves, or by all the devils in hell, do indeed what Moses did by the power of the Holy Ghost, is worse than infidelity." But this is the very thing which Scripture does affirm; *viz.*, that they repeated exactly the enchantments performed by Moses; a declaration sufficiently clear, one would think, to refute the pretence of Michaelis, Webster, and others, that the Egyptian enchanters made use of serpents which they had secreted in their clothes, as well as the less orthodox one of Eichorn, that Moses, who was learned in the wisdom of the Egyptians, may not have been unskilled in their artifices. The irreverent insinuation is anticipated by Glauvil, who remarks, "'Tis very strange how those jugglers should know beforehand what signs were to be shown by Moses and Aaron, and should have accordingly furnished themselves with serpents, blood, and frogs against the time; or had they these always in their pockets? And if the magicians were mere tricksters and jugglers, may it not be feared that the same will be said of Moses and Aaron, whose outdoing the others may have been owing only to superior cunning and dexterity?" It is singular, too, supposing the miracles of the Egyptian sorcerers to have been deceptions, that Moses in his account should have given no hint of a fact which it so much concerned the glory of the God of Israel to publish. But there can be no doubt as to the general Jewish belief in miraculous feats performed by false prophets and dæmons (see

Deut. xiii. 2; Matthew ix. 34, xii. 24, xxiv. 24); and we recognise in these and similar instances of rationalistic explanation of the Bible a perversity quite as great as was shown by Jesuits and Dominicans in quoting it for a different purpose. "If," says Glanvil, "men may put what borrowed sense they please on plain narratives of fact, all history will be a nose of wax, and be shaped according to the mind of the interpreter." We cannot hesitate to subscribe to Sir W. Scott's rendering of the Book of Job, when he says that "the Supreme Governor of the world gave Satan leave to try his faithful servant with a storm of disasters for the more brilliant exhibition of his faith;" although Reginald Scot, Wagstaffe, and others indignantly disclaim as derogatory the idea of Divine permission, quoting a sermon of Calvin, who maintains that God could not have afflicted Job from any motive except his own predetermination; seeing that the judge does not give the hangman leave to hang an offender, but commands him to do it; and a child is not enabled to do what is beyond his strength because another, who has sufficient power, stands by and permits him. But we cannot so readily concur in Sir Walter's exegesis, when, assuming what by a commentator above alluded to was desiderated, he declares, in defiance of the text, that Samuel's spirit was not brought up by the Witch of Endor, but brought down; that instead of rising, as stated, out of school or earth, it was temporarily withdrawn "from the enjoyments and repose of heaven." ("Demonology," p. 58.) The story of the witch has, in other respects, caused no little perplexity, for although the singularity of the narrative may not, as assumed by Sir Walter, be any proof of the rarity of the occurrence, it certainly stands alone in the Bible as a detailed account of a necromantic proceeding. The rationalist plan is to deny the reality of Samuel's appearance. R. Scot quotes the Fathers, Augustin, Peter Martyr, and others, in the negative. The latter says, "If done at all, it must have been done either by God's good-will and pleasure, or by force of magic; but the former supposition makes God an accomplice in what he forbade; and as to the latter, how could a witch have power over the souls of the godly, who, as we know from the account of Dives, are not suffered to become teachers of the living? And indeed what quiet or rest could the souls of the just enjoy in Abraham's bosom, were they liable to be plucked thence at a witch's call and commandment?" Bodinus seems satisfactorily to refute the supposition of Augustin, that the apparition may have been the devil in Samuel's likeness; since the name of Jehovah was uttered five times during the course of the conversation. Yet R. Scot thinks that here, as in other cases, a trick was practised by the witch, who, it seems, alone saw Samuel, and who in the 21st verse is said to have "come out,"

or "come in," unto Saul, and must have consequently performed her conjurations in a closet or adjoining chamber. "She made Saul stand at the door like a fool (as it were with his finger in a hole) to hear the cozening answers, but not to see the handling thereof; and so goeth she to work, using ordinary words of conjuration, and then cries, "I see wonderful things," &c. Glanvil ridicules this suggestion of the closet as a gratuitous invention. "Samuel," he says, "appeared to the woman before Saul saw him, showing himself so, it may be, to prepare Saul for the terrible sight by degrees, lest the suddenness might have affrighted him into incapacity of hearing what he had to say to him; or it may be that the body of the woman, or some other thing in the room, might interpose between Samuel and Saul, and so there is no need of supposing them to have been in different rooms." And then as to the supposition of a cheat performed by an accomplice, how could such a confederate knave come to foretell truly such contingent things as that the Israelites should be vanquished by the Philistines, and Saul and his sons slain; especially considering that it would have answered his purpose better to have prophesied pleasant things to the troubled king, whose favour he would so have won; and who, if eventually killed, could not have exposed the falsehood of the prediction?" Sir W. Scott sees equal difficulty in the deception and supernatural theories; for how could the Deity refuse Saul the response of his prophets, and yet allow a witch to compel the actual spirit of Samuel to make answer notwithstanding? In this dilemma another explanation has, he says, been resorted to, intermediate between the extreme suppositions. The woman may have begun with a trick of jugglery, or, "in those days, when the laws of nature were frequently suspended by supernatural power," (p. 57,) may have really expected or hoped to call up some supernatural appearance; the will of the Almighty then substituted the real spirit of Samuel for the phantasmagoria intended by the witch, who was naturally surprised and appalled at the unexpected consequences of her own invocation. But this interpretation is also open to objection, as making the Almighty in some sort the accomplice of the witch, and in leaving unaccounted for the querulous tone of Samuel, who could hardly be imagined to complain of an apparition consequent on the express command of Deity. Here Sir Walter abandons the problem in despair, comforting himself with the assurance that the Witch of Endor was at all events not, in every particular, and in all minutiae of detail, the precise kind of witch "believed in by our ancestors."

Rationalism was undoubtedly in an awkward dilemma between the text and its own convictions. The appeal to learning and varied artifices of exegesis only revealed more clearly the

difficulty of its position. How much easier would it have been to have admitted that, although the Hebrews thought it right and necessary to put witches and conjurors to death in their day, the precedent affords no shadow of a justification for similar severity and absurdity in ours! But this would have been to set aside Scripture infallibility; hence the appeal to allegory, mistranslation, cozenage, anything, in short, seeming to offer an available escape. Dr. Arnold suggests a seemingly plausible expedient. Considering that Scripture can be a safe guide only so far as we are circumstanced like those to whom it was addressed, he proposes a rule of "analogical interpretation," to be applied thus: if the Jews were to act in such a way, we ought to act in such another way, &c. But this biblical rule of three hardly meets a case like witchcraft, where we reach our inference not by adherence to the Jewish rule, but by reversing it. Perhaps a better exegetical plan may be that apparently sanctioned by the seventh article of our Church, and which is founded on the distinction between the ceremonial and moral laws; for since the burning of witches cannot now be thought to come under the category of moral, we are justified in assuming it to have been tacitly repealed as ceremonial. In his recently published volume on Scripture "*Hermeneutics*," Dr. Davidson distinguishes truth as primary and "secondary;" admitting the reality of a dæmoniacal influence over the mind under the latter category, though not as a "truth of primary significance or importance." Here we have a resource worthy the ingenuity of the schoolmen, by the discreet use of which, even if unable altogether to vanquish the difficulty, we at all events effect a qualified extrication, and are let down insensibly and comfortably to a nearer approximation to common sense. It is not quite so easy to acquiesce in what Dr. Davidson calls the rule of the "general tenor," or the "analogy of faith." The application of this rule consists in assuming some doctrine as "really, positively, and immediately taught by the Bible," and then arbitrarily silencing or explaining away all that "refuses to fit in with it," (pp. 313, 316). "Number, harmony, clearness, and distribution" of confirmatory passages are said to be essential to establish the assumed analogy; but as to the precise number of passages, the exact degree of harmony, or extent of distribution required, nothing, says the writer, can be positively fixed; different interpreters hold different opinions; in fact, every creed and sect has an "analogy" of its own, and the interpreter must reconcile inconsistencies as he can, (pp. 312, 317). The "extermination of the Canaanites is to be placed in such a light as not to trench upon or tarnish Divine goodness;" "the sin against the Holy Ghost must be explained so as not to infringe the doctrine of

pardon offered to all, however vile ;" God's repentance in Genesis vi. 6, is to be treated as metaphorical : his non-repentance, 1 Sam. xv. 29, as literal, (pp. 316, 510). If, as Dr. Davidson tells us in his preface, the Bible is a hard book, the "science" of "Biblical Hermeneutics" is assuredly still harder ; and considering his admission that it claims no exemption from the general law of progress, and must inevitably leave behind it in its advance "much of the fat of hereditary sentiments," (pp. v. vi.,) we regret that he could not afford to give freer vent to what we cannot but think may have occurred to his mind while writing his exposition. Surely he must have felt that he was explaining the art of being at the same time wise and wayward ; of drawing rational conclusions from irrational premises ; of unhistorically swamping the instructive varieties of Scripture ideas and language ; in short, of finding plausible reasons for shutting our eyes to the plain meaning of the book we profess to interpret. To us it appears, we must confess, no less than a culpable, though unfortunately not punishable, kind of witchcraft ; more akin to the "equivocation of the fiend" than to Divine wisdom ; more savouring of Jesuitical casuistry than what we have a right to expect from Protestant good sense.

One method, unfortunately less effectual than well meant, resorted to by Bekker, Scot, Semler, and others to get rid of witchcraft, was to annihilate or neutralize the devil, who is undeniably and universally admitted to be at the bottom of it. They showed that, of the Scripture passages seemingly applying to him, many have no such meaning ; that others may be explained allegorically, as when we say—"the devil is in a man ;"—"by no means," says Scot, "intending to suggest that the devil hath gotten into his guts ;" that the assumed cases of possession were sudden sicknesses or epilepsy ; that the Scripture words "Satan" and "Diabolos" may be equally well understood in the general sense of "adversary" or "calumniator," being often indeed not susceptible of any other. Thus, in Ephesians iv. 27, the words—"Neither give place to the devil,"—are, according to Bekker, equivalent to Romans xiv. 16—"Let not your good be evil spoken of ;" the "roaring lion" of Peter v. 8, is the calumniator who would destroy our reputation, one of those persons who, animated with fiendish intent, are always hovering about us, and who, he adds, "would eat us if they could." Bekker concludes that the Bible says little about dæmons ; that that little is obscure ; that much of the language used may be traced to the Targums, Talmud, and other apocryphal writings, and must be understood in the way of "accommodation" to current opinions. But this kind of argument, often renewed during the last and present centuries in England, can have little effect in demolishing witchcraft or its invisible patron,

because, in anxiety to vindicate Scripture, it does evident violence to the text, and overlooks a perversion of history. No proof is given that the Scripture writor was less credulous or sincere than his mistaken contemporaries, or that the language, if figurative in one, is not equally so in the others. There is indeed a strong vitality in the devil, which cannot be reached by such random assaults. Though battered by the learned, and browbeaten by the polite, he contrives to maintain his ground, and may still be found at home among his old friends in remote places. Those plain people whom the late Dr. Arnold described as "good Christians with narrow understandings and a bad education," cannot reasonably be expected to understand nice etymological distinctions as to "Chasaph," "Haber," and "Hachemim;" words, after all, not unfairly rendered in the English, and whose plain meaning only an arbitrary rationalism affects to disturb. Yet it cannot but seem strange that the avowed foe of God and man, despite the wrath of one and incredulity of the other, should, after so many centuries of Christian warfare, be still as vexatiously and universally obtrusive as he was when Salvian gave utterance to the phrase, "ubique dæmon!" The stories of his death, of his being deposed by St. Ignatius, or killed by a poisoned pill administered by Daniel, are evidently fabulous. The Jews, misled by two passages in Zechariah (v. 8 and xiii. 2), once contrived to fasten him up in a leaden vessel, but as there were no new-laid eggs in consequence, were obliged after three days' trial to let him out again. The Inquisition only stimulated the insolence it pretended to check. Little disconcerted by mediæval exorcisms, he rather encouraged bewitched persons to give testimony in favour of confession, transubstantiation, and the immaculate conception. As little did he regard the forceps of St. Dunstan, or the inkstand and ridicule of Luther. The affected sarcasm of the latter gave little uneasiness to so penetrating an observer, who saw that the allegiance disclaimed by the Reformer's language was owned and would be transmitted to posterity by his fears. In fact, Protestantism invested Satan with new life and importance; and he who had before performed ministrations in cowl and scapulary, now began to show himself in Presbyterian pulpits. Melancthon confessed that, according to Scripture, "sævit in ipso fine tyrannidis atrocious;"—that his rage increases with the increasing infirmity of human nature, and the approaching end of the world. "And where," triumphantly asks Glanvil, "is the authority for the strong-minded assertion that miracles have ceased; how can such a cessation be proved; when did it occur; was it at the close of the apostolic age, at the conversion of Constantine, or, as Newton thought, at the death of Gregory Thaumaturgus; and if spirits took possession of human bodies in former ages, what prevents their playing similar antics now?"

It must, however, be admitted that the fiend has had to undergo many rude shocks and narrow escapes. Modern History has witnessed serious fluctuations in his popularity, threatening his advocates at times with the fate of those Rosicrucian alchemists who were forced to hide their singularities of opinion in mysterious secrecy. We do not here allude to the paucity of modern cases of possession, nor to the recent manifestations of rival spirits of a more ethereal kind; since Meyer's "History of the Devil" explains the former phenomenon to be only an adroit compliment of Satan to our wide-awake age, and the latter has been declared from the pulpit to be but a new form of the old enemy. We speak of the powerful effects produced by the philosophy lately denounced at Grantham by the Bishop of Lincoln as "arrogant," but which has done far more than theology towards banishing Satan from the dominion supposed in the first Christian age to be exclusively his own. One consequence of advancing science has certainly been to make the world more mechanical and prosaic. Yet the influence which it exerts over the mind generally is less than might have been expected. Its empire is limited both in range and numbers. How many drink the river who are wholly ignorant and careless as to the spring! To most men science is known only in the Baconian sense of the "*commoda vitæ*," or as purveyor of fruits and effects. They see it, not in the study or the Philosophical Transactions, but in the factory, shop, or railway, or at most exhibiting its curious semi-magical performances at the table of the Royal Institution. It appears to them as a Christmas-tree bearing a variety of serviceable commodities which have no intelligible connexion with the root. Its power as an educator is comparatively unfelt; and though we cannot agree with a modern writer, that it is of no moment "whether the storm be thought to be directed by a law or a dæmon," it must be owned that to most minds cosmos is chaos, and that a capricious dæmonology has far more numerous disciples than intelligible law. That separation of the higher interests of mind from science, which, in the time of Campanella and Lord Bacon, was prudent and necessary, is still, either from habit or timidity, retained when its utility has ceased, and even our most eminent professor insists that the mental operations of science, and those addressing ulterior and higher objects, are wholly and generically distinct. Hence a contracted and self-contradictory idea of education, with the consequent paradox as to its moral and intellectual inefficacy, meaning only that men do not actually become wiser and better by the means commonly used to make them so. The "Saturday Review" says:—

"It is ~~tant~~ and very shallow cant, to say that superstition arises from want of education, or is removable by education. Indeed nothing

is more likely to increase superstition than a great and sudden increase of general knowledge. What is a man to think who sees steam-engines snorting and panting about without apparent reason,—wires sending messages round the world in a moment,—operations of the severest kind performed without a pang? The deepest scientific instruction infallibly leads him to the conclusion that his ignorance even of the powers of nature is enormous and almost infinite; that as to all lying beyond his senses it is not only boundless but hopeless. If, on the other hand, he is an ignorant man, a railway or telegraph is only a sort of witch—a witch made of metal, and set going by an impalpable unintelligible essence called steam or electricity: how are these conclusions to free men from superstition?"

Although "deep scientific instruction" certainly produces so far the conviction of comparative ignorance that it makes a man aware of the limited extent of his knowledge, it certainly does not prepare him to cast aside, in transcendental speculations, his habitual sanity, and entirely changing his intellectual procedure, to fall in with the rash fantastic conclusions of traditional superstition. Nor is real knowledge, as sophistically suggested, the mere confused recognition of unassorted phenomena, but the intelligent apprehension of a necessary order, to which each unfamiliar object instead of being an oppressive puzzle, is a new illustration and confirmation. There are doubtless many instances in history where the crowding of new facts on ignorant minds has given an impulse to superstition, imaginary causes usurping the place of real; here, however, the source of superstition was not knowledge but ignorance, and it were absurd to attribute to the former the consequence of its absence. Instead of paradoxically depreciating education, were it not better to review its genuineness; and if to the mass of mankind scientific culture be inaccessible, at least to protest against educating the wrong way, and referring the explanation of God's truth to the perverse scholasticism of the Devil? Why swamp science in superstition, because we cannot suddenly convert superstition into science?

It is impossible to serve two masters. Common-sense requires that in God's service the devil's catechism should be omitted. Believers in God show little consistency when they assign to the devil so large a share in influencing the soul; believers in the devil as little, when admitting his influence over the soul, they deny his power over the body. The singular case recorded in the *Times*, April 7, 1857, was in no respect more remarkable than in the unconscious inconsistency of the narrator, who, blind to the absurdity of an inoperative devil, seemed to forget that spiritual influence, whether claimed for a devil or a church, implies, *a fortiori*, the exercise of corporeal. In a casual conversation with a Mrs. F——, in an adjoining parish, whose liberal sympathy he had

confidently calculated on; Mr. ——— unexpectedly found himself confronted with a mind less conventionally educated perhaps, but far more logical than his own :

Mr. ———. “But, Mrs. F——, do you seriously believe these things, or do you not believe that God rules the world?”

Mrs. F——. “I do believe that there are bad spirited people, sir; ladies and gentlemen don't often hear of such things. I believe that the Almighty gives them up, and that as we pray for grace, wisdom, and strength, so these persons pray to the Enemy to give them power to do these evil things. God promises His help to the smallest believer who hangs on Him, and they pray to the devil to give them his badness, and he gives it them; and the devil has as much power over these people as the Almighty has over his own.”

Mr. ———. “But, Mrs. F——, this represents the devil as stronger than the Almighty, if he can give people badness, with which they go about persecuting God's people, even in their temporal concerns and bodily health.”

Mrs. F——. “I believe, sir, it is done; but of course, God can set bounds to it; the Lord, He only knows about such things.”

De non existentibus et non apparentibus eadem est ratio. If we are limited to an abstract devil, and are to consider his practical agency inconsistent with Divine supremacy, were it not better to acknowledge the fact, to consign Satan to the limbo of the 5th of November and the 30th of January, to amend the catechism, and print an expurgated Bible? The rationalistic opponents of witchcraft made a strong but unsuccessful effort to get rid of an offensive idea without infringing the Scriptural standard. But their strange and far-fetched shifts prove the difficulty, or rather impossibility of the attempt; for there is an obvious inconsistency in pretending to found our belief on the Bible, and then proceeding on the opposite tack of squaring the Bible with our belief. Those who exclaim against the ballot as un-English should not have recourse to any indirect subterfuge to protect themselves against a book; or else, accepting the book, they ought not to flinch from the dark complexion of its inevitable concomitant. But independently of a “sound Scriptural education,” there are other motives and feelings making the “foul collier” far more necessary to our nature than we like to admit. We cannot, like Spinoza, strain our minds to an habitual contemplation of phenomena in their true relations of eternal propriety and necessity. Ordinary vision is but groping in the dark, and in the dark a “bush is easily mistaken for a bear,” imagination giving reality and shape to the shadowy negations of morals and metaphysics. The mind to which sin and evil present themselves, not as human fancies and defects, but unquestionable facts and effects, is compelled to hypothecate a cause; and, to escape the nur-

suit of self-accusation, eagerly draws for the amount of its offences on the picturesque mediæval usurer, who, while commanding indefinite capital, is far too gentlemanly to hint, at least in this world, the growing amount of its liabilities. Moreover, vested interests have to be considered; more than the ideal is at stake. A general repeal of the devil could hardly be expected at present to pass the House of Lords. Rousseau, in the "Emile," and Dr Maistre in the "Soirées de St. Petersburg," vindicate the social necessity and respectability of the hangman; and even admitting the Divine government to be self-supporting without the aid of an executioner, the same perfection cannot always be affirmed of ecclesiastical, which, as Beranger says, owes more to fear than love:—

"The fear of hell's a hangman's whip
To keep the wretch in order;"

even an imaginary wolf adds to the value of the dog, and were there no depredator, a police would be unnecessary. Yet let us hope that men may be found accessible to higher motives, and that as we have relaxed the severity of our secular code, Mr. Maurice, or some other theological Beccaria, may succeed in allaying the spectral terrors of the spiritual,

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

THEOLOGY AND PHILOSOPHY.

IT was long presumed, in accordance with the ecclesiastical traditions, that human history, speech, and religion were derived from one centre—parted into several streams from one source, like the river in the fabulous garden of Eden. We must not so much blame that view or those traditions, as be ready to correct them when an enlarged observation places it in our power. And it is the part of a truly humane person of sufficient learning, to diffuse the results of recent observation, carefully eschewing any appearance of contempt for the narrower conclusions of our predecessors, or even of our contemporaries, who have not advanced beyond our predecessors, unless these last, indeed, provoke chastisement by their own assumptions of infallibility. The present volume of Baron Bunsen's, "God in History,"¹ is entirely free from any faults of this kind. There are many things in it, no doubt, which will be startling enough to those who have hitherto known of no other source for the religious history of mankind than the Hebrew Scriptures. At the same time, while the conclusions to which it points are derived from a series of observations outside of the Hebrew records, and at variance with their hitherto received interpretation, they are not such as to shock biblical opinions so directly as some of the views and interpretations advanced in his previous volume. The way is indeed opening more and more for a modification of old-fashioned opinions, as much by the revelations made in popular journals, as by those contained in more learned papers, concerning the history and religion of the nations of the distant East. And whether or not the religious conceptions of the leading races of the earth shall ever be combined as tributaries into one great stream, or whether such differences lie at their several roots, as will always to a certain extent keep them distinct and separate, it is very certain they have not gone hitherto through precisely the same phases.

Owing to original differences of constitution, or very early differences of education, it is not possible to reduce the religious conceptions of the Chinese, of the Aryan, of the Semitic, of the Chamitic races to a common type. We say nothing of the Turanian, because the relation of those tribes to the Aryan is not well ascertained, nor of the tribes of South Africa, nor of the Indian Archipelago, nor of America—because these have been unimportant upon the world's history, and are likely to remain so. And these peculiar conceptions we cannot consider to have

¹ Gott in der Geschichte oder der Fortschritt des Glaubens an eine sittliche Weltordnung." Von Christian Carl Josias Bunsen. In sechs Büchern. Zweiter Theil. 3tes und 4tes Buch. London: Williams and Norgate. 1858.

been owing to the individual action of eminent men, to the extent that Bunsen seems to suppose. It is very convenient as a *memoria technica*, and may suggest many useful trains of thought, to set up as types of humanity, in the several races of men and in different ages, Abraham, Zoroaster, Buddha, and Jesus. We may say, in passing, that perhaps the kind of parallel or contrast which our learned author has instituted between these personages, unessential as it is to his design, may prove more startling to some of his readers than other things really more grave which he has advanced. For ourselves, we only think it a little far-fetched to say that Zoroaster is the Aryan Moses and Abraham both in one, and that Sakyamuni presents at once the closest resemblance, and the most striking contrast to Jesus Christ; first, on account of his deep feeling for humanity, and, secondly, because he made no claim to divinity. The data which we possess for the lives of Abraham, Zoroaster, the Buddha, do not approach within many centuries of the times when they are said to have lived; and in setting up these typical characters as the spiritual heroes of the world's history, we should remember that they themselves were products, and presuppose a state of things which rendered possible the elaboration and the diffusion of their doctrines; and, also, that fabulous traits of history, together with words of wisdom, have gathered round some names, while lengthened periods which have witnessed important developments of the religious idea, were in other cases passed through without being illustrated to posterity by the eminence of any great teacher. The Egyptians entertained the conceptions, not only of cosmical powers, and of a divine order in the material universe, but also of the continued life or resuscitation of the human being, and of his responsibility in a future state. Their opinions, doubtless, had an influence, to some extent at least, upon Greece; but they have preserved for history the name of no prophet. Their origin runs far back into the pre-diluvian times, and so do the roots of their theological ideas. The same may be said of the Chinese, evidently the oldest nation of the earth, in respect of the times preceding Confucius and Laotzee. So it is remarkable that the early and, in this instance, the purest theology of India, that of the Vedas, is not traceable for an origin to any one author. The Vedic hymns are collections or growths, and Bunsen, by a happy parallel, compares the appearance they present, with names of authors and faint historic reminiscences, already obscure to their compilers, to that which would belong to the book of the Hebrew Psalms, if it had been preserved alone, without any helps from other literature of the same people, whereby to interpret its allusions. So the transition from the purer religion of the Vedic and pre-Vedic periods, into the Brahmanical system with distinctions of castes and elevation of a priestly order,—likewise the resuscitation of Brahmanism in India after the overgrowth of Buddhism, are not signalized by eminent names, because these were native developments or natural reactions and catastrophes. The names which make epochs in the history of religion are those of the Reformers—who strive against a corruption, or excess, or one-sidedness, or who embody the force of a reaction, the opinion of a strong minority about to become a majority. If Abraham really

abolished for his tribe the practice of human immolation, he might be comprehended in this class, but we have no evidence worth speaking of concerning him; indeed he is referred to by the Hebrews, not as a lawgiver or teacher, but chiefly as a federal head, as the progenitor of the race to which was promised by a Divine favour that it should be blessed. There is more evidence for Zoroaster having generated or promulgated a new sentiment; much more for Confucius and for Buddha. There is, indeed, proof sufficient to show that, with the exception of Abraham, the others who have been mentioned did at least give expression to a conviction largely participated among their several peoples, of the moral law being the law regulative of man's existence, the law of the universe so far as he is concerned. With Confucius and Buddha the obligation of morality was acknowledged as the highest law of man's being, irrespective of any future life. Confucius laid down that a virtue, regardless of any future reward, was a higher virtue than the virtue which was motivated by it. And Sakyamuni, though the morality he taught was of a narrow and negative kind, led his followers on only by the hope of extinction at the end of their lives—an extinction of all sense if not an annihilation. Morality has stood instead of a creed, properly so called, for hundreds of millions of inhabitants of the earth for many ages. This is the most remarkable fact which an enlarged ethnographical knowledge has imparted to the present generation, and one the most difficult to reduce to consistency with established theories. It has at least put an end to the favourite argument from common consent, as applied to Deity according to the usual definition. Baron Bunsen proposes to work it up into his proof, and to make it form part of the basis of it.

Passing into regions with which we are more familiar, the Greek and Teutonic branches of the Aryan race have contributed more than any other of the human families to the formation, in combination with the Hebrew element, of that conception of Deity which has prevailed for many hundreds of years among the foremost modern nations. The tracing of the development of the Greek idea relative to God and humanity is full of the deepest interest, by reason of the eminent accomplishments of which the Greek intellect was capable. In the Homeric poems the conception of Deity as a force, or forces, of nature, altogether overshadows the appreciation of a divine moral order; on the other hand, there is apparent the growth of that national and political sentiment, which was afterwards to play such an important part in the formation of the Greek ethics. In the poems of Hesiod the moral element is more obvious; but it is in the period from Solon to Socrates that it is most interesting to trace its progress. The conception of a *Nemesis*, or divine Indignation, waiting upon haughty prosperity is peculiarly Greek; that of a divine Envy is more parallel with the jealousy which the Hebrews attribute to Jehovah. When the tragedians come under notice, the conception of a destiny is perhaps the most striking characteristic of the drama, as to which the modern critics sufficiently repeat each other; they have founded their observations concerning destiny on the doctrine which Aristotle de-

livers concerning the fable or concatenation of events in the drama, over which the agent is seen to have no control. For action is human and destiny is divine; there may be a vain struggle between the two, but the issue is never doubtful.

But the Greek also considered the moral nature and its movements to be divine; the several passions, and affections, and impulses, to be manifestations of separate divinities, according to a polypantheistic belief inherited from his Indian progenitors, or developed on a parallel line with their conceptions. Fear, love, anger, jealousy, are gods; so are the Furies and the Alastor, undying remorse, which follow the perpetration of crimes. In the Hebrew theology, at least of a later period, the several passions and affections, determinations of the will and acts of the reason, are attributed sometimes to the Spirit of God himself, sometimes to other spirits whom he sends forth—they are inspirations, with the Greek they are manifestations or possessions. And as the divine forces which manifest themselves in the material phenomena cross and counteract each other,—for instance the gods of light and darkness, fire and water,—so within the man are felt vehement impulses and gusts, possessions of deities in conflict and opposition. The consciousness of these present and conflicting gods is depicted in *Orestes*, impelled to avenge his father, and thereupon haunted by the Furies; the divine source, both of his act, and of the remorse and terror which follow it, is rendered as awful in the *Eumenides*, as is the sense of an overruling destiny in any other of the Greek dramas. If, however, Bunsen may have omitted to treat of the *ἦθος* as an important constituent in the drama, and the special consideration of which would have connected itself strikingly with his purpose, and so far has not done justice to the dramatists, he has done ample justice to the lyric poets, and above all, to that noblest of them, Pindar. Of profound religious feeling, his religion is closely bound up with the most exalted, the most heroic morality. On another side, again, our author appears to have been too anxious to comprehend an authority or exemplification which does not properly belong to him. For of the two great Greek historians, while Herodotus, with all his gossip and occasional rationalism, is very nervous and scrupulous on sacred subjects, walking *à tâtons* when he approaches the sacred places, and certainly endeavours to make out a moral order in human affairs,—is always evidently satisfied when retribution overtakes the tyrant or oppressor and even the inferior wrong-doer; everything of this kind is absent from the pages of Thucydides. With him the records of history may be useful to successive generations, because human events appear to recur in similar cycles, but they convey no moral warnings. Cold and penetrating, he observes the secret springs of human selfishness, and how selfishness and duplicity are crowned with success; how virtue may sometimes be politically advantageous, as in a Brasidas, or ruinous, especially if mingled with superstition, in a Nicias. It is a fault to which all men who take comprehensive views are liable, to endeavour to force into their service all facts which lie in their way, however obstinate. We cannot persuade ourselves with Bunsen that either Thucydides, or Tacitus among the Romans, beheld a moral order as the law of the human world.

The Greek, however, on whom attention is always turned with the deepest interest, is Socrates. He may well be called the Greek Abraham, according to Bunsen's estimate of Abraham. For from him certainly issued a force, continued mediately through his great pupils Plato and Aristotle, which is still acting on the world for good. Socrates brought dialectic to bear upon moral subject matter, and in so doing cleared up moral conceptions in himself and his disciples. He had a refined sense of duty; was conscious he had a special place to fill in the moral world; and in speaking of duty it was not to him a force external, but an inward instinct. And here we are much gratified with the observations which Bunsen makes on the so-called Demon of Socrates: he shows that the expressions which the philosopher himself appears to have used with respect to his inward monitor have been misunderstood altogether, when supposed to imply the presence with him of some spirit or hobgoblin. He appealed to a restraining presentiment, an activity of the moral insight; and he acknowledged this to be divine. With Socrates this insight or anticipation of the future tended only to withhold him from action—it was a foreboding instinct. Bunsen compares it with the anticipation of the Hebrew prophets, which was likewise an insight into the laws of the moral world, but for the most part hortatory and enjoining action, and taking a wider range. The divine suggestion in the case of Socrates only served to the regulating of his own life; in the case of the Hebrew prophets it was regulative of the conduct of others, or capable of being so. We will only add upon this, that it does not seem to us possible to resolve all the prophecies of the Hebrew Scriptures into this moral insight. Some of them, as they are now set down in the Bible, are certainly intended for secular prophecies, and have been placed there as such by its compilers. We merely say thus much, in order to guard against the supposition that we admit, one key will suffice to unlock all prophetic difficulties. Bunsen also well observes that the celebrated words, "I owe a cock to Esculapius," are neither to be understood, with Tertullian and others, as a remnant of superstition; nor as a hypocrisy, nor as a ridicule. Socrates was accused of atheism, *i.e.*, of denying his country's gods; he did no such thing. He sought to present to himself and to those who were fit hearers of his teaching—in whom the knowledge of realities could be awakened—a perception, in an abstract form, of that truth which the people could only take up roughly in the concrete. "A cock to Esculapius" was—Thank God for me that I fare well on this last journey, and have no misgiving as to its issue; be sure, my friends, there is nothing to fear.—Socrates was too genuine a citizen to tear himself at the last from the communion of his countrymen, or to make a mock at the way in which they expressed their beliefs. Other men able to see further than the generality, have, under other forms of religion, both in life and at the hour of death, employed popular forms, if not to signify their individual hopes, to represent their brotherhood with a common humanity. The Catholic *viaticum* has often been—neither in hypocrisy nor in ridicule—"A cock to Esculapius."

In Socrates was beheld a wonderful balance of the personal and

relative characters—he was deeply and definitely conscious of a self, and of the community to which he belonged. The tendency observable in Greek history is for the State to become everything and the individual nothing—to obliterate, so far, the moral consciousness of the individual as such. The teaching of Christianity no doubt tended to correct this one-sidedness, and in the doctrine of the immortal soul to bring out the value of the individual humanity. But there was a very influential philosophical school, which prepared the way for Christianity, among the better and more virtuous sort, in so remarkable a manner that we wonder Baron Bunsen should have omitted all mention of it. We mean the school of the Stoics. It appears in great strength when Christianity comes on the scene, and has, in common with it, but independent of and anterior to it, a strong sense of the divine personality, of the individuality in man, of the power of his will, and yet of his relation to the universe of things. There is some parallel, moreover, between Stoicism and Buddhism; but although the latter has received a fair notice, the former is passed without remark, either upon its Greek founders or their Roman followers, or even upon such an exemplification of its doctrine as is presented by Cato. Altogether, the Roman world is touched upon in the present work too slightly. Its history does not present those typical characters—prophets of the people—on whom the learned author delights to dwell. But the dominion of Roman law in the West has left a deep stamp upon the municipal institutions of Europe, and on the moral sense of its population. A more transient exhibition of the moral consciousness in the Roman world, in the midst of an overbearing corruption, was manifested in the satirists, who likewise deserved at least a passing recognition.

In the above observations we have, from time to time, used the expression of “conception of Deity.” The author speaks of “consciousness of God.” Strictly speaking, we cannot be conscious of God Himself, but only of His manifestations; whether they be His manifestations in nature, His manifestations in collective humanity, or His manifestations in the movements of our own conscious life. Beyond that we can only infer and form conceptions. We may fail, in some degree, even in justly appreciating the manifestations; much more must error and insufficiency characterize our conceptions and inferences. They can be partially secured against error only by applying to the manifestations of God in history—a method of observation analogous to the Baconian. The result of such an observation Baron Bunsen undertakes to present to us. He seizes with great success on many facts which are salient to his purpose; others which are not so, he passes over, and there remains a connexion to be established, which has not yet been accomplished, between the moral law, of which humanity is conscious, and a personal God, of which it is not conscious. Until this connexion is further made out, to trace the progress of human belief in a moral order of the world will not be equivalent to tracing the progress of the human consciousness of God in the world, at least in the usual meaning of the most important of those terms.

We look, therefore, with increased interest for the conclusion of this

most comprehensive work. Meanwhile, the other great undertaking of the same indefatigable author is going on. We can only indicate the completion of the "Bibelwerk"² to the end of Deuteronomy.

"Limits of Religious Thought Examined."³ This volume of philosophical theology is an attempt to extend the argumentative method originated by Butler, and to give it a more imposing and exhaustive character. The author, instead of confronting the difficulties of Revelation with the difficulties of Nature, in their simplest form, carries up the problem into the higher region of metaphysical conception, and plays off the contradictions of ontology against the repeated contradictions of religious faith. For the true theory of the limits of human thought as applicable to theological no less than to metaphysical researches, Mr. Mansel refers us to a celebrated article of Sir William Hamilton on the Philosophy of the Unconditioned. His great principle that the unconditioned is incognisable and inconceivable, suggested the inquiries pursued in the present work, while the best practical instance of the limits of human thought is found, as already intimated, in Butler's "Analogy." In his examination of these limits, the author indicates the errors of the respective systems denoted by the terms Dogmatism and Rationalism, and advocates the restricted use of the reason, as well in defence as in refutation of religious doctrine. The tendency of dogmatism is to endanger the interests of religious truth, by placing that which is divine and unquestionable in too close an alliance with that which is human and doubtful; of rationalism, to destroy revealed religion, by obliterating the whole distinction between the human and divine. A morbid dread of anthropomorphism poisons much of modern metaphysical speculation. The Supreme Mind of the Deist is no less a human portrait of God than the Heavenly Father of the Christian. Humanity remains, but the humanity is mutilated. Nothing is added to the conception of God, but part is taken away from the conception of man. If the God who listens to prayer appears in the likeness of human mutability, the God who does *not* listen is but the likeness of human obstinacy. Surely, exclaims Mr. Mansel, downright idolatry is better than this *rational* worship of a fragment of humanity. There is, however, a principle of truth of which this philosophy is the perversion; for if there is a sense in which we may not think of God as though he were man, there is also a sense in which we cannot help so thinking of him. A mediative element common to both systems must be sought. This element will be found in the canon that the primary and proper object of criticism is not religion, natural or revealed, but the human mind in its relation to religion. For if it can be shown that the limits of religious and philosophical thought are the same, the chief foundation of religious rationalism is cut away from under it. There are two

² Bunsen's "Bibelwerk. Vollständiges Bibelwerk für die Gemeinde. In drei Abtheilungen." Von Christian Carl Josias Bunsen. Erste Abtheilung. Zweiter Halbband. London: David Nutt. 1858.

³ "The Limits of Religious Thought Examined, in Eight Lectures, preached before the University of Oxford." By Henry Longueville Mansel, B.D. Oxford: 1858.

methods by which a philosophy of religion may be attempted—the objective or metaphysical, based on a supposed knowledge of the nature of God; and the subjective or psychological, based on a knowledge of the mental faculties of man. The mutual contradictions involved in the fundamental ideas of Rational Theology, the Absolute, the Infinite, the First Cause, are indicated in the second lecture of this volume; the self-refutations of the Pantheistic and Atheistic hypotheses exhibited, and the impossibility of constructing a metaphysical theology inferred. The philosophy of religion from the subjective side is discussed in the following lecture, under the heads of the four conditions of consciousness:—1. Distinction of Objects; 2. Relation between Subject and Object; 3. Succession; and 4. Duration in Time and Personality; and the impossibility of affirmative conception is met by the counter-impossibility of negative conception. Hence thought cannot be the measure of belief, and consequently a rational theology can never be established. An analysis of the religious consciousness, reflective and intuitive, follows. The two principal modes of religious intuition are the feeling of dependence and the conviction of moral obligation, giving rise respectively to prayer and expiation. Dependence implies a personal superior, hence our conviction of the power of God; moral obligation implies a moral law-giver, hence our conviction of the goodness of God. The Infinite, though indirectly implied in the religious consciousness, is not apprehended as such; it is an object of belief, not of knowledge. Thus, while we may know that an infinite God exists, we cannot know *what* he is as infinite. The personality of God is given in the consciousness of our own personality: a consciousness indispensable to Theism, and the denial of which would logically lead to Atheism. In the fifth lecture, the distinction between speculative and regulative truth, introduced in the previous one, is carried still further, and the highest principles of thought in philosophy as well as in religion, are maintained to have a strictly *regulative* character. Instances are given in the ideas of liberty and necessity; unity and plurality; the commerce between soul and body; extension and succession. From these instances a *rule* is deduced for ascertaining the limits of thought, by means of the distinction between legitimate and illegitimate thought, as determined by their relation to the *inexplicable* and *self-contradictory* respectively. The conclusion drawn as to the mind's operation is, that no principle of thought can be regarded as absolute and simple, as an ultimate and highest truth. In this respect there is an analogy between philosophy and natural religion, and corresponding difficulties are to be expected in each. Revelation is thus adapted to the limits of human thought; and the relation of the infinite to the personal is exemplified in the representations of God in the Old and New Testament, particularly in the doctrine of the Incarnation. In the sixth lecture we have the result of the previous inquiries. Religious ideas contain two elements, a form and a matter. Hence there may exist two possible kinds of difficulties: the one formal, arising from the universal law of human thought; the other material, arising from the peculiar nature of the religious evidence. The principal rationalistic objections are of the

former kind; and are common to all human thinking, rationalism included. Parallel difficulties in theology and philosophy are then adduced. Our ignorance of God's nature is compared with our ignorance of the nature of causation; the doctrine of the Trinity, with the philosophical conception of the Infinite and the Absolute, as one, and yet as many; the doctrine of the eternal generation of the Son with the relation of an infinite substance to its attributes: the purpose of the comparison being, not to prove the doctrines, but to show the weakness of the human reason with respect to them. The moral objections to Christian doctrines are considered in the seventh lecture. Morality, as conceived by us, necessarily contains a human and positive element, and therefore cannot be the measure of the absolute nature of God. Applying this principle to Christian theology, the author vindicates the Atonement, on the ground that the moral objections usually advanced against it may equally be advanced against any conceivable scheme of Divine Providence. The doctrine of eternal punishment is defended by the consideration that its difficulties are not peculiar to theology, but common to all philosophy, and belong to the general problem of the existence of evil; itself but a subordinate case of the universal impossibility of conceiving the co-existence of the Infinite with the Finite.

Though revealed religion is not by itself a direct object of criticism, yet reason has a subordinate province assigned it. For reason is entitled to judge of a religion in respect of its evidences, as addressed to men, but not in respect of its correspondence with philosophical conceptions of the absolute nature of God. No one faculty of the human mind is entitled to exclusive preference as the criterion of religious truth. There is a legitimate and illegitimate use of the reason; a proper and improper use of the moral sense in questions of religious evidence. Mr. Mansel's conclusion is, that the difficulties arising from the universal laws of human thought form part of our training and discipline in this life; that the office of philosophy is not to give us a knowledge of the absolute nature of God, but to teach us to know ourselves and the limits of our faculties.

Such is a fair analysis of the contents of this book, and such a fair sketch of the philosophical and logical method employed by its author. While we agree with Mr. Mansel that no metaphysical construction is possible; while we allow that he has shown the futility of Pantheism; the dogmatic character of Atheism; and the vanity of every existing speculative system of theology, we think his elaborate argument possesses no further value. It may be justified in denying, but it is not justified in affirming. For does it follow that, because there are limits to philosophical as to religious thought, because there is a domain into which reason cannot penetrate, we must necessarily receive the flying reports of this transcendent region, the "ambiguous voices" of alleged travellers, without examining their credentials, or comparing their evidence? All investigation on secondary points is precluded, if we rightly understand Mr. Mansel, because existence is an unfathomable mystery, and reason can make no assertions respecting supersensuous phenomena, without involving herself in inextricable entanglements.

Surely the presence of contradictions is no proof of the truth of a system, even if it be no presumption of its falsehood; and granting that the opposing play of two correlative conceptions teaches us that the "capacity of thought is not to be constituted into the measure of existence," are we entitled to erect on this ethereal basis a superstructure of theological doctrine, only because it, too, possesses the same self-contradictions, the same balance of perplexities? But is it certain that this dualistic constitution of the human mind is more than an expression of its impotency when it attempts to grapple with problems beyond its reach? May not this kind of intellectual self-gladiatorship, this speculative diamond-cut-diamond encounter, be but an inevitable result of the difficulties that must ensue when we attempt to overvault our reasoning powers? There are certain conceptions on which thought cannot employ itself without evolving paradoxes, but the subjective creation of paradoxes does not establish the absolute reality of the conceptions themselves. But allowing that this spirit of logical contradiction has an objective validity, in what does the argument issue? The argument places all religions and philosophies on precisely the same level; all are, so far, equally true or equally false. If the presence of contradictions in Judaism is no proof that Judaism is not true, the presence of contradictions in Brahminism or Mahometanism is no proof that these religions are not true. Thus the question still remains—Is speculative Christianity true? and this question must be removed from the court of metaphysical jurisdiction into that of common sense and decision by human testimony.

In its ethical application we think this argument calculated to be exceedingly dangerous. Butler, in his "Analogy," acknowledges the general competency of reason to decide in questions of evidence and morality; but afterwards virtually retracts this admission—

"It is the province of Reason," he says, "to judge of the morality of the Scripture; not whether it contains things different from what we should have expected from a wise, and just, and good Being, for objections from hence have been now obviated, but whether it contains things plainly contradictory to wisdom, justice, or goodness, to what the light of nature teaches us of God. And I know nothing of this sort objected against Scripture. . . . There are some particular precepts in Scripture given to particular persons, requiring actions which would be immoral and vicious were it not for such precepts."

This passage is quoted at length by Mr. Mansel, and Butler's principle approved by him. Human morality, he urges, is relative, and the moral nature cannot judge in questions of absolute morality. The deed which is criminal on earth may be praiseworthy in heaven. According to this representation, how are we ever to decide on what is right or wrong? If it be replied, a positive command from God can alone authorize a man to violate the plain prescriptions of human morality, we demand what proof we can have that, in any alleged case, God *has* issued such a command? Many a fanatic believes himself to have received such a sanction for his crime; and if this doctrine of Divine interposition to suspend moral law is once admitted, who shall say that he has not, when he asserts that he has? A doctrine more destructive of healthful moral perception, more perplexing

to the intellect, or misleading to the heart, cannot well be conceived, to say nothing of the practical mischief and disaster in which it may terminate. But this is not all. It is a palpable unfairness to admit the authority of the reason and conscience, and invite their investigation, and when the challenge is accepted, and the criminality of an action indicated, exposed, and established according to all the formulas of human logic, and all the principles of human morality, to make an exception in its favour, and shield it under the ægis of theological sanction. If the religionist is to assume that a wicked action ceases to be wicked because it is commanded by God, his opponent has plainly no chance of disproving it. The assumption, however, is good for the Mahometan or Brahmin as well as for the Jew, and may equally be employed by them to vindicate their own creed; a fact which evinces its logical inutility.

The argument so laboriously and ingeniously pursued in these eight Bampton Lectures, amounts, then, to no more than the establishment of the proposition that speculative Christianity has no greater difficulties than are inherent in every speculative system; and to the assumption, that if we cannot understand infinity or causation we are bound to accept the mysteries of ecclesiastical religion without inquiry, and to regard the accompanying contradictions and perplexities as necessary trials of our faith, insoluble here, soluble hereafter. Thus criticism is prohibited, and reason put out of court. Is there no fear that such a defence will be looked on, by the ordinary believer, as a concession, and by the unbeliever as a surrender?

Dr. Neander is said by the editor of his "History of Christian Dogmas"⁴ to have attached especial importance to the lectures which he delivered on that subject. He was peculiarly qualified for treating it, because he was able to do so without permitting any passion to warp his judgment; he could pursue his search after truth, and pass in review the polemics of others, often bitter enough, *sine ira aut studio*. He could also permit himself to hold his judgment in suspense, when evidence was insufficient to determine it; he could distinguish between probability and certainty. The incapacity for making this distinction—at least, for giving any practical effect to it—has been the cause of more than half the strife which has torn the Christian world. We may think, for our own part, that he did not always attach due weight—if we may be pardoned a seeming contradiction in the expression—to the negative evidence. But the standing-point is to be remembered from which Neander looked at Christianity. He did not and could not concentrate his attention upon a few facts related in the Gospel histories, or upon a few texts, supposed to be cardinal ones in the decision of particular controversies. His eye embraced the whole of Christianity, as it has, in matter of fact, existed in the world. Now, even if its origin has been obscure or ill-ascertained, nevertheless the results of the belief in its specially divine origin can

⁴ "Lectures on the History of Christian Dogmas." By Dr. Augustus Neander. Edited by Dr. J. L. Jacobi. Translated from the German by J. E. Ryland, M.A., &c. In two Volumes. London: H. G. Bohn. 1858.

never be obliterated from the records of the world's history, nor cease to operate upon that history in ages to come. And not only have beliefs become facts of history, never to be henceforward omitted as historical facts, whether they have been true beliefs or false beliefs, or in whatever degree true or false, but there certainly has been a spirit running through Christianity in all its forms, which it would be un-historical and unphilosophical to ignore. This spirit, in whatever it consists, is in our own opinion, as yet at least, so lively, that if the original Christian records could be shown to be of no earlier date than the middle of the second century, or in any other way the evidence for the cardinal facts on which the Christian faith appears to be founded be proved to be null, it would not have an appreciable effect upon its concrete forms. We cannot enter upon the discussion as to what this spirit is, which, as a matter of fact, has given such vitality not only to Christianity taken in the whole of its history, but which does give such vitality to its several forms, notwithstanding their acknowledged entanglement with error and worldliness in every conceivable degree. It is of course customary with Church historians to identify this spirit of vitality with some principle esteemed to be essential in the special communion to which they may belong. Neander is, however, able to rise in great degree above this narrowness; but having risen to a certain height his wing flags, or he is drawn back by some formula, just as we think he is going to soar. But in giving an extract exemplifying both his narrowness and his freedom, we desire to detract nothing from our recommendation of these volumes to the English student, as containing the best history of dogmas of which we know.

"If the formal principle of Protestantism allows a completely unfettered mode of viewing things, so its material principle, which regards Christ as the only ground of salvation, gives the point of unity for all development, as well as its right criterion. It also furnishes motives for examining the doctrine given in Scripture, in its living development through the power of Christ's spirit, and not to regard it even in Holy Scripture itself as something rigid and immovable. Protestantism therefore gave the right standpoint, and an impulse to the investigation of the history of dogmas; but these effects did not appear at once; many foreign elements supervened and checked the development. Although the Holy Scriptures were regarded as the only source of the knowledge of Christian truth, yet there was, at the same time, a want of interest in the historical development of Christian doctrine, though that is a witness of Christian truth. And on the standpoint of Protestantism the judgment was warped by the interest felt in bringing forward witnesses from the earlier history against Catholicism, in order to represent it as an adulteration of later date. It was not perceived that the Catholic doctrine might exist early and yet be untrue; for the laws of historical and Christian development were not yet understood, and it was supposed that what was owned to be orthodox must have existed of old."—(vol. i. p. 28.)

The ninth volume of "Neander's Church History,"⁵ in two parts, completes Mr. Bohn's issue of that valuable work. This latter portion

⁵ "General History of the Christian Religion and Church." Translated from the German of Dr. Augustus Neander, by Joseph Torrey, Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Vermont. New Edition, with a general Index. Volume Ninth. Part the First: Part the Second. London: H. G. Bohn. 1858.

was made up after the author's death with considerable difficulty from his papers, and cannot be said to present a consecutive or evenly flowing narrative. There are portions of it, however, of great value—particularly the chapter in the second part which treats of the Bohemian Reformers, forerunners of Huss, Militz the Moravian, Archdeacon in Prague (d. 1374), Conrad of Waldhausen, preacher in Vienna and Prague (d. 1369), and especially Matthias of Janow, in 1381 master of the cathedral at Prague (d. 1394). Copious extracts are given from the works of the latter, which are mostly yet unpublished. These men, surrounded by corruptions which have not the remotest parallel in any Christian community now existing, seem to have been animated by a spirit much like that which burnt with so great vehemence in the breasts of the Hebrew prophets in the debased periods of the Jewish Church and State. Like them they were very clear and just in their moral judgments, but like them their horizon was very bounded; atrocious as the circumstances were by which they were surrounded, we now see that they overrated their importance relatively to the world's history.

M. de Pressensé⁶ carries us in his second volume to the end of the age of transition, or of the apostolical Fathers. He shows very great fairness and power of appreciation, unless occasionally when prejudices come in his way. Thus he estimates very justly the feebleness of the apostolical Fathers, compared both with the New Testament writers who preceded them, and the Fathers, especially of the Eastern Churches, who succeeded them. He is also not insensible to a certain variation in the mode of presenting the Gospel, observable in the apostolical writers themselves. He is content to attribute this variation of presentation to a variation in their receptive capabilities—a variation in the manner in which the human element in each of them, as compared with the others, was combined with the divine. We certainly think that the discrepancy of views in the several apostles has sometimes been unduly magnified; at least when it has been represented as leading to a personal hostility. That the differences between the leading men were very great we can have no doubt, nor any doubt that they were felt by themselves to be so. But along with these felt differences, we conceive that there was an agreement between them, tacit or express, to avoid clashing, thwarting, or neutralizing each other's efforts. M. de Pressensé appears, however, as striving too anxiously to reconcile St. Paul and St. James, and to have been led to misapply a text in order to it, misled possibly by an ambiguity in the French version. He says, "*Nous retrouvons chez Jacques la doctrine de la grâce très clairement enseignée. Toute grâce excellente et tout don parfait vient d'en haut, et descend du Père des lumières*" (p. 115). But the original for "grâce" is *δόσις*, not *χάρις*, and it is rendered without ambiguity in the English version, "Every good gift," &c. (Jas. i. 17.) But still more strange is his proof that the apostle James taught the immediate presence of the Divine Spirit with Christians. "*L'Esprit de Dieu*

⁶ "*Histoire des Trois Premiers Siècles de l'Eglise Chrétienne.*" Par E. de Pressensé. Deuxième Volume. London: David Nutt. 1858.

habite dans les Chrétiens et c'est lui qui les dirige et les pousse dans la voie de la sainteté. Voilà un élément mystique qui nous élève bien au-dessus du Judéo-christianisme." (*ib.*) And in support of this position M. de Pressensé quotes a scrap of a text in his note, and, moreover, wrapped up in Greek, "Τὸ πνεῦμα ὃ κατοικῆσεν ἐν ἡμῖν" (Jas. iv. 5); "The spirit which dwelleth in us." Readers not very conversant with texts would little think how the entire verse runs: "Think ye that the Scripture saith in vain, *the spirit that dwelleth in us lusteth to envy.*" The allusion probably is to Gen. vi. 5, and a notable proof of the indwelling in Christians of the Holy Spirit!

Dr. Hupfeld⁷ continues his translation and exposition of the Psalms. His present volume reaches to the forty-ninth. It is an excellent illustration of a noble portion of the Hebrew literature, entirely free from the bias of Messianic interpretations and other theological misconceptions.

A disproportionate interest is by some attached to the investigation, in minute points, of Christian antiquities. And the readiness with which, according to their different inclinations, men of different communions or schools leap to conclusions favourable to their own views, discourages such inquiries with most sober-minded persons. That the story of Joseph of Arimathea planting Christianity in Britain should not have been utterly scouted by Protestant English historians, tends to throw discredit upon any attempt to trace the manner in which this country was Christianized for the first time. On the other hand, it has served the polemical purposes of the Church of Rome to maintain that there was no Christianity in the island when Austin the monk was sent over here in 597. The purpose of a small volume by Sir Oswald Mosley⁸ is to vindicate the existence of an early British Christianity. And the history, as transmitted by Bede, supplies evidence sufficient for the establishment of that fact. There may still remain a battle to be fought out between the High Church Anglicans and the Romanists, as to the channel through which the present episcopal succession of the English Church can be maintained. Whether, if the succession be only traceable through the Roman See, it be necessary thereupon to acknowledge its jurisdiction; or whether there be not, in matter of fact, a mixture of British and Roman spiritual descent, as for instance through the doubly consecrated Wilfrid. For the effect, polemically, of such a mixture of consecrations is this, that if the Romanist considers the British consecration, or the British element in a consecration to have been null, the maintainer of the British line represents the re-consecration by the Roman bishop, or the Roman element in any given consecration, to have been superfluous. It need not be said that we ourselves attach no importance to such questions. But it is of some consequence to notice that Christianity did show itself at a very early period in the remote provinces of the Roman empire, and, as far

⁷ "Die Psalmen." Uebersetzt und ausgelegt, von Dr. Hermann Hupfeld, ordentlichem Professor der Theologie zu Halle. Zweiter Band. London: David Nutt. 1858.

⁸ "A Short Account of the Ancient British Church." By Sir Oswald Mosley, Bart. London: Ridgway. 1858.

as can be traced, without the intervention of apostles, apostolic men, or persons in any way acting under a special mission for that purpose. It is from day to day more widely acknowledged, that Christianity presents in the first three centuries the phenomenon of a subterranean river, first visibly gathered together from the obscurities of its source, then plunging out of sight beneath some opposing barrier, afterwards reappearing in mightily increased strength. There is reason for supposing a great spread of Christianity into the Roman provinces, even in apostolic times, though not by means of apostles. It filtered into the provinces through domestic channels. And perhaps the most interesting notice in Sir O. Mosley's little work is that which refers to the identification, probable, almost complete, of the Pudens and Claudia mentioned in 2 Tim. iv. 21, with the Pudens and Claudia of Martial's Epigrams, iv. 13, and xi. 53, and of Claudia moreover with the daughter of a British Regulus, on authority of an inscription disinterred at Chichester in 1723.

"Christian Days and Thoughts,"⁹ by the late Dr. Peabody, an American Episcopalian, will be an useful little manual for members of his own communion, who are educated to follow with special interest the cycle of seasons observed by the Church. The reflections which it contains are in their tone devout, composing, not otherwise than cheering, and without the least mixture of asperity towards man, or discontent towards the Supreme Being.

Dr. Guthrie's "Discourses"¹⁰ manifest a very commanding eloquence. Their doctrinal standpoint will be understood from such a passage as the following:—

"When grace subdues a rebel man, if I may so speak, the citadel first is taken: afterwards the city. It is not as in those great sieges which we have lately watched with such anxious interest. There approaching with his brigades and cavalry and artillery, man sits down outside the city. He begins the attack from a distance; creeping, like a lion to the spring—with trench, and parallel, and battery—nearer to the walls. . . . But when the appointed hour of conversion comes, Christ descends by his Spirit into the heart—at once into the heart. The battle of grace begins there. Do you know that by experience? The heart won, she fights her way outward from a new heart on to new habits," &c.—(p. 96.)

Dr. Guthrie's style is very powerful and enchaining; it is very concrete; its imagery is taken from Scripture histories, from narratives of modern life, from ministerial experience, from memories of the times of the Reformation and of the Covenant, such as make the heart of the Presbyterian leap into his mouth. Dr. Guthrie, we are rejoiced to see, if only as a matter of feeling, to say nothing of hopes of a charitable leaven, draws but little—to judge from these published specimens of his sermons—upon the terrors of the dark side of his creed. Very rarely does the vehement imagination of the

⁹ "Christian Days and Thoughts." By Rev. Ephraim Peabody, D.D. London: Sampson Low, Son, & Co. Boston: Crosby, Nichols, & Co. 1858.

¹⁰ "Christ and the Inheritance of the Saints. Illustrated in a Series of Discourses from the Colossians." By Thomas Guthrie, D.D., Author of "Pleas for Ragged Schools," &c. Edinburgh: A. and C. Black. 1858.

preacher carry him beyond the bounds of good taste. We think the description of Queen Esther, p. 353, trenches at least upon those limits. It is too fulsome. The picture, also, of the unforgiving mother (p. 377), produced as an actual history out of the ministerial memoranda, would shock most persons' sense of ministerial delicacy; if told, moreover, as an actual fact, it must have suggested to some minds questions concerning the psychological state of that poor woman, which must have marred the intended rhetorical effect. We permit ourselves to note one more place where a pursuit of detail has marred the grandeur and force of the presentation. Speaking of the Resurrection:—

“The hour sounds; the appointed time arrives. Having slept out his sleep, Jesus stirs; he awakes of his own accord; he rises by his own power; and arranging, or leaving attending angels to arrange the linen clothes, he walks out on the dewy ground, beneath the starry sky.”—(p. 336.)

Mr. Macnaught's pamphlet¹¹ on the subject of the “Confessional in the Church of England” is a very probing one. He shows, with his accustomed clearness and straightforwardness, that considerable censure is given to the use of private Confession in certain parts of the formularies of the Church, left hitherto unreformed, either out of carelessness, or for the sake of comprehension, or out of Jesuitry. He also proves, from the published statements of the defenders of the practice, that it is finding its way “silently” into many parishes without the sanction of their ministers, into many families without the knowledge of their heads. The remedy is difficult, as it is for the spread of any superstition. A superstition cannot be put down by force. The best way is to turn the light upon it. Mr. Macnaught draws anything but a flattering picture of the qualifications, generally, of the young men who are now admitted into the ministry of the Established Church. “Blind leaders of the blind,” as it appears;—for if the laity of that communion really required better and more sensible men for their ministers, they would soon have them.

Very truly is it observed by the Editor of “God and His Creation,”¹² that for thousands of years the different views of God and the world, which may be designated as Theism and Pantheism, have divided mankind. But anciently these different views or doctrines were conterminous with races, nations, theologies, or communions. Recently they cut across otherwise homogeneous-populations, and cause division within the boundaries of the selfsame Christian confessions. And not only that, the conflict between Theism and Pantheism is carried on

¹¹ “A Letter on the Confessional in the Church of England. Addressed, with Permission, to the Right Hon. the Lord Stanley, M.P., Secretary of State for India,” &c., &c. By the Rev. John Macnaught, M.A. Oxon, Incumbent of St. Chrysostom's, Everton, Liverpool; Author of the “Doctrine of Inspiration,” &c. Liverpool: Young. London: Williams and Norgate. 1858.

¹² “Kritik des Gottesbegriffs in den gegenwertigen Weltansichten.” 3te Auflage. 1857.

“Gott und seine Schöpfung.” Von dem Autor der Kritik, u.s.w. 1857.

“Der natürliche Weg des Menschen zu Gott.” Von dem Autor, u.s.w. 1858. London: D. Nutt.

within the individual man—his reason leads him, forces him, to bind together God and the world in one universe; his feelings prompt him to seek a helper—an Almighty Person outside of himself, on whom he may lean for succour; in his head he is heathen, while in his heart he is Christian. The three works which we have noted are concerned with the statement and attempted solution of this profound question. The first of them went through two editions in the author's lifetime, the others have been published since his death—all anonymously. But we learn from the *Blätter für literarische Unterhaltung*, for August, 1858, that they are the production of Friedrich Rohmer, a native of Weissenburg, and son of a pastor in that town. He was born in 1811, and at the early age of twenty-one, published "Anfang und Ende der Speculation," which excited much attention. Afterwards he took a prominent part in Swiss politics, and, with Counsellor Bluntschli, was founder of the Liberal Conservative party at Zurich, in 1842. He resided subsequently at Berlin and Munich, and died of paralysis, at the latter place, in 1856. We are told that the circumstances of his life were not happy, but his writings show a truly religious and unperturbed temper. The little satisfaction he had in this life only quickened his aspirations after a renewed state of being. The "Kritik" is occupied in showing that neither Pantheism nor Theism, separately, can satisfy the wants of man in his reason and in his heart, or account for the phenomena of the world. Specially Pantheism is defective, in that man loses his individuality, is a mere phenomenon, a phase, a "schein;" freedom and responsibility are words which, under that theory, can have no real meaning. Theism, on the other hand, is defective in its proofs, where the author touches very well on the ontological, the cosmological, and the teleological arguments; also in the difficulties which beset the conception of the Divine personality; and, above all, in the moral contradiction presented, according to the Theistic theory, by the existence of evil in the creation of a benevolent and Almighty Being. The statement of the difficulties and objections to these respective theories is drawn out with perfect simplicity and terseness, and containing nothing whatever superfluous beyond a page or two, showing how these different theological views are found, as the author thinks, prevalent uniformly with different political parties.

Of the two other treatises, the one, "God and His Creation," endeavours to develop the true idea of the Deity and the universe on purely metaphysical grounds. Analysing the ultimate categories of human thought, they are found in pairs of contradictories—as substance and property; nothing and becoming; space and time; rest and movement; darkness and light; indifference and difference; cause and effect; antecedent and consequent; extension and concentration; source and development. These categories or forms of thought follow from pursuing different lines of thinking, and they may be further multiplied. But they all combine with the first pair. And the ground of the All may be considered as substance, or nothing, or space, or rest, or darkness, or indifference, or cause, or antecedent, or extension, or source. For, in each pair of contradictories, we can think away the one member of the relation but not the other, as we

can think away property, but not substance; becoming, but not nothing; time, but not space; movement, but not rest; light, but not darkness; difference, but not indifference; effect, but not cause; consequent, but not antecedent; concentration, but not extension; development, but not source. Thence—

“Substance and nothing is space; property and becoming is time. Space is eternal, for it is boundless, and consequently has neither beginning nor end. Time pre-supposes space, and consequently in relation to space must be thought of as the second term or property which is added to substance. We can therefore conceive a beginning of time, just as we can a beginning of motion. But as time takes its commencement in space, and must go forth from its eternal source without end, thence it follows time must be endless.”—(p. 30.) And again, “substance, space, is the eternal antecedent, rest and cause, from which its property goes forth as consequent, movement and effect. And as the power of the source is boundless, so do consequences, like movement, follow in an endless series”—(p. 34.)

There is, however, another pair of categories, matter and spirit, presenting greater difficulties. Where is to be observed, that there is no such thing as abstract matter—dead matter—or unorganized matter, nor any self-existent elements? Actual material things form only the body of the one great Being. And this great Being, the one and universal, consisting of body and spirit, is an organized existence; that which is usually called inorganic matter is no other than the organized body of this Being, which may be called the macrocosm, the one original, infinite, and endless existence. But we are conscious that we ourselves have a limited and terminable existence. We are also aware that we are surrounded by a multitude of beings limited like ourselves. And we are conscious for ourselves and sure with respect to these others, that we are organized existences, consisting of body and spirit. And these microcosms may be considered as the creatures of the macrocosm. At the close of this part of his work Rohmer quotes, from the letters of Frederick the Great to D’Alembert, some passages in which a similar theory is put forth. Thus, in a letter of December 31, 1770, the royal free-thinker says:—

“J’abandonne donc la matière et l’esprit pur et pour avoir quelque idée de Dieu, je me le représente comme le *sensorium* de l’univers, comme l’intelligence attachée à l’organisation éternelle des mondes qui existent et en cela je ne m’approche point du système de Spinoza, ni de celui des Stoiciens, qui regardoient tous les êtres pensans comme des émanations du grand esprit universel, auquel leur faculté de penser se rejoignoit après leur mort. Les preuves de cette intelligence ou de ce *sensorium* de la nature sont celles-ci les rapports étonnans qui existent dans tout l’arrangement physique du monde, des végétaux et des êtres animés; en second lieu l’intelligence de l’homme. Car si la nature étoit brute elle nous auroit donné ce qu’elle n’a pas elle-même, ce qui est une contradiction grossière.”—(p. 72.)

And again, March 13, 1771:

“J’envisage toute l’organisation de cet univers et je me dis à moi-même: si toi, qui n’es qu’un ciron, tu penses étant animé, pourquoi ces corps immenses qui sont dans un mouvement perpétuel ne produiroient ils pas une pensée bien supérieure à la tienne?”—(Ib.)

There is thus only one body in the universe, as there is only one

God; and this body of the universe is God's body. Thus the earth or sun, or other astronomical bodies have no separate life, or separate organism. Such orbs are only portions of the one Divine body. But in the movement which belongs to the astronomical bodies is manifested the movement of God himself. And as there is only one universal spirit, that which appears evil to us in the action of the material phenomena is not really evil, for there can be no power independent of the universal spirit from which all power issues. There can be no eternal evil being, for God comprehends the eternal source, and that is the source of infinite progress. There can be no being infinitely evil, which God has to overcome. Evils can only be stages in the infinite progress, or, as it were, abortive thoughts of the Divine mind. All creatures are the realized thought of God, the outspeaking of the Divine idea. Here the author inclines to Pantheistic doctrine; but in the individuality which he concedes to the microcosms, he appears to conciliate Theistic opinions. He gives something to the Pantheist, and something to the Theist, but does not succeed in reconciling the two. According to this theory, how does death affect the microcosm? As the microcosm consists like the macrocosm of body and spirit, at dissolution, the body of man will be returned to the Divine body, and the spirit to the Divine spirit, nevertheless, not so as to preclude a renewed life: for as the microcosm has his individuality from a creative thought of God—when that thought becomes again active in the Divine mind, the man will be re-awakened to a conscious existence. Of which can only be said, that the example of one such Pythagoras would be worth far more than tomes of German speculation. We have no space to notice the third treatise of the same author, "The Natural Way of Man to God," farther than to say, that it undertakes to establish the same views, in a somewhat more popular form, and to draw them from an observation of the actual rather than from abstract speculation.

There are three points which demand attention in such an undertaking as that of Sir A. Grant's, relative to an old established academic text-book like the "Nicomachean Ethics."¹³ The first concerns his criticism of the genuineness of the work itself; the second, his endeavour to compare ancient forms of thought with their nearest modern equivalents; the third, his actual representation or rendering of the text of the original. As for the first part of his undertaking, we think the author has rendered a great service in more ways than one; he has given an excellent example of criticism, which may be followed with effect upon other books which continue to go under received names in their entirety, chiefly because not questioned; he has vindicated a great man from the imputation of much contradiction and entanglement (take for instance Book v. 3); he has moreover set free the minds of students from the fear of finding themselves, when they followed their

¹³ "The Ethics of Aristotle, illustrated with Essays and Notes." By Sir Alexander Grant, Bart., M.A., Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford. In three Volumes. Volume the second, containing The Nicomachean Ethics. Books I. to VI. With Notes critical and explanatory. London: J. W. Parker and Son. 1858.

own natural insight, in opposition to a great authority. In the preface to Book v. he recapitulates the arguments which justify him in disallowing Books v. vi. vii. as the work of the philosopher himself, and which are perfectly cogent. These are:—

“(1.) It is established both by probability and by internal evidence, that the *Eudemian Ethics*, and the *Magna Moralia*, are not works of Aristotle, but expositions of his system by his disciple Eudemus, and by some later peripatetic. (2.) The three books in question form part of the *Eudemian*, as well as the *Nicomachean Ethics*. (3.) They belong naturally to the *Eudemian Ethics*, and fit into them without causing the slightest irregularity. (4.) In the *Nicomachean Ethics* they are the cause of extreme irregularity, and of collisions and discrepancies which would be a disgrace to Aristotle as an author, if it could be supposed that he had allowed them to remain in a work written by himself as a whole. (5.) In style, they possess all the peculiarities of Eudemus, as far as his writing can be distinguished from that of Aristotle. (6.) In various philosophical questions, especially in psychology, these books contain an advance beyond the point arrived at in other parts of Aristotle's works, the *Politics*, the *Nicomachean Ethics*, &c., but they are consistent with the views in the *Eudemian Ethics*. . . . (7.) Lastly, it may be said that there is no really strong argument in favour of attributing these books to the direct authorship of Aristotle, beyond a habit of belief which has depended on the question never being mooted.”—(pp. 189, 190.)

Secondly, in endeavouring to represent the thoughts of Aristotle by their modern equivalents, the chief danger, critically speaking, is on the side of making him say more than he really could have meant to say. Sir A. Grant is well aware of this, and especially on his guard against it; as when he acknowledges the “difficulty of translating less definite ancient words into more definite modern ones,” and repudiates the recognition by Aristotle of a distinct faculty of the moral sense, which some have been anxious to find in his *Ethics*, in order to bring him into unison with Bishop Butler. The point of the difficulty lies herein, that especially since the time of Kant the whole philosophy of the internal man turns upon the pivot of the consciousness, and Aristotle had not at all analysed the phenomena of the consciousness. We therefore require to represent the Greek philosopher by means of terms which shall not imply any contradiction of the truth as we understand it, but which need not mean more than that which he could alone have meant. But to call the *ψυχῆς ἐνέργεια κατὰ* of A. “a development and awaking of the consciousness under the law of virtue” (p. 44, note); or “conscious life in conformity with the law of absolute excellence,” is, in fact, to attribute to Aristotle an explicit doctrine of the consciousness. We cannot reconcile ourselves, as to the third point, to the rendering of *ἐνέργεια* by “actuality,” which seems to us a barbarous word at best, and to be properly synonymous with “reality,” which would convey a wrong meaning. In suggesting “a function,” we of course do not employ the word in the sense of “office” or “duty;” but nearly in the same way that we speak of the appropriate action of a specific organ as its “function;” or as we should say in French, “cette machine *fonctionne* bien;” or talk of the “play” of an engine or spring. But if “function” is still too ambiguous, we should much prefer “activity;” “happiness is an activity

of the inward principle or life." "Actual" is, we believe, used both by Shakspeare and Milton in the sense of "active," but it is certainly now obsolete in that usage; and if Sir A. Grant intends "actuality" in the sense of "activity," it would be much better to use the ordinary word. In some other cases we doubt whether, after laying down perfectly sound views, they are adhered to with sufficient stringency in the renderings of the notes. He observes, with a just appreciation of his author's philosophical position, that *προαίρεσις* "does not mean with A. the will as a whole, for which, indeed, he has no name, but a particular exhibition of it, a conscious determinate act of the will;" but he afterwards employs "purpose" as the rendering of *προαίρεσις*, which is likewise liable to be misunderstood as if it signified a whole faculty. The English word "willing" would express a determinate act of the will: so with respect to *βούλησις*, "*wishing* is for the end, but *willing* is of the means," not *wish* and *will* as if they were "wholes." Likewise with some phrases of constant recurrence Sir A. Grant has occasionally omitted to give their particular force; for instance, *δοκεῖ*, not, "seems," but, "is generally thought or allowed" (pp. 5, 56, 99); and *δεῖ* (pp. 70, 71), not, "we *must* use material (?) analogies," &c., nor, "we *must* consider the test of a formed state of mind," &c., but "we *ought*;" the difference is between an obligation from within and from without. And while we are touching on occasional blemishes, we may point out the employment of a few words which are scarcely to be admitted into use—*desirability*, *commensurability*, *imperishability*. These are but slight defects in a very able work, and one which, from its design and general execution, cannot fail to be exceedingly useful in the Oxford lecture-rooms.

A little book by Mr. Faram,¹⁴ contains some very good hints on the Idea of Power. We cannot say that we coincide with him as to the way in which our idea of power is derived, but agree, that when we have the idea of power, it is distinguishable from the idea of cause. Hence it may be possible to get rid of the difficulty concerning an absolute commencement. For it is not possible to think of cause as not operating—but it is conceivable that power should have been ever, without being always evolved or operating as cause (p. 56). And so all existence, and consequently all knowledge, is from "three infinite possibilities:"—

"Creation does not imply that nothing was turned into something, but only that which was before possible in power should be brought out of power, which is properly to give existence; all actual things, present, past, and future, come out of power, and consist of power in time and space; and therefore whatever is experienced, known, or conceived of as existing, is power in time and space."
—(p. 131.)

"Colebrooke's Essays,"¹⁵ are too well known to need any remark.

¹⁴ "Essay on Man's Ideas of Power; being a New Exposition of the Principles of Philosophy Proper, on the Basis of three Ideas." Especially adapted for Young Men seeking Mental Improvement. By John Faram. London: Hamilton, Adams, & Co. 1857.

¹⁵ "Essays on the Religion and Philosophy of the Hindoos." By the late H. T. Colebrooke, Esq. A new Edition. London: Williams and Norgate. 1858.

Notwithstanding the great advances made in Indian studies during the last fifty years, they still retain their place as a first authority, and as the best introduction to a knowledge of the religious and philosophical systems of the Hindoos. The present edition is comprised in one volume, with a very useful index.

POLITICS, SOCIOLOGY, VOYAGES AND TRAVELS.

MR. JOHN BRUCE NORTON, previously known to the English public by his works entitled "Madras," and the "Rebellion in India," has treated the still-absorbing subject of the insurrection and government of our great Eastern dependency with large and vigorous common-sense, in his "Topics for Indian Statesmen."¹ Of these topics there are no less than twenty. Two of them are discussed in the first chapter—namely, "What is the character of the rebellion, and what is its cause?" Mr. Norton is of opinion that the revolt partook of a national as well as of a military character. To refute the sweeping assertion that the insurrection in its career has embraced none but military classes, he points to Oude, the common centre "to which all the flames of insurrection are drawn," to the vast area where no Sepoy regiment has been present, to the burning villages and the hostile attitude of the country people. The immediate cause of the rebellion he affirms to be the long pursuit of the mistaken policy of annexation. In discussing the treatment of the rebels, Mr. Norton deprecates the infliction of wholesale vengeance, and commends the clemency order of Lord Canning, though he thinks it infelicitously worded. To the Sepoys and native officials he would show no mercy; the rajahs he would deal with separately; and the people he would treat with leniency. To increase our fiscal resources and defray the costs of the rebellion, there is, says Mr. Norton, one source of taxation of which we may avail ourselves justly and wisely: the nuzzerana or tax on successions to all hereditary assignment of public revenue. "Had the government warning of the coming danger," and "were all practicable measures taken to meet the crisis?" are the questions proposed in the second chapter; and answered, the first affirmatively, the last negatively. The lethargy of the English nation, our author compares to that of the Seven Sleepers; Lord Canning he pronounces to have shown no spark of prescience or genius, and he heavily incriminates the civilian government "whose eyes were shut to what was coming." In reviewing his seventh topic, the military protection of India, Mr. Norton maintains that to play off the mutual animosities of the native races would be a dangerous policy; advocates the restriction of the native element in our army to the smallest practicable amount, and recommends such a system of railways and electric telegraphs as

¹ "Topics for Indian Statesmen." By John Bruce Norton, Esq., Barrister-at-Law. Madras. Edited by G. R. Norton, Esq. London: Richardson Brothers. 1858.

may enable us to group our forces in masses. The civil duties now discharged by a native army, he would make over to an efficient police, and so constitute each regiment "that its component parts shall be mutual checks upon each other."¹ The form of the home government of India, the policy of centralization, the improvement of local government, and the constitution of the legislative council, are the four next topics. Our annexation policy in reference to princes, zemindars and enamdars, is the subject of the seventh chapter. The tenure of land and the redemption of the land-tax, are the topics of the eighth; the questions "why have not British capital and enterprise invested themselves in India," and "can they be induced to do so?" are proposed and answered in the ninth; and the reform of the law-courts and police-organization are examined in the tenth. The eleventh chapter treats of the future condition of the Indian press; and the twelfth deals with the question of the general character of our Indian policy, as distributed under the heads of public works, education, and proselytism.

Shortly before the outbreak of the Sepoy mutiny. Mr. Minturn made a tour of six months in India. His observations and experiences are embodied in a compendious narrative, to which he has given the name "From New York to Delhi."² In his judgment the revolt was a military one, instigated by the deposed Mahomedan Princes, and especially by Ali Nakhi Khan, Prime Minister of the late King of Oude. The mass of the population, who are Hindoos, with their Rajahs, two hundred in number, were faithful almost to a man. The climate and history; the English government; the army and the revenue and wealth of India, are the subjects of four consecutive chapters. The scenery and social life of the country are delineated in a series of picturesque sketches, under the titles of Calcutta, Benares, Allahabad, Cawnpore, Lucknow, the Himalayas, Delhi, Agra, Ellora, Bombay, &c. The first seven chapters contain the author's impression of Rio de Janeiro, Australia, and China. As an agreeable and instructive summary of historical and geographical facts, relating to the great Indian peninsula, Mr. Minturn's book will be acceptable to the general reader.

A translation of the now famous pamphlet, "A Debate on India," by M. le Comte de Montalembert, originally an article in the "*Correspondant*," deserves our recommendation. The alleged offence for which the author of this article, a man of royalist tendencies and Catholic convictions, has been a recent object of imperial prosecution and pardon, is "Exciting to the hatred and contempt of the government of the Emperor and the laws of France." His real offence is the avowal of his honest preferences and convictions. His pamphlet is eloquent, witty, ironical. He deplors the absence of constitutional

¹ "From New York to Delhi." By Robert B. Minturn, jun. London: Longman and Co. 1858.

² "A Debate on India in the English Parliament." By M. le Comte de Montalembert. Translated by permission, &c. London: Office of "Continental Review."

discussion, and the suppression of political publicity in France; considers parliamentary government ill-replaced by 'universal suffrage; vindicates the colonial system of England, her generous hospitality to exiles, her religious tolerance, her social grandeur. Of the East India Company he says, that of all powers known in the colonial history of the ancient or modern world, it is "that which has done the greatest things with the humblest means;" conferred the largest amount of good, and inflicted the least amount of evil. While condemning the annexation of Oude, and the indiscriminate execution of the Sepoys, he maintains that the rebellion is an unjustifiable military revolt. Disapproving in part of our administrative and diplomatic policy, he denies that that policy is more selfish or more immoral than that of the other great states of ancient or modern history, and defends England against calumnious and vindictive detraction. For this free but temperate avowal of opinion, an illustrious Frenchman of recognised intellectual eminence has been judicially arraigned; condemnation has followed prosecution; and six months' imprisonment and 3000 francs fine are the penalties, in this instance, decreed against the free utterance of honest and sincere conviction.

The first volume of a pretentious work on "Political Economy,"⁴ by Mr. Atkinson, requires little more than an indication of its general positions and its proposed aims. The author announces that he several years ago discovered the leading principles of the science; that what has hitherto passed under the name of political and social economy is "the offspring of ignorance assumed to be knowledge." He reviews the principal authorities on the subject; attacks the theories of our most celebrated thinkers and the practice of our most distinguished statesmen. The principal accusation which he adduces against the science, is its exclusion of religion. Free social action is declared to be the abomination of desolation denounced by our Saviour; and unrestricted commerce is compared to the golden image set up on the plain of Dura. The general adoption of free trade would involve the most deplorable disasters: all expenditure on imports is a deduction from the support of native industry; the relation between supply and demand, and *not* the amount of labour bestowed on production, is the real cause of value. "There can be no true political economy (says Mr. Atkinson) without the admission of the religious element, self-sacrifice." The new law which he has discovered, and which is to regenerate the science of which he treats, is the law of definite proportions, applied to the simple fact of production, in order that a right and beneficial appropriation of the multiplied elements which the earth contains may be ensured to man. In the more philosophical portions of his book the author seems to confound logical with chemical synthesis and analysis; and, then, by a "confusion worse confounded," he makes inductive reasoning (mental analysis) answerable for all the errors and

* Reduced by the Court of Appeal to three months.

⁴ "Principles of Social and Political Economy." By William Atkinson. Vol. I. Longman and Co. 1858.

ill consequences, which he imputes, whether rightly or wrongly, to the principle involved in chemical analysis. To us, Mr. Atkinson seems to have no adequate idea of scientific method, and no distinct conception of the laws of the human mind. An economy founded on the assumption that the mass of mankind are susceptible of the highest and purest self-devotion, and that their conduct is *not* chiefly regulated by the calculations of self-interest, would be as ideal a construction as Plato's absolute man (*αὐτοανθρώπος*), and altogether unsuited to the nature and requirements of man as we know him—the actual man of all recorded experience.

Of the "Law of Freedom and Bondage in the United States,"⁵ one volume only is published. The title directly indicates its connexion with the important question of negro slavery. The work itself is designed as a judicial treatise. "It is," says its author, "intended to present statements of law only, without the introduction of any considerations of the effects of such law on the moral and religious, the social or political interests of the nation or of the several States." The book makes no pretensions to novelty, except that secondary novelty, which consists in the orderly arrangement of well-known facts or received doctrines of law. Aiming at a correct enunciation of the legal *status*, it avoids all partisanship and political partialities. This enunciation is not meant to imply either moral approval or disapproval of the slave law, but to press on the public attention the important preliminary distinction between the legal and the ethical view. The work opens with an explanatory preface, followed by a tabular list of contents, with divisions and subdivisions, an index of cases and a general index. It comprises sixteen chapters. After long and patient investigation, Mr. Hurd pronounces that no principle of universal jurisprudence now sanctions property in human beings, and that slavery in the United States does not rest on a national common law, but a local common law. He further pronounces that "the doctrine that the juridical authority of a State shall, *proprio vigore*, maintain the rights of its slave-holding citizens and status of their slaves in the territory, is incompatible with the idea that the laws of the States may, in the territory, respectively determine the rights and obligations of persons previously domiciled within their several jurisdictions."

Two volumes, forming a kind of philosophical history of Russian civilization,⁶ will attract and instruct our readers. The introductory discourse supplies a definition of civilization. Civilization, in its maturity, is the highest development of the intellectual and moral faculties of all the individuals composing a nation; this development being directed to the greatest possible happiness (*bien*) of all and each. Such a definition involves:—1. Sound and useful knowledge; 2. The power of reasoning rightly; and the 3rd. Desire of the general good. The two first elements of civilization exist *potentially* in the English nation, and that in a very high degree; but *actually*, the distribution

⁵ "The Law of Freedom and Bondage in the United States. By John Codman Hurd, Counsellor-at-Law. In Two Volumes. Vol. I. Boston. 1858.

⁶ "Essai sur l'Histoire de la Civilisation en Russie." Par Nicolas Gerébtzoff. Paris. 1858.

of knowledge conforms to its hierarchical organization. The third element is very inadequately developed. Fraternal love, in the wider signification of the words, is circumscribed in England by the substitution of a biblical for an evangelical and Christian piety, and the proud and defiant character which the political eminence of the country naturally evolves. In France, the amount of general knowledge is more fairly distributed; but the amount of *assimilated*, or particular knowledge, less fairly. In France the logical faculty runs riot; men reason independently of facts, and substitute the sallies of wit, or brilliant sophisms, for calm and just ratiocination. The third element, the sentiment of love, is almost extinct in France. The Revolution destroyed Christianity, and on losing her piety, France abandoned herself to the transports of national vanity and the pursuit of personal interest. The only moral sentiment which still animates Frenchmen collectively, is patriotic affection.

In Germany the distribution of knowledge is more conformable to the exigencies of society. With slower perceptions than the English, and an analytical intellect less ready, though more sure than the French, the Germans are superior in logical synthesis and precision. The moral element of civilization in Germany is more highly developed than in any other country; and the German may thus be regarded as the most advanced of the three typical nations. The civilization of Russia has always been an indigenous civilization. Russia has not participated in the social revolutions of other countries; she has an historic existence peculiar to herself, and an adequate estimate of her position and progress can only be derived from a sound interpretation of the events recorded in her annals. Under this impression M. Gerebtzoff has produced an essay on the "Civilization of Russia," which serves at once as a record of historical events, and a disquisition on the education, social organization, legislation, administration, literature, art, industry, and commerce of that populous empire. He divides the past of Russia into five grand periods: 1. From her origin to the adoption of Christianity. 2. From the adoption of Christianity to the invasion of the Mongols. 3. The period of Mongol domination. 4. The period of the Czars. 5. From the accession of Peter the Great till our own time. The first three chapters of this work report the earliest transaction of Russian antiquity from the foundation of the Republic of Novgorod, before the ninth century, till the intestine struggles which followed the death of Vladimir Monomach, and continued till A.D. 1224. At this time, says our author, European intelligence was prostrated by terror, the Pontifical principle had triumphed over the secular sovereignty, and morality had become chivalrous and anti-Christian. Very different was the aspect then presented by Russia, which, if not the most civilized country, was even then one of the most civilized countries in the world. At the dawn of this brilliant morning of hope and growing prosperity, "Providence, in his inscrutable wisdom, determined to eclipse the rising sun of Russia, and to strike with sterility the persevering efforts of so many ages." The Eternal Arm uplifted the chastising rod, and the Mongol invasion was the punishment for

national crime. The consequences and significance of this invasion are the subject of the next chapter, which brings the history down to the period of the Czars in 1462. During this period the arts continued to be cultivated. Commerce was protected, and Christianity revered and practised. To show the low state of morals and piety in Western Europe, M. Gerebtzoff quotes from Chateaubriand the reply of Aucassin, when his father, the Viscount of Beaucaire, threatened him with hell, if he did not separate from his darling Nicolette. The reply was : " I don't want to go to Heaven, filled as it is with your do-nothing half-naked monks, stupid old priests and tattered hermits. I prefer Hell, where great kings, paladins, and barons hold their court, and where I shall find beautiful women, who have loved minstrels and *jongleurs*, friends of joy and wine." With this godless Europe our historian contrasts his own country, and asserts that it was superior in moral conduct and Christian piety. The period of the Czars begins in 1462, and ends in 1689. The leading events of this epoch are related in a single chapter, beginning with the reign of John III., who was virtually, though not nominally, the first of the Czars, and ending with the enforced retirement of the Regent, the Princess Sophia, to the cloister, and the abdication of the Czar John in favour of his brother Peter, then about seventeen years of age. The hierarchical organization, the legislation, and civil and military administration of this period are the subjects of the following chapters. The Government of the country was carried on through the medium of a general assembly, composed of deputies from all the provinces. In ancient Russia the family was so organized as to form the primary social and economic unit. It implied not merely relationship but communal association. All the members of the family enjoyed the same rights, and had the same claims to an equal share of the common property. From this family communism has emanated an industrial communism, extending over whole villages and arrondissements. The sentiment of fraternity prevails everywhere. Under the Czars commerce received a vast extension, and political power was matured and concentrated. Aristocratic influence eventually became tempered by the republican usages of the provinces ; literature was encouraged, and educational establishments were founded. Thus, says our author, however the scientific and æsthetic culture of Western Europe may excel that of Russia, her social development has a far more logical character. That development originated in the institution of an enlightened central Power, a Power closely attached to the nation by the unity and depth of the common religious faith, embraced alike by the Czar and peasant, and cementing this union by the sentiments of evangelical love and Christian fraternity. The second volume of this essay narrates the leading transactions, and describes the civilization of the Fifth or Imperial epoch, commencing with the accession of Peter Alexiwitch, 1672, and terminating with that of Alexander II. The historical sketch is rapidly thrown off ; the splendid abilities of the Russian sovereigns are prominently displayed.

In drawing the character of the late Emperor Nicholas, M. Gerebtzoff admits that it was none of the gentlest ; and that though he

was naturally an amiable man, he was inflexibly severe. He always acted on his convictions; convictions strongly opposed to the ideas and principles of the west of Europe. His real fault was disregard of diplomatic manœuvre, and a chivalrous loyalty and constancy to his faith in legitimacy. Twice he saved Turkey, once he saved Austria; the war in the East he neither wished nor foresaw. It cost Russia much valuable life, and inflicted on her deep humiliation, but it has shown her the impolicy of unnatural alliances, and it has taught the world the amount of her power and the extent of her resources. Under the Empire a great social revolution was effected, the rights of the patrician class were restricted, the condition of the serfs improved, a national system of education was adopted, literature was cultivated, and science encouraged. This long historical and philosophical review is completed by an analytical resumé of influential events, and a disquisition on the intellectual and moral character of Russian civilization. In this section the author defends the Russian institution of the knout against our European prejudices. In Europe this punishment has always been reserved for the very lowest class of society; in Russia it is only since the second half of the eighteenth century that any class has been exempted from its infliction. Thus the Russian people do not regard the blow as degrading; they feel a verbal insult far more keenly, and consider imprisonment far more dishonouring. An injurious word affects the soul, the blow affects only the body. Personal chastisement again causes suffering to the delinquent alone, imprisonment to his whole family. This last section also indicates the principal faults and virtues of the Russian people. Its faults are deception and trickery, want of perseverance, indolence, and covetousness; its virtues are piety, resignation, chastity, and self-devotion. The principal intellectual faculty in the Slave is the aptitude for coordinating the truths accumulated by experience; and the ability to think rightly eminently marks the Russian people. It is, however, for its religious superiority, for its sentiment of fraternal love, and aspiration for the general good, that the mass of the Russian population is so honourably distinguished. With the diffusion of intelligence, and the cultivation of the moral feelings on the basis of orthodox Christianity, Russia will attain her destined political and social elevation. The emancipation of the serf will be followed by the growth of the instinct of property; the instinct of property will stimulate popular activity, and every citizen will then have the right to affirm that he is a unit of that nation to which is promised a future of unrivalled power and prosperity; that the portion of the world to which he belongs is neither Europe nor Asia, but Russia the Great.

From the predicted splendours of the barbaric empire of the North, we descend to the more savage social condition of the Fiji group of isles in the South Pacific. The Fiji group includes the islands lying between the latitudes of 15° 30' and 20° 30' S., and the longitudes of 177° E. and 178° W., comprising an expanse of about 40,000 square miles, and "forming a connecting link between the abodes of the Malayan and Papuan race." Two centuries have elapsed since the discovery of these islands by Abel Jansen Tasman, the Dutch naviga-

tor. About the year 1806 Fiji began to be visited by Chinese traders; an elaborate survey of the group was undertaken by the United States Exploring Expedition in 1838—42, and missionary enterprise has accumulated for us in the two volumes, entitled "Fiji and the Fijians,"⁷ much valuable knowledge, the fruit of the patient and intelligent research of the Rev. Thomas Williams, during a residence of thirteen years in Fiji. Of 225 islands, of which the entire cluster consists, about 80 only are inhabited. The population is estimated by Commodore Wilkes, United States Expedition, at 133,500; by Mr. Williams at 150,000. The islands are many of them of rare loveliness and fertility, presenting every variety of outline, from the simple form of the coral isle to the rugged and often majestic grandeur of volcanic structure. Abrupt precipices, high mountains, fantastic turrets, and battlements of rock; deep ravines, threaded by silver streams; valleys enriched with cocoa-nut groves; clumps of dark chesnut-trees, stately palms, bread-fruit and bananas, "form with the wild reef scenery of the girdling shore, its beating surf, and far-stretching ocean beyond, pictures of surpassing beauty." In considering the origin of the present inhabitants of Fiji, we seek in vain for illumination from historical or legendary records. Philological affinities and physical analogies, uniformity of custom and resemblance of religious belief, indicate the relation of the Fijian with the darker races of Asia. The polity of Fiji is monarchical and despotic; the people have no voice in the State, but men of rank and official importance form the council of the sovereign, and serve to check the exercise of his power. In the royal succession the brother of the deceased king has the preference over his son. The king's person is sacred, and in some instances the potentates of Fiji even assert the rights of deity. Offences, in Fijian estimation, vary with the social position of the offender. Murder by a chief is less heinous than petty larceny by a man of low rank. Only a few crimes are regarded as serious:—theft, adultery, abduction, witchcraft, incendiarism, infringement of a *tabu*, disrespect to a chief, treason. The punishments for theft and disrespect are fine, repayment in kind, or mutilation; the other crimes are punished by death. Fijian society is divided into six classes:—1, kings and queens; 2, chiefs of large islands or districts; 3, chiefs of towns, priests, &c.; 4, distinguished warriors of low birth, chiefs of the carpenters and chiefs of the fishers for turtle; 5, common people; 6, slaves by war. The military in Fiji do not form a distinct class, but are selected from every rank irrespective of age or size. The alliance of the gods, previously to hostile demonstration, is purchased by gifts. The favourite arms are the club, the spear, the battle-axe, the bow, the sling, and the musket. True bravery is rare; war diminishes with the use of fire-arms. The industry of the Fijians in art must next be remarked. They pay considerable attention to agriculture, cultivating the plantain, sugar-cane, maize, tobacco, cava, and paper mulberry. The implements of husbandry are of the most primitive description. Tortoiseshell knives and hoes.

⁷ "Fiji and the Fijians." By Thomas Williams, late Missionary in Fiji; edited by George Stringer Rowe. London. 1858.

have only been recently supplanted by Sheffield blades. While the men are employed in horticulture, the women are chiefly responsible for the manufactures of Fiji. The joint products of the common skill are chequered cloth made from the bark of the malo-tree, variegated mats, earthen pots, carved clubs, spears, and canoes. The commercial transactions of the Fijians are on a very small scale, consisting of a barter trade with the people on the main, often conducted entirely by women. The arts exist only in germ in the Fiji islands. The carved and stained patterns which they produce, show some cleverness in design. A certain rude correspondence of vowel sounds marks their metrical compositions. Their musical instruments are the conch shell, the nose-flute, Pandean pipes, the drum, and the Jew's-harp. Of the amusements in vogue, the dance is the most popular. Wrestling, racing, swinging, sleight-of-hand, story telling, and the children's games of hide-and-seek and blindman's-buff, are also in great repute. Among the social and domestic institutions are polygamy, at least among the chiefs, resulting in the murder of wives and children; infanticide; exposure of parents and aged persons; ferocious cannibalisms and *loluku*, or the immolation of the wives and near relations of a deceased chief. The adoption of orphans testifies to the existence of a benevolent feeling in the Fiji nature; but a free flow of affections between members of the same family is religiously proscribed. A general kindness of manner, however, prevails. The chapter on the religion of Fiji is of unusual interest and worth. Fetichism in these islands has graduated into Polytheism. The existence of an invisible superhuman power is fully recognised. The god most generally known is N-dengei—an impersonation of the abstract idea of everlasting and unchangeable duration. The Fijians divide their objects of adoration into two classes:—gods, strictly so called and deified mortals; the spirits of chiefs, heroes, friends, and even monsters and abortions being comprised in the last category. Certain stones are regarded as the shrines of the gods; birds, fish, plants, and men are supposed to have deities connected with or residing in them; in fact, nearly every animal is the abode of some deity. The Fijian peoples the dell, the cave, the rock, and the forest with invisible beings. Among the fantastic products of his "god-intoxicated" imagination are demons, ghosts, witches, wizards, wise men, fairies, evil-eyes, and god-eyes. The Fijian attributes spirits to animals, vegetables, stones, and tools, allowing that all may become immortal; but disposing of them in such a way that few attain to immortality. Man is sometimes spoken of as having two spirits; the dark spirit which goes to Hades, and the light spirit, *i.e.* his likeness reflected in water or a looking-glass, which is supposed to remain in the place where he dies. While admitting a posthumous existence, the Fijians exclude from it the idea of moral retribution. The future world will, they think, be much the same as the present. Mbulu is the abode of departed spirits, where the good and the bad meet. Murimura is a district of inferior happiness in Mbulu. Pain and pleasure are awarded to its inmates; but not for offence or merit of a moral kind. Mburotee is the Fijian elysium. It abounds in scented groves and delightful

glades, and boasts a glowing and unclouded sky. The worship of the gods is not a regular and constant service, but waits on circumstance, or follows the dictates of fear. The priests exercise a powerful influence over the popular mind, but the sacerdotal caste is rapidly declining. The priesthood is usually hereditary. The temples are called *bures*. Among the religious ceremonies, are the presentation of the first-fruits of yams; the offering at the close of the year; the observance of silence when crossing sacred places, and the reverence of shrines. Cannibalism, too, has a religious character, and the gods are described as delighting in human flesh. The Polynesian institution of *tabu*, which subjects all things to prohibition or embargo, is in force in Fiji, and has frequently a religious application. Pilgrimages, spells, ordeals, second-sight, are accepted in Fijian faith, and exhibited in Fijian practices. The first volume of this work concludes with a disquisition on the language and literature of Fiji. The Fijian is not a simple language, but has at least fifteen dialects. It shares the characteristics of Malayo-Polynesian speech, and is inartificial, flowing, vigorous; is rich in articles; has no genders; abounds in synonyms, and admits of the formation of compounds. Its literature consists at present of the works issued from the Wesleyan Mission press:—viz., a "Grammar of the Language," and a "Fijian-English and English-Fijian Dictionary." The history of the Mission is contained in the second volume. It is supplied by the Rev. James Calvert, who laboured in Fiji for seventeen years. The details of district meetings and biblical conversions will no doubt interest some minds, but they require no more than an allusion here. The results of missionary zeal and Christian civilization are, it is said at the close of the second volume, partial suppression of cannibalism, the gradual abandonment of polygamy, the diminution of infanticide, the limitation of arbitrary violence, and the increased respect shown for human life. If the earnest and enthusiastic spirit of Methodism has thus contributed towards the future civilization of Fiji, it deserves grateful recognition from all who have faith in the ultimate ennoblement of humanity.

On the 8th of July last, the Secretary of State for the Colonies explained and enforced in the House of Commons the merits of a bill for the government of New Caledonia. The bill proposed to constitute the district of New Caledonia, on the north-west coast of America, a British colony. The territory to be thus regulated lies between the American frontier line, lat. 49° N., and the sources of the Frazer river, lat. 55°. Its area is computed at 200,000 square miles. Its natural advantages, Mr. Cornwallis informs us, rival those of Vancouver's Island. The soil varies from a deep black vegetable mould to a light brown loamy earth. The surface is well watered and well wooded. Fruits, vegetables, and cereals abound. The winters are more humid than cold, the rains from the middle of October to March being almost incessant. To this country, with its two auriferous rivers, Mr. Cornwallis applies the title of the New Eldorado.⁸ The magic spell of

⁸ "The New Eldorado, or British Columbia." By Kinahan Cornwallis, author of "Yarrà Yarrà." London: J. C. Newby. 1858.

its golden promise has been felt throughout America. The rapidity and extent of the emigration have been unparalleled. Up to the 20th of June last alone, nearly 15,000 persons had sailed from San Francisco. "On a bright and beaming morning" in that month our author embarked on board the steamer *Cortes*, for Victoria, where he arrived on the sixth day. At Victoria he purchased a gold-digging license of the Hudson's Bay Company, started up the Frazer river, and reached Fort Hope on the second day. Provided with a pan and geological shovel Mr. Cornwallis joined the gold-seekers' fraternity. Encouraged by his success he took a share in a canoe and ascended the river under the pilotage of an Indian. Passing the falls by a portage, they went ashore, selected a camping ground, and at daybreak the next morning began their search. They found gold everywhere; the first day, seven nuggets, varying from half-an-ounce to five ounces in weight, were picked up, and the average yield of "dust" was no less than four ounces (£12 16s.) each man. Advancing along the river as far as it was navigable, our "sun-burnt motley group" resumed their gold-digging, being now 280 miles from the river's mouth. The coveted supply was found here too. "There was plenty for all and tens of thousands besides." Wearying, however, of this mode of life, Mr. Cornwallis sold his share in the canoe, purchased another at the Thompson river junction and proceeded downwards as far as Fort Yale. Arrived at Victoria, he found a company's land sale going on at the office, and succeeded in purchasing six lots. Disposing of three of them at a profit of 13,500 dollars, Mr. Cornwallis prepared to return to Europe, and embarking on board the steamer "*Golden Gate*," for Panama, was jolted across the Isthmus by railway, re-embarked at Colon, was transhipped at the island of St. Thomas, and finally arrived at Southampton in the month of August. Mr. Cornwallis's book will repay perusal. It contains twenty-three chapters on the new gold movement, its dazzling prospects, the physical geography and natural resources of this land of the magic spell, discusses the question of railway communication, and gives us animated pictures of the gold-hunter's life. There are some glimpses also afforded us into the manners and beliefs of the Indians. They are described as cheerful, hospitable, and sedentary. Primitively they have no idea of a God or a future state. The Takelly or Carrier Indians never allude to the Deity, and their language has no term in it which expresses either God, spirit, soul, heaven or hell. The language spoken by the North American Indians, from the shores of Labrador to the Pacific, are properly only four in number, Sauteux, Chippewayan, Atna, and Chinook. There are, however, various dialects and some varieties of speech, composed of a mixture of these.

A delightful volume of *Travel*,⁹ written by an accomplished and energetic German, approved by the veteran Alexander von Humboldt,

⁹ "*Diary of a Journey from the Mississippi to the Coasts of the Pacific.*" By Baldwin Möllhausen. With an Introduction by Alexander von Humboldt, and Illustrations in Chromo-Lithography. Translated by Mrs. Sinnett. 2 vols. London: Longman and Co. 1853.

and translated into admirable idiomatic English by Mrs. Percy Sinnett, conducts us from the Mississippi to the coasts of the Pacific. M. Möllhausen's active spirit has more than once led him into the fetrets of savage life. His previous sojourn with the Indians on the Nebraska, or Platte river, had trained and disciplined his powers of observation. On a subsequent visit to America he was appointed topographer of a United States' expedition, headed by Lieutenant Whipple, and destined to follow 35th parallel, N.L. The present volumes, as we are told in the preface, make no pretensions to the character of a scientific work, though they contain much valuable information on the physical geography of the regions investigated. The Hordes, which occupy the country between New Mexico and the river Gila, are scattered along the line of march traversed from the sixth to the twelfth centuries by the various nations known as Toltees, Aztecs, &c., memorials of whose architectural and industrial skill still excite our admiration and provoke our curiosity. These remains of the wandering nations of the North are well elucidated by M. Möllhausen's drawings. Baron von Humboldt mentions a valuable philological work, in which the traces of the Aztec idiom are followed along the western side of North America. Vivid descriptions of nature, animate and inanimate, sketches of the wild life of the Indian tribes, details of the habits of various species of animals, romantic adventure, entertaining anecdote, and historical or traditional illustration, impart a rich and various interest to the diary of a conscientious and intelligent reporter.

A new work on the "Holy Land," by Ludwig Frankl,¹⁰ possesses some distinctive characteristics. It is written by a Jew, and has at least the novel merit of non-christian prepossession. Herr Frankl, a man of cultivated mind, scholarly attainments, and reputed competence as a physician, was selected in 1855, to preside over an educational establishment, to be founded in Jerusalem by Madame Herz, the pious daughter of Edeln von Lämél, in memory of that excellent and honoured man. Thus, his position in the Holy City has been particularly favourable to calm and leisurely observation. In his view the material power and splendour of the old Jewish polity have for ever passed away. The lost inheritance is only to be spiritually regained. Israel is the Apostolic people, whose want of localised nationality is its highest privilege. It is the ideal mother of the human family, blessing the universal earth with the light of a divine wisdom. The number of Jews resident in the ancient capital of the kingdom is, according to Dr. Frankl, 5,700, being a third of the entire population, and the double of its Christian constituent. The Jewish Church has no less than eight sub-divisions, distinguished by speculative tenet and ritual observance. The sites and monuments of Biblical celebration, local traditions and Jewish legends, Oriental custom, and belief, form the various subject-matter of the second volume of Dr. Frankl's work, which bears the appropriate name of "Palestine." The first volume portrays the scenery and social life of Greece, Asia Minor, and Syria.

¹⁰ "Nach Jerusalem!" Von Ludwig Aug. Frankl. Leipzig. 1858.

Captain Rhodes, H. M. 94th Regiment, has written a book on "Tents and Tent Life,"¹¹ which deserves attention. This essay is illustrated by various engravings of the civil and military tents of all nations and tribes from the days of Jubal to our own time. Among the Asiatic tents are included the Persian, Hindoostan, Tatar, and Samoyede; among the African, those of Abyssinia, Egypt, Fez, Hottentot and Central Africa; among the American, those of the Esquimaux and Indians; among the European, those of the Saxon Camp of Edward II., Richard II., of Lapland, France, Austria, Prussia, Sweden, and England. The essay concludes with a disquisition on the methods of encamping an army in ancient and modern times. The advantages which the author claims for his own patent tents are portability, power of resistance to storms, and facility of pitching and striking. The form of the tent is a curvilinear octagon, the shape least liable to catch the wind. It has no centre pole. The ends of the ribs are inserted into a wooden head, fitted with iron sockets. The butts are thrust into the ground, passing through a double twisted rope. In this position the outline of the tent closely resembles that of an open umbrella, with the stick removed. Further detail or critical comment would be irrelevant here.

The urgent need for practical information on the important subject of gunnery, has induced Mr. Greener to publish a systematic treatise on "Rifles, Cannons, and Sporting Arms."¹² Mr. Greener is honourably known as the inventor of the expansive principle applied in the Minié and Enfield rifles, and as the author of an essay entitled "The Gun." The present disquisition opens with a review of ancient arms, and ends with a chapter on shot, caps, and wadding. Among the topics treated are gunpowder artillery; manufacture of iron for gun barrels; the science of gunnery; the French "crutch;" rifle and revolving pistols. "The gun and its projectile," says our author, "will decide the victory in future fights; engineers being our generals and founders our admirals." The volume contains five illustrative plates and thirty-seven woodcuts.

We have a virtual protest against our English deification of work, in a large and goodly volume on "Rural Sports,"¹³ containing a complete account, historical, practical, and descriptive, of hunting, shooting, fishing, racing, coursing, hawking, and even cock-fighting and boxing, with an appendix on pedestrian exercises. The barbarous pastime of cock-fighting is entirely inhibited, and pugilism is advocated only as a sport, or as a manly way of settling differences. The author dedicates a section of his work to a consideration of the moral character of field sports and the benefits derived from them, and has some pleasing chapters on the natural history of the living objects of rural recreation. An outline is offered of the more popular athletic exercises of Great Britain. Tennis, skating, wrestling, and cricket; and the an-

¹¹ "Tents and Tent Life, from the Earliest Ages to the Present Time." By Godfrey Rhodes. London: Smith, Elder, and Co. 1858.

¹² "Gunnery in 1858." By William Greener, C.E. London: Smith, Elder, and Co.

¹³ "An Encyclopædia of Rural Sports." By Delabere P. Blaine, Esq. A new edition. Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans, and Roberts. 1858.

cient and modern archery of our country is duly celebrated and described. An additional value is imparted to this encyclopædia—to which we hope to recur on a future occasion—by the 600 engravings from drawings by Leech, Landseer, and others, which illustrate the subjects.

SCIENCE.

THE value of Sir John Herschel's "Outlines of Astronomy"¹ is so universally recognised, that we need no more than announce the publication of a new and revised edition, to secure for it the respectful attention of every one who aims to acquire more than a popular acquaintance with the general truths and doctrines of that science. But as the manner in which the additions have been introduced enables us readily to sift them out, we shall take advantage of the opportunity which this republication affords, to bring concisely before our readers the features of recent progress which its distinguished author considers most note-worthy; prefacing our catalogue with the following extract, for the sake of the admirable manner in which it expresses a profound truth that cannot be too constantly borne in mind:—

"No grand practical result of human industry, genius, or meditation, has sprung forth entire and complete from the master-hand or mind of an individual designer working straight to its object, and foreseeing and providing for all details. As in the building of a great city, so in every such product, its historian has to record rude beginnings, circuitous and inadequate plans; frequent demolition, renewal, and rectification; the perpetual removal of much cumbersome and unsightly material and scaffolding, and constant opening-out of wider and grander conceptions; till at length a unity and a nobility is attained little dreamed of in the imagination of the first projector. The same is equally true of every great body of knowledge, and would be found signally exemplified in the history of astronomy. What concerns us more is, that the same remark is no less applicable to the process by which knowledge is built up in the mind of each individual, and by which alone it can attain any extensive development or any grand proportions. No man can rise from ignorance to anything deserving to be called a complete grasp of any considerable branch of science, without receiving and discarding in succession many crude and incomplete notions, which, so far from injuring the truth in its ultimate reception, act as positive aids to its attainment by acquainting him with the symptoms of an insecure footing in his progress. * * * Astronomy is very peculiarly in this predicament. Its study to each individual student is a continual process of rectification and correction—the abandoning one point of view for another higher and better—of temporary and occasional reception of even positive and admitted errors, for the convenience they afford towards giving clear notions of important truths, whose essence they do not affect, by sparing him that contention of mind which fatigues and distresses"—pp. 9, 10.

It has been well said, that "Truth emerges sooner out of error than out of chaos;" or, in other words, it is better to have imperfect and erro-

¹ "Outlines of Astronomy." By Sir John Herschel, Bart., K.H., &c. &c. Fifth edition. 8vo, pp. 714. London. 1858.

neous notions about a subject, than no notions at all. And every thoughtful seeker after knowledge who looks back upon the history of his own mental acquirements, will be ready, we think, to admit the fidelity of Sir J. Herschel's description of the process by which he has attained his final elevation. How comforting it should be to the disciples of progress, to be thus not merely enabled, but required, to look upon what seem obstructive errors as necessary antecedents to the triumph of truth; and how charitable should they feel towards what they esteem the narrow-minded and absurd prejudices of such as have not yet been able to rise to the same level with themselves, in remembering that they have themselves had to pass through a series of mental states, which higher intelligences would have pronounced to be not one whit nearer to absolute truth than those with which they are disposed to quarrel, —nay, that their own existing conceptions may, in the estimation of those above, be only one remove from the same low grade!

The first considerable addition we find under the head of the "Rotation of the Earth," the physical evidence of which has of late years received important confirmation from two very different kinds of investigation; that, namely, of the phenomena of hurricanes and cyclones, which are now, we believe, for the first time applied to this use in a treatise on astronomy; and that of the actions of the gyroscope, the ingenious invention of M. Foucault, to whom we owe the well-known pendulum-experiment. It is shown by Sir John Herschel to be a necessary consequence of the earth's rotation, that if any considerable portion of the northern hemisphere becomes so much more heated by the solar rays than that surrounding it, as to determine an ascending current, the general current which sets in towards the heated region from all sides will have a rotation round the axis of the ascending column, arising from the difference of the diurnal rotatory velocities of the portions of the globe from which the northern and southern parts of that current proceed; and the direction of the rotation will, in the northern hemisphere, be contrary retrograde, or to that of the hands of a watch, whilst in the southern it will be direct, or correspondent to that of the hands. The force of this rotation, however, will depend upon several conditions. In high latitudes there is a deficiency of solar heat to produce a powerful ascensional current; but on and about the equator, the other efficient cause—viz., a considerable difference of diurnal rotatory velocity in the regions from which the general current flows in—is absent. Such movements, therefore, cannot exist on the equator, and their intensity must be chiefly confined to regions in moderate latitudes. Now, to use our author's words, "every one of these particulars is in exact conformity with the history of those hurricanes or cyclones, as they have been called from their revolving characters, which infest the Atlantic along the west coasts of the United States and the West Indies, the Indian Ocean, and (under the name of typhoons) the China seas. Their extent and violence are frightful; their rotation in the same hemisphere is invariably the same, and in each that which theory indicates; and they are utterly wanting on the equator. This grand result, the establishment of which we owe to the labours of Mr. Redfield, Colonel Reid, and Mr.

Piddington, forms a capital feature in the array of evidence by which the rotation of the earth, as a physical fact, is demonstrated."

We alluded not long since, (vol. xiii. p. 591) to the principle of the gyroscope, when noticing Professor Piazzì Smyth's ingenious application of it to the support of a telescope for astronomical observations at sea. The tendency of a heavy body in rapid revolution, if freed from any disturbing attachment to surrounding objects, to preserve its plane of rotation unaltered, so that the axis about which it spins shall always remain parallel to itself, is applied by the apparatus of M. Foucault, which we must not now attempt to describe in detail, to render the earth's rotation evident to the senses; the method being concisely this—that the axis of the freely-suspended body, being made to point towards any given star, continues to do so as long as the rotation endures with sufficient power, and thus perceptibly changes its position from minute to minute, with reference to a graduated circle which rests on the table and partakes of the diurnal motion of the earth; so that while the axis is apparently moving within this circle, since *its* direction remains constant, it is really the circle which is moving round the axis—just as, in the pendulum experiment, the plane of oscillation remaining constant, the direction of that plane with reference to surrounding objects is changed from minute to minute by *their* participation in the earth's rotation.

Sir J. Herschel deems worthy of special notice, Mr. Dawes's researches on the nature of the solar spots, which have been made by means of a peculiar method of observation devised by Mr. D. himself. In order to scrutinize under high magnifying powers minute portions of the solar disc, Mr. D. intercepts the light and heat of the general surface by a metallic screen placed in the focus where the image is formed, and pierced with a very small hole, so as to allow only that minute portion to be scrutinized through the eyepiece, and to shut out from the observer's eye the glare of the rest; thus not merely protecting it, but enabling it to apply itself more advantageously to the examination of feebly-illuminated objects. In this manner, Mr. Dawes has ascertained that the blacker portion which occupies the middle of each spot, and which to former observers appeared so dark and uniform as to lead them to believe it to be the sun's actual surface seen through an aperture in an exterior envelope, is itself only an additional and inferior stratum of very feebly-luminous (or unilluminated) matter, which he has called "the cloudy stratum," and which in its turn is frequently pierced with a smaller and usually much more rounded aperture, which would seem at length to afford a view of the real solar surface, of most intense blackness. Further, in tracing the changes in the spots, from day to day, Mr. Dawes has been led to conclude that in many instances they have a movement of rotation about their own centres. Again, M. Schwabe of Dessau, and M. Wolf of Berne, have shown, by the comparison of all the observations recorded of solar spots, from their first telescopic discovery by Fabricius and Harriot in 1610, that their degree of copiousness is subject to a law of periodicity; the interval between the *minima*, which are marked by extreme paucity and sometimes almost entire absence of spots, averaging exactly one-ninth of a century, or

11.1 years ; whilst the *maxima*, in which the spots are often so copious that 50 or 100 have been counted at once upon the disc, do not appear to fall exactly in the middle year between the minima, but rather earlier. It is a remarkable confirmation of this generalization, that in cases in which the appearance of spots or groups of spots visible to the naked eye has been recorded by annalists, and in others in which a marked diminution of the sun's light has been recorded although no spots were visible, the dates corresponded very closely to the epochs of maxima as fixed by this law. And the phenomena presented by the solar surface since its announcement have been in exact conformity with it ; the year 1856 being remarkable for the deficiency of spots in the sun, whilst they began to show an increase in 1857, and have been remarkably large in 1858. The periodical recurrence of large numbers of solar spots has been lately found to correspond so closely with the periodical recurrence of "magnetic storms"—that is, of simultaneous disturbances of the magnetic needle over large areas of the earth's surface, that the relation of the two orders of facts cannot be doubted, notwithstanding that neither astronomical nor magnetic science is yet sufficiently far advanced to furnish its rationale. Some curious computations are given by Sir J. Herschel as to the intensity of the light and heat of the sun at the solar surface itself. The ball of quicklime ignited in the oxyhydrogen jet gives one of the most brilliant lights with which we are acquainted ; yet the intensity of this, according to the recent experiments of MM. Fizeau and Foucault, has only 1-146th part of that at the surface of the sun. It is estimated by Professor Thomson, that to produce a dynamical effect in our manufactories equal to that of the heat given off from each individual square yard of the solar surface, the combustion of 13,500 pounds of coal per hour would be required, which would maintain the power of 63,000 horses. This result is deduced from calculations as to the amount of ice melted by the solar rays in a given time on the earth's surface, when exposed to its rays under the most favourable circumstances ; from which it appears that, at the surface of the sun, about *forty feet thickness* of ice would be melted *every minute*.

One of the most remarkable additions contained in the volume before us, consists of a *suggestion* of the author's own ; which is one of those profound and sagacious thoughts that mark the highest order of philosophic penetration. Every one knows that the non-existence of any atmosphere surrounding the Moon has been regarded as a fact demonstrated by the absence of all perceptible refraction when the sun or stars are eclipsed by her disc ; it being certain that refraction does not take place to the amount of even a single second of a degree—a quantity that would indicate the existence of an atmosphere having only the two-thousandth of the density of that of the earth. The non-habitability of the moon by living beings, at all analogous to those tenanted the earth, seems a necessary corollary to this fact ; and of this again there would appear to be independent confirmation, in the circumstance that no appearance indicating vegetation, or the slightest variation of surface fairly ascribable to change of season, can anywhere be discerned. But Sir J. Herschel now throws in an important *caveat*

against the unqualified acceptance of such a conclusion. "How do we know," he inquires, "that this absence of atmosphere is general over the entire surface of the moon? Are there any indications which support a contrary idea?" The following is the substance of his reply:—It has been remarked by Professor Hansen that the fact of the moon always turning the same face towards the earth is in all probability the result of an elongation of its figure in the direction of a line joining the centres of both bodies, acting conjointly with a *non-coincidence of its centre of gravity with its centre of figure*. The distribution of any fluid, whether air or water, on the surface of such a globe, must necessarily be greatly modified by a peculiarity of this kind; for, if not sufficient in quantity to drown the whole mass, it will run towards the level which is nearest, not to the centre of figure, but to the centre of gravity; so that water would form an ocean, of greater or less extent, according to the quantity of fluid, directly over the heavier nucleus, while the lighter portion of the solid material will stand out as a continent on the opposite side; and air, in like manner, would form an air-lake resting on the ocean, whilst the land on the other side would be almost destitute of atmosphere. Now this, to a limited extent, is actually the case with the Earth; for nearly all our land is collected in one of its hemispheres, and much the larger portion of the sea in the opposite; so that there is evidently an excess of heavy material vertically beneath the middle of the Pacific; while not very remote from the part of the globe diametrically opposite rises the great table-land of Northern India and the Himalayan chain, on the summit of which the air has not more than a third of the density it has on the sea-level, and from which animated existence is for ever excluded. Now supposing, in the moon's case, that the excentricity of the centre of gravity should amount to thirty or forty miles, such would be the general elevation of the lunar land (or the portion turned earthwards) above its ocean, so that the whole of that portion of the moon which we see, would, in fact, come to be regarded as a mountainous elevation above the sea-level. But it by no means follows that air and water are equally deficient on the other side of her sphere, the contrary, in fact, being indicated by the analogy of the earth; so that sentient beings may exist there, who would no more be able in such a case to get a sight of the splendid moon that we furnish to the lunar surface opposite to us, than the earth's inhabitants would be to live upon the summit of one of the Andes piled upon the top of the highest of the Himalayas.

Another topic as to which we shall avail ourselves of Sir John Herschel's admirable summary of recent researches, is the Density of the Earth; the determination of which has been the object of some of the most beautifully-contrived and laboriously-executed experimental investigations that the annals of science contain. Three different methods have been devised of obtaining data for its estimation. The first was the observation of the amount of deviation of the plumb-line occasioned by the neighbourhood of a mountain mass; from which the relative attractive force vertically exerted by the earth's globe, and laterally by the mountain could be computed; so that, their relative

bulks being compared, the specific gravity of the globe may be estimated from that of the mountain, the latter being assumed from examination of its mineral components. The first inquiry upon this plan, the results of which are at all reliable, was that of Dr. Maskelyne, who found that the joint amount of the local deviations on either side of the mountain Schiehallien, in Scotland, was 11.6 seconds; from which the mean density of the earth was computed by Professor Playfair to be 4.713 times that of water. More recently, an inquiry of like nature has been conducted by Colonel James (of the Ordnance Survey) in regard to the local deviation occasioned by Arthur's Seat, near Edinburgh; this was found to be 2.21 sec. on the north side, and 2.00 sec. on the south; and the earth's density, computed from the comparison of relative bulks with relative powers of attraction, was 5.316.—Another method consists in observing the rate of a vibrating pendulum at different altitudes above the sea-level, or at different depths beneath it; removal further from the earth's centre producing a retardation of its oscillations, modified by the local attraction of the mountain; whilst by a nearer approach to the centre of the earth we cut off by our descent the attraction of the whole spherical shell exterior to the point of observation, and so should reduce the entire amount (if the earth were homogeneous throughout) in the proportion which the radius of the internal sphere bears to that of the earth. The former plan of observation was pursued by the Italian astronomers, Plana and Carlini, on Mount Cenis, in Savoy; and computation from their results has given 4.950 as the mean density of the earth. The latter has recently been followed by the Astronomer Royal in Harton Colliery, near South Shields; and an acceleration of $2\frac{1}{4}$ sec. of time per day having been ascertained to be produced, by carrying the pendulum down to a depth of 1200 feet, the mean density is thence computed at the comparatively high figure of 6.565.—The third method consists in making a more direct comparison between the attractive force of the earth and that of another small mass whose bulk and specific gravity can be exactly determined, by means of the balance of torsion: this, which is known as the experiment of Cavendish, is free from many sources of error to which the other methods are liable, but it has new disturbing elements of its own; and for the avoidance of these, or their reduction to their lowest point, the greatest experimental skill is requisite. This method has been put in practice three times; in the first instance by Cavendish, who obtained, as the computed result, 5.480; secondly, by Reich, whose determination was 5.438; and thirdly, by Baily, whose investigation of the problem was made with as near an approach to perfection as the present state of science permits, and whose result was 5.660. The much nearer coincidence that exists between these three estimates, than between any two of the others, whether obtained by similar or by different methods, recommends them as peculiarly trustworthy; it will be seen that they agree pretty closely with the result of Colonel James's observations upon the local attraction of Arthur's Seat; and it is not a little remarkable that they also correspond with the *mean* between the *highest* estimate of the earth's specific gravity (that of Mr. Airy, from his pendulum

experiments), and the *lowest* (that of Playfair, from Maskelyne's observations on Schehallien). Nor is it less remarkable, that Newton, by one of what Sir J. Herschel truly calls "his astonishing divinations," should have expressed his opinion that the density of the earth would be found to be between five and six times that of water.

In the last place we may notice some highly interesting contributions, which have been recently afforded by astronomical computation to the accurate determination of the dates of important historical events, which thus stand as fixed epochs from which other dates may be safely deduced. No celestial phenomena would be more likely to be recorded, than total eclipses of the sun; but for the determination not only of the precise times of their occurrence, but of the exact course of the moon's shadow over the earth—especially when the computation has to be carried back for many centuries—extreme perfection is required in the "lunar theory," on which all such calculations must be based. This perfection was wanting until the publication of Professor Hansen's "Lunar Tables;" "the accuracy of which," says Sir J. Herschel, "is such as to justify the most entire reliance on the results of such calculations grounded on them." Now, there is a celebrated solar eclipse, known as that of Thales, which is said by Herodotus to have been predicted by that philosopher, and to have caused the suspension of a battle between the Medes and Lydians, which must have taken place somewhere in Asia Minor. By the use of the best tables then in existence, Mr. Baily (whose computations were afterwards confirmed by M. Oltmanns) had identified this eclipse with the total one of September 30, B.C. 610, which, according to those tables, must have passed over the mouth of the river Halys, where it had all along been assumed (though without any positive grounds) that the battle was fought. But Mr. Airy has conclusively shown by Hansen's tables, that the shadow in this eclipse must have passed altogether out of Asia Minor, and even north of the Sea of Azof; whilst on the other hand, the eclipse of B.C. 585, which was also total, passed over Issus, a locality satisfying all the circumstantial and general military conditions of the narrative even better than the Halys; so that there can be no reasonable doubt that this battle was fought at that time and in that place. So, again, the total eclipse of the sun, which was witnessed by the fleet of Agathocles in his escape from Syracuse when blockaded by the Carthaginians, and which was pronounced by Mr. Baily to be incompatible with that of the year B.C. 310, is now found to have passed on that date so near the southern corner of Sicily, that the fleet might have very probably entered it; whilst no other eclipse could by possibility have done so. Lastly, a solar eclipse is related by Xenophon to have caused the capture of the city of Larissa, by producing a panic among its Median defenders, of which the Persian besiegers took advantage. The site of Larissa has been satisfactorily identified with Nimroud; and as, according to Hansen's tables, the total eclipse of August 15, B.C. 310, passed centrally over Nimroud (the total shadow in this instance not exceeding twenty-five miles in diameter), it may be most confidently regarded as the "eclipse

of Larissa," of which the date is thus fixed far more unerringly than it could be by any historical records.

For a fuller exposition of the subjects which we have thus concisely brought under the attention of our readers, we must refer to Sir John Herschel's own pages, and to the various memoirs cited by him; and we have only to add, as the crowning merit of this admirable work, that in its Appendix will be found copious Synoptic Tables of astronomical elements, which have been carefully revised in conformity with the best current authorities. As no one is more competent than Sir John Herschel to estimate the relative value of those authorities, and as no one would execute the labour of revision more thoroughly or conscientiously, we feel sure that these tables are worthy of the fullest reliance, as the most accurate that astronomical science can at present furnish.

No contrast could well be stronger between the productions of two men of high scientific reputation, than that which is presented by the "Popular Astronomy" of M. Arago to the "Outlines" of Sir John Herschel;² and no more complete justification could be given, than is afforded by the recent publication of the second volume (completing the work), to the representations of those who have all along asserted that Arago was a very much overrated man, and that his acquirements would not stand the test of a thorough examination. For whilst, on the one hand, this volume is characterized by that cleverness of exposition by which its author acquired distinction as a popular lecturer, it affords such abundant evidence of a want of thorough acquaintance with his subject, as to make it not a little surprising that he could have maintained his ground at all, among so many competent and not always favourably disposed critics. It is fortunate for such as may wish to avail themselves of the large body of valuable information conveyed in these lectures, that the English republication has been superintended by editors so competent as Admiral Smyth and Mr. Robert Grant; for they have applied themselves so carefully to the correction of the author's errors of fact and of conception, that their notes bear to the text a proportion by no means unimportant as regards amount, and still less so in point of value. Thus, in a single short chapter of scarcely two pages, on the mass of the planets, the editors find occasion to point out three considerable errors of statement; and in that which almost immediately succeeds, on the density of the earth, they have to notice the extraordinary omission of all reference to Mr. Baily's repetition of the Cavendish experiment, whilst we have Sir John Herschel's authority for the assertion that Arago's account of the principle of that experiment involves a total misconception of its real nature.

There are few scientific books which can better bear republication, at a considerable interval of time, than Dr. Buckland's "Bridgewater

² "Popular Astronomy." By François Arago. Translated from the original, and edited by Admiral M. H. Smyth, D.C.L., For. Sec. R.S. &c. &c. and Robert Grant, Esq., M.A., F.R.A.S. Volume II. With numerous illustrations. 8vo, pp. 844. London, 1858.

Treatise,"³ the reason being that its able author wisely preferred to base his argument rather upon facts which remain unchanged, than upon deductions or theories which the progress of science is almost certain to modify, if not entirely to upset. With very few exceptions, and these of no great moment, the details of structure which he so ably wrought out are no less conformable to scientific truth now, than they were when he first elaborated them; and all necessary correction has been supplied in the form of notes by Professors Owen and Phillips, who have kindly given their assistance to the editor in the performance of a task for which he felt that the nature of his own pursuits had not specially fitted him. We could wish, in some few places, that they had done more than barely correct the errors of the text; since we feel sure, that had the accomplished author lived to perform this revision for himself, he would have felt the necessity of making more extensive changes; and it does not seem to us that respect for his memory need have prevented them from substituting their own matter for his; in such cases (for example) as the description of the palæozoic formations, according to that modern nomenclature and division of them which has now completely superseded (as every tyro knows) the old designations. Although the name of the late Mr. Robert Brown appears on the title-page, we have not been able to find evidence of his having taken any share of the editorial labour; but the deficiency is not injurious, since the progress of fossil botany has not been such of late years as to involve the necessity of any important addition or correction in the chapter relating to it. Of Mr. Francis Buckland's memoir, it gives us great pleasure to be able to speak in terms of high commendation. It is concise, simple, manly, and affectionate; placing the strong points of his father's character honestly before its readers, but showing no tendency either to an undue exaltation of his abilities, or to an over-estimate of his labours. Those who had the privilege of domestic intercourse with Dr. Buckland were aware how much he owed to the zeal and interest which his estimable wife took in his pursuits; all such will cordially subscribe to the tribute which is here paid to her worth, and will feel its appropriateness.

We have much pleasure in recommending, in spite of its somewhat exceptionable title, a sensible and unpretending little volume by Dr. Ogilvie,⁴ the purpose of which is "to bring forward, in a popular form, the views now generally held by philosophical naturalists, in regard to a common plan of construction traceable in each of the primary divisions of the animal kingdom." The author justly remarks

³ "Geology and Mineralogy considered with reference to Natural Theology." By the late Very Rev. William Buckland, D.D., F.R.S., Reader in Geology and Mineralogy in the University of Oxford, and Dean of Westminster. A new edition, with additions by Professor Owen, F.R.S., &c., Professor Phillips, M.F.A., LL.D., &c., Mr. Robert Brown, F.R.S., &c., and a Memoir of the Author Edited by Francis T. Buckland, M.A. 2 vols. With a portrait and ninety plates. 8vo, pp. 601. London. 1858.

⁴ "The Master-Builder's Plan; or, the Principles of Organic Architecture, as indicated in the Typical Forms of Animals." By George Ogilvie, M.D., Lecturer on the Institutes of Medicine, &c., in the Marischal College and University, Aberdeen. With numerous illustrations. Post 8vo, pp. 196. London. 1858.

that all the popular expositions hitherto given in relation to this subject have been confined to the vertebrated classes; the organization of the invertebrata having attracted comparatively little attention, save on the part of professed naturalists. And as their discussion of the subject has been exclusively scientific, he has thought that the time has now come for collecting together their general conclusions, and for presenting them in such a form as to convey an idea of the laws of organization to those who, without making natural history a special object of study, may wish to have a right conception of its general scope. In his exposition of the *Vertebrate* plan of construction, he follows Professor Owen; wisely abstaining, however, from adopting his doctrines of the "Archetype Skeleton" and "Typical Vertebra," which, notwithstanding the currency they have gained on his authority, are found to be less and less satisfactory the more carefully they are examined;* and noticing in the Appendix some of the principal points of detail as to which his views have been called in question. The *Articulata* are described on the general basis established by Audouin and Milne-Edwards, with additional details chiefly furnished by the researches of Newport and Darwin; and much acuteness is shown by the author in the discussion of the relation of the Articulated type to the Vertebrated. The *Mollusca* are sketched according to the views of Professor Huxley, the only naturalist who has attempted to work out the homologies of the several classes constituting this group. The *Radiata* of Cuvier, being a heterogeneous group which undoubtedly requires sub-division, do not admit of being treated in the same satisfactory manner; but we think it a pity that the author did not a little extend his sketch of the Echinodermata—a group in which typical form is especially apparent notwithstanding the great variety of its modifications—rather than attempt to combine with them a series of animal forms with which they have no kind of relationship, save that which is presented by the radial symmetry manifested by the majority of them. In adding that the book is clearly and agreeably written, being singularly free from the Scotch tendency to *preach* on these subjects, and extremely well illustrated, we shall have said enough to characterize it.

Of the vast extent of the class of Insects (the known species of which many times outnumber the known species of all other tribes of animals put together), we have a remarkable illustration in the recent appearance of a monograph upon a single family of beetles, which extends to no fewer than 433 closely printed octavo pages.⁵ Dr. Gerstaecker is well known as a zealous and able entomologist; and we doubt not that this work, which is the first of a proposed succession of descriptive treatises on different groups of articulated animals, will add to his reputation, and excite a desire for a continuance of the series.

* See especially a very able criticism of them in the "British and Foreign Medico-Chirurgical Review," for October, 1858.

⁵ "Entomographien. Abhandlungen im Bereich der Gliederthiere; mit besonderer benutzung der Königl. Entomologischen Sammlung zu Berlin." Von A. Gerstaecker, Dr. der Med. und Phil., Docenten an der Universität zu Berlin. Erster Band. Monographie der Familie Endomychidae. Mit drei Kupfertafeln. 8vo, pp. 433. Leipzig. 1858.

Of the "Outlines of Physiology"⁶ recently issued by Professor Bennett, we regret to be obliged to say that we do not think that they will add to his reputation either as a teacher or as a writer. We object on principle to such slight and imperfect *compendia* (avowedly not popular, but professional) of sciences with which every student of medicine ought to render himself thoroughly conversant; since it is the inevitable tendency of all books of this class to favour the idea that everything which it is essential to know may be comprised within a very narrow compass; and this tendency cannot but acquire increased force from the encouragement thus authoritatively given to it. The scientific training in the interpretation of the phenomena presented by living beings should constitute, even more than the imparting of technical knowledge, the special object of a Professor of the Institutes of Medicine, whether in his oral or in his written expositions. It was this training which gave such value to the lectures of Dr. Bennett's distinguished predecessor, Dr. Alison, whose published "Outlines" present as marked a contrast to those of his successor, as any one book can exhibit when compared with another on the same subject. To the solitary student, Dr. Alison's "Outlines" seemed dry and abstract, because they dwelt specially on those comprehensive principles of the science of life, of which their author had attained so profound a mastery, and required for their full comprehension the rich illustrations and clear elucidations of his oral discourses. The work was, what such works should be, a text-book for lectures; giving to each member of the class that key-note (so to speak) of the subject for the day, which would enable him to grasp the meaning of the lecturer through every part of his exposition of it. The "Outlines" of Dr. Bennett, on the contrary, have the merit of being easily read; but this very facility is the result of their superficiality; and we confidently predict that the principal use made of them will be by idle students, who will have recourse to them to "cram-up" just so much physiology as they may think requisite to enable them to pass their examinations.

But it is not merely of the general plan of the book that we feel called upon to speak with disapproval. Its execution is very unequal; marked deficiencies being apparent in some parts, and inaccuracies in others. We have no disposition to find fault with the author for basing his exposition of the science upon "the functions of the ultimate tissues and organs of the body in health and disease:" on the contrary, we agree with him that "such is the aspect in which physiology should be presented to those who desire to connect it with a scientific practice of the medical art." But those functions can only be thoroughly understood when *all* their conditions are studied; and Professor Bennett seems to have thought it sufficient to place in detail before his readers only one set of those conditions—those, namely, which are furnished by organic structure; passing by the other set, namely, those physical agencies on which all vital activity is im-

⁶ "Outlines of Physiology." By John Hughes Bennett, M.D., F.R.S.E., Professor of the Institutes of Medicine in the University of Edinburgh, &c. &c. With wood-engravings. 12mo, pp. 247. Edinburgh. 1858.

mediately and directly dependent, with so general a notice that the reader anxious only for facts is likely to ignore it altogether. But many even of Dr. Bennett's statements of fact are so far from being correct, as to inspire us with no very exalted notion of the soundness of his physiological teaching. Thus, at p. 39, he tells us that "fibrin forms nearly the whole substance of the muscles, but exists in small quantity in the blood;" just as if Liebig had not shown some years since, that the fibrin of the blood and the substance of muscle (syntonin) are essentially different in their chemical properties. So again, in p. 76, the student is given to understand that the interchange of oxygen and carbonic acid in the lungs takes place in accordance with the physical law of the diffusion of gases, one-sixth of the oxygen absorbed being retained within the body; no notice whatever being taken of the various researches which have shown that the law of "diffusion," if applicable at all to this case, is greatly modified in its results by other conditions, which conditions have been shown by the accurate experiments of MM. Regnault and Reiset to consist chiefly in the regimen of the animal. The account given by Professor Bennett of what becomes of the oxygen that disappears, is such as betrays an almost inconceivable degree either of ignorance or of carelessness. He first tells us that it "is supposed to combine with hydrogen furnished by the food and by the disintegration of the tissues, to produce water;" and he then goes on to say that "part of the water so formed is again exhaled in the form of vapour from the lungs, whilst another part is used in oxidizing the sulphur and phosphorus taken in with the food, and excreted chiefly in the condition of sulphuric and phosphoric acids." Surely any tyro in physiological chemistry could tell Dr. Bennett that the oxydation of phosphorus and sulphur must be effected in the living body, not by the decomposition of the water previously formed by the oxygenation of hydrogen, but by the direct union of phosphorus and sulphur with the oxygen introduced by respiration. Further on we notice, at p. 84, that the composition of the blood is given according to the analyses of Becquerel and Rodier, without the least hint that the researches of Schmidt and Lehmann have long since proved that the method of computation adopted by those chemists (who reckoned all the water of the blood as *water of serum*, and estimated the amount of the solids of the serum accordingly) was essentially vicious, and that their figures need much correction in order to make them represent the true proportions of the solid matters of the blood. We are sorry to find Professor Bennett assisting to give currency to Owsjannikow's representations of the structure of the spinal cord, whose correctness has been seriously called in question by those who have had the opportunity of examining his dissections; whilst he has not even mentioned the names of Lenhossek or Lockhart Clarke, the truth of whose delineations has been verified by many of the most eminent physiologists and histologists of the metropolis. On one point, of no mean importance, we find the author's carelessness leading him to contradict himself. After telling us (p. 161) that "the fact is well established in science that no ovule can furnish productive seeds unless the pollen has had access to

it" (a general doctrine, we may remark, to which there is at least one exception), he goes on to say that "in all animals in which ova are formed, the same thing takes place:" yet we subsequently (p. 182) find him fully admitting the doctrine of Siebold, that the very same ova deposited by the queen-bee become workers or drones, according as they are or not impregnated by contact with the seminal fluid.

Small as the entire bulk within which these "Outlines" are compressed, it is still further reduced by the allotment of no less than one-fourth of the treatise to what the author calls Pathological Physiology, which is what every one else calls Pathology. Fully recognising, as we do, the intimate relationship between normal and morbid phenomena, and being thoroughly satisfied that a sound pathology can only be erected on a sound physiology, we must protest against this most uncalled-for departure from the accepted use of these terms, each of which has its definite and well-understood meaning; and not less must we deprecate Dr. Bennett's attempt to compress within sixty-three duodecimo pages an outline of pathological science, which, we fear, will never be filled up by a large proportion of those who accept this production as their guide.

From Germany we have portions of two works on kindred subjects, to neither of which does our own literature furnish a parallel. The "Lehrbuch" ⁷ of Dr. Reich is the first part of an extensive treatise on the *Causation of Disease*, in which the various agencies affecting health are discussed with that minute elaboration and formularization of details which is specially characteristic of the German mind, and which, in our apprehension, tends to distract the attention from those general principles which every one ought to study and apply. The "Handbuch" ⁸ of Dr. Pappenheim promises to be, like many other German handbooks, anything but a portable manual, being a veritable cyclopædia, in which almost every conceivable subject relating to sanitary police is copiously treated in alphabetical order.

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

THE first and most important Revolution of the Seventeenth Century, commonly known as the Great Rebellion, has recently received a double illustration in the historical essays contributed by Mr. John Forster,¹ and in the studies of Mr. J. L. Sanford.² Both these authors traverse the same ground, discuss the same subjects, consult

⁷ "Lehrbuch der Allgemeinen Ätiologie und Hygiene." Von Eduard Reich, Med. Dr. 8vo. pp. 368. Erlangen. 1858.

⁸ "Handbuch der Sanitäts-Polizei: nach eigenen Untersuchungen bearbeitet. Von Dr. Louis Pappenheim, Docent an der Universität zu Berlin, &c. Zweiter Band, Erste Abtheilung. 8vo. pp. 362. Berlin. 1858.

¹ "Historical and Biographical Essays." By John Forster. 2 vols. London: John Murray. 1858.

² "Studies and Illustrations of the Great Rebellion." By John Langton Sanford. London: J. W. Parker. 1858.

the same authorities, arrive at the same general conclusions, and hold the same theory of the English Civil War; nearly the same estimate of the leading characters of this period, and especially of the great child and champion of this magnificent insurrection, against the intellectual and material despotism which Charles I., Strafford, and Laud proposed to inaugurate. Passing over, therefore, minor differences of view and divergences of opinion, we shall regard the two works as of cognate character and like aim, and bracket them together in our critical notice. Mr. Sanford's historical investigation commenced more than fifteen years ago, before the publication of Mr. Carlyle's "Letters and Speeches of Cromwell," in the second edition of which are included some of the results of his long and patient research. Further inquiry brought Mr. Sanford acquainted with the contents of D'Ewes' MS. "Journal of the Long Parliament," preserved in the British Museum Library; and in 1850 a comprehensive work, of which the present volume is only a portion, was ready for the press. Of the "Historical Essays" furnished by Mr. Forster, the first and second have not before been printed; the third, published two years ago in the "Edinburgh," now appears with some valuable additions. Both our essayists refer to the blotted manuscripts of Sir Simonds D'Ewes, in five volumes, as the authoritative source of the new facts adduced by them. Carlyle had previously drawn attention in his "Miscellanies" to D'Ewes' "Journal," and twelve years since a notice of this "precious record" and its writer appeared in the pages of the "Edinburgh Review." Neither Rushworth, Whitelocke, Nelson, nor Clarendon are trustworthy chroniclers. Of the "Historical Recollections" of Rushworth, only the first volume was published in his life, and the whole work is presumed by Mr. Sanford to have been slightly interpolated by a Royalist editor. Whitelock's "Memorials" are, we are informed, a bookseller's compilation of very mixed authority, and, in the account of Strafford's trial, full of errors and fabrications. Nelson's "Collections," Mr. Forster tells us, is a farrago of violent party rubbish, compiled for the special delectation of Charles II., by an unscrupulous Royalist partizan. Highly eulogizing Clarendon's "History of the Rebellion," for rare beauties of thought and charm of style, Mr. Forster regards its authority as often worthless, and its author's imputations against former colleagues as never to be safely relied on. Clarendon, he says, has been confronted with the facts he has misrepresented; Sir Simonds D'Ewes has been heard; the Great Remonstrance itself has spoken, and the result is, "not merely that Clarendon turned king's evidence against his old associates, but that his evidence is completely disproved." The Grand Remonstrance, excavated from Rushworth's ponderous folios, Mr. Forster regards as a fact living and accessible; a solid piece of actual history, embodying the case of the Parliament against the Ministers of the king; the most authentic statement of the wrongs endured for fifteen years by the English people, and the most complete justification on record of the Great Rebellion. The authorship of this noble document, Mr. Forster ascribes to Pym. An abstract of the contents occupies forty pages in the first volume of his essays. It is interposed in the account given of the debates

on this most striking political procedure. The design of drawing up such a declaration as may be a faithful representation to *this House* of the estate of the kingdom had been previously entertained in committee in a more modified form; all the leading members of the House being members of the committee, and Lord Digby being its chairman. After a succession of remarkable scenes and struggles, the publication of this weighty document was determined on, by a majority of fifty-two. Mr. Forster's grave but animated account of the debates; his admirable analysis of the remonstrance; his historical revision; his critical elucidation, must be studied in detail to be rightly appreciated. An essay on the Plantagenets and Tudors follows, serving as a sketch of constitutional history, and intended to show that English freedom has "a pedigree and illustrating ancestors;" that in all the casualties of the fortunes of our old kings "a something which, under various names, represents the people is still on their track." The Petition of Right was the "affirmation of the precedents of three preceding centuries;" while the Great Charter of King John's barons was the lineal descendant of the enactment of the first year of Henry Beauclerc. Mr. Forster's third essay on the Civil Wars and Oliver Cromwell, contains some original criticism on Lord Falkland, whom he suspects to have been more of an apostate than Strafford; but whose prodigious learning, inimitable sweetness in conversation, flowing humanity, and primitive simplicity and integrity of life he fully and emphatically recognises. Mr. Sanford, on the other hand, characterizes Lord Falkland as the most conscientious of the Royalist seceders, but morbidly sensitive; deficient in judgment, and ever ready to be scared by possible evils on one side of the question, without balancing against them the certain evils attendant on the other. It is a noticeable fact that the three men who showed least forbearance to Strafford were the deserting partisans of the king's cause:—Culpepper, Falkland, and Hyde. By far the most valuable portion of Mr. Forster's third essay is that which relates to the Great Protector. Of the three views of this remarkable man's character, the view which attributes to him ambition, genius, and hypocrisy; the view which regards him as mainly sincere, but worldly, perplexed, interested, and "a traitor to liberty;" and that which regards him as "a man whose every thought was with the Eternal, as one of those rare souls which could lay on itself the lowliest and highest functions alike," that sought to do God's work "unmoved to the transient appearance of this world, and wrestling and trampling forward to the sublime hopes of another," Mr. Forster seems inclined to support the last. In this view, Mr. Sanford, too, acquiesces in his detailed and excellent narrative of the "Early Life of Oliver Cromwell." Both authors vindicate Cromwell's descent and family against the aspersions of the Royalists. In the parish register of Felsted, Robert Cromwell, who was buried there, 1639, and who is shown by Mr. Forster to be the son to whom the dying Protector so touchingly alluded, is described as "filius honorandi viri M^{ris} (esquire), Oliveris Cromwelli," the sole "vir honorandus" mentioned in the records of birth and death kept, ere his name "grew famous beyond his native county," in that "small Essex parish." In addition to his sketch of

Cromwell's early life, Mr. Sanford has nine separate essays—one on the Tudor and Stuart period; one on the religious and social aspects of Puritanism; one on the antecedents of Charles I., and one on the Returns to the Long Parliament. The remaining sections are entitled, Strafford and Pym; Parliamentary Royalism; The Earl of Essex; Long Marston Moor; and Cavalier and Roundhead Letters. His work does not supersede Mr. Forster's, nor is it superseded by it. Each writer throws a light of his own round the obscurities of the subject, and illustrates the same events under differing aspects. The abstract of the Grand Remonstrance is to be found in Mr. Forster's volume alone;* the characteristics of Puritanism are philosophically considered by Mr. Sanford only. The result of this joint perusal is the increased conviction that Charles I., Strafford, and Laud were prepared for the destruction of the English constitution, and for the forced imposition of an entire and thoroughly organized system of civil and religious despotism, an Anglican Papacy and an Anglican Imperialism. Had the king possessed Strafford's energy and decision, the grand but malignant genius of that powerful and intrepid intellect would have translated this dream of absolute dominion over the bodies and souls of men into a present reality. Strafford, happily for England, was unsupported, and the conspiracy against liberty, right, and truth, was detected, exposed, and crushed by the illustrious leaders of the Long Parliament, and the eventual freedom of this country secured by the commanding abilities of Cromwell, and the courage and discipline of the Puritan soldiers.

The four biographical sketches in Mr. Forster's second volume are reprinted from the "Edinburgh" and "Quarterly," with revisions and amplifications. To his splendid estimate of the life and intellect of that impersonation of British manhood, De Foe, and his affectionate vindication of the literary abilities of Steele, in reply to Lord Macaulay's disparaging criticism, we particularly invite attention. The two remaining essays are on Churchill and Foote.

Widely divergent from the judgment passed on the House of Stuart by the two authors whose works we have just reviewed, is the verdict of Mr. Townend,³ in his history of its descendants. To rescue from obscurity the genealogical records of this illustrious house, and to provide information relating to this exiled family, proving or disproving the existence of their descendants, with particular references to the Oath of Abjuration, are the motives that have impelled Mr. Townend to publish the present volume. He considers that the legislative alternatives are the substitution in the Act of the descendants of Charles I. for those of James II. or the repeal of the Act *in toto*. He writes as the eulogist or vindicator of the Stuarts, has apparently no national but only dynastic sympathies, regards Charles I. as a martyr, and Mary Queen of Scots as innocent. He vehemently opposes Macaulay's representa-

* Mr. Forster implies that this important document has never been reprinted from Rushworth; but a writer in the *Leader* newspaper has pointed out that it is to be found in the bulky work of the industrious Rappin.

³ "The Descendants of the Stuarts." By William Townend. Second edition. London: Longman and Co. 1858.

tions, and accepts Miss Strickland's conclusions as final. Mr. Townend's book has been industriously compiled. It gives a clear and vigorous sketch of the lives of the excluded Stuarts, introduces us to many of the Courts in Europe, and serves as a ready chronicle of the fortunes of a royal but ill-starred race. The pedigree of the Stuarts is illustrated in this volume by various genealogical tables.

From the Stuart period we descend to the time of the Guelphs.⁴ Caroline Matilda, sister of George III. and posthumous daughter of Frederick Prince of Wales, was married, 1766, to Christian VII., King of Denmark. An estrangement had already grown up between the royal pair when the ambitious and licentious Struensée, the travelling tutor or physician of his majesty, was first presented to the queen. By his address a reconciliation was effected, and Struensée, who now held the rank of privy councillor, became daily more acceptable to both the king and queen. With the increase of his importance his ambition increased. To supplant Count Bernstorff, or at least to deprive him of his seat in the Council of State, he is said to have recommended the Count Rantzau Ascheberg. He also obtained the recall of his friend, Enewold von Brandt, who ere long succeeded von Hølek as director of the royal amusements. Struensée, Brandt, and Rantzau formed a triumvirate at Travendahl, and took measures to procure the removal from the court of all who were personally opposed to them. The failure of a marine expedition furnished a pretext for the retirement and disgrace of Bernstorff. The dismissal of many eminent men from the public service followed; the Queen Dowager Juliana Maria was deserted, and Struensée became the First Minister, with nearly unlimited power, the fatuous and ill-conditioned king being little better than a nonentity: and under the auspices of this able and daring politician the party of the young queen triumphed. Urged by the new minister the king dissolved the Council of State, substituting for it a commission of conference. By this measure the nobility were deprived of their hereditary influence in the government of the country, and the Danish constitution was partially revolutionized. The appointment of the presidents of administration was vested in the Prime Minister. The new Chamber sat during his pleasure only, and its members retained neither rank nor power. Such a high-handed policy as this could not fail to defeat itself. The queen's cause was prejudiced, and numerous enemies were created. Among them none was more bitter than Count Rantzau, who, with his seat in the council, lost all his authority and importance. In revenge he joined the Queen Dowager at Friedensburg. Struensée's power, however, remained paramount; all business transactions were conducted by him; all State papers passed through his hands before they were ratified by the king. His two principal difficulties were the Exchequer and the Home Department, which had sustained great injury from the shameful incompetence of previous administrators. Assisted by his brother, Carl August, Struensée now attempted various financial improvements, Fresh taxa-

⁴ "Struensée, et la Cour de Copenhague, 1760—1772, Mémoires de Reverdil, Conseiller d'Etat du Roi Chrétien VII. Publiés par Alexandre Roger. Paris. 1858.

tion, however, produced great popular dissatisfaction; and even among his most devoted adherents, coldness and reserve began to prevail. Meanwhile the profligate and imbecile king, pre-occupied and amused by Brandt, on whom devolved the especial office of keeping his majesty quiet and out of the way, remained ignorant of, or indifferent to, the unconstitutional proceedings of his minister. The queen's attachment to Struensée, which had hitherto been unavowed, but which was anything but platonic, at length became notorious, and if she felt a momentary indignation at the arbitrary conduct of her favourite, her silence was purchased by her fears. About two years before this period Struensée had conceded the liberty of the press. This privilege he now revoked; a measure which in his judgment the unrestrained freedom of discussion had rendered necessary for self-preservation, but which in reality only hastened his downfall.

Confiding in the genius of Struensée, the queen refused to listen to the warning representations of the English Ambassador, who predicted his approaching ruin. The prophecy was soon to be realized. A secret conspiracy was planned by the partisans of the Dowager Queen. On the 16th January, 1772, a ball was given in the royal palace, and on the morning of the 17th the Queen Matilda, Struensée, and his brother, with Brandt and all their adherents, were arrested during its progress. The indictment against Struensée consisted of nine counts, comprising adultery with the queen; complicity with Brandt in his insults to the king; cruelty to the Prince Royal; usurpation of authority; speculation; the sale of the queen's diamonds, and other misdemeanours implying interference with prerogative or established custom. Many of these accusations Reverdil contemptuously sets aside. The queen's diamonds, he says, were sold by her own order. The duel which Brandt fought with the king was a consequence of the royal command to regard the monarch solely as a private gentleman. All his favorites had had similar rencontres; and Brandt himself had received the king's pardon, and had afterwards held a palace appointment. The *liaison* with the queen was proved; nor does there seem any doubt that Struensée, originally, according to Reverdil, a man of noble and liberal instincts, availed himself of his powerful position to increase largely his own pecuniary emoluments. The extreme sentence of the law, with the atrocious accompaniment of mutilation, was pronounced on both these unfortunate men. And although the king's honour required that Brandt at least should be pardoned, the sentence in both instances was confirmed without any mitigation of penalties. Reverdil relates the conversion of Struensée, hitherto an unbeliever, to Christianity, and regards the frank and honest statements of the attending clergyman, Dr. Munter, as satisfactory evidence of the sincerity of the conversion. He strongly condemns, however, the European custom of publicly exhibiting the repentance of criminals as a proof of the truth of Christianity; of publishing their conversion as a triumph, of accrediting the dangerous opinion that in virtue of certain prayers, and submission to certain forms, the scaffold becomes the assured road to Paradise. Both Brandt and Struensée died in the odour of sanctity.

The queen's trial followed that of her lover and confidant. Her

name was removed from the offices of the liturgy, and she was henceforth to be regarded as a foreign princess. Bidding her daughter an eternal farewell, the unhappy lady embarked at Elsinore for Stade in Hanover. From Stade she proceeded to Zell, where she was supported by the King of England till her death; retaining the title of queen, and the external indications of royalty. She died at the early age of twenty-two. Such is the singular and tragic history recorded by Reverdil in these memoirs. His own relation to the King and Court of Denmark may be briefly described. Born 1732, at Nion, a little town in the Pays de Vaud, he appears to have been induced to visit Denmark by his cousin André Roger, who was then in high favour with the prime minister, the Comte de Bernstorff. In 1758 he was called to the mathematical chair in the Academy of Copenhagen; in 1760 he was appointed tutor to the Crown Prince. He filled this high office conscientiously, and availed himself of his interest with the monarch to suggest measures of national improvement. Though his project for the emancipation of the serfs was defeated by the jealous opposition of the war minister, the Count of St. Germain, Reverdil at least succeeded in preparing the way for their enfranchisement. By the machinations of Hølek, Reverdil was at last ordered to quit Copenhagen. In 1771, however, he was recalled by the then triumphant Count Struensee, and with the encouragement and approbation of Bernstorff himself, he consented to accept an appointment in the palace. On the explosion of the conspiracy he quietly withdrew from the kingdom, returned once again to the country of his birth, and there lived in an honourable and patriotic retirement. His society was sought and valued by many eminent persons. Among others by Necker, Madame de Stael, Bonstetten and Voltaire. The wit of Ferney, in testifying to Reverdil's conversational talent, remarked, "On peut avoir autant d'esprit que Reverdil mais pas d'avantage." His "Memoires" are written in a facile and lucid style, and by all who wish to acquire a closer acquaintance with the worthless king and court of Denmark at the close of the last century, will be found to possess value and significance. They are preceded by a short notice of the author, and followed by several unedited letters by a descendant of Madame Reverdil's; himself a resident at Nion.

The first volume of the Correspondence of Napoleon I.⁵ issued from the imperial printing press at the commencement of the present year, and was pronounced a remarkable specimen of typographical excellence. The splendour and costliness of the work, however, rendered it inaccessible to the million. It has accordingly been republished in a cheaper and more popular form. By an imperial decree issued at Boulogne, September 7th, 1854, a commission was appointed to collect, arrange, and publish the correspondence of the august predecessor of Napoleon III. That commission consisted of various senators and members of the Institute; Lefebvre, Chassériau of the Council of State, Perren, *chef de section* in the ministry of State; and acted under the presidency of Marshal Vaillant,

⁵ "Correspondance de Napoléon Ier." Publiée par ordre de l'Empereur Napoléon III. Tome premier. Paris. 1858.

minister of war. The volume before us is the product of their joint editorship. It is prefaced by the report of the commission addressed to the reigning Emperor, in which he is by implication assimilated to Augustus, his "august predecessor" to Cæsar, and the political, military, and administrative correspondence of "this incomparable genius" to the commentaries of the great Roman captain and statesman. The task assigned them is declared to be that of "reuniting and bringing to light the scattered traces of the thoughts of Napoleon." In pursuance of this object the commission ransacked archives and libraries, consulted the representatives of the oldest families in Europe, applied to foreign governments, and solicited aid from private sources. Ten thousand works published on Napoleon or the events of his reign have been catalogued and examined; the letters addressed by Napoleon to different European sovereigns, and his correspondence with the Prince Eugène have been put under contribution. In their rich store of disposable material the commissioners specify a collection of documents relating to the campaigns of Italy and Egypt in forty-seven volumes; 40,000 papers in the archives of the empire; 20,000 in the War Office; 2000 in the Foreign Office; 1100 in the Admiralty, and 1500 in the other State offices. After the labour of collection and examination, came the question of arrangement. The arrangement ultimately adopted was that of chronological order, from a conviction that it was the only effective method of "reproducing the succession of the great Emperor's thoughts," and forcibly and faithfully displaying "his universal aptitude and wonderful fertility." As a first instalment of this imperial literary enterprise we have the initial volume of the Correspondence of Napoleon I., containing a thousand and eighteen documents, a great part of which have never yet been published. The volume commences with a report on the artillery employed in the siege of Toulon, the details of which are discussed in twelve letters. The majority of the letters and papers which follow, relating to the operations of the army in Italy, are addressed to the Executive Directory; the Minister of War and Finance; the French Generals; various Italian officials; and Joseph Buonaparte. These letters and orders evince a terrible promptitude and vigour: they show an iron resolution; a quick insight into the exigencies of a situation; a fierce determination to succeed, an intrepid intellect and unsparing *tactique*. Napoleon's orders seem to have the precision and consequence of cannon balls, going right to the mark, with fatal aim. We find in these letters frequent complaints of the disorder and ill-conduct of the soldiers composing the army of Italy. In a report addressed to the Directory (No. 126), Napoleon declares that he found this army not only destitute but without discipline, and in a state of perpetual insubordination. To such a height had the general discontent proceeded, that a Dauphin's company had been formed, in which counter-revolutionary songs were sang. Two of the officers, he says, accused of having cried *Vive le roi*, I have referred to a court-martial (*conseil militaire*). He directs General Domartin (331) to assemble the 84th demi-grade, to express the displeasure of the general commanding-in-chief.

In the order numbered (214), he complains of the horrible pillage which had been carried on for several days, and authorises the generals of divisions to shoot instantaneously those officers or soldiers who might be found exciting others to pillage. In a letter addressed to the Directory (24th April, 1796), he says—"The soldier without bread is guilty of such furious excesses as make one blush to be a man. . . . I will restore order, or I will cease to command these brigands." The general bravery of the French soldier, however, is never impeached; personal exploit is highly panegyricized, and tales of individual valour are related that border on the fabulous. On the other hand, the English are reported to have retreated with such precipitation at Toulon, that a great part of their tents and baggage fell into the power of the French (No. 12); while the officers commanding the Austrian army are not complimented either for their courage or their generalship. These letters of Napoleon sometimes possess an anecdotal value, to which we can only draw attention here; and not unfrequently contain indications of his theory of life and morals. To Lucy he writes (55), "Health, constancy, a light heart, and never say *die*. If you meet with bad or ungrateful men, remember the fine though comic saying of Scapin: '*Sachons-leur gré de tous les crimes que l'on ne commet pas.*'" There is an admirable table of contents attached to this volume, giving the number, dates, addresses, subjects, and references of all the orders and letters. It opens with the siege of Toulon, in the year II., and closes with the defeat of Wurmser, in the year IV. From the present French type of imperial greatness we are recalled by the narrative of the *Sire de Joinville*⁶ to the ideal of mediæval royalty realised in the most Christian king, St. Louis. The late Dr. Arnold regarded him as closely approximating to the type of a good king. With some allowance for the different conception of duty, which a different belief necessitated, and looking to the animating motive, rather than to the ascertainable consequences, we are inclined to accept Dr. Arnold's verdict. If the spirit of self-devotion to a cause which we believe to be holy and august, can justify the conduct which it dictates, irrespectively of the reasonableness of that conduct, then may Louis IX. be justified for his crusading enterprise; for to him that enterprise appeared in the light of a celestial mission. We cannot, however, in our soberer judgment, justify Louis IX. absolutely; for if love and devotion inspire action, reason and prudence must select and regulate it; and the self-sacrificing enthusiasm of this crusading king, unrestrained and undirected by intelligence, was in reality as disastrous in its consequences to others, as are the cold calculations of an exclusive self-interest. But if we cannot acquit Louis IX. of error in action, and mischief in result, we can at least pronounce him pure in motive and upright in practice. If his religion was alloyed by the superstition of the age, his moral perceptions were not distorted by ecclesiastical sophistries. He disdained to break faith with the Infidel when counselled to do so; indignantly rejected the advice, once tendered him, to

⁶ "Mémoires de Jean Sire de Joinville." Publiés par M. Francisque Michel. Paris. 1858.

regard an agreement as cancelled because the seal had been broken and wisely and greatly refused to lend the spiritual power, in its decline, the support of his secular arm, unless the sentences of excommunication were first examined and approved by his own judges. Rightly has Michelet ascribed to St. Louis that elevation of mind which places equity above law. He denounced the custom of trial of battle, at least in its application to the poor and oppressed: he compelled his brother Charles of Anjou to restore an estate to its refractory possessor; he punished his barons when they did wrong; he discouraged the secret administration of justice, and declared that throughout his kingdom it should be done openly and before the people. Brave, and even warlike, when duty called him to be so, he laboured always to maintain and extend peace among foreign princes. Sensitively conscientious, he ever sacrificed his own interest to his love of right. The depth of his piety may be estimated by the words which he addressed to his daughter shortly before his death: "Dear daughter, the measure according to which we ought to love God, is to love him beyond measure." The love which he bore to his people appeared by what he said to his eldest son during a severe illness he had at Fontainebleau: "Dear son, I pray thee to gain the love of the people of thy kingdom, for truly I should prefer a Scot's coming from Scotland to govern the people of the kingdom well and loyally, to thy governing them ill." The middle ages seem to have culminated in King Louis: with Philippe le Bel, his grandson, begins our modern history. The age of man's rights has long since succeeded to that of man's duties; and gentle imaginative minds, believers in the good old times, sigh for that golden period which we all place in the past or in the future. "If this beautiful age ever yet existed, it must certainly have been, says one of the first of French critics, in those fifteen years of peace when St. Louis sat with his nobles in the forest of Vincennes, resting against an oak; and all who had business came to speak to him without hindrance." Of this saint king, of his actions, and his sayings, Joinville was the enthusiastic admirer and faithful historian. His narrative, in which he records his impressions and experiences, is simple, artless, inconsecutive. His garrulity makes him indifferent to logical connection, and the flow of his story is often suspended while he records some incident which an arbitrary association suggests. His manner, however, is animated, and his style characterized by a natural eloquence. Occasionally he mingles reflection with recital, but he is so little sceptical, that one of his critics says of him, we might suppose that objects were created the day on which he first beheld them. Everything surprises him. Everything to him is new, wonderful, miraculous. Cairo he believes to be Babylon. The Nile he pronounces to be a river which has its source in Paradise. He composed his "Mémoires" in extreme old age, though still "fresh in memory and young in heart." He never boasts of his own deeds, and never speaks ill of another. He writes always with a noble simplicity, and, if with a childlike credulity, yet with an open eye for facts which came under his own immediate cognizance. Joinville was born in 1224, in the family château in Châlons-sur-Marne, of distinguished ancestry. In 1248 he sold all his possessions, equipped ten knights,

and took the Cross with King Louis. He was present at the battle of Cairo, and recounts the exploits of the King, and the sufferings of the Crusaders. In the second ill-starred expedition of his beloved master (1270), Joinville refused to take part. For many years he occupied himself on his own domains in building and repairing churches. His presence was often required at Court, and he was employed more than once in the service of the State. His patriotism led him to resist the exactions of Philippe le Bel, but under Louis le Hutin, who repealed his predecessor's oppressive imposts, he withdrew his opposition to the Court, and at ninety years of age, in obedience to a royal summons, the stout-hearted seneschal of Champagne joined the force that had been raised to reduce the revolted Flemings. In 1317 he returned once more to Joinville, and died there two years afterwards, having lived to see six kings seated on the throne of France. The edition of these celebrated memoirs now before us is issued by the enterprising publisher, Firmin Didot. The text is based on that of the manuscript found by Marshal Saxe, at Brussels, in 1744. The volume is enriched with dissertations on the life of Joinville, his MSS., his family, his castle and tomb, and with appendices containing the instruction of St. Louis to his daughter, Sarrasin's narrative letter on the first crusade of St. Louis, and two ancient metrical compositions; and with four illustrations in steel.

Nearly three centuries after the death of King Louis, Fery de Guyon, Baili-General of Anchin and Pesquencourt, wrote his memoirs.⁷ The volume in which they are now comprised forms one of a series of narratives and chronicles published by the Historical Society of Belgium. These memoirs were first printed in 1661, at Tournay, about a hundred years after the death of the author. The copy which supplies the text of the present impression is that preserved in the Royal Library. The barbaric and chivalrous manners of the period in which Fery de Guyon lived are reflected in his unpretending recital. He paints with fidelity the man of arms, the warlike adventurer, the vicissitudes of the soldier's life, the abundance of one day, the destitution of the next. Our chronicler was born in Burgundy in 1507. Quitting the paternal roof at the age of sixteen, he followed the Seigneur de l'Estoile to Besançon, in the capacity of page. From Besançon he proceeded to Milan, where the Constable of Bourbon then sustained a siege. He recounts the defeat of the French at the passage of the Sesia, the death of the Chevalier Bayard; the expedition in Provence, that undertaken against Marseilles, and the capture of Francis I., without the dramatic incidents related by the French writers. He takes us with him, when Bourbon's army marched upon Rome, and makes us witness the sack of this city. We are present with him at the Siege of Naples, so gloriously defended by Philibert de Châlons, Prince of Orange. In 1582 Guyon's company was commissioned to put down the brigands of Calabria, and was afterwards incorporated with the imperial army, formed for the protection of Hungary against the Turks. Two years

⁷ "Mémoires de Fery de Guyon." Par De Robaulx de Soumoy. Bruxelles. 1858.

later he took part in the expedition to Tunis, beheld the defeat of Khair-Eddin, known as Barbarossa II., the Corsair King of Algiers; returned to Italy, and passed the winter at Naples. In the spring of 1536 he accompanied the Emperor in his triumphal entrance into Rome. After the truce of Nice he proceeded to Spain, was received into the service of the Emperor, followed him to Germany, was present at the Diet of Augsburg, went once more to Italy, and then to Algiers. On this occasion the imperial army was wrecked on the African coast, and unprovided with food or ammunition, suffered terrible extremities. Returning to Spain, he remained there till 1543, when he was again summoned to the imperial standard, when war was levied against the Duke of Cleves. In 1544 Guyon married Jeanne de St. Raagon. He afterwards distinguished himself in the brilliant campaign terminated by the Peace of Cressy. Four years later he received letters patent of nobility; joined the expedition into Champagne, 1552, and in the following year was present at the Sieges of Therouanne and Hesdin. With the Peace of Château Cambresis, 1559, the army was disbanded. It was about this time that our author was invested with the office of bailli of Anchin, a rich abbey, situated near Douay. He resumed military service under the Sieur de Montigny, in the spring of 1566, and, in August of the same year, defeated a troop of Iconoclasts, who, after having pillaged the Abbey of Marchiennes, menaced that of Anchin with a similar fate. Later he accompanied the army of the Seigneur of Noircames to the Sieges of Maestricht, Bois-le-duc, and Holland. In 1568 he was deputed to follow and watch the march of the Prince of Orange through Brabant and Hamault. He was preparing to assume the Governorship of the Castle of Bouchain, to which office he had been appointed, when, on the morning of the day fixed for his departure, he was struck with apoplexy, and died an hour after at Pesquencourt. Guyon's narrative is written in a slow, laborious, prosaic style; he is inexact in his chronology, and his geographical notions are somewhat limited. The peculiar spelling under which he disguises the names of persons and places has been abandoned in this edition of his narrative, and an attempt has been made to reinstate in their native orthographical honours the names of his contemporary countrymen. The volume opens with a notice of the life of the author, and is furnished with an analytical table of contents, and an index.

From ancient chroniclers we pass to modern historians. Mr. E. E. Crowe,⁸ the author of a compendious history of France in Dr. Lardner's Cabinet Cyclopædia has presented to the public the first volume of a more minute and philosophical work, which, in recording the destinies of the French nation, professes to survey the subject from an English point of view. The author has purposely abstained from multiplying references; in fact, he rarely cites an original document; and the work thus loses in authority what it gains in typographical concinnity. The narrative is, however, clearly and forcibly

⁸ "The History of France." By Eyre Evans Crowe. In 5 vols. Vol. I. London: Longman and Co. 1858.

written ; the style is flowing, uninterrupted and animated. There is no splendour of diction displayed, no scenic arrangement attempted, no strength or subtilty of thought evidenced in these pages. A simple, unimpassioned, but lucid and comprehensive chronicle of the events that occurred from the days of Clovis, who died in 511, to those of Charles V., who expired in 1380, is what Mr. Crowe offers us in the first volume of his work. If the promised four volumes, designed to complete the history, should be equally meritorious, Mr. Crowe will have furnished the educated class of his countrymen with a luminous and instructive recital of the extraneous incidents and domestic vicissitudes in the national biography of France. "The noblest result of ages," says our author, "the greatest achievement of humanity, has been to found and produce a nation. The ancient world, with few and insignificant exceptions, only knew empires established by arms and maintained by force. The existence of a nation . . . is a phenomenon of modern times. . . . There is no country which more completely embodies the idea of a nation than France." These sentences serve to indicate the character and direction of Mr. Crowe's philosophical speculations. The history commences with an account of the successes of Clovis and Pepin, and the imperial organization of Charlemagne ; the rise of feudalism ; the incursion of the Northmen ; the institution of chivalry and the foundation of the French monarchy, fill the opening chapters of this volume. We may refer to the sixth chapter for a circumstantial report of the political and legislative administration of St. Louis, and to the eighth for a description of the policy of Philip the Fair, which terminated in the premature reduction of the feudal nobles, and the compulsory unity of France under the paramount and despotic power of royalty.

From France we pass over to Italy, and in the "History of the Kingdom of Naples," by General Colletta,⁹ recognise a work which will be read with pleasure and advantage by all who take an interest in the destiny of that beautiful but unhappy country. The author of the history was born in Naples on 23rd January, 1775. He entered the army as an artillery officer in the twenty-first year of his age, and distinguished himself in the war against the French in 1798. Involved in the ruin of the Parthenopean Republic he narrowly escaped with his life. On his dismissal from the army he adopted the profession of a civil engineer, and under King Joachim was appointed Councillor of State in 1814, having previously risen to the chief command of the military engineers. In the Austrian campaign he gained fresh laurels, and was employed to negotiate the treaty of Casalanza. Under Ferdinand his rank was confirmed, and after the revolution of 1820 he was sent to Sicily to suppress the revolt. Colletta succeeded Parisi as Minister of War in February, 1821. On March 26th the Germans were in possession of Naples, and among the destined victims was the new

⁹ "History of the Kingdom of Naples, 1734-1825." By General Pietro Colletta. Translated from the Italian. By S. Horner. With a Supplementary Chapter, 1825-1856. Edinburgh: T. Constable and Co. London: Hamilton, Adams, and Co. 1858.

minister. For three months he had to endure the insults and menaces of Canosa in the castle of St. Elmo. Finally, he was conveyed to Brünn in Moravia "at the foot of that Spielberg which has been made a living tomb for so many Italian patriots." Here his health began to decline, and he was allowed after two years to reside in Florence. In Florence he commenced writing his history of Naples, and this book occupied the remaining eight years of his life. He died at Florence on 11th November, 1831. Coletta, while opposing demagogic influence and repudiating a shallow materialistic philosophy, was an undoubted admirer of the liberal Government introduced into Naples on the entrance of the French. He contends that the Neapolitans alone in Italy have preserved the seeds of the common political regeneration. By the decrees that emanated from King Charles of Bourbon, guided by his minister Tanucci, freedom, he asserts, was first redeemed from ecclesiastical tyranny. Under King Ferdinand the humiliating acknowledgment of vassalage was repudiated by the Neapolitans. The theories of political liberty, propagated in France in 1789, first became fruit-bearing in Naples, while the people were obedient to the laws and the revenue of the country continued to increase. On the conquest of Naples by the French, 1799, the nation armed to support the institutions of their country, and only a few fought on the side of liberty. Next followed the reign of the French kings, with the enjoyments of the civil franchises of the empire. In 1813 Italy was on the eve of being united, but diplomacy and arms prevented the union. The following year the Neapolitans returned to Italian rule. In 1815 the Neapolitan army unfurled the banner of freedom and marched through Italy, but the people of Parma, Modena, and Tuscany, joined the Germans. On the restoration of the old government the French code was preserved, but, in 1820, the people, by an admirably conceived revolution, passed better laws for themselves. In the course of thirty years, 100,000 Neapolitans have perished in the cause of political freedom and for the love of Italy. Though now sunk in misery they are ready for action, and though restless it is only from a desire to ameliorate their condition. This summary of the honourable deeds, attributed by the historian to his countrymen, will assist the reader in forming some notion of the spirit and import of his book. Commencing with the reign of Charles of Bourbon, it relates the conquest of the Sicilies, the victory of Velletri, the popular risings against the Inquisition, and the attempts of Charles to subvert the feudal system. The reign of Ferdinand IV. follows. The first effects of the French revolution in the kingdom of Naples, the preparations for war and defence, the triumph of the French army, the establishment and suppression of the Parthenopean Republic and the resumption of the throne by King Ferdinand, are recorded in the remaining chapters of the first volume. The changes introduced in the State, the trials and reforms of the Neapolitan people under Joseph Buonaparte and Joachim Murat occupy the next two books of this history. The measures of the Government at the restoration of the Bourbons, the foreign and domestic events under the two Ferdinands and Francis I., are comprised in the second volume. A supplementary chapter by the translator brings the

historical narrative down to the year 1856. It contains a succinct account of the revolutionary movement in Italy, the single-handed struggle of Venice against Austria, the hostilities with Austria under Charles Albert, the proceedings at Rome, and the expedition against Sicily. The secret societies, the diplomatic negotiations, the various revolts, and the results of papal and royalist reaction, are described with sufficient minuteness. The translator rests his hope of the future independence of the Italian people on their own virtue, courage, and unanimity; demands the exercise of foreign influence to prevent unfair interference in the interests of despotism, and deprecates "all servile imitation of France or even of England." The aspirations of the Italian historian are patriotic; his enthusiasm sustained rather than ardent; his narrative calm and flowing, his style sedate and measured.

A manual of the ancient literary documents, that may be profitably consulted as authorities by the student or writer of an history of Germany, from the most remote period of the middle ages to the middle of the thirteenth century, has been compiled with sufficient fullness for all practical purposes, if not with bibliographical exhaustiveness, by W. Wattenbach.¹⁰ A prize had been offered by the Royal Society of the Sciences at Göttingen, in 1853, for a critical account of German Medieval Historiography, and the successful candidate was the author of this essay. The introduction describes the editions of the old writers published in the sixteenth century, and enumerates those issued in our own day by Lappenberg, Stenzel, Ficker, Cornelius, and others. The legendary and ecclesiastical contributions to historical *matériel* are referred to that early period which elapsed before the reign of Charlemagne. The second division includes all the writings that illustrate the Carlovingian era; the third particularizes those of the time of the Otos; the fourth comprises those which appeared in the interval between the election of Conrad II. and the death of Henry V.; and the last section contains a notice of the narratives, annals, tales, and poetical compositions, calculated to assist the historian's labours, which belong to the period between the death of Henry V. and the middle of the thirteenth century. An index extending over eighteen pages registers the various historical documents specified in the text, cites the names of the authors, and gives the numeral references.

Pierre des Noyers was secretary to Maria Louisa de Gonzaga, Princess of Mantua and Nevers, and Queen of Poland; and wrote numerous letters on private and public affairs from 1655 to 1659.¹¹ These letters, collected in a volume of nearly 600 pages, were intended by their original editor to illustrate the history of Poland and Sweden during those four years of foreign invasion and domestic paralysis. In 1652 the *liberum veto* of the privileged class was carried to its true

¹⁰ "Deutschland's Geschichtsquellen im Mittelalter bis zu Mitte der dreizehnten Jahrhunderts." Von W. Wattenbach. London: Williams and Norgate. Berlin. 1858.

¹¹ "Lettres de Pierre des Noyers. Pour servir à l'Histoire de Pologne et de la Suède de 1655 à 1659." London: Williams and Norgate. Berlin: Behr. 1689.

“logical excess. A single deputy in the Diet had the desperate courage to exercise this political right, and thus stopped the whole machinery of government. The King, John Casimir, had contrived to embroil himself with Sweden, and thus every circumstance seemed to conspire for the overthrow of Poland. The Muscovites entered her territories and advanced as far as Wilna; the Swedes penetrated on the other side, and their progress was only arrested at Warsaw; the Elector of Brandenburg, a tributary of Poland, joined the King of Sweden, while Ragotzi, Prince of Transylvania, marched with 50,000 men to the assistance of the Swedes. On the revolt of the Cossacks, Casimir in despair abandoned the country and retired into Silesia. The chivalrous courage of the Poles, however, saved their fatherland in this emergency. Everywhere they flew to arms. The Russians were defeated in a pitched battle, and various successes were obtained over the Swedes. On the declaration of war against Sweden, by the King of Denmark, Charles Gustavus was compelled to return to his country, and peace was finally concluded at Oliva, near Dantzic, in 1660. John Casimir then abdicated the throne, and Michael Wisnowiecki, a native youth, was elected king by the nation. It is of this period of dissension and invasion, of royal weakness and popular devotion, that Pierre des Noyers writes, in these semi-political, historical, gossiping letters of his. There is much of interesting detail, much of useful information in them, much of social incident and usage, and much of private comment and belief, that aid us in realizing the age and the men and women that lived in it. Now and then we catch a glimpse of the Swedish monarch and the English Protector; or we are introduced to that learned lady, Maria Cunitia, a famous linguist and *savante*; or we listen to the astrological fancies or therapeutic speculations of the secretary himself. In one place he tells us that he had an attack of fever, for which he can imagine no reason but the disastrous position of the planets about the time of his illness. He was ill for seven days, during which he was bled five times. On the fifth day the physicians, having done their worst, gave him up; but “I have recovered at last,” he says, “though I am still so weak that one can’t well be weaker.” Our good secretary evidently took a deal of killing.

The history of Poland receives a more formal illustration in a work by Friedrich von Smitt, which has the double title of “Suworrow und Polen’s Untergang.”¹³ It consists of three volumes, of which one is new, one has been published before, and one has not yet appeared. It is dedicated to the Emperor Alexander II., and is written from the Russian point of view. From the days of Stanislaus the author complains that Poland’s history has been unscrupulously misrepresented. It is time to hear the other side. Original and authentic documents are accessible. These he has consulted; and the result he tells us is a true and accurate statement of facts. M. Smitt appears to be not only a fatalist but an optimist. Poland perished, and nothing became her so well as her death. She was a perpetual menace to Prussia, Austria,

¹³ “Suworrow und Polen’s Untergang.” Von Friedrich von Smitt. Leipzig und Heidelberg. 1858.

and Russia. She had lived long enough. Rome grew, flourished, decayed, died. Poland did the same. The life of nations is in an eternal flow. Once Poland was strong and Russia weak. It came to Russia's turn to be strong, and she had an equal right with Poland to remove her deadly enemy, for her own moral and political security. She used this right, and is justified by the law of self-preservation and the evident indications of a Providential will. The *Deus ex machinâ* in this case was personated by the Empress Catherine. Under the coercion of her troops the Diet elected for king her lover, Stanislaus Poniatowski. When the patriot party became exclusive and intolerant, Russia, in common with Great Britain, Prussia, and Denmark, protested against its arbitrary measures. More Russian troops were sent into Poland. The dissidents formed a confederation under Prince Radzivil; the Catholics a counter confederation, known as the Confederation of Bar. The Russian soldiers sided with the dissidents, and were soon joined by an Austrian and Prussian force. It was in this crisis that Suworow first distinguished himself. He defeated the armies of both Pulawskies, took Cracow by storm, and was accredited with the triumphant termination of the campaign. The first partition of Poland soon followed, a treaty being signed at Petersburg, 5th August, 1772. The year after a war with the Turks broke out, and Suworow having won three victories over the troops of Mustapha III., effected a junction with General Kamenskay, and in a fourth victory put an end to the contest. In 1774, Pugatschew, a Cossack of the Don, organized a formidable insurrection. Suworow encountered and overthrew the insurgents. In 1783 he subjugated the Cuban Tartars. Four years after, the second Turkish war afforded him many opportunities for displaying his splendid strategic talents. The campaigns of 1788 and 1789 are circumstantially related by M. Smitt. This second campaign was terminated by the battles of Fokshani, Rymnik, and the storming of Ismail. To all this brilliant success Suworow mainly contributed. The Empress Catherine, in recognition of these services, raised him to the dignity of a Russian Count, with the title of Rymnikski, suggested by the victory gained on the banks of the river Rymnik. In 1792 Suworow was appointed Governor-General of the province of Yekaterinoslaw, the Crimea, and the district of the Dniester. In 1794 he reduced the revolted Poles: five years later he commanded the troops which fought in Italy against the French; and, returning to St. Petersburg in 1800, died a few days after his arrival, in the seventieth year of his age. We have anticipated M. Smitt's narrative, in this brief *resumé* of Suworow's actions, for the second volume concludes with the events of the year 1792. Suworow was a daring and dexterous officer, determined, prompt, and inventive. He is one of the few generals who never lost a battle. He was rough, uncouth, stern; temperate in his habits; orthodox in his religion, and strict in its observances. Though of a weak constitution, he recoiled from no privation or fatigue. Suworow has a foremost rank among the captains of war, and his story may be read with renewed satisfaction in the sharp, clear version of Friedrich von Smitt.

We may next notice a species of scandalous chronicle, entitled "Memoirs of the Empress Catherine II.," written by herself.¹³ Shortly after her death, a MS. in her own handwriting is said to have been found among her papers, in an envelope addressed "to her beloved son, the Grand Duke Paul." Paul confided the secret to Kourakine, who copied the autograph. From this copy, twenty years after Paul's death, two other transcripts were made. Subsequently, by the direction of the Emperor Nicholas, all the existing copies were seized by the police, the original being carefully deposited in the imperial archives. From Constantine Arsenieff, the tutor of the present Emperor, M. Herzen derived his first information on this subject. It would seem that about three years ago, Alexander II. ordered the original document to be brought for his perusal. A few copies then once more found their way into circulation, one of which supplied the text for the present edition. Of the authenticity of these Memoirs M. Herzen entertains no doubt. They relate the events of the early years of the "Woman-Emperor," from her birth to its thirtieth anniversary. The living portraits drawn by her own hand are those of a young, ardent, intellectual girl, imprisoned in a palace, and gradually perverted by its corrupting influences: of a mean, gross, greedy, pedantic mother, boxing her daughter's ears, and appropriating her new clothes; of a jealous, envious, tipsy vixen, the Empress Elizabeth—and a drunken noodle of a husband, who made his young wife the confidante of his love intrigues; and when she pretended sleep, to escape the persecution, struck her a blow with his fist to awaken her. Young, ill-used, and unhappy, Catherine listened to the passionate solicitations of Soltikoff. Her union with the Grand Duke afforded no promise of offspring, and when it was suggested that she should sacrifice her scruples to the welfare of the State, and she was offered a choice of two lovers, she took both, says M. Herzen, and to Soltikoff and Narichkine subsequently added a third in Poniatowski. Such was the commencement of her erotic career. If the father of the Emperor is Sergius Soltikoff, and Herzen contends that Catherine's confession is sufficiently explicit on this point, the imperial family of Russia is connected neither with that of Romanoff nor that of Holstein Gottorp. What, then, becomes of Russian legitimacy and hereditary right?

From such a picture of moral degeneracy it is a relief to turn to the contemplation of a noble and philosophic life, that of Sir Humphry Davy.¹⁴ The volume now published out of loving regard to a brother's memory, may be considered as supplementary to the biography by Dr. Paris, which appeared in 1831, and one by Dr. Davy, which was issued five years after. It contains a sketch of his birth and early education, an account of his studies and scientific researches, his

¹³ "Mémoires de l'Impératrice Catherine II. Ecrits par elle-même, et précédés d'une Préface." Par A. Herzen. Londres: Trubner et Cie., 1859.

¹⁴ "Fragmentary Remains, Literary and Scientific, of Sir Humphry Davy; with a Sketch of his Life, and Selections from his Correspondence." Edited by his brother, John Davy, M.D., F.R.S. London: Churchill. 1858.

travels, his last illness and death. It is enriched with the letters of many distinguished men—Southey, Coleridge, Landor, and others. The selection from Davy's own letters seems judiciously made. His descriptions, half poetic and half scientific, are often admirably done. His intellect was of a high and comprehensive order, philosophical, imaginative, and artistic. He was an accomplished painter, and by cultivation might have taken rank among poets. He is said to have lisped in numbers, and some of his verses are of undoubted merit. Such, however, were only the graceful recreations of his exalted mind. Scientific research and inventive genius form his true title to an enduring recognition. His great discovery, that of the metallic basis of the fixed alkalis, was an era in the history of chemistry. After a trial of forty years, his safety lamp maintains its reputation unimpaired. As a means of preserving the lives of thousands of poor men, he "valued it more than anything he ever did." His present biographer corrects a misstatement on this subject in the lately published "Life of G. Stephenson." The lamp invented by this remarkable man was, says Dr. Davy, as admitted by himself, formed entirely on mechanical principles, and had no pretensions to safety till constructed after the manner of the Davy lamp. Wise, liberal, and tolerant, both in politics and religion, Sir H. Davy anticipated little benefit from the diffusion of revolutionary opinion in Europe, and became more "apostolic in his creed" as he grew older. Yet he supported the emancipation of the Catholics, and was an ardent friend of rational liberty. Davy was no bookworm. He was fond of field sports; of hunting, shooting, and fishing. He conformed to the world, but his delight was in his intellectual being. With something of the Stoic's faith, he held that mental or moral enthusiasm destroys physical pain, and that the imagination is the only *creative* faculty of our nature. Born at Penzance, 17th December, 1778, he died at Geneva, 29th May, 1829. His last resting-place is in the burying-ground without the walls of that city, close to Professor Pictet.

During the boyhood of this wise and good man, John Wesley first visited the far west, and saw and blessed the young philosopher. The awakening of the religious consciousness in the fishermen and miners of Cornwall under Wesley's earnest efforts, the revival of evangelical Christianity in England effected by him and his coadjutors, is a noticeable fact in the last century. Methodism, with every deduction for its dangerous emotional fascination, and its melancholy self-delusions, yet represents some spiritual reality and testifies to the unspeakable greatness of the soul. The truth and nobleness, the falsehood, extravagance, and superstition that are in Methodism may be learned from Southey's life of its founder,¹⁵ a reprint of which is now given to the world, edited by the Rev. C. C. Southey. It contains many valuable annotations by S. T. Coleridge, and remarks on the life and character of John Wesley, by the late Alexander Knox.

¹⁵ "The Life of Wesley, and Rise and Progress of Methodism." By Robert Southey. In 2 vols. London: Longman and Co. 1858.

We invite attention to another reprint of a far greater man. Lord King's "Life of Locke."¹⁶ A cheap edition of this indispensable biography has long been a desideratum. It is now comprehended among the volumes forming Mr. Bohn's Standard Library. From this memoir, and from the letters and papers which accompany it, the general reader will obtain a true idea of the part that Locke took "in the irreconcilable war between truth and falsehood." The homely beauty of Locke's style; the plain wisdom of his profound common sense; the human character of his philosophy; and the noble sweetness of his life and disposition are traceable in the selected extracts from his letters and papers. In itself the book can lay claim to no special literary merit; but as the sole authoritative record of the life of one of England's greatest thinkers, it possesses a peculiar value.

An agreeable little work on the characteristics of a genius very different from that of the calm and patient Locke will reward perusal. Rousseau's fiery and tumultuous nature will long be a favourite subject for psychological disquisition. In a series of "Studies,"¹⁷ which in a fragmentary form were read before the "Académie des Sciences, Morales, et Politiques" M. Gaberel has described the development of Rousseau's genius; estimated the influence of Geneva on his character; delineated his political system; reviewed his religious sentiments; and appreciated the personal relation in which he stood to his Genevese friends. In a concluding chapter, the state of Geneva, after the death of the revolutionary philosopher, is described. M. Gaberel writes throughout in a friendly and admiring spirit of the hero of his little essay; acknowledges the truth, though mingled with error, which his political theory discloses, and exculpates him from even an indirect participation in the excesses of the French Revolution through the influence of his insurrectionary ideas.

M. Hosemann complains that a school of historians and publicists represents the religious reform of the sixteenth century as hostile to established authority. In the conviction that the spirit of the Gospel condemns all revolt, he has produced an abridged history of the "Life of Luther and the Reformation,"¹⁸ in which he undertakes to "refute" this "radical and dangerous error." The object of his book, however, is not entirely polemical. Its author aims to relate facts veraciously, and to exhibit the Divine action in the events of history. Thus the ordinary evangelical theory is adopted, and the familiar incidents in Luther's career are recited in regular sequence, without any pretension to originality of view, but in a compact and instructive narrative.

A "Universal Dictionary of Contemporary Biography,"¹⁹ comprising

¹⁶ "The Life and Letters of John Locke. With Extracts from his Journals and Commonplace Books." By Lord King. London: Bohn. 1858.

¹⁷ "Rousseau et les Génévois." Par M. J. Gaberel, *ancien pasteur*. Génève. 1858.

¹⁸ "Histoire Abrégée de Luther et de la Reformation." Par J. J. Hosemann. Paris. 1858.

¹⁹ "Dictionnaire Universel des Contemporains, contenant tous les Personnes notables de la France et des pays Etrangers." Par J. Vapereau. Paris. Hachette. 1858.

the most celebrated names in literature, art, theology, law, and politics, will be gratefully welcomed by a numerous and inquisitive public, who require correct and trustworthy information on the distinguished men and women of their own time. This alphabetically-arranged biography has been compiled with scrupulous care, conscientious treatment, and rare skill and discernment, by M. Vapereau, formerly of the *École Normale*, and peculiarly qualified for his office by his philosophical studies and professional training. In the accomplishment of this arduous undertaking the compiler has had three principal ends in view:—1. To register biographical and historical facts with impartiality and exactness; 2. To signalize the prominent living actors on the political or literary stage; and 3. To furnish readers, writers, politicians, and travellers with information which they find absolutely indispensable. In giving effect to this purpose, the editor has sought to attain the utmost precision of statement, as distributed under the various categories of name, birth, family, education, commencement of public life, accession to office, change of career, State decoration and reward, participation in political events, characteristic facts, remarkable doings and sayings, titles, dates, and successive editions of literary productions. The labour thus expended on the work is incalculable; and whether we consider the difficulties surmounted, or the success achieved, the precision of statement attained, or the extent of subject explored, we are alike constrained to admire the patient diligence, indefatigable energy, discriminating taste, and fine sagacity evinced in the workmanship. We must draw attention also to the merely literary merit of the article. The criticism is in general concise, animated, and informing; the biographical sketches are executed, in the main, with a free, yet careful touch; and in cases where a diplomatic reticence and a prejudiced or accommodated narrative would have characterized the less courageous instinct or the more partial judgment of over-cautious or dogmatic men, we have noticed a generous freedom from personal prepossession, and an evident desire to give a fair and dispassionate report, in the highest degree honourable to the enterprising publisher, M. Hachette, and his laborious and conscientious editor. We have examined many of the articles contained in this work, and in those instances in which we have been able to apply the test of experience, we find them satisfactory in outline and nearly accurate in detail. No pains will be spared to render this *Opus Magnum* of biographical erudition increasingly meritorious; and as the present impression will remain permanently in type, opportunity will be afforded for the correction of trivial inaccuracies, the introduction of desired improvements, and the insertion of premitted or recently acquired reputations. That the catalogue of living celebrities is not already an exhaustive one will excite neither disappointment nor surprise. It is not occasional omission that impresses us, but the prevailing completeness attained that deserves our admiration. As instances of this exceptional treatment, we may indicate the names of Verdeil, Ségonde, J. B. Beraud, Mulder, R. W. Mackay, Dr. Carpenter, Herbert Spencer, Dr. Neil Arnott, J. A. Froude, W. Smith, author of "Thorndale," &c., and Miss Hosmer.

On the other hand names of very secondary interest will be found in this volume, a convincing proof of its designed inclusiveness,—an inclusiveness which repeated examination justifies us in asserting is proximately realised. This valuable work is comprised in one ample volume of the form called imperial, and contains eighteen hundred pages carefully and compactly printed.

Local history has a peculiar charm for us, and to rescue from oblivion topographical facts that have an immediate as well perhaps as a remote value, is ever a task well worth the doing. This task has been excellently discharged by Mr. Nicholls in his account of the Forest of Dean, in Gloucestershire.* In antiquarian detail, real and legendary recital, botanical, zoological, and geological description, this admirable compilation is particularly effective. The illustrative plates, which are numerous, have usually an architectural or monumental reference, and are some of them extremely characteristic.

BELLES LETTRES AND ART.

MR. LONGFELLOW seems likely to be spoilt by popularity, and to think that anything is good enough for a public which has received him hitherto with almost unqualified approbation. The heroic band which landed from the *Mayflower* on the inhospitable shores of New England in January, 1621, though pertaining more to the historian than to the poet, were by no means without poetical interest, to which Mr. Longfellow has now added a ridiculous element in his "Courtship of Miles Standish," and has thought it worth his while to record the same in somewhat halting hexameters.¹ Miles Standish, an elderly gentleman of short stature, and much valour and military experience, is chosen captain of the new settlement, though not of strict puritanical principles, and has for friend and private secretary a much younger man, John Alden, the ancestor possibly of that dignified diplomatist who was, according to Mr. Slick, so disgusted by the coarse advice of Mr. Abernethy. Miles Standish lost his wife early in the first year of the settlement, and was, somewhat too soon for a mature and military official, smitten by the charms of a puritan maiden, Priscilla, whom he seeks to win by proxy, contrary to his usual maxim of doing himself whatever he wished to be well done, while the sequel shows that he should by no means have made this occasion the exception to his rule. John Alden, the ambassador selected, is himself deeply enamoured of Priscilla, who reciprocates heartily, though neither has spoken to the other on the subject; nevertheless, Alden does his best

* "Forest of Dean: an Historical and Descriptive account." By H. G. Nicholls. London: Murray. 1858.

¹ "The Courtship of Miles Standish, and other Poems." By Henry Wadsworth Longfellow. London: Kent & Co. 1858.

to invest his principal with all the qualifications that could make him meet for a husband in Priscilla's estimation, but the young lady is naturally provoked at Alden's blindness to the real state of her feelings, and stops him in the midst of his unwelcome eloquence :

“ But as he warmed and glowed in his simple and eloquent language,
Quite forgetful of self and full of the praise of his rival,
Archly the maiden smiled, and with eyes overrunning with laughter,
Said, in a tremulous voice, ‘ Why don't you speak for yourself, John ? ’ ”

They do not even then come to an understanding ; Alden leaves her presence, accusing himself of treachery to his confiding friend, but is on his return obliged to apprise Miles of the real state of the case—and is vehemently upbraided with treachery and other moral enormities. Fortunately the presence of Standish is required in an expedition against a hostile Indian tribe, in which, though successful, a report is afterwards spread of his death by Indian treachery. In consequence Alden, who, moved by conscientious scruples, had purposed to return to England in the *Mayflower*, remains in the New World, unwilling to desert the helpless Priscilla, whom he loved only less than his honour ; he now considers himself at liberty to declare his passion, and weds her ; the ceremony is scarcely concluded when Standish reappears, and startles the wedding-party ; he acts, however, with great forbearance and good sense, like a gentleman as he is, and resigns Priscilla with the best grace in the world. There is a trace of Mr Longfellow's earlier spirit in his description of the return of the pair to Alden's house in the forest, which is like a ray of mellow sunshine at the close of a somewhat dull day.

“ Like a picture it seemed of the primitive pastoral ages,
Fresh with the youth of the world, and recalling Rebecca and Isaac.
Old and ever new, and simple and beautiful always.
Love immortal and young in the endless succession of lovers,
So through the Plymouth woods passed onward the bridal procession.”

In the remaining short pieces, which occupy fully half of the little volume, we find nothing better than a not always harmonious mediocrity, sometimes defaced by downright doggerel, and a studied absence of the file—the “ Phantom Ship ” and “ Warden of the Cinque Ports,” for example ; and what can surpass the unblushing doggerel of such stanzas as

“ Once the Emperor Charles of Spain,
With his swarthy, grave commanders,
I forget in what campaign,
Long besieged, in mud and rain,
Some old frontier town of Flanders.

“ Up and down the dreary camp,
In great boots of Spanish leather,
Striding with a measured tramp,
These hidegods dull and dump,
Cursed the Frenchmen—cursed the weather.”

We gladly hail, however, as some compensation, the graceful tribute paid by Mr. Longfellow to the matchless lady who shed the light of her presence, and the blessing of her ministrations over the miserable

sufferers in that dark campaign which has thrown into the shade the miseries and the mistakes of Walcheren.

“So in that house of misery
A lady with a lamp I see,
Pass through the glimmering gloom
And flit from room to room.

“On England’s annals through the long
Hereafter of her speech and song,
That light its rays shall cast,
From portals of the Past.

“A lady with a lamp shall stand,
In the great history of the land,
A noble type of good,
Heroic womanhood!”—*Santa Filomena.*

It is well for the writer of the “Maid of Norway”² that he lives not in the days of the Duncial; there surely never was even a comedy so perseveringly and respectably dull; a dullness of which the author is most innocently unconscious. The plot is complicated, no less than four kings, *videlicet*, of North and South Britain, of Norway, and of Denmark, appearing in person, or by proxy, among the personæ of the fable.

The first act opens in the capital of Essex (Trinovantum), at the court of Belinus, King of South Britain, who has reason to suspect the honesty of his brother, Brennius, King of Northumbria, and is arming against him. Brennius, however, proves to be a very honest fellow, who has been seduced into apparent league with Elsing, King of Norway, by the charms of his daughter, the Princess Matilda, the “Maid of Norway.” As Belinus marches north against his brother, he encounters the heroine herself, a fugitive from King Gothlac of Denmark, who had treacherously made her prisoner at sea, and been afterwards driven on the coast of Britain by stress of weather.

Conan, Earl of Cambria, is the schemer who sets everybody by the ears, and is of course finally unmasked, to the general satisfaction, by the defection of his secretary, Kienwit, a most elaborate joker, who, with the Lady Hilda, are the laboriously comic characters of the piece. Perseverance is a most valuable quality, generally sure of its reward, but it will scarcely pay Mr. Waddie to persist in comedy.

“Eric; or, Little by Little,”³ is a book that follows in the track opened out by the author of “Tom Brown’s School Days.” It is a story of school-life, and appeals eloquently and forcibly to that barren and neglected thing, a schoolboy’s heart.

Every paterfamilias would consult his own and his children’s interests by furnishing them with an opportunity of perusing it.

The first volume of “Maud Bingley,”⁴ is a tolerably vigorous and

² “The Maid of Norway, a Romanic Comedy, in Five Acts.” By John Waddie. London: E. Marlborough and Co. 1858.

³ “Eric, or Little by Little.” By Mr. Farrar, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. 1858.

⁴ “Maud Bingley.” By Frederica Graham. 2 vols. London: Bell and Daldy. 1858.

lively sketch in water-colours of a phase of English social life, which has found much favour with the writers of the school of Lady Blessington; the second volume reads a little too much like a reproduction of the first, but considerable power of discrimination and delineation is displayed throughout.

• Maud herself is one of those charming and impossible characters which have been so often drawn; but we must take exception to the introduction of such a character as Edgeworth Bingley, a rough, selfish puppy, whose appearance is always disagreeable.

The authoress displays an Irishwoman's taste for military people, and not one clerical character figures in her book, notwithstanding the character of the heroine.

Miss Bingley is left an orphan, in very moderate circumstances, with two or three grown-up brothers, only one of whom, Arthur Bingley, is qualified to be her friend and adviser; but as he is obliged to go abroad with his regiment, she is unwillingly compelled to accept the offer of a maternal aunt, married to a wealthy Scotch merchant, residing near Windsor, and who (the aunt) is greatly enamoured of the military society to be found in that neighbourhood. Maud's social prospects may be augured from a breakfast-table discussion, which occurs shortly before her arrival, between her aunt, Mrs. Murray, and her cousin, Captain Julian Murray, who is, however, as unlike the aunt as possible:—

“Julian's eyes showed that he appreciated, to its full extent, Mrs. Murray's sisterly affection, otherwise he preserved a perfectly unmoved countenance, as he remarked—‘I suppose one or other of the brothers is coming with her to-day. Arthur was always a good fellow, but I have not seen him since I left Woolwich.’

“‘I am happy to say he is gone abroad with his regiment, for he is the one who would have given most trouble. I suppose I must make up my mind to keep the girl here; but I am resolved not to have young men hanging about the house.’

“‘Oh, I was thinking of bringing Vanston and Grey over for a couple of nights next week; but if young men are at a discount, perhaps I had better say nothing about it.’

“‘My dear Julian, your friends are always welcome; you might know that,’ said Mrs. Murray, with an air of reproach, which was meant to be both gentle and fascinating. ‘It is a very different thing from having those young Bingleys, who are almost penniless, always living upon one.’ Julian did not reply, and Mrs. Murray proceeded—‘After all, Herbert will be the only one of the brothers left in England, and when I see him I shall try and persuade him how much better it would be to go back to India at once. What does he want in England? he has no money, and can have no friends.’

“‘Bite him, roll him over, Rusty,’ exclaimed Julian to his dog, opening the glass-door, as a wretched starveling cur made its appearance on the lawn. ‘*Man's* the way of the world, ain't it? trample on those who are down—eh, man?’

“Mrs. Murray did not even redden. ‘I have so often given orders that no tradespeople are to bring dogs up to the house, nothing makes Mr. Murray so angry. You may be sure this wretched puppy belongs to the butcher or baker, or some such person,’ continued she, as Rusty bustled back, finding his adversary beneath his notice.”

"The Gilberts and their Guests; a Story of Homely English Life,"⁵ is precisely what its title professes, a quiet narrative of middle class domesticities, principally exhibited in dialogue, which is occasionally lively. Two episodes occur, which are perhaps intended to vary a story which the authoress feared might be monotonous - viz., Miss Dale's sick-bed adventures with her terrible nurse; and Mrs. Copeland's unhappy, and not uncommon story. There is much good feeling and good sense to be found in its pages.

"The Admiral's Niece,"⁶ is well exemplified in the following extract:--

"Oh, do not weep, dear mamma! I am sure papa will be home soon; it is now a month since the papers said his ship left China on her homeward voyage, and I am sure he must be home soon;" and she fondly kissed the sufferer's cheek.

"Bless you, darling child, for your attempt to comfort me. But, my Ada, China is a great way off, and the *Amazon* will be long making the passage; she sails slowly, too slowly—too slowly," she murmured. Complaining of fatigue, her maid was summoned, and, with the assistance of Ada, she reached her own room."

Surely this must be by the authoress of that remarkable novel which so charmed and excited the susceptibilities of Mrs. Witterly.

Miss Bremer is like many other persons—critics especially—tired of love stories, and therefore seeks to interest her readers in a worthier, or at least less hackneyed theme; yet, true to the inevitable female instinct, she is compelled to make the passion which she wishes to eschew, the animating principle of almost the only interest which this somewhat epideiktical production possesses. The scene of the story⁷ lies in Gothland, that dearly-loved "Eye of the Baltic," as its partial inhabitants term it, and opens in its little capital of Wisby, at the house of Professor Norrby, whose fair and accomplished daughter is on the eve of her twenty-first birthday. That filial affection which is to replace in this book the ordinary passion of novels, is strongly displayed in the first interview between father and daughter; there is then a sketch of a domestic Swedish interior, *à la Teniers*, and the young lady, who adds the fact of being an heiress to her other good qualities, shortly after proceeds on a lengthened visit to her aunt, the Baroness Norrby, a lady of family and fashion, of Stockholm. Axel Norrby, the son of the baroness, somewhat slowly develops a passion for his fair cousin, whose success in the "best" Swedish society is decided; but his mother thinks he may do considerably better, after the manner of courtly mothers. In the meantime Professor Norrby becomes blind, and, debarred from literary pursuits, has no other solace than in the affections of his eldest daughter; the younger, Rhoda, and the deaf but studious brother, Algott, appearing to be of very inferior interest in the ~~the~~

⁵ "The Gilberts and their Guests; a Story of Homely English Life." 3 vols. By Julia Day. London: T. Cantley Newby.

⁶ "The Admiral's Niece, or a Tale of Nova Scotia." 2 vols. By Mrs. Edmund Heathcote. London: T. Cantley Newby. 1858.

⁷ "Father and Daughter, a Portraiture from the Life." By Frederika Bremer, translated by Mary Howitt. Hall and Virtue. 1859.

man's eyes. She therefore determines to devote her whole time to him, though her heart is impressed by the obvious affection of her cousin Axel, who repeats, at intervals of some months, his visits to her father's house: but time shows that, with all his accomplishments and talents, he is scarcely worthy of the supreme place in her affection. He appears, indeed, to be subsequently pleased with her younger sister, and even trifles with her feelings; for Rhoda has given him all her heart, which she confesses to her elder sister, without the knowledge of Axel. After the death of the baroness, Axel proposes marriage to Rosa Norrby, but she refuses him with decision, though with some agitation; and tells him that, to her younger sister, and not to herself, the offer should have been made. He hears the just rebuke in manly and repentant silence, and ultimately Rhoda becomes his wife.

The most vivid and interesting chapter in the book, because it is a paraphrase from real life, describes the mortal peril encountered by the bearers of the mail-bags from the island of Åland to the opposite Gothland, in the depth of winter. Rosa Norrby is a passenger in the boat on the occasion, and survives the icy perils which prove fatal to three of her male fellow-travellers.

Mrs. Howitt has ably performed her task of translation, but there is much prolixity; and to introduce a young lady reading aloud a long passage from Cicero *De Senectute* in the first chapter, as Miss Bremer has done, savours of female pedantry, or bas-bleuism.

M. Marmir, who has evidently travelled a good deal, and picked up a polyglot smattering of languages, clearly rather desires to display in the "Betrothed of Spitzbergen,"⁸ the information thus acquired, than any particular capacity for fictitious writing. Plot there is none, character not much, and the incidents are monotonous; nevertheless the author has visited Hammerfest, the last abiding-place of civilized trading mankind in the north, and is therefore able to describe a spot which must have the merit of novelty at least, to most of his readers. The story opens at Dunkirk, in the house of a rich merchant, M. Vanksep, who has an amiable, good-looking daughter, Rose Marie Vanksep, the light of his eyes. He has just determined to send a strong and well-found ship, then lying in the harbour, and named after his daughter, to Spitzbergen, for the chance of a cargo of whale-oil and morse-ivory. The lieutenant of this vessel (first mate with us), a spiritual young sailor, who venerates the memory of the great Portuguese and Genoese discoverers, is the hero of the story. Rose Marie Vanksep has a decided but secret *penchant* for him; but, though a good and pretty girl, she is not exactly formed to captivate the heart of a man devoted to the romance of his profession, and with anything but a taste for domesticities. His jolly old commander, Blondeau, at a *tere-wine* in a Dunkirk wine-shop, gives him to understand that he has no doubt of Miss Vanksep's strong predilection for the young mate, and urges him to pursue his good fortune. Marcel, however, professing respect and gratitude for the young lady, disclaims all matrimonial intentions, to the disgust and astonishment of his true friend, Blondeau;

⁸ "Les Fiancés de Spitzberg." Par X. Marmir. Paris: Libraire de L. Hachette & Co. 1859.

the bit of dialogue on this occasion is the best thing in the story. The ship proceeds to Hammerfest in Finland, *en route* for Spitzbergen where winter yet reigns. They hear of an experienced pilot, one Lax, who is essential to their further progress, but who refuses to engage in that capacity, unless allowed to carry with him his daughter Carine, whose delicate health, he conceives, can only be benefited by residence in a colder climate, Hammerfest itself not being sufficiently frigid. M. Sparrman, the banker of Hammerfest, has in vain tried to turn him from this delusion, and now Blondeau and Marcel are equally urgent, but in vain; and Blondeau, who had been most unwilling to carry a female passenger on so perilous a voyage, and in a vessel unprepared for her reception, at last consents to take Lax on his own terms. A lady in the true sense Carine Lax is, though a pilot's daughter, and Marcel finds in her his ideal; they are obliged to winter at Spitzbergen, are deserted by nearly all the crew, and after the usual horrors of a Polar winter, with which we in England are familiar enough by description, unfortunately, Marcel and Carine return betrothed to Hammerfest, and Carine, whose health has been fading the whole winter, dies as she enters its harbour. Blondeau and Marcel return in the *Rose Marie* to Dunkirk, the latter vainly endeavouring to induce the bereaved pilot to accompany them, and overwhelmed himself with melancholy. On his return, though Miss Vanksep remains faithful, he almost immediately proceeds on a distant voyage, to dissipate his wretchedness, if possible. "Il n'a que vingt ans," says M. Marmir, "et Rosa Marie n'a pas cessé de l'aimer. Il épousera peut-être Rosa Marie."

Holbein's "Dance of Death"⁹ must always be a work of interest to those who are studious of the earlier history of pictorial art and invention. It is, too, a satire and a sermon, a warning and a reproof to the vicious, the frivolous, and the over-worldly. Mr. Douce's learned explanatory dissertation is prefixed, and is a mine of information as to the history of ancient design and designers.

"*Horæ Subsecivæ*"¹⁰ is an honest and heartily written book, the chief object of which is to reform the medical profession from within. The parallel between Locke and Sydenham is not, however, very obvious; but we do not think that the acute and sensible physician, who introduced so much rational reform, and so many improvements into practical medicine, has anything to fear in a comparison even with the author of the *Essay on the "Human Understanding."*

Dr. Brown, in his "*Medical Observations,*" properly protests, as all sensible men have done, against that cramming of the memory made necessary by the requirements of a modern medical curriculum, where so much that is useless in the subsequent career of the practitioner, is forced upon his attention: yet, like all medical reformers, Dr. Brown expects too high a standard in those who enter a profession unrepresented in Parliament, and in which the man of the highest attainments is least confident.

He has inserted a paper by his cousin, John Taylor Brown, which

⁹ Holbein's "Dance of Death, and Bible Cuts." London: Bohn, 1858.

¹⁰ "*Horæ Subsecivæ, or Locke and Sydenham, with other Occasional Papers.*" By John Brown, M.D. Edinburgh and London: Constable & Co. 1858.

seeks to ascertain what was St. Paul's "thorn in the flesh," to which the apostle of the Gentiles alludes; he supposes it to have been weak and inflamed eyes—a conjecture which had previously appeared in print.

The best paper in the volume is "Rab and his Friends," which combines, with considerable skill, the humorous and the pathetic; that on the bones of the Black Dwarf is a not uninteresting scholium on one of Sir Walter's strangest characters.

It was not the least of the good deeds of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, that at the instance of Mr. (now Sir G. C.) Lewis, it commissioned Professor Karl Otfried Müller of Göttingen, to write, for valuable considerations, a History of Greek Literature, with an especial view to the tastes and requirements of the English public. Professor Müller was an enthusiastic Phil-Hellenist, and his thorough competency for the task had been demonstrated in his learned and sagacious work on the Dorians, (*Die Doriën*). After some negotiation, this "opus magnum" was commenced; but Müller lived only long enough to complete about half as it now appears,¹¹ for he died of fever at Athens, in August, 1840.

Dr. Donaldson was engaged by the Society to translate the manuscript as it was transmitted to England, and further, upon Müller's decease, to continue the work itself; but it was shortly afterwards dissolved, and it was not till several years afterwards that the firm which had purchased its copyright, requested Dr. Donaldson to complete his learned labour. The result is a work of great utility and value, combining accurate knowledge, with an attractive and popular style.

Professor Müller's portion comprises a brief history of the origin of the Greek language, and of the character of its dialects; the ante-Homeric poetry, the Homeric mythology, a summary of the arguments that would indicate Smyrna as the probable birthplace of the greatest of epic poets; a demonstration of the numerous interpolations in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, which were inevitable, and which no one but a fanatic would deny; of the *Cyclic* poets, so called because they attempted to complete the narrative of the cycle of events of which the *Iliad* recites but the middle series; the "*Little Iliad*" of Lesches, also intended to complete the Homeric story, the contents of which work of Lesches we know chiefly from the account in Aristotle's *Poetics*—Hesiod and his poetry, from the *Works and Days*, to the *Shield of Hercules*, and the minor epic poets who succeeded him.

The origin of elegiac poetry, with a notice of the somewhat copious elegiacs of Theognis, less valuable, however, than the scantier remains of Solon and Tyrtaeus.

Epigrammatic and Iambic verse, of which Archilochus and Simonides are the best exemplars.

Origin and progress of Music among the Greeks, with notices of its chief cultivators, Terpander, Thaletas, Hierax, Echenibrotus.

¹¹ "A History of the Literature of Ancient Greece." By K. O. Müller, late Professor in the University of Göttingen, continued after the Author's death by John W. Donaldson, M.D. 3 vols. London: John W. Parker and Son. 1858.

Æolic lyric poetry, with remarks on Alcæus, Anacreon, Sappho; and choral lyrics in their first and second stages; Alcman and Stesichorus the chief exemplars of the first; Simonides and Pindar of the latter.

Theological and philosophical poetry, chiefly cultivated by the so-called followers of the mystic Orpheus, and dedicated to the symbolic worship of Bacchus.

Early Greek history and historians, Cadmus, Hellanicus, and Herodotus.

The literary predominance of Athens among the states of Greece, and the glorious literary names which illustrated the capital of Attica during the Peloponnesian war, so fatal to its political influence.

A history of the Greek drama, which is the most elaborate and valuable portion of Müller's labours, and comprises an excellent analysis of the dramas of Æschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, and Aristophanes.

A dissertation on the attractive subject of Greek oratory, which terminates with Isocrates, concludes the portion of the literary history of Greece, due to Professor Müller.

Dr. Donaldson has ably resumed the task where the pen fell from Müller's hand, and, beginning with the Socratic epoch at Athens, ends the history with the capture of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453.

His account of the life and writings of Lucian (b. A.D. 125) is a good example of Dr. Donaldson's style and manner.

There is a valuable chronology of Greek literature at the end of the third volume.

One would be disposed to think that the dramas of the great Greek poets are scarcely to be further illustrated, even by the labour and ingenuity of German commentators; yet the professor of literature in the University of Besançon, Herr H. Wiel, has brought out another edition of the *Agamemnon* of Æschylus,¹² having carefully collated all the extant MSS. which, however, are but transcriptions, with conjectural emendations, of the Medicean MS., dating from the commencement of the eleventh century. A new and excellent edition of the *Wasps* of Aristophanes has also been issued by Dr. Richter.¹³ Though almost a work of supererogation (for there can be little to add to the criticism of dramas which have received so complete an exegesis as those of the earliest and ablest of extant Greek comedians), yet the prolegomena are valuable as containing all that is or can be known on the subject of this particular play. If the wit of Aristophanes was coarse and unscrupulous, he is at least entitled to the respect due to dauntless courage in using it against the powerful and selfish democrats, of whom Cleon was the chief, who successively wasted the wealth and credit of Athens. If he sought to injure the memory of Socrates, it was because he viewed the character of that

¹² "*Æschyli Agamemno*," recensuit, adnotationem criticam et exegeticam adjecit, Henricus Weil, in facultate litterarum Vesontina, Professor. Williams and Norgate. 1858.

¹³ "*Aristophanis Vespæ*." Edidit Julius Richter, Phil. Dr. Williams and Norgate. 1858.

great man through the discoloured medium of party prejudice, and was himself deceived. Dr. Julius Richter agrees with Michell and Muller in his high estimate of this comedy, rather than with the depreciatory criticism of August Wilhelm von Schlegel.

The copious prolegomena are devoted to the consideration of—1. the era of the composition of the Wasps, and its appearance, usually assigned to the second year of the 89th Olympiad, 422 B.C.; the distribution of character in the Wasps; the chorus; with a long dissertation on the dikasteria and the judicial machinery of Athens, which are ridiculed in the comedy.

Mr. Weale studies condensation and utility in his excellent little volumes; but this learned Handbook¹⁴ is almost too condensed to do justice to the purpose and acquirements of its able author. The languages specially compared are those of the great Indo-Germanic family—viz., English, Anglo-Saxon, Frisian, Flemish, Hoch and Platt Deutsch, Danish, Swedish, Icelandic, Latin, Italian, French, Spanish, and Portuguese.

¹⁴ "A Short Handbook of Comparative Philology." By Hyde Clark, D.C.L. London: John Weale. 1858.

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