

THE
WESTMINSTER
REVIEW.

JULY AND OCTOBER,
1878.

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

SHAKESPEARE.

Wahrheitsliebe setzt sich darin, daß man überall das Gute zu finden und zu schätzen weiß.
Gothe.

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India and our Colonial Empire

THE
WESTMINSTER
AND
FOREIGN QUARTERLY
REVIEW.

JULY 1, 1878.

ART. I. —THE HOUSE OF LORDS.

1. *The Appellate Jurisdiction Act* (1876).
2. *The Irish Peerage Bill* (1877).
3. *Correspondence respecting differences which have arisen on certain Constitutional points between the two Houses of Legislation of Victoria.* Presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of Her Majesty. (1878.)

ANYBODY who has been in the habit of reading history must have been struck by the continual ebb and flow of political events. That which a moment ago seemed stable and enduring is suddenly engulfed in a surge of public opinion; that which seemed on the brink of destruction remains in apparent, if not in actual, security. Thus it was with Roman Catholic Emancipation; thus it was with Electoral Reform; thus it was with the Corn Laws. Catholic Emancipation never seemed more hopeless than at the time when it was passed; reform never seemed more distant than on the day when the Duke of Wellington became prime minister; the repeal of the corn laws seemed doomed under a Conservative Government. Yet all opposition to these measures was abandoned, and abandoned for ever, at what appeared to be the very moment of victory. Again, nothing looked more insecure than did the House of Lords in 1832. There was death before it, shame behind it, revolution around it. Its position was indeed such that it appeared as if it must undergo immediate annihilation or lose for ever all credit and respect. The House of Lords yielded to the storm, the tempest of public excitement was calmed, and the House exists to this day to refute the prophecies of statesmen and writers, and

to await the next great wave of public opinion which may again threaten it with destruction. This period of calm is, we think, the moment best calculated for the consideration of such a subject as the future of the House of Lords. Partly, therefore, for this reason we now venture, before any unforeseen circumstance has aroused the passions of partizanship, to bring it under discussion, and partly also because the recent dead-lock in the colony of Victoria has just offered us a fresh and instructive lesson in the experimental history of second chambers.

Though for the moment the safety of the House of Lords seems secure, the repeated attacks made upon it at intervals in its history, both in and out of Parliament, and a knowledge of its inherent weakness, have led to a general conviction that it must reform itself or otherwise suffer considerable change in its constitution. This conviction can hardly be said to have been arrived at rapidly, or to have been caused by any single act of the upper chamber; nor has it been adopted as the peculiar property of any one class in society, or any one party in politics; it is a conviction which is shared in by all, and it is one which we fully believe is accepted by all—rich and poor, Whig and Tory—with the sincerest regret. Slowly, but very surely, from the time of the Reform Bill of 1832, it has been becoming apparent that the House of Lords is no longer what it once was. While the House of Commons has been filled with new strength, while its energies have been increasing, and the field for displaying them extending, the House of Lords has sunk into a lethargy which may almost be called senile. While the House of Commons is oppressed by an intolerable burthen of public business, and its harassed members have day after day to attend to the minutest details of special and wearisome measures, the doors of the House of Lords are closed and its benches are deserted until some popular debate rouses it momentarily into a spasmodic but brilliant existence. Nothing, we think, represents the true condition of the two Houses more forcibly than their outer appearance during nearly any night in the session. Anybody who has been in the habit of leaving the House of Commons by passing through the central hall which divides the two Houses, must have been struck by the contrast between the external aspects of our two great national chambers. One step leads from a scene of energy rivalling the busiest noontide life, to the depths of a midnight solitude. Behind are the blaze of innumerable lamps, groups of people are engaged in eager conversation, and the ceaseless hum of the lobby strikes upon the ear; before there is silence, darkness, and sleep.*

*The Eastern Question affords a striking contrast between the characters of the two Houses. In the House of Commons the debates upon it have been

With the public, dissatisfaction amounting at times almost to resistance, has occasionally been expressed against the House of Lords; with the Parliament, the journals of both Houses prove that this dissatisfaction is not confined to the people. The people have held meetings, passed resolutions, and presented petitions to set aside the action of the peers. The House of Commons has considered bills and motions for the purpose of disarming their opposition, or of invigorating their strength. To the parliamentary reports of these proceedings we naturally turn to discover the reasons which have led the public to form so unanimous an opinion on the subject. It is impossible to rise from their perusal without surprise. Though all parties agreed so far on the necessity of reform that, in 1869, Lord Russell's Life Peerage Bill, engrafting a novel, and in some respects a revolutionary, principle upon the peerage, was very nearly carried, not only did the different parties entirely differ as to the disease which they intended to cure, but they both applied the same remedy with the object of achieving two separate results. Two distinct lines of argument were used to make the Life Peerage Bill acceptable. On the one hand, it was urged that by making the House of Lords more representative, and by importing into its councils a number of distinguished men, it would be strengthened. On the other, that life peers, being freed from the tincture of that hereditary obstinacy which had so often placed the House of Lords in conflict with the House of Commons, it would become compliant and would therefore be weakened. The House of Lords was too strong: it was too weak: it was too independent: it was not independent enough; never did reasons so various, objects so different, purposes so absolutely separate and distinct, go to weave the motley web of public opinion. The curious mosaic to which Burke compares the government of Chatham was not more ingeniously dovetailed, not more brilliantly contrasted, not more unstable and insecure, than the common ground selected by all parties for the reform of the House of Lords.

The most important reforms which have hitherto been proposed for the House of Lords have been directed to the establishment of a life peerage. In 1856 an attempt was made to introduce Lord Wensleydale into the House of Lords as a life

frequent and lengthy, while it is very doubtful whether from the commencement of the question to the present moment the House of Lords has given as many days to its discussion as the House of Commons have devoted to one or two adjourned debates upon it. It is a significant fact, also, of the esteem in which the Government holds the opinion of the Upper House, that though they have been fully aware that they could rely upon the support of a large portion of the Liberal peers they have never thought it worth their while to bring out the sense of the House by forcing a division.

peers. It was defeated. In 1869, Lord Russell tried to pass a bill to create twenty-eight life peers. It was defeated, but though it went further, not so unanimously. In 1876 the Appellate Jurisdiction Bill proposed an official peerage, which, as it departs from the hereditary principle, may be said to bear one of the great characteristics of a life peerage, and the bill was passed. It is curious enough, that both in the case of Lord Wensleydale and the Appellate Jurisdiction Act, the one actually a life peerage and the other involving its principle, a creation of peers was proposed as an adjunct to, and not as an integral part of, the peerage, and for the furtherance of a particular purpose; and that in the bill of 1869 the principle of a life peerage was to be incorporated into the constitution of the House itself. The party which advocated the Wensleydale peerage, though it distinctly disavowed the intention of drawing the case into precedent, was the party which a very few years later supported an extensive scheme for a life peerage; and the party which had been most active in resisting these two measures was the party which in 1876 established an official peerage not very dissimilar to the life peerage which it had so strenuously resisted in 1856. The step which the Liberals made between 1856 and 1869 was not a very long one, and we think that we may confidently assume that the step which the Conservatives made in 1876 will in the course of a few years be advanced to a point as far in the same direction as that which the Liberals made in 1869. Of all the reforms, therefore, which threaten the House of Lords, that of a life peerage is the most imminent. In our present treatment of the question we mean to divide the subject into two parts. In the first, we shall consider the general question of reform of the House of Lords as looked at from an historical point of view; and, in the second, we shall consider a life peerage as regarded from foreign analogy. We desire, however, here to state, that though in the following remarks we shall propose to a certain extent a definite scheme of reform, we wish to propose it suggestively rather than absolutely, and as a contribution to the question rather than as a solution of it.

In seeking for any remedy for political disease, there are only two ways in which to proceed—by experience or by speculation; what is proved to have worked, and what we imagine *à priori* will work. To know how to combine what is practicable with what is best is the highest wisdom of the statesman. Experience alone can teach us what is practicable, and all that speculation can do is to offer a deferential assistance which will be accepted or rejected as it is tried by the exigencies of daily life. Some may be inclined to raise theory to a higher position, but it is obvious that it must be strictly subordinate to practice and usage, as speculation, to be just, must always to a great extent

be based upon experience, and no speculation can be declared successful until it has been tested by action. The questions, then, which will naturally be put in considering the reform of the House of Lords are—Has the House of Lords ever been all that it ought to have been? Has its action at any time been beneficial and useful? Why is it not so still? Are there any conditions within or without it to account for the change?

It is impossible for anybody to read the parliamentary history of the House of Lords during the eighteenth century without admitting—not that it was in greater sympathy with the House of Commons than at present,* because during that interval conflicts occurred between the two Houses which are unknown to the decorum of the present age—but that, where a difference arose, the House of Lords usually supported such views as were most liberal and extended. No one can read the parliamentary history of the nineteenth century without concluding that where a difference occurred the House of Lords usually supported those views which were most narrow and confined. When the House of Commons, directed by Bolingbroke and Atterbury, was urging on the government of Oxford to declare for the Pretender and to tear up the Act of Settlement, the House of Lords steadily resisted Oxford and upheld the Protestant succession. When the Hanoverians were established, when the schemes of the Jacobites had faded, and a new House of Commons, loyal and Protestant, had devoted their services to a new king, and sought to persecute Oxford, the chosen minister of their own predecessors, the Lords sheltered him from an unjust prosecution. When the House of Commons passed a bill which compelled every schoolmaster and tutor to conform to the English Church, the House of Lords did its best to resist it, and was the first to repeal it. When the peaceful government of Walpole seemed secure, and opposition seemed crushed, until the complaints of our merchants, and the high-handed claims to the empire of the West derived by the Spaniards from a papal sanction, once more afforded it a handle of attack, and enabled it to declaim against the right of search, then declared to be against the laws of nations, though afterwards exercised and fought for by ourselves, how different were the debates in the two Houses—the House of Commons captious and personal, ever ready to injure the minister and to trip up the administration till an ill-tempered opposition was crowned with a pettish secession; the House of Lords, often vehement, but in its hostility to the minister never losing sight of those principles which were to secure the rights of the subject. When Walpole fell, and the House of Commons, having already appointed a committee of his enemies to investigate his conduct, passed a bill to indemnify such witnesses as gave evidence before it, the

House of Lords refused, by a large majority, to sanction so iniquitous a measure. When, still later on in the century, during the coalition government of North and Fox, the House of Commons attempted to force upon the Crown and the Lords their measure of Indian reform, and endeavoured to suspend the statute law by the exercise of a resolution, the House of Lords maintained not only a firm opposition, but passed resolutions which, based upon precedent and common sense, clearly defined the constitutional limits which the Lower House had transgressed.* All this, and a very great deal more than all this, we read in the history of the Lords during the last century, but when we turn to the present century how bitterly are we surprised with the change which has come over the respective positions of the two Houses. Catholic reform, criminal reform, parliamentary reform, free trade, ecclesiastical reform, have all been opposed by the House of Lords, have all been carried in its despite, have all been welcomed by the country as necessary and enlightened measures. When one considers what the House of Lords once was and what it is now, its former greatness, its present weakness, the wealth and splendour of its members, the liberality of its chancellors, its dominion in the Commons, we must indeed sorrowfully admit that it has changed both materially and mentally—that materially it is infinitely removed from the House of Lords of the past, that mentally it is divided by a gulf as wide as the distance which divided the minds of Somers and of Eldon, of Camden and of Lyndhurst.

The contrast between the House of Lords of the two centuries is indeed striking. What is the cause of the change? Many account for it by pointing to the great augmentations made to the peerage by Pitt. But this, though it doubtless had its effect, is not sufficient to explain so great a transformation. Nor was it chance which had in previous history filled the House of Lords

* As an example of the manner in which the House of Lords has always resisted usurpations, either of the Crown or the House of Commons—a very natural circumstance, seeing that the weaker party must look to the Constitution for protection, rather than to its own strength—we may be excused for quoting one of the resolutions referred to above, passed in the year 1783, and another of July 1, 1871. The first resolution runs thus: "That an attempt in one branch of the Legislature to suspend the execution of law by separately assuming to itself the direction of a discretionary power which by Act of Parliament is vested in any body of men to be exercised as they shall judge expedient, is unconstitutional." The second: "That the House, before assenting to the second reading of the Army Regulation Bill, desires to express its opinion that the interposition of the executive during the progress of a measure submitted to Parliament by Her Majesty, in order to obtain, by an exercise of the prerogative, and without the aid of Parliament, the principal object included in that measure, is calculated to depreciate and neutralise the independent action of the Legislature, and is strongly to be condemned."

with men of liberal convictions. It was the result of the position which they held—a position which gave them wealth and leisure to cultivate and improve their minds, and imposed the obligation to use them for the good of the country. This influence was the result of a condition which would have rapidly made itself felt over any creation of peers, however skilfully selected, and the root of the change must be looked for deeper.

The French Revolution did more to produce it than anything else. It awoke the fears of the upper classes and the spirit of the multitude, and questions which had formerly only divided interests now began to divide classes. The stimulus which this great revolution gave to democratic thought all over Europe, in after years showing itself abroad in civil outbreaks, caused in England a gradual popularisation of the Constitution. The enormous increase which Pitt during his administration made to the peerage, and which is said to have evoked from the Duchess of Queensberry of that age the sarcastic observation that she could not spit out of her coach without spitting on a lord, was in reality little more than one of the phenomena of the change which was silently going on all through the country. It is not then by accusing Pitt, or any other minister, of indiscretion in creating peers that we can hope to discover the evils which we wish to mend, but by attempting to see how the Lords, as a body, accommodated themselves to the general change in thought, and whether in any particular part of the upper chamber the corroding influences, which have since so severely impaired its efficiency, first made themselves manifest.

There can be no difficulty in discovering this. The House of Lords undoubtedly showed a want of sympathy with the altered condition of thought; but the symptoms chiefly appeared not in its heart, but in its limbs—not among the hereditary peers, but among the bishops, and to a certain extent at first, and to a considerable extent afterwards, among the representative life peers of Ireland and the representative peers of Scotland. The disintegration of the House of Lords began, in fact, in those parts which were superadded to the ancient hereditary system. The best method of illustrating the truth of this assertion, is by quoting from the division lists of the House of Lords on the questions which are peculiarly the property of the commencement of this century, and which may be said to a certain degree, if not actually, to have been born in the throes of the French Revolution, at all events to have derived great force from the changes effected by it; and which established new principles in regard to the rights of the people, very much in the same way that the American rebellion established new principles in respect to the colonies, principles in both cases the result of force rather than judgment, though judgment has since ratified them, and

received them as axioms in all systems of just government. The questions which we think first indicated the nascent energies of public thought were those of Catholic Emancipation, and especially of Parliamentary Reform. Both these measures involved new springs and principles of action, both as time went on would grow, bear fruit, be liable to change or modification, as circumstances or judgment might dictate; and both as long as they exist are assertions of rights and liberties which, however they may be interpreted, can never be denied. The following is an analysis of divisions in the House of Lords on four bills, three on Catholic Emancipation, and one on Reform:—

Divisions in the House of Lords before 1832.

	IN FAVOUR.		AGAINST.	
Roman Catholic Relief Bill, 1821.	120	{ Hereditary Peers . . . 101 Scotch " . . . 7 Irish " . . . 10 Bishops 2	159	{ Hereditary Peers . . . 117 Scotch " 8 Irish " " Bishops 25
Roman Catholic Peers Bill, 1822.	129	{ Hereditary Peers . . . 114 Scotch " 5 Irish " 9 Bishops 1	171	{ Hereditary Peers . . . 131 Scotch " 7 Irish " 10 Bishops 23
Roman Catholic Relief Bill, 1828.	130	{ Hereditary Peers . . . 112 Scotch " 6 Irish " 10 Bishops 2	178	{ Hereditary Peers . . . 130 Scotch " " Irish " 13 Bishops 27
Reform Bill, Oct. 1831.	168	{ Hereditary Peers . . . 148 Scotch " 4 Irish " 4 Bishops 2	190	{ Hereditary Peers . . . 148 Scotch " 12 Irish " 18 Bishops 21

We think that from this table three things are to be learnt. First, that on questions of religious reform the hereditary peers, and the representative peers during the first quarter of the present century, were not essentially behind the spirit of the age; second, that the chief resistance to these measures was to be found among the bishops; third, that the representative peers and bishops combined beat the Reform Bill of 1831; that the hereditary peers were on this subject equally divided; that the hereditary peerage was thus nearly sacrificed to those parts of the peerage which were representative or for life. Such was the condition of the House of Lords before the Reform Bill, and it is a position which compares not unfavourably with that of the House of Commons, where the representatives of Scotland and Ireland were opposed to everything liberal; where only four Scotch and five Irish members were to be found to agree with Sir James Mackintosh that the penalty of death was too severe for sheep-stealing, and that the indignities on the dead should be omitted from the penalties of treason, where only seven Scotch and thirteen Irish members, out of a total of one hundred and forty-five, ventured to support Lord John Russell in a vote for parliamentary reform.

It is, however, after the time of the Reform Bill that whatever evil was latent in the House of Lords came transcendently to the surface. Up to 1832 the House of Lords had to a certain extent marched with the spirit of the age. Its progress, it is true, had been slow and languid; here it had halted, there it had stumbled, as the current of events urged it half-reluctantly forward; but in spite of all this it still kept pace with the House of Commons. The Reform Bill changed everything. Both Houses of Parliament were already far behind the demands of popular requirements. One of those struggles ensued which so certainly but so silently marks the epochs of English history: a struggle of the young age with the old age, a struggle which had already broken the power of the Crown, which had half-broken the domination of the aristocracy, which had raised up a Pitt and flung down a Bedford, and which now sought to establish a democracy on the ruins of all. The cause of the people was almost terribly triumphant. Old principles vanished, old constituencies disappeared, and the House of Lords, bruised and shaken by the torrent which had passed over it, was left immeasurably behind both Commons and people, and out of sympathy with both.

But now again, as in 1831, the House of Lords felt its injuries chiefly in those parts connected with the Scotch and Irish representations. Scotland for long had possessed no fair representation in either House. Her representative peers were sent to the House of Lords according to a ministerial list; her members of the House of Commons were returned by nomination. Scotland was, in fact, little more than the borough of the reigning minister. The whole electoral system was perverted and corrupt. Many attempts had been made to improve it. In the Lords, it was at one time proposed to elect the Scotch peers by ballot. In the Commons, bills were passed to insure purity of election; but both in the Lords and the Commons the efforts of reformers had proved futile. The old system, bad as it was, had produced one apparent advantage, which, shallow and artificial, tended to bring into still stronger relief the changes effected by the Reform Bill. It produced a unanimity between the Scotch representations in the Upper and Lower Houses. The Reform Bill of 1832, by remodelling the constituencies, destroyed the one arch which spanned the chasm between the peers and the people of Scotland. In Ireland, perhaps, the change was still greater; for in Ireland the great measure of reform was preceded by the still greater one of Catholic Emancipation. When the Reform Bill had passed, when the clouds of battle had dispersed, and when the two great parties of the State, no longer Whig and Tory but Liberal and Conservative, compared their respective gains and losses, and scanned with hope or apprehension the ranks of their opponents, the commoners

of England and Ireland were seen almost to a man under the banners of reform, while the representative peers still occupied and prepared to defend the ground on which they had so often fought. In all the struggles which have since taken place between the Lords and the Commons this order has been maintained; and there is not a measure of importance into which this unwelcome struggle has not been introduced. It is hardly stating the case too strongly to say that were it not for the liberal tendency of the English peers and the conservative tendency of the English commoners, government in Scotland and Ireland, under the existing condition of their two Chambers, would be a sheer impossibility. On the opposite page is a table of some of the principal bills since 1832, showing, on a few prominent measures, the votes of the Scotch and Irish peers, and also the votes of the Scotch and Irish members of the House of Commons.

Now, then, when we study this table, what do we see? A discord which has existed between the Houses for more than forty years? Great majorities of one House pitted against great majorities of the other? Yes this, and a great deal more than all this, for we see where the discord chiefly lies. It resolves the House of Lords into its elements; it shows most distinctly that of the three constituent parts into which that House is divided, the most liberal, as it is also by far the most important, is the hereditary.

The conclusions, then, which we have now arrived at may be briefly summed up as follows: First, that there exists a considerable want of sympathy between the House of Lords and House of Commons; second, that this want of sympathy is found to a greater extent among the representative peers of Scotland and Ireland and the bishops than among the hereditary peers. We have shown that in one case of paramount importance, the obstinacy or apprehensions of the representative and nominated portion of the House of Lords shook to its foundations the existence of the House itself; that, in fact, the hereditary peerage which took a large and a popular view was nearly sacrificed to a representative and life peerage, which took a narrow and anti-popular one. We have shown that in a case such as the Corn Law Bill, where the whole weight of the Conservative leaders was lent to secure the passage of the measure, the representative peers proved truer to their political maxims than they did to their party chiefs. We have shown how, in a question appertaining to a reform of the boundaries of the Church, a class of question which is every day likely to become more prominent, and to be discussed with smaller regard to religious tradition, the representative peers and the bishops were united almost to a man to resist innovation. We have shown all this as the result of historical investigation. The

Divisions in the House of Lords and House of Commons since 1832.

HOUSE OF LORDS.		HOUSE OF COMMONS.	
IN FAVOUR.	AGAINST.	IN FAVOUR.	AGAINST.
Jewish Disabilities Bill, 1833. } 54	{ Hereditary Peers . . . 50 Scotch " . . . 0 Irish " . . . 1 Bishops 3	{ Hereditary Peers . . . 73 Scotch " . . . 2 Irish " . . . 10 Bishops 20	{ English Members 107 Scotch " . . . 20 Irish " . . . 32
* Admission of Dis-senters to Universities Bill, 1834. } 86	{ Hereditary Peers . . . 80 Scotch " . . . 1 Irish " . . . 2 Bishops 2	{ Hereditary Peers . . . 198 Scotch " . . . 12 Irish " . . . 16 Bishops 22	{ English Members 165 Scotch " . . . 10 Irish " . . . 20
Irish Tythe Bill, 1836. } 41	{ Hereditary Peers . . . 38 Scotch " . . . 0 Irish " . . . 1 Bishops 2	{ Hereditary Peers . . . 105 Scotch " . . . 5 Irish " . . . 10 Bishops 15	{ English Members 225 Scotch " . . . 19 Irish " . . . 41
Corn Law Bill, 1846. } 211	{ Hereditary Peers . . . 178 Scotch " . . . 4 Irish " . . . 11 Bishops 18	{ Hereditary Peers . . . 311 Scotch " . . . 10 Irish " . . . 14 Bishops 9	{ English Members 423 Scotch " . . . 33 Irish " . . . 46
Jewish Disabilities Bill, 1857. } 139	{ Hereditary Peers . . . 128 Scotch " . . . 0 Irish " . . . 3 Bishops 8	{ Division list does not give the not contents. } 171	{ Passed a 2nd reading, without a division. }
Irish Church Bill, 1868. } 97	{ Hereditary Peers . . . 95 Scotch " . . . 2 Irish " . . . 0 Bishops 0	{ Hereditary Peers . . . 143 Scotch " . . . 9 Irish " . . . 19 Bishops 21	{ English Members 254 Scotch " . . . 32 Irish " . . . 56
Army Regulation Bill, 1871. } 130	{ Hereditary Peers . . . 125 Scotch " . . . 1 Irish " . . . 2 Bishops 4	{ Hereditary Peers . . . 193 Scotch " . . . 5 Irish " . . . 13 Bishops 0	{ English Members 205 Scotch " . . . 43 Irish " . . . 41

* The prices in favour of this Bill are omitted in this division list. It may be proper to state that the above table has been obtained by comparing the division lists given in " Hansard" with the Irish and Scotch peers to be found in the rolls of the House of Lords, and with the list of Scotch and Irish peers in the Royal Kalendar of each year. In the case of the Irish Tythe Bill the division in the Commons is taken not on the second reading, but on the second resolution proposed in committee by Lord John Russell. The division on the Army Regulation Bill is on Mr. Graves' amendment on the third reading.

question which we put a few pages back seems answered. Where, we asked, did the influences which have impaired the efficiency of the House of Lords make their appearance? Where do they chiefly exist? The answer is clear. Among the representative peers and the bishops.

Among the representative peers and the bishops there is to be found, in its most aggravated form, the chief difficulty to the harmonious working of the two Houses. Towards the representative peers, therefore, and the bishops should our first efforts at reform be directed.

It may, however, be fairly said that a reform which merely extends to the bishops and the representative peers will be inadequate. If the division lists prove that the dead-weight of the bishops and representative peers has been opposed to the Commons, they prove as clearly that in nearly every case the majority of hereditary peers has been thrown into the same scale. This is true. But what we would remind the reader of is this, that we wish to leave the House of Lords composed as much as possible of the same materials, and with the same constitution as at present; that though, with a single exception, there were majorities of hereditary peers against every bill we have quoted, that these majorities were proportionately insignificant when compared to the majorities among the spiritual and representative peers; that these majorities would have been even still smaller, if even they had existed at all, had the votes of the Scotch and Irish peers and the bishops been more fairly distributed; for there is nothing more certain than the fact that the more a majority is diminished the less likely it is to remain one. And that, lastly, no scheme of reform short of revolution would propose suddenly and entirely to alter the House of Lords, but only so to change it as to place it in a position to improve itself. It may also be further objected that if the antagonism of the two Houses has resulted from the effects of the Reform Bill, it would be more proper to shape the Scotch and Irish constituencies to suit the peers than that the older establishment of the representative peerage should be reformed to suit new constituencies. There are two answers to this objection. In the first place, there is the one indisputable answer that a measure which would narrow existing popular constituencies would be impossible, even if it were desirable; but secondly, even if it were possible, it would not be desirable, as it would involve a revolution in the progressive principle which directs popular representation. In the House of Lords the hereditary principle, in spite of the antiquated claims of the bishops, and the more modern pretensions of the representative peers, is its prop and its corner-stone. To touch it would be to touch the spirit of its existence, but to deal with the

representative peerage and the bishops would be merely to deal with a growth which overlays and is supported by this principle, and which, like ivy, may be stripped with advantage from the tree it is smothering.

The changes, which we would suggest, would be directed to that portion of the House which is most out of harmony with public feeling, and which at the same time is most amenable to reform. We should propose, first, that the whole body of spiritual peers should cease to sit in the House of Lords; second, that the entire peerages of Scotland and Ireland should be incorporated into the peerage of the United Kingdom.

There is no reason why the bishops in the House of Lords should be maintained at their present number. If it were the case that the bishops occupied their seats in virtue of their episcopal office, it would be necessary to show that there is no connexion between the functions of a bishop and those of a lord of Parliament. But *all* the bishops do not sit in the House of Lords, therefore, to a certain extent, the number of those that do may be regarded as fixed upon more or less arbitrarily, and might have been six, sixteen, or any other figure as easily as twenty-six. Our proposition, therefore, to abolish the episcopal bench suggests no reform which is new in principle; for the Act which created a bishop who was not also a lord of Parliament effectually altered the political status of the episcopal bench.

But it will be said the bishops sit in virtue of certain baronies. This, indeed, is the theory; but it is a theory which has little meaning now, and which we must search the records of antiquity to understand. It is to be traced to those days of ecclesiastical feudalism, when a bishop was also a great baron, when the crozier was readily exchanged for the sword, the episcopal robes for the corslet, and troops of martial retainers swelled the pomp or heightened the splendour of a military superior. But these days have long passed, the Roman Church in which they flourished has passed, the Episcopal Church in which many of her venerable customs are preserved seems at times almost passing; the pomp, the importance, the enormous influence of the barons of the Church, reduced by usurpation, have filtered through a thousand channels till but little of their ancient power is left, and their successors are compelled to exercise their energies in an infinitely smaller though perhaps more useful sphere. But though all the material and much of the moral weight of the bishops has gone, the privilege of representing a strength which now no longer exists still remains to them—the power which was formerly exercised in virtue of princely domains and of irresistible influence, rests in the hands of successors whose fortunes barely average 5000*l.* a year. The bishops have one claim, and one claim only,

on which they can base a pretension to a seat in the House of Lords. Long prescription, though not entirely undisturbed prescription, has entitled them to a seat in the Upper House. This is true; but, on the other hand, any reform in the House of Lords will have to disturb some settled usage. Prescription hedges us in on every side; it is, therefore, best to discard its claims where its want will least be felt.

There is, however, one other point connected with this branch of the subject which we do not wish to pass over as if from want of consideration. It is this: that as clergymen are incapacitated from sitting in the House of Commons, they should be represented in the House of Lords. Such an argument finds no support in history. Was it, for instance, ever contended that the Civil Service, because its members could not be elected to the House of Commons, should be represented by a certain number of peers? Or to go back to the days of William III. and Queen Anne, when officers of the army suffered a similar exclusion, was there any idea that they should receive a political equivalent in the Upper House? Or, when the famous Lord Halifax suggested the incapacitation of lawyers, does he breathe a syllable about representation in another place? In none of these cases was there any thought of supplying a representation in one House which was denied in the other. The only instance which seems to afford the slightest similarity is that of the Roman Catholic peers who sat in the House of Lords from the reign of Elizabeth to that of Charles II., while Roman Catholic commoners were excluded from the Lower House. But a few moments' reflection destroys the analogy, as the Roman Catholic peers never sat in the House of Lords *because* Roman Catholics could not sit in the House of Commons, but because the provisions of the Test Act were not extended to peers. The Roman Catholic peers, in fact, no more represented the Roman Catholic order than do Lord Hammond or Lord Tenterden represent the Civil Service. The idea of representation is entirely a false one, as our own clerical journals would be the first to admit. Before leaving the subject we would emphatically repeat here what has already been stated in an article on the bishops in the House of Lords in the *Westminster Review* of 1873, that our observations are intended only to apply to the system upon which the episcopal bench is raised, and are not in any way directed against the material of which it is composed.

Our second proposal was that the present practice of representing the Scotch and Irish peerages should come to an end, and that the peers of Scotland and Ireland should at once be enrolled among the peers of the United Kingdom. The representative system was an experiment, and it has failed. We

trace failure in every step of its political history. We see it written in the resolutions which the House of Lords so vainly considered to secure its independence. We observe it acknowledged at the time of the Reform Bill, and aggravated when that bill had left an unreformed House of Lords to confront a reformed House of Commons. We mark it during the Liberal policy of Lord Grey and Lord Melbourne, in the blind opposition to the necessary concessions of Sir Robert Peel, till we finally recognise it in the futile antagonism to the popular measures of the late Liberal Government. The failure of the representative peerage has, indeed, been complete, and its failure has been placed on record both by Parliament and by the Press.

The question then arises, what are we to do with the representative peerage? It cannot be treated in the same way as the spiritual peers. It would be impossible to persuade the Scotch and Irish peers to resign their claims to the House of Lords, "that odious House," as Lord Brougham calls it in a letter to Lord Spencer, "which we are both doomed to sit in." Without their consent it would be impossible to deprive them of these claims. Nothing remains, therefore, but to make the Scotch and the Irish peerages as representative and useful as possible. This, we think, can best be done by throwing down the system which has failed, and by extending that which has succeeded. The nature of the present system of election is narrowing, and the chosen representatives represent whatever is narrowest in it. Where all the representatives can be returned by a bare majority, it is obvious that a large portion of the peerage may remain unrepresented, and also that the constant tendency of majorities to mould the electoral body to its own fashion will gradually leaven the whole order with one spirit and with one opinion. By incorporating the Scotch and Irish peerages with the English peerage, we should encourage greater freedom of individual thought, and afford expression to the voice of the minority. The constituent bodies of the Scotch and Irish representations are for the most part Conservative, but not at the ratio of nine to two in Scotland, and nineteen to nothing in Ireland, as was shown in the case of the Irish Church Suspensory Bill. The numbers of the Scotch and Irish peers in the House of Lords would be greatly increased, but the relative position of the Liberals and Conservatives would be considerably equalised. The proposal, indeed, is one which should meet the approbation of both peers and public. The peers could not be better represented, because each peer would represent himself; the public could not be better satisfied, as every Liberal peer would be brought into the House of Lords.

The great objection to this plan is, undoubtedly, the addition it would bring to the numbers of the House of Lords. But this

objection may be rated too high. For the last year the number of the House of Lords was five hundred and three, including twenty-six spiritual peers, twenty-eight peers of Ireland, and sixteen peers of Scotland. Deducting twenty-six spiritual peers, whom we propose to relieve of their legislative duties, and adding the entire peerages of Scotland and Ireland, we should increase the number to five hundred and seventy-three. The number is large, but it would be smaller by eighty than the House of Commons, which has not shown itself too overgrown for a deliberative assembly. In 1832 Lord Grey had permission to make thirty-five peers at one creation.* In France, seventy-six were added by Charles X. on the same day to the upper chamber. It is to avoid such creations as these that we propose at once a larger and more popular basis for the peerage.

It may, perhaps, have been observed that in attempting to project some measure of reform for the House of Lords we have abstained from declaring its policy wrong, but have contented ourselves with the fact of its being out of harmony with the Commons. It is unnecessary, if not at the present moment impossible, to determine whether, in their conflicts, the House of Lords or the House of Commons be theoretically in the right. Political truths are certainly not arrived at merely by being voted truths by a majority, which, had the elective franchise been a hair's-breadth higher or lower, would have given a precisely opposite opinion. No doubt persons may be found to say that an Irish Union was a mistake; that Catholic Emancipation was a mistake; that the Reform Bill was a mistake; they may concur with the House of Lords in its long resistance to the reform of the Irish Church; they may condemn it for having at last agreed to that reform; they may, in fact, declare that the policy of the House of Lords has been that of wisdom and safety, and that of the House of Commons of folly and ruin; but even if all this were admitted, it would scarcely be a point in favour of not reforming the Upper House. The principle of right or wrong is in politics too vague to be a trustworthy guide. The knowledge is neither in men nor in nations. The men who so laboriously created the laws in whose happy consequences we now rejoice, were the first too hastily to repudiate the fruits of the good seed they themselves had sown. Anybody reading the history of dissent, and regarding the present power and pretensions of the dissenting body, its claims for equality with the Church of England, and its resolutions at public meetings for her disestablishment, must admit that the day of the dissenters' triumph was the day on which their disabilities were removed.

* Indeed, according to Lord Brougham, it was at one time proposed to make eighty creations.

Years before this bill was passed, Mr. Beaufoy and Charles Fox had done their best to promote the measure. Yet the object of both was the defence of the Church. Mr. Beaufoy declared that he was a good Churchman, and would never see the Church wronged. Charles Fox ridiculed the idea of danger to the Church, and prophesied happy days, when jealousy should be at an end, and the name of Dissenter should be heard no more. They did what they thought was right; they tried to pass a measure, which we have since declared was good, but what they did, or attempted to do, promoted an end which they distinctly disclaimed. Who denies now, with the exception of a few Home Rulers, that the union with Ireland was good, that it was the spirit of wisdom and toleration rising brilliantly in the morning of a young century? Yet who can reconcile the arguments of the time with the consequences which have ensued? Ireland has *not* been absorbed into England, the Roman Catholics have *not* melted into the great body of their Protestant fellow-countrymen, Irish grievances have *not* ended, and the general pacification, which was to be the result of union, and subsequent Catholic Emancipation, seem as remote as ever. Canning again, when he proposed Roman Catholic emancipation, declared in the preamble of his Bill that he proposed it for the protection of the Church. Is it possible to disconnect the measure for the emancipation of Roman Catholics, and the one which years later, under different auspices, put an end for ever to the establishment of the Episcopalian Church in Ireland? Tried by their declared ends, all these measures have failed; tried by their actual consequences, all have been more or less successful. But their promoters have been like travellers on a road seeking a land of shade, of springs, of brooks, and of plenty, and finding indeed what they sought, though they had mistaken the road on which they travelled. Thus it is we say, that we cannot enter upon an argument as to what policy is right or wrong. What is right or wrong will be shown in the pages of future history. What we want now is harmony between the two Houses; not the harmony which arises from strength on the one side, and of weakness on the other, but the harmony which springs from mutual recognition of mutual power.

And now, having stated the reforms which a study of English history suggests should be effected in the House of Lords, we must turn to the proposal so often made in favour of a life peerage. The scheme of a life peerage has found favour with many politicians, and has received the support of many writers. The idea is becoming familiar to the minds of the people, and the thing itself has already, to a certain extent, been established in the constitution. The tendency of reform is

undoubtedly in the direction of a life peerage, and yet we think that the weight of experience is entirely opposed to it.

Our arguments, as have already been seen, are all drawn from historical inquiry. We have not endeavoured to reason on *à priori* grounds; we have not attempted to enter into the lists of theoretical controversy for the purpose of proving that an elective second chamber is better than an hereditary one, and no second chamber at all better than either. These assertions may be all very true, but they do not come within the scope of our discussion. What we have attempted to show is the condition of things as they were, and are. We have sought for a change of circumstances or of organism* to account for a change of thought* and action; and where such a change has been found we have attempted to see whether we cannot find a remedy without introducing new principles, or destroying what was most essential¹ in old ones. We will not, therefore, go into the general arguments on the subject, beyond stating that the independence of the peerage will be in exactly inverse proportion to the power which the Crown will have of making life peers. The reasoning which satisfied Sir Richard Steele in 1719 satisfies us in 1878: "When the king makes peers he makes perpetual opponents to his will and power, if they shall think fit; which one consideration cannot but render frequent creations terrible to the Crown." This dread is, in fact, the only check upon the exercise of the royal prerogative. The arbitrary limits of a modern statute will be a feeble barrier to the extension of a life peerage, and with the extinction of hereditary honours will vanish what is yet left of the independence of the Upper House. And now let us turn briefly to France and the Colonies.

In regard to France it will be unnecessary to do more than mention the train of events which led to the establishment of a life peerage. It will be remembered how, in the last few years of the reign of Charles X., the liberalism which usually reposes in the assembly of the people seemed to have taken root in the hereditary chamber of the Lords; how the Lords withstood the encroachments of the Jesuits, and vindicated the liberty of the press; how the king determined to swamp the peers, and to destroy the assembly; how, in fact, the days of James II. of England, when he attempted to enslave the constituencies, and when his minister threatened to make Lord Feversham's troop of horse peers, were repeated, and, with greater success, by Charles X. of France; how seventy-six new peers were added to the French Upper Chamber, destroying at one blow both its independence and utility; and how, as in England, a revolution occurred—but a revolution not, as in England, emanating from the aristocracy, and establishing for more than a hundred years an aristocratic

ascendency tempered with a respect for popular rights, but coming from an excited populace filled with jealousy of everything raised above the dead level of equality. Charles X. fell, and Louis Philippe mounted a throne which, according to the phraseology of Lafayette, was "surrounded by republican institutions." To a republican king it was determined to join a republican House of Lords, and the hereditary peerage of Charles X. made way for the life peerage of Louis Philippe. For eighteen years this chamber existed in France, and filled its high position with perhaps as much credit as the nature of its constitution would admit. We have now the whole of its short life before us—its ungrateful birth and violent death—and we can compare the hopes, not too sanguine, pronounced by its originators with the sentence, not unfriendly, recorded by one of its own members after its collapse.

To Casimir Périer fell the lot of introducing the bill, which was to give a life peerage to France. From him we might certainly have looked for the praises and the promises, which a politician usually showers upon his own measure. But on a life peerage Casimir Périer bestowed neither praise nor promise. He regretted its necessity, and looked to an hereditary peerage as the best bulwark of the throne, and the surest pledge of independence. Concession to popular demands wrung from him a reluctant consent, and he yielded what he believed abstractedly best to comply with the appeals of necessity. And while these were the expressions of the minister who introduced a life peerage, what was said of it by Montalembert when the institution had fallen? He said that it compared favourably with the popular assembly; that it discussed the laws more conscientiously, that it respected the rights of minorities more scrupulously, that it fulfilled admirably the functions of a chamber of justice; but he said, though the members sitting in it on account of their hereditary right formed a very small proportion, yet it was impossible to disguise the fact that it was from the hereditary elements it received what influence it possessed. It was not sufficient that the chamber of peers should show an example of industry, of moderation, and of justice, they must also exhibit an influence derived only from actual power, or from the veneration which is paid to historical tradition. "Il ne faut pas seulement que la chambre haute soit quelque chose, il faut que chacun de ses membres soit quelqu'un."

The failure of the experiment of a life peerage in France was, indeed, absolute and complete. It had found favour with no party, and was deserted by all parties. Périer coldly supported it; Guizot openly condemned it; Montalembert pointed out its defects; Lamartine and Odillon Barrot set it aside when dis-

curring the government to follow the revolution of 1848. Both Lamartine and Odillon Barrot preferred the principle of two chambers. But in the absence of proper materials, Lamartine considered it best to govern with one chamber; while Odillon Barrot proposed an elective senate: neither suggested the restoration of the life peerage.

It is worth noticing how utterly incompetent was the life peerage for the purpose it was intended. It was the creature of the popular will. The breath of one revolution inspired it with life; the blast of another revolution swept it away. What is created by the public, and can be resumed by the public, however rich it may be in elements of sagacity and public morality, has no separate existence of its own, and must certainly fall. If the House of Lords is at the mercy of the Crown, or of the House of Commons, it too must fall, and its fall is only a question of time. This was recognised by those who shared in the French revolution of 1848. It was not because French statesmen were against a second chamber, that they determined upon a single one, but because they had no aristocracy such as existed in England, because they had tried a life peerage and it had failed, because they renounced the futile attempt of substituting a fictitious check which would only excite popular opposition, and could not disarm it as long as the will of the people was the sole repository of sovereign power.

And now let us turn from France to the Colonies—from a life peerage, by which an ancient country intended to reduce its aristocracy, to a life peerage upon which young countries intended to build an aristocracy. Let us compare the opinions of the eminent French statesman we have already quoted with the published opinions of English statesmen and writers, and see whether there is any material difference to be found in their utterances.

It may be said that there is no analogy between England and the Colonies. The analogy, however, between France and the British colonies is too significant to be altogether neglected by England. A country which is discarding the experiences of its history is on a very similar footing to the country which is seeking for a history it has never had. Democracy in England and in France, unchecked by the constitutional usages of centuries, is identical to the democracy in the Colonies which has never been reined or bitted. It is immaterial whether the bit has broken, or whether it has never been put on, so long as it is not there. The fact which we wish to discover is how a nominated or life peerage has worked in the face of a nearly all-powerful democracy. Let us seek, then, for examples in colonial history.

In most of the British colonies the dual system of representa-

tion was carried into effect. The legislative council, and the popular assembly—the miniature Lords and Commons—were to be found in nearly all of them. A few states, it is true, more independent than the others, departed from this time-honoured model; a few statesmen indeed ridiculed it and, like Franklin, compared it to a cart with a horse before and a horse behind; but the roots of prejudice and tradition had struck deeply into the minds of most English colonists, and the few states which had adopted a different method, in time accepted two chambers.

Perhaps the colony which of all others first engaged the greatest solicitude of English statesmen was the province of Canada. Other colonies had for the most part owed their constitutions to the Crown in the strictest sense of the word. These constitutions had been liberal, or limited, according to the will of the sovereign or the influence which their founders could exercise upon the Royal mind; they had in some cases been created almost whimsically; they had in others been revoked almost illegally, but with Canada it was different. To the good government of Canada was directed the attention of perhaps the greatest statesman that England ever possessed, and of a Parliament which was rich in political and philosophical genius. Pitt, the son of the man whom it may be said conquered Canada, now proposed for her a constitution. Fox, Burke, Sheridan, Windham, and Grey sat in the House of Commons to criticise his measure. The constitution under which Canada was for many years destined to be ruled established a second chamber, nominated for life by the Crown.* For a short period the constitution worked quietly; but the fate which overtakes all countries with nominated second chambers rapidly fell upon Canada. First a dispute arose between the legislative council and the popular assembly; then dissensions multiplied and the rupture deepened, till a total suspension of business took place. The abolition of the Crown nominees was peremptorily demanded. The alternative offered was revolution. In Canada the Imperial Crown was too strong for the rebellious people. The rebellion of Papiueau was crushed, and order for a season restored. But when the rebellion had passed away, and the old constitution was dead, the consequences of the dispute between the Houses bore a bitter after-crop of civil strife. Eleven years later incendiary fires again lighted up the province of Quebec, the Houses of Parliament were burnt down, and the British Governor was mercilessly pelted by an angry mob through the streets of Montreal.

* The Canada Bill of 1791 also gave the Crown the power of creating hereditary peers, but this power was never exercised.

As we descend in history we find how these practical illustrations have affected the minds of statesmen, and, in the Australian Colonies Bill of 1850, we see not only a revolution in the principles by which colonies were to be governed, not only the declaration that a colonial life peerage had failed, but almost a renunciation of the venerable claims of a second chamber. In an age when theoretical perfection is so frequently aimed at, it is extraordinary to discover at the root of the bill the opinion so vainly advanced by Fox in 1791, that the colonists were the best judges of their own wants. Yet so it was; and it was clear that these wants did not include a life peerage.

The question of Colonial Government produced in England debates resembling in some respects those on a life peerage in France. There were side issues so closely connected with it that it was almost impossible to separate them. There were vistas through which contingencies disagreeable to contemplate might be seen looming. There were circumstances which gave it the character of something more than a colonial measure, as it introduced a new experiment into government, and one which might in future be extended. It was impossible to forget how rudely the House of Lords had once been shaken; it was impossible to ignore the ill-judged efforts which a violent faction in the House of Commons had at times made to reform it; it was impossible not to discern that the relative power of the House of Lords in respect to the people was daily diminishing; it was impossible, in short, not to foresee that time must bring to the House of Lords either reform or extinction, and the bill must have suggested to many minds the unspoken fear that the principle laid down for the Colonies might in time become the principle which was to direct the Home Government. As in France so in England, the same questions were discussed in rapid succession, of a life peerage, of an elective peerage, of a single chamber, of, in fact, every gradation between aristocracy and pure democracy.

For some years the South Australian colonies had been governed by a sort of Provisional Government, consisting of one chamber. It was now proposed to establish this single chamber in the new constitution, unless the colonists desired some other measure. It fell to Lord Grey in the House of Lords to defend a policy, which, in consequence of the novelty of its character, was assailed from many sides. Lord Grey, like most others, had at one time firmly believed in the necessity of two chambers. It was a point which among English statesmen had hitherto admitted of no difference. The reformer, who advocated the extension of the franchise, the old Tory, who clung to whatever was obsolete, equally revered the threefold form of the constitution, the scaffolding, as it were, of the beloved edifice of his country.

But experience induced Lord Grey to believe that this unanimous opinion might be fallacious. The nominated chamber, the life peerage of our colonies, should have been a check to democracy. It was the *raison d'être* of its existence. But where was this check? It was not to be found in the legislative council. Its members had little or no weight, and they excited great jealousy. It was in fact a failure. Lord Grey very fairly accepted the results gained by experience. He admitted that there was much in a single chamber to object to, but practice had shown it was superior to a popular assembly connected with a chamber of Crown nominees. Lord John Russell, in the House of Commons, took the same view, and pointed to the dissensions in Canada. The bill was indeed an abandonment of the attempt so often tried to establish a life peerage in the colonies as a check to democracy. A check, as Lord Grey explained, was what was wanted; and a life peerage, so far as colonial experience teaches us, has been tried as a check and failed.

Mr. Mills, in his interesting work on colonial constitutions, takes the same view as Lord Grey. The legislative councils were, he says, an attempt to plant a life peerage in the colonies. The idea was attractive and plausible, but entirely illusory, as was shown by an experience in some cases extending over two centuries. Still stronger language is used by Mr. Lowe. According to him, there is nothing so mischievous as the nomination of Crown nominees. They represent nobody; they have not the slightest affinity to an aristocratic institution; they are the scapegoats of the Constitution; the target of every attack; the butt of every jest.* And now, before quitting this branch of the subject, we may perhaps be allowed to quote a passage from Mr. Merivale's volume on colonies and colonisation; especially as his words might apply to other life peerages than merely those of the colonies. He says:—"The upper house or council in a colonial assembly is a very feeble check indeed when composed of members for life nominated by the Crown; antagonism between the two houses soon arises, in which the council must give way, and must lose its force and credit accordingly. Nor are nominee councillors good legislators. They have this great defect—they are responsible to no one. They have no constituencies. The Crown which has appointed them has no hold on them after their appointment. They have no 'order,' no *esprit de corps*."

Thus, as in France so in the colonies, the life peerage has been a failure. Reasons may, indeed, be offered to explain this failure.

The populations of the colonies are scarce and busy. Life in them presents many of its most primitive features. Each man is intently engaged on his own interests. The flocks which he tends upon the boundless plain, the sugar-canes which he cultivates in the plantations, the stores from which he sells supplies to the people, all devour his energies and his time. He has leisure for none of the liberal studies which are usually to be found only after wealth has accumulated for several generations. These drawbacks, it may be said, will not be found in England. In England will be found the men, the wealth, and the leisure in which the colonies are deficient. But the hereditary peerage already gives us these men, who are born to wealth and leisure, without the invidious practice of having to select them; why then attempt, not only to change the system, but to introduce into it that very element which, in the colonies, has been the cause of failure? But if a distinction can in some respects be drawn between an English and colonial life peerage, it will still have one fault, the greatest of all faults, in common—weakness. You may fill the House of Lords with men of stainless character, of intelligence as great as education and self-improvement can give, with time to employ their generous impulses and their high intelligence for the good of the country, but all this will avail nothing, as long as they have not got material power. The great noble who, centuries ago, was asked to show his title for his land, answered by unsheathing his sword. The force of democracy will ignore the title of virtue or learning. Her title to power is derived *from* power, and power will be the only title which she will respect. Neither integrity nor ability can prevail against her. They can govern only by moral suasion, and alas! for moral suasion when it is confronted by an ignorant and infatuated multitude.

And now we may briefly recite our arguments, and state some of the conclusions which we draw from them. We have tried to show, then, that in countries most like our own, where a life peerage has been tried, it has failed. It failed in old France, and it failed in young colonies, and it failed in both for the same reason; because it was not strong enough to check democracy. If a life peerage is ever established in England, either as a part of the hereditary chamber, or as a substitute for it, it will be for the purpose of creating an efficient checking power to democracy. But France and the Colonies show that a life peerage forms no check to democracy; therefore we say that the presumption is a life peerage would fail in England. We have also endeavoured to show from arguments drawn from division lists, and other materials, that that portion of the House of Lords which is most akin to a life peerage has imbibed, to a smaller extent, a sympathy with the progressive spirit of the age than has the heredi-

tary portion of the House of Lords. We have, therefore, suggested the entire abolition of one section of this portion of the peerage, and an alteration in respect to another portion which will considerably neutralise its conservative action, while at the same time affording it a more complete representation. Conversely, we show that the hereditary peerage seems more susceptible of the current popular feeling than the rest of the House of Lords; we therefore propose that the hereditary peerage, as the most satisfactory part of the Upper House, should be left alone. These are our main arguments and conclusions, and, as will have been seen, we have tried to confine ourselves, as much as possible, to facts, merely drawing inferences without asking for explanations.

The reforms we have suggested have been those which the natural want of the House of Lords seems mostly to demand. They are those which, we hope, would not only preserve, but purify, a principle which has existed with the greatest advantages for so many centuries. What these reforms might foreshadow it is impossible to say. Where democracy is all-powerful it may be that a single chamber in a highly educated country, where men of all classes can work shoulder to shoulder, instead of face to face, may be proved not unsuccessful. Both English opinion and foreign analogy are against such an experiment. But foreign analogy is of value according to circumstances only. Foreign analogy can illustrate—what, indeed, we should have thought self-evident—that the greater power will not consent to be ruled or thwarted by the smaller power; but it cannot prove that the greater power may not be educated so that its own affairs may safely be left to its own management. We are well aware, however, that on the subject of a single chamber the opinion of all parties has been nearly identical—that the Whigs have agreed with the Tories; that Fox and Pitt, Burke and Brougham, have all condemned it; that in France it was unable to direct the fury of the French revolution; that in Rhode Island and Carolina it was equally inefficient in times of peace; and yet, without abandoning the position which we first laid down—that political experiments should, if possible, be based upon political experience—we have a firm conviction that foreign analogies should not be admitted too blindly into English history; that England is far ahead of every other country and every colony in political progress; that she is a pioneer in the unexplored regions of the political future; that before her the knotted forest of political problems shall fall; that behind her shall crowd the nations of the world, to tread in the path which she has laid open to peace and good government.

But these large questions are questions of the future. What

is wanted now, or will be wanted on the first occasion of public importance which divides the two Houses, is some sort of organic reform. The House of Lords will have to submit to what the House of Commons has already submitted, to what every institution in the country has submitted, or it will be the sufferer. Nobody appreciated the position of the House of Lords more clearly than Canning. Canning objected to the reform of the House of Commons because it would involve the fate of the House of Lords. He prophesied that the reformers would leave untouched the House of Lords, not from feelings of friendship, but from feelings of the bitterest enmity, because they knew that an unreformed House of Lords could not live side by side with a reformed House of Commons. "It is therefore," to use his own spirited words, "unnecessary for the reformers to declare their hostility to the Crown—it is, therefore, utterly superfluous for them to make war upon the peerage; they know, let their principles have but full play, the peerage would be to the constitution which they assail but as the baggage to the army, and the destruction of them but as the gleanings of the battle. They know that the battle is with the House of Commons as already constituted, and that *that* once overthrown, and another popular assembly constituted on their principles as the creature and depository of the people's power, and the unreasoning instrument of the people's *will*, that there would not only be no chance, but there would be no pretence, of any other branch of the constitution."* Thus spoke Canning before the Reform Bill; and yet the old House of Lords still lingers beside a House of Commons a second time reformed.

Canning was indeed wrong. The Crown and the Lords still exist, though very different in power to what they were when he spoke. A long train of events has broken the strength of the Upper Chamber. Its independence has been threatened both by the Crown and by the people. Speakers and writers have discussed its death and its successor while it is still living. Some would destroy it outright; some would strengthen it; some would weaken it; some would deck it out with the semblance of power. It may be remembered how in Spanish history was performed the dethronement of Henry IV., how the chair of state was rained on the broad plain of Avila, and how the effigy of the king was placed upon it. The crown was placed on its head, the royal robes were thrown over its shoulders, the sword and sceptre placed in its hands, while thousands thronged to behold the novel spectacle. But at length came the great officers of state who cast the crown from the head, the sceptre from the

* Stapleton's "Canning." Canning's speech at Liverpool.

hand, and the effigy headlong into the dust, and Henry IV. was declared deposed. And thus it will be with the House of Lords if it refuses to re-invigorate itself by reforms, and if too strong a veneration for its own past history prevents it from making changes which are essential to its strength. If it cannot conquer this fatal weakness it may still continue to exist in name and in form, and it may still be draped with the pomp which belonged to it in the days of its prime, but it will not be the House of Lords which has played so conspicuous a part in the creation of English history. It will, indeed, be very little more than its effigy. It may have all the pre-eminence that titles can give; it may hold in its hands all the rights which its predecessors have ever exercised; it may be endowed with any new power which the people may choose to bestow; but if it is unable to reform itself, if its power is not of itself, its titles, rights, and powers will be as unable to protect it from the rough hand of democracy as were the symbols of royalty to defend the poor abused effigy on the plain of Avila.

ART. II.—THE MYTHOLOGY AND RELIGIOUS WORSHIP OF THE ANCIENT JAPANESE.

1. *Commentary on the Rituals.* Mabuchi: 1768.
2. *New Exposition of the General Purification.* Motowori: 1795.
3. *Correct Text of the Rituals.* Hirata: No date.

THE Europeans who visited Japan in the latter half of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth centuries were chiefly merchants engaged in the pursuit of wealth, or Catholic missionaries who devoted their lives to the conversion of the natives to the Christian religion. It is not to be wondered at that the information which they gave concerning the country should have consisted chiefly of descriptions of manners and customs then prevalent, or of current political events, and that their investigations into the language should have produced nothing but a few grammars and dictionaries, the necessary implements of their daily pursuits. Even if they had been inclined to look below the surface, they would in those days have discovered little. The remains of the ancient literature, laws, and history were hidden away in the Buddhist monasteries, in the charge of priests who were uniformly unfriendly to the professors

of a rival religion, and buried in a character the key to which, if we cannot say that it had been lost, had certainly been mislaid. It was just at the very moment when the most furious persecution that modern times have witnessed burst upon the missionaries and their converts, only to cease with the utter extermination of the native Christians, and the expulsion of all Europeans, save the Dutch, from the shores of Japan, that began the revival of learning which, fostered by the rulers and princes, and zealously promoted by the efforts of private individuals, has brought to light the ancient works of imagination in prose and poetry, the legends of the prehistoric age, early historical documents, and the rituals of the native religion, as it existed before the art of writing was borrowed from the Chinese. For four centuries Japan had lain prostrate at the feet of the military class created by the preceding wars against the barbarous aborigines of the north-east, and during the latter part of this period the country had been constantly agitated by the civil wars between rival aspirants to the central power, and the private feuds of local chiefs. At the moment when the Portuguese first set foot in Japan the turmoil had arrived at a climax, and it was only at the end of a series of sanguinary struggles, during fifty years, that Ihehasu, the greatest general and statesman whom the country has ever produced, succeeded at the beginning of the seventeenth century in founding a polity which secured peace to the wearied nation, and enabled literature and the arts to be cultivated once more. He himself devoted large sums of money and much time to the formation of a library of manuscripts, which were diligently sought by his agents in all parts of the country, and several of his descendants continued the work of research, aided by the native scholars whom they attracted to their service. A succession of learned men arose, who spent their lives in comparing and annotating the remains thus brought out again into the light of day, and transmitted the tradition of self-denying scholarship from generation to generation. The greatest of these were the three whose names stand at the head of this article, Mabuchi, Motowori, and Hirata, whose labours extended over the greater portion of the eighteenth, and the first forty-three years of the present century, and it is chiefly to their indefatigable industry that we are indebted for the means of investigating the story of the past in the extreme east of Asia.

It has often been observed that Japan is a young country, and this is emphatically true in more senses than one. Both the language and the institutions, whether civil or religious, of what may be called the unwritten period, as now unveiled to us, exhibit marks of extreme backwardness, and show us a people still in a very early stage of development. There is no distinc-

tion between subject and object in syntax ; frequently it is difficult to pronounce whether a word is verb or substantive. There is no distinction of gender and number in nouns, or of person and number in verbs ; there is scarcely a sign of inflection, and words suited to the expression of abstract thought are almost entirely wanting. The process of differentiation of ideas had made so little advance that the same word still meant rain and sky ; body, sword-blade and fruit were expressed by a single syllable *mi* ; and the colours blue, black, and green, were undistinguished. Just as in China the discovery of the art of writing at a very early period of the formation of language irrevocably fixed the number of spoken words, so in Japan the introduction of Chinese ideographs, and the gradual derivation of the syllabaries, prevented the further growth of the literary tongue, and caused the existing remarkable difference between the language of books and the daily speech of the people. Written laws, whether civil or penal, were unknown, and the ideas of personal impurity, sin against supernatural powers, and offences against living persons were confounded in the general idea of pollution. Objective religion still preserved all the practices which are characteristic of the ancestor-worship from which it arose ; while the same word denoted the service of the monarch and the rites performed in honour of the gods. The point of development reached some fourteen centuries back by the Japanese people in language, religion, and social institutions is capable of being ascertained with something approaching to exactness ; and, by a comparison of the data thus obtained with what we know of the early history of other peoples, considerable light may be thrown upon the origin and progress of religion and polity amongst mankind in general.

The indigenous religion of the Japanese people, called in later times by the name of *Shintau*, or way of the gods, in order to distinguish it from the way of the Chinese moral philosophers and the way of Buddha, had at the period when Confucianism and Buddhism were introduced, passed through the earliest stage of development. Among the direct objects of worship recognised by it were deified ancestors, the elements, the sun under various aspects ; in one of which it is identified with the mikado's ancestress. Besides these, there were gods of grain ; a tree spirit ; gods whose sphere of action was limited to definite localities, such as wells, farms whence the food of the monarch was supplied, woods which furnished timber for his dwelling, streams which fed his fields with water, and roads along which pestilence might perhaps advance to attack his life. There are also traces in the early legends of the deification of particular trees, animals, swords, and even necklaces of precious stones ; but if they were at any

time objects of worship, they had ceased to be so at the date of the earliest religious compositions. On the other hand, the belief in the gods of active evil and active counteracting good, who are several times spoken of, indicates a step in advance from the worship of deceased ancestors, in which the Shiñtau religion apparently had its origin.

The sources from which our information on the subject of Shiñtau is taken are principally the "Notices of Ancient Things" (Kojiki), written in the years 711-12 A.D., the "Chronicles of Japan" (Nihongi), completed in 720, and the code of ceremonial law known as the Yeñgishiki, which was promulgated in the year 927. Both of the first two commence with an account of the cosmogony, describe the origin of gods and men, and narrate the events which took place in heaven and on earth up to the descent of the "Sovran Grandchild" into his destined kingdom, the "country of young spikes which flourishes in the midst of the reed-moor," and his death there, after which they relate at great length the fabulous conquest of the country by his descendant Hohodemi, who is usually spoken of in history by the Chinese title conferred on him at the end of the eighth century, Jiñ-mu, the Divine Warrior. To the reign of this monarch succeeds a period of four hundred years, according to the native chronology, during which interval no events of importance take place, and little else is recorded beyond the names and ages of the mikado and their consorts. Six out of the nine sovereigns who are said successively to have occupied the throne, beginning with Hohodemi and ending with Ohohihi (Kaikuwa), are stated to have lived considerably over a century, the range being from one hundred and fourteen to one hundred and thirty-seven years. The legendary actions of the next three sovereigns, whose united reigns extended over two hundred and twenty-eight years, and who lived one hundred and twenty, one hundred and forty-one, and one hundred and forty-three years respectively, are recounted with great fulness. Tradition ascribed to the first of these great devotion to the service of the gods, in the reign of the second the national pastime of wrestling was believed to have been invented, and the reign of the third was distinguished by constant wars with barbarous tribes in different parts of the country. Such memories would naturally survive long after all count of time had been lost. An interval of eighty years, occupied by two mikado of whose doings nothing is recorded, brings us to the celebrated female sovereign who invaded and conquered Korea. She and her son and grandson in succession reign two centuries all but one year, and many are the marvels related concerning them. After these personages disappear from the scene, we begin to approach a period, the events of which were not far removed

from the memory of man when the earliest records were compiled. The ages ascribed to the successive mikado from Izahowake (Richiu) downwards are all within the bounds of possibility, and though the chronology of their reigns cannot be accepted as absolutely trustworthy; and much of the supernatural still continues to be recorded as historical fact, we shall not err widely in placing the transition from the mythical period to that of history in the reign of Richiu, about the beginning of the fifth century, A.D. Most of the interesting legends about the great ones of the prehistoric age still remain locked up in the originals. Klaproth, indeed, has summarised in his introduction to "*Les Annales des Dairi*," the first three books of the *Nihongi*, but the value of his work is considerably diminished by the absence of a correct interpretation of the names of gods and heroes, without which the real import of the stories in which they figure cannot be properly appreciated. But he was apparently altogether ignorant of the "*Notices of Ancient Things*," which is of peculiar interest both to the student of mythology and to the philologist, on account of its having been composed with the avowed object of preserving the records of the past in the native tongue, while in the "*Chronicles of Japan*" there is internal evidence of an attempt to give a Chinese character to the national history. It is not too much to say that any scholar who would undertake to present the world with accurate translations into an European language of these two books would be rendering to general knowledge a far more valuable service than all the writers who have hitherto occupied themselves with Japanese matters.

Leaving the mythology of *Shiñtau* to be dealt with when it shall have been put into a more accessible form, we propose to give some account of the religion from its more active side, as presented in the ancient rituals of the chief festivals celebrated during each year at the Court of the Japanese monarchs. The priests who officiated on these occasions belonged exclusively to two families, the *Nakatomi* and the *Imibe*, both of whom were descended from inferior deities, who accompanied the "*Sovran grandchild*" when he came down upon earth. The name of the former signifies that they were intermediaries between the sovereign and the gods on the one hand, and between the sovereign and the people on the other; hence they were the principal ministers of religion and hereditary chief counsellors of the mikado. Of less importance were the *Imibe*, whose function was the preparation of the offerings made to the gods, and who officiated as chief priests only on two occasions, when the gods, from whom they claimed to have sprung, were the objects of worship. To most of these rituals it is impossible to assign a precise date. We can be certain that some of them were composed later than

the beginning of the historical period, and these are precisely the less interesting ones; but there seems every reason to believe that we have before us, in many cases, compositions which had been handed down orally for centuries before the art of writing became known, and also that they had been written down very much earlier than the date of the *Yēngishiki*, in which they have been preserved.

The offerings mentioned in the rituals consist, in nearly every case, of cloth of the *broussonetia* bark, spoken of as "bright cloth, glittering cloth, soft cloth, and coarse cloth" (for which, according to the directions for the celebration, of the different festivals, fine fabrics of silk, cotton, and hemp, were substituted when those materials became known to the Japanese), to which were added sheaves of rice in the ear and earthen jars full of the beer-like liquor brewed from that grain, vegetables of various kinds, fish, and seaweeds. In the ritual of the "Praying for Harvest," these offerings are presented conditionally upon the petition being granted, in the following words, spoken by the priest on behalf of the mikado.

"I declare, in the presence of the sovran gods of the HARVEST, If the sovran gods will bestow, in many-bundled spikes and in luxuriant spikes, the late ripening harvest which they will bestow, the late-ripening harvest, which will be produced by the dripping of foam from the arms, and by drawing the mud together between the opposing thighs, then I will fulfil their praises by presenting the first-fruits in a thousand ears, and in many hundred ears; raising high the beer-jars, filling and ranging in rows the bellies of the beer-jars, I will present them in juice and in grain. As to things which grow in the great field plain—sweet herbs and bitter herbs; as to things which dwell in the blue sea plain—things wide of fin, and things narrow of fin, down to the weeds of the offing, and weeds of the shore; and as to CLOTHES, with bright cloth, glittering cloth, soft cloth and coarse cloth will I fulfil their praises. And having furnished a white horse, a white boar, and a white cock, and the various kinds of things in the presence of the sovran gods of the HARVEST, I fulfil their praises by presenting the great OFFERINGS of the sovran GRAND-CHILD'S augustness."

Rice is the favourite cereal of the Japanese, and the strange phraseology employed to depict the labour of the peasant represents rather forcibly the process of churning the muddy soil of the swampy fields in which it is grown. The horse is explained by the commentators to be intended for the gods' personal use, and even in modern times these animals are to be seen, carefully tended in well-built stables, at the entrances of the chief *shiintau* temples. The boar was offered as food, and the function of the cock was to tell the time. This bird plays a prominent part also

in the myth of the sun-goddess's retirement into the Heavenly Cavern, on which occasion numerous cocks were collected and made to crow before the rocky door, in order to summon her back to the outer world, a myth which has been interpreted by one writer as signifying the annual change of seasons, but which the native commentators more correctly explain to be a very natural way of accounting for solar eclipses.

To certain other gods are offered mirrors, swords, bows, and spears, which is easily understood when the deities worshipped are chiefly ancestral, as in the Kasuga ritual, where one of the gods addressed is the forefather of the Nakatomi priests, and in the Hirano ritual, recited in honour of the deified warrior-prince Yamato-dake-no-mikoto. Next we find such offerings made to deified powers of Nature, which in one or two cases have been identified with the ancestors of certain chiefs, but are unusually not connected by fancied pedigrees with the human race. The most obvious explanation of this is that the deification of the powers of Nature sprang up much later than the worship of deceased human beings, and that the ceremonies which had been imagined in honour of ancestors were adapted to the service of the new objects of veneration. In the legendary history we come across a statement that one of the mikado ordered such offerings to be made at all shrines, a statement evidently invented to justify a practice which seemed otherwise not to be accounted for. Coupled with this supposition, we may cite the practice of burying horses, clothing, weapons, and even men, in the tombs of the departed, mentioned in two or three passages of the ancient literature. In modern times some of the clay images which at an early period were substituted for human beings have been dug out of graves, and afford us the means of determining the costume, and, to some extent, the decorative patterns in use among the primitive inhabitants of the Japanese islands. A remarkable confirmation of this view is afforded by the ritual of the gods of Wind, which relates that in the time of the *mikado* who had his palace at Shikishima (according to the fabulous chronology of the Nihongi, in the first century B.C.), there occurred during successive years violent storms which destroyed the crops, and after the diviners had in vain endeavoured to discover what deities were the cause of these calamities, the gods revealed themselves to him in a dream, and directed that offerings of this kind should be made in order to propitiate them. We have here no doubt an account of the first recognition of the wind as a supernatural agent, animated by living spirits, whose disposition was inferred to resemble that of other spirits once known as living men and women. If so, the same offerings would, as a matter of course, be made to them as to ancestors.

Etymology affords an additional proof that deified chieftains were the first gods. The word *kami*, which, as a generic term, is now confined to "deity," originally meant "head," and hence "chief," and still continues to bear that signification as a part of certain official titles. In the legendary history of the prehistoric age we find men and gods indiscriminately spoken of as *kami*, and the epithets "distant *kumi*" and "visible *kami*" are frequently applied to the mikado in the early poetry, the former conveying the idea of a chief raised far above his people, the latter implying that he was an incarnate deity ever present with them. It can hardly be supposed that "god" was the primitive signification of a word afterwards used to denote the monarch in relation to his subjects, or so far degraded as to be applied to the head of an administrative sub-department.

In the ritual referred to the priest commences:—

"I declare, in the presence of the Sovran gods, whose praises are fulfilled at Tatsuta.

"Because they had not allowed, firstly the five sorts of grain which the Sovran GRANDCHILD's augustness, who ruled the great country of many islands at Shikishima, took with ruddy countenance as his long and lasting food, and the things produced by the PEOPLE, down to the least leaf of the herbs, to ripen, and had spoilt them not for one year, or for two years, but for continuous years, he deigned to command: 'As to the HEART of the god which shall come forth in the divinings of all the men who are learned in things, declare what god it is.'

"Whereupon the men learned in things divined with their divinings, but they declared that no HEART of a god appears.

"When he had heard this, the Sovran GRANDCHILD's augustness deigned to conjure them, saying: 'I sought to fulfil their praises as heavenly temples and country temples, without forgetting or omitting, and have so acted, but let the god, whatever god he be, that has prevented the things produced by the people of the region under heaven from ripening, and has spoilt them, make known his Heart.

"Hereupon they made the Sovran GRANDCHILD's augustness to know in a great DREAM, and made him to know their NAMES, saying: 'Our NAMES, who have prevented the things made by the PEOPLE of the region under heaven from ripening and have spoilt them, by visiting them with bad winds and rough waters, are Heaven's PILLARS augustness and Country's PILLARS augustness.' And they made him to know, saying: 'If for the OFFERINGS which shall be set up in our presence there be furnished various sorts of OFFERINGS, as to CLOTHES, bright cloth, glittering cloth, soft cloth, and coarse cloth, and the five kinds of things, a shield, a spear, and a HORSE furnished with a SADDLE; if our HOUSE be fixed at Wonu, in Tachinu, at Tatsuta, in a place where the morning sun is opposite, and the evening sun is hidden, and praises be fulfilled in our presence, we will bless and ripen the things produced by the PEOPLE of the region under heaven, firstly the five sorts of grain, down to the least leaf of the herbs.'

“Therefore hear, all ye wardens and vergers, my declaring in the presence of the Sovran gods that, having fixed the House-pillars in the place which the Sovran gods had taught by words and made known, in order to fulfil praises in the presence of the Sovran gods, the Sovran GRANDCHILD’s augustness has caused his great OFFERINGS to be lifted up and brought, and has fulfilled their praises, sending the princes and counsellors as his messengers.”

Then follows a list of the offerings, which includes, besides the articles asked for, certain implements used by women for twisting hempen thread, destined to the goddess of wind, and the usual jars of rice-beer, rice in grain and in ear, and produce of the mountains, seas, and rivers. A few words of commentary will not be thought unnecessary here. The Sovran GRANDCHILD, mentioned in this and in the preceding extract, is the mikado, the common inheritor with all his predecessors of this title, transmitted by his ancestor, the founder of the dynasty at an epoch which even Japanese chronology scarcely attempts to define with precision, who is fabled to be the grandson of the sun-goddess, miraculous mother of many children. We use capitals in writing his name, and for numerous other words, which in the Japanese text have prefixed to them an untranslatable honorific syllable, supposed to be originally identical with a root meaning “true,” but no longer possessing that signification. “Country” in the old language and not “earth” is the correlative of “heaven,” and the word rendered temples is here used by a figure of speech for the gods to whom the temples were dedicated. “Allotment of land for a house,” represents the etymological sense of the original Japanese expression much more closely than “temple.” The title pillar, which is an emblem of immovableness, is given to the gods of wind to conciliate them, and, as it were, to persuade them to cease from moving with that violence which has been the cause of repeated injury to the standing crops, for their real names are Shinatsuhiko and Shinatobe, the long-breathed youth and long-breathed maiden.

It is worth while pausing to notice the ancient method of divination which is mentioned in a passing manner in this ritual. Before the practice of divining by the cracks in the shell of a tortoise had been introduced from China, the Japanese used the shoulder-blade of a deer for this purpose. A portion of the flat part of the bone, about five inches long and two inches wide, was scraped so thin as to be almost transparent, and then placed on a fire of cherry-wood bark until it began to split in various directions. In the lines thus produced the diviner found the sought-for answer to the inquiries propounded. It is only in the oldest Japanese books, namely the “Notices of Ancient Things,” and the first collection of poetry known as the “Collection of a Myriad Leaves,”

that we find this method of divination spoken of. In the later literature, as well as in the "Chronicles of Japan," which was intentionally written in such a way as to convey the impression that the Chinese arts of life were indigenous, we meet only with divination by the tortoiseshell. Pallas found a similar practice among the Kirghiz. He says in his "Reise durch Verschiedene Provinzen des Russischen Reichs," vol. i. p. 393: "Darnach giebt es eine Art Weissagen Jauruntschi genannt, welche aus dem Schulterblatt eines Schaafes Künftigen Dinge verkündigen, und auf alle Trage Antwort wissen. Man Sagt das Schulterblatt müsseblös mit einem Messer eingeschabt und nicht mit den Zähnen berührt sein, weil es dadurch zur Zauberei untüchtig werden soll Nachdem man dem Weissager eine Trage vorgelegt oder sich derselbe etwas im Gedanken vorgesetzt hat, legt er das Schulterblatt auf das Feuer, und wartet so lange bis die platte Seite allerley Risse und Spalten bekömmt, und aus diesen Linien weissagt er." It is difficult to suppose that we have here nothing more than a mere coincidence. On the contrary, everything points to the descent of the Japanese people in great part from a race of Turanian origin, who crossed over from the continent by way of the islands of Tsushima and Iki, which form the natural stepping-stones from Korea to Japan; and divination by the cracks in a burnt shoulder-blade is probably a practice derived by both Kirghiz and the most ancient conquerors of Japan from common ancestors. It is worthy of remark that for a long period these islands were two of the principal seats of the professional divines.

Another power of Nature adopted as an object of worship was the element fire, deified under the name of Ho-musubi, Fire-producer. It is doubtful whether the worship of this god arose directly from his association with an ancestor, though in the "List of Families" we find the names of some family groups who are said to be descended from Fire's Brightness, which may perhaps have been another epithet of the god Fire-producer, to whom is dedicated the ritual which we possess. The first mention of the service at which it is used is found in the code of administrative laws drawn up in the year 718 A.D., and republished with a commentary in 833, from which we learn that the ceremony was performed once a year at the four corners of the royal palace by the diviners. On these occasions fire was kindled by means of a drill, and was probably worshipped as the symbol of the fire-god. The fire-drill is mentioned several times in the early literature, always where fire is required for sacred purposes, and down to the present day it continues to be used at the temples of the Sun-goddess and of the Goddess of Food in kindling fire to cook the offerings. It was formed of a piece of wood of the chamae-

cyparis obtusa, in which a slight depression was hollowed out, and the point of a second piece of wood shaped like the handle of an awl was twirled in this depression with great speed and force, by being rubbed between the palms of the hands, until a flame was produced. From this use of the wood was derived the name *hi no ki*, tree of fire.

The ritual entitled the Quieting of Fire commences by a reference to the divine commission given to the *Mikado* by the creators, their ancestors, to perform in honour of the gods those rites to which each was entitled. Next succeeds the history of the birth of Fire, and of the other gods begotten by his mother to counteract his violence, which is to be found in a slightly different form in the "Notices of Ancient Things," and ends with an address to the god, in which various offerings are promised to him as an inducement to spare the palace of the mikado from the effects of his wrath.

"I declare with the great ritual, the heavenly ritual, which was bestowed on him at the time when, by the WORD of the Sovran's dear progenitor and progenitrix, who divinely remain in the plain of high heaven, they bestowed on him the region under heaven, saying: 'Let the Sovran GRANDCHILD'S augustness tranquilly rule over the country of fresh spikes which flourishes in the midst of the reed-moor, as a peaceful region.

"When the two pillars, the divine Izanagi and Izanami's augustness, younger sister and elder brother, had intercourse, and she had deigned to bear the many tens of countries of the countries, and the many tens of islands of the islands, and had deigned to bear the many hundred myriads of gods, she also deigned to bear her dear youngest child of all, the Fire-producer god, and her HIDDEN PARTS being burnt, she hid in the rocks, and said: 'My dear elder brother's augustness, deign not to look upon me for seven nights of nights and seven days of sunshine;' but when, before the seven days were fulfilled, he looked, thinking her remaining hidden to be strange, she deigned to say: 'My HIDDEN PARTS were burnt when I bore fire. At such a time I said, 'My dear elder brother's augustness, deign not to look upon me, but you violently looked upon me;' and after saying, 'My dear elder brother's augustness shall rule the upper country; I will rule the lower country,' she deigned to hide in the rocks, and having come to the flat hill of darkness, she thought and said: 'I have come hither, having born and left a bad-hearted child in the upper country, ruled over by my illustrious elder brother's augustness,' and going back she bore other children. Having born the water-goddess, the gourd, the river-weed, and the clay-hill maiden, four sorts of things, she taught them with words, and made them to know, saying: 'If the heart of this bad-hearted child becomes violent, let the water-goddess take the gourd, and the clay-hill maiden take the river-weed, and pacify him.'

"In consequence of this I fulfil his praises, and say that for the things set up, so that he may deign not to be awfully quick of heart

in the great place of the Sovran GRANDCHILD's augustness, there are provided bright cloth, glittering cloth, soft cloth, and coarse cloth, and the five kinds of things; as to things which dwell in the blue sea plain, there are things wide of fin and things narrow of fin, down to the weeds of the offing and weeds of the shore; as to LIQUOR, raising high the beer-jars, filling and ranging in rows the bellies of the beer-jars, piling the offerings up, even to rice in grain and rice in ear, like a range of hills, I fulfil his praises with the great ritual, the heavenly ritual."

This ritual presents several striking examples of the confusion between objects and the deities connected with them, which was natural to the primitive man, before he had arrived at what would now be called a clear idea of the distinction between matter and spirit. Izanagi and Izanami are here said to have begotten the provinces and islands which make up Japan, and there is nothing to lead us to suppose that anything else than the natural mode of birth is meant. The same word is used for bearing an island and for bearing a god. In one place this terrible youngest child of the progenitors of all things is called the Fire-producer god, while a little further on Izanami herself speaks of him simply as the element Fire, and again, the water and clay goddesses, along with the gourd and the river-weed, are called children, and are yet spoken of as "things." That the clay goddess is brought in here as one of man's protectors against the ravages of fire seems to show that the Japanese had at a very early period learnt how to build fire proof chambers of clay; and the fact that such an apartment existed in the palace of one of the earlier historical mikado proves that the discovery is by no means a modern one. The river-weed is to this day universally used as an ornament of the last row of tiles which overhang the eaves of a Japanese house, and was probably from the first employed simply as a charm against fire, while the mention of the gourd, or calabash, which, when split in half down the middle, serves as a ladle, suggests that this ritual was first used at a time when the cooper's art was still unknown.

The ancient Japanese worshipped many other powers of Nature, such as thunder, under the name of the "Sounding Great Harumer," lightning and earthquakes, and they imagined deities to dwell in and rule the sea, rivers, and hot springs, mountains, trees and roads, gates, courtyards, and wells. Such abstractions as Pestilence, Good, and Evil were also deified, and rites were performed in their honour. Of these gods some were worshipped on appointed days of the year, as well as at irregular intervals, whenever, in consequence of a special manifestation of their powers, it became necessary to propitiate them with gifts. Pestilence was sometimes attributed to the anger of a god justly

offended at the neglect shown to his memory. A legend in the "Chronicles of Japan" relates that in the reign of the mikado canonised many centuries later under the title of the "God-honouring Heavenly-sovran," a plague fell upon the people and slew more than half of them, filling the survivors with fear and distrust of their ruler. To turn aside the wrath of the gods, he removed the altars of the sun-goddess and of the god of the province of Yamato from his palace to new temples built in their honour, and appointed two virgin priestesses to render them service. But the plague did not abate, and after penitently declaring to his counsellors the belief that he had offended the gods by misrule, he had recourse to divination in order to learn the cause of the calamity which had overtaken his kingdom. Then a god entered into the body of a princess, and speaking by her mouth, said: "Why grievest thou that thy realm is misgoverned? If thou wilt reverently perform rites in my honour, it will be at peace." The god then declared his name, and his worship was duly celebrated, but still no sign was given. Thereupon the mikado purified his palace, and after reproaching the god for not being satisfied with the marks of veneration which had been shown, besought him to make his will known in a dream. That night there appeared to him the vision of a majestic person, who said: "Let not the sovran grieve that the land is misgoverned. My will is the cause of the plague. If thou wilt order my child Ohotataneko to perform the rites in my honour, then all will be well." The same vision having appeared likewise to the before-mentioned princess and to two other persons in the same night, proclamation was made throughout the country, until Ohotataneko was discovered. On being brought before the mikado he declared in the presence of all the assembled princes and chieftains that he was the child of Ohomononushi. He was at once made high priest of the god, to whom suitable offerings were made, the result being that the pestilence ceased, and the people resumed their callings. Here we have a myth partly devised to explain the connexion of an hereditary family of priests with the god whose shrine they served; it is possible that the claim to be directly descended from the god had been disputed. In many cases, however, such pretensions were recognised as perfectly valid, and the temples of several principal gods are still at this day in the charge of their descendants, affording collateral evidence in support of the theory that gods were at first deified ancestors. It is not difficult to see from this legend that the idea of such calamities being caused by an offended ancestor would naturally give rise to the worship of gods of pestilence, and after a while it would be supposed that none but bad spirits would so afflict mankind. At least, this is what happened in the evolution of

Japanese belief on the subject. Ohomononushi did not come to be looked upon as the god of pestilence, but there grew up a worship of certain malevolent spirits, who were propitiated by offerings, and besought, instead of entering the city, to betake themselves to the mountain streams and there remain in peace. The ritual begins with a recital of the events which preceded the descent of the mikado's ancestor from heaven, describes the erection of his palace in the region which he had chosen for the seat of his government, and after adjuring the evil gods to abstain from indulging their natural dispositions, enumerates the offerings with which they are to be propitiated. It is one of the most difficult to render into readable English, on account of the long attributive clauses which form a peculiar feature in Japanese construction, and in the case of this composition are longer than usual. At the beginning of the ninth century the festival was celebrated once annually at the four corners of the capital city by the diviners, immediately before the Quieting of Fire.

" I (the diviner), declare: When by the WORD of the progenitor and progenitrix, who divinely remaining in the plain of high heaven, deigned to make the beginning of things, they divinely deigned to assemble the many hundred myriads of gods in the high city of heaven, and deigned divinely to take counsel in council, saying: 'When we cause our Sovran GRANDCHILD's augustness to leave heaven's eternal seat, to cleave a path with might through heaven's manifold clouds, and to descend from heaven, with orders tranquilly to rule the country of fresh spikes, which flourishes in the midst of the reed-moor as a peaceful country, what god shall we send first to divinely sweep away, sweep away and subdue the gods who are turbulent in the country of fresh spikes;' all the gods pondered and declared: 'You shall send Amenohohi's augustness, and subdue them,' declared they. Wherefore they sent him down from heaven, but he did not declare an answer; and having next sent Takemikuma's augustness, he also, obeying his father's words, did not declare an answer. Ame-no-waka-hiko also, whom they sent, did not declare an answer, but immediately perished by the calamity of a bird on high. Wherefore they pondered afresh by the WORD of the heavenly gods, and having deigned to send down from heaven the two pillars of gods, Futsunushi and Takemika-dzuchi's augustness, who having deigned divinely to sweep away, and sweep away, and deigned divinely to soften, and soften the gods who were turbulent, and silenced the rocks, trees, and the least leaf of herbs likewise that had spoken, they caused the Sovran grandchild's augustness to descend from heaven.

" I fulfil your praises, saying: As to the OFFERINGS set up, so that the SOVRAN gods who come into the heavenly HOUSE of the Sovran GRANDCHILD's augustness, which, after he had fixed upon as a peaceful country—the country of great Yamato where the sun is high, as the centre of the countries of the four quarters bestowed upon him when he was thus sent down from heaven—stoutly planting the HOUSE-pillars

on the bottom-most rocks, and exalting the cross-beams to the plain of high heaven, the builders had made for his SHADE from the heavens and SHADE from the sun, and wherein he will tranquilly rule the country as a peaceful country—may, without deigning to be turbulent, deigning to be fierce, and deigning to hurt, knowing, by virtue of their divinity, the things which were begun in the plain of high heaven, deigning to correct with Divine-correcting and Great-correcting, remove hence out to the clean places of the mountain-streams which look far away over the four quarters, and rule them as their own place. Let the Sovran gods tranquilly take with clear HEARTS, as peaceful OFFERINGS and sufficient OFFERINGS the great OFFERINGS which I set up, piling them upon the tables like a range of hills, providing bright cloth, glittering cloth, soft cloth, and coarse cloth, as a thing to see plain in—a mirror: as things to play with—beads: as things to shoot off with—a bow and arrows: as a thing to strike and cut with—a sword: as a thing which gallops out—a horse; as to LIQUOR—raising high the beer-jars, filling and ranging in rows the bellies of the beer-jars, with grains of rice and ears; as to the things which dwell in the hills—things soft of hair, and things rough of hair; as to the things which grow in the great field plain—sweet herbs and bitter herbs; as to the things which dwell in the blue sea plain—things broad of fin and things narrow of fin, down to weeds of the offing and weeds of the shore, and without deigning to be turbulent, deigning to be fierce, and deigning to hurt, remove out to the wide and clean places of the mountain-streams, and by virtue of their divinity be tranquil.”

According to the legend in the “Notices of Ancient Things,” Ame-no-ho-hi was the brother of Ame-no-oshi-ho-mimi, and, like him, produced from the mist which the sun-goddess’s younger brother Susanowo blew from his mouth, after chewing the chaplet of beads which he had taken from her hair. From the elder of the pair, adopted as her child by the sun-goddess, the mikado were fabled to be descended, while from the younger came the chieftains of the province of Idzumo, who were the first occupants of the land before the advent of the present race of Japanese monarchs. Concerning Ame-waka-hiko the legend continues to say that he shot the pheasant whom the gods had sent to look after him, and the arrow passing upwards into heaven, fell at the feet of the sun-goddess and the Lofty-Producer as they were sitting in the peaceful river-bed of heaven, by which name the milky way is spoken of in the myths. The Lofty-Producer lifted up the arrow, and saying, “If this arrow has been discharged by Ame-waka-hiko in slaying the evil gods, let it not strike him; but if he has a filthy heart, let this arrow be his death,” flung it back through the hole in the sky by which it had entered. The shaft pierced the bosom of the faithless messenger as he was lying in his lair, and slew him. In this way he is said to have perished by a calamity caused by a bird on high. By “the things begun in heaven” is meant the choice of the sun-goddess’s

adopted child as ruler over the world, his resignation in favour of his own son, the despatch of messengers to pacify and subdue the terrestrial gods, and all the other circumstances which preceded the descent of Ninigi-no-mikoto. Divine-Correcting and Great-Correcting are the gods of Good, created to counteract the actions of the gods of Evil, who are here besought to correct their own evil dispositions after the example of their correlatives. In the banishment of the gods of evil to the "clean places of the mountain-streams" is seen an evidence of the way in which the idea of calamity was associated with that of pollution, which we shall have occasion to speak of further on.

In close connexion with the foregoing ritual, so close that the two were confounded by the official compilers of the collection in which they have come down to us, stands that of the Road gods, whose function was to guard the highways, and keep out the demons who were supposed to be constantly attempting to force their way in from the infernal regions. Two of these gods, named Youth and Maiden of the Many Road-forkings, originated, according to the myth, from the rock with which Izanagi, when returning from the nether world, blocked up the road, in order to prevent the demons from following him, and the third, who is called Come-no-further Gate, was the staff Izanagi threw so that it stuck in the ground, and changing into a gate, protected him from his pursuers. In comparatively modern times these deities were confounded with a Chinese god of roads, under which title they are worshipped to the present day, sometimes in the form of a lingam, or more often by the inscription of the name "God of Roads" on a block of stone erected at the entrance of a village. The association of the lingam with the road gods appears to be a remnant of the ancient practice of using the male organ of generation as the symbol of gods of the male sex.

"He (the priest) says: I declare in the presence of the sovran gods, who like innumerable piles of rocks, sit closing up the way in the multitudinous road-forkings. . . . I fulfil your praises by declaring your NAMES, Youth and Maiden of the Many Road-forkings and Come-no-further Gate, and say: for the OFFERINGS set-up so that you may prevent [the servants of the monarch] from being poisoned by and agreeing with the things which shall come roughly-acting and hating from the Root-country, the Bottom-country, that you may guard the bottom [of the gate] when they come from the bottom, guard the top when they come from the top, guarding with nightly guard and with daily guard, and may praise them—peacefully take the great OFFERINGS which are set-up by piling them up like a range of hills, that is to say, providing bright cloth, &c. . . . and sitting closing-up the way like innumerable piles of rock in the multitudinous road-forkings, deign to praise the sovran GRANDCHILD'S augustness eternally and unchangingly, and to bless his age as a luxuriant AGE."

Besides the two rituals dedicated to the service of the deities who protect the grandchild of the Sun against all kinds of pestilence and calamity, there are others addressed to the gods who gave the timber of which his palace-hut was built, and the rushes with which it was thatched, to those who sat in its gateways to guard them against the approach of treason and corruption, and to those guardian deities who watched over the personal well-being of the monarch, and insured the tranquillity of his reign. As the Praying for Harvest was celebrated in the early part of the year, so, after the rice-crops were gathered in, the mikado offered to the gods to whose benevolent care these fruits of the soil were owed, tokens of gratitude for the fulfilment of his prayers. This was an annual festival, but when celebrated in the year of a mikado's accession to the throne, it assumed the significance attached to the coronation of a western sovereign, and special ceremonies were employed to mark the occasion. It was by sharing the produce of the fields with the gods who gave seed-corn to the founder of the dynasty when he took possession of his kingdom, that the grandchild of the Sun vindicated his tenure of the territories confided by her to the care of his semi-divine ancestors. By the ritual called the Joy-wishing of the Great Hall, we are carried back to the period when even the dwelling of the mikado was merely a hut constructed of posts planted in the ground which, in the absence of nails, were tied together with ropes, and so shaky was the erection that it was necessary to pray that the joints of the pillars, rafters, roof-pole, doors, and windows might make no creaking noise. The prayer to be defended from "the calamities of birds flying over the roof-hole, and from calamities of crawling worms," shows the primitive means of getting rid of smoke, which even to this day has never been superseded, and that snakes were objects of real alarm, because the floors were not raised sufficiently high to protect the inmates against the stealthy attacks of those reptiles. In honour of the guardian deities of the mikado's house, a concert of music was executed on the harp and flute, succeeded by songs and dances, performed by virgin priestesses and officers of the court. A similar festival had for its object the protection of the mikado against sickness, by "tranquillising his soul," and inducing it not to quit his body. Etymology here affords us another illustration of the way in which the idea of soul first arose. In Japanese the word for "soul" is compounded of *tama*, a name for precious stones, hence used as an adjective meaning precious, *shi* breath, and *hi* fire, the warmth of the breath naturally suggesting the notion of an internal fire which produced this heat, to which the name "breath-fire" was consequently given. The analogy with the western "spirit" is only one of innumerable instances which show how the human mind has worked alike in regions too

remote from each other to admit of the possibility of mutual communication.

The central place, both in the mythology and in the religious worship of the ancient Japanese, is occupied by the sun, usually entitled the From-heaven-shining-great-DEITY, and recognised as a female. Legend makes this goddess the daughter of Izanagi, begotten by him in a miraculous manner out of his right eye, while the corresponding deity, the moon-god, proceeded from his left. But this genealogy reverses the order of the generation of the myth. In the "Notices of Ancient Things," the three original deities who existed before all things are called the "Lord-in-the-very-centre-of-Heaven, the Lofty-PRODUCER, and the Divine-PRODUCER, besides whom we find mentioned in the ritual of the Praying for Harvest three other creator-deities named Vivifying-producer, Fulfilling-producer, and Soul-lodging-producer; and even then the list of "producers" is not exhausted. The most natural explanation of these numerous names is that they were originally synonymous epithets of the sun, denoting the various aspects under which it was contemplated as working benefits for the human race, and this supposition is confirmed by the mention in several places of a deity entitled From-heaven-shining-PRODUCER, which is manifestly the sun. Lord-in-the-very-centre-of-heaven is an extremely apt epithet for the great luminary, probably chosen after it had been recognised as an object of adoration. It in no way conflicts with the belief that the sun-deity was of the female sex, for the word rendered lord, being of no gender, may just as correctly be translated lady. Sometimes the Divine-PRODUCER and the Lofty-PRODUCER are spoken of together as the progenitor and progenitrix of the mikado, while on other occasions the From-heaven-shining-great-DEITY is substituted for the Divine-PRODUCER, and in one place the Sun-goddess is called both progenitor and progenitrix. There were a few temples sacred to the Lofty-PRODUCER, and a great many dedicated to the sun; and while there is nothing surprising in the fact of several temples being dedicated to the same god under different titles, from the non-existence of temples of the "Lord-in-the-very-centre-of-heaven, the-Divine-PRODUCER and others, it would be perfectly reasonable to infer that these were not originally separate deities. The only fact which seems inconsistent with this theory is that there were at least two noble families in the beginning of the ninth century who still claimed descent from the Lord-in-the-very-centre-of-heaven, and one which traced its origin to the Goddess of Food, child of the Divine-PRODUCER. This, however, does not count for much, for we see clearly, from the enumeration of all these synonyms as the names of separate deities in the Harvest Ritual, that they had long been regarded in that light, perhaps from a time anterior to the practice of identi-

ying ancestors with gods. On the whole it appears a safe conclusion that these names were originally synonymous titles devised in honour of a single deity, the sun-goddess. The question how the sun came to be identified with the mikado's ancestors is probably to be answered in the same manner as the question of the origin of pedigrees beginning with animals. Used at first as epithets denoting strength, fierceness, swiftness, and other personal qualities, valued by men whose life was spent in the chase, they lost their symbolical meaning in the mouths of descendants of the first bearers of such names, who ended by believing that their original ancestors were the animals themselves. A similar metaphorical use of the word *hi*, sun, has been followed by similar consequences in Japan. The words *hiko* and *hime*, rendered for the sake of convenience by youth and maiden, which were their closest equivalents in the literature of the middle period, are compounded of *hi* (which also means fire) and two roots, *ko* and *me*, meaning respectively male and female. *Ki* and *mi* are other forms of the same two roots which are found in *okina* and *omina*, man and woman, and can be recognised in the names of the all-parents, Izanagi and Izanami, as well as in their epithets *kamurogi* and *kamuromi*, which are most conveniently translated by the terms progenitor and progenitrix. *Ko* and *me* occur again in *wotoko* and *wotome*, younger male and younger female, which in the prehistoric age had already assumed their present meanings of man (as opposed to woman), and virgin. *Hiko* and *hime* evidently signified sun male and sun female: they were applied at first as titles of honour, and as such are constantly found, forming part of the names of legendary as well as historical mikado of the two sexes. It is not a hazardous supposition that the practice of calling the monarch a sun-male led in time to the belief that he was really of the same race as that luminary, especially as the title *kami*, which started by meaning chief, was, as we have already pointed out, applied to both with very little distinction of signification. After the notion of supernatural beings had once been formed, the first of the powers of Nature, to which an informing spirit was naturally the sun, to whose beneficent workings men were indebted for warmth and for the ripening of fruits and grain. Hence the epithets which recognise the sun as the source of life and the creator of souls. The surpassing splendour of sunset and sunrise can hardly have failed to create a feeling of reverence in the mind of the primitive man, while the glorious orb which shone down upon him from the blue sky at mid day must have filled his heart with joy and gratitude. Under the influence of such feelings must have arisen the names of From-heaven-shining-great-DEITY and Lord-in-the-very-centre-of-Heaven, which so fitly expressed the attributes of the new goddess. That the sun is recognised as female is probably due to the

earliest remembered ancestor of the mikado having been a distinguished woman, and is not based on any notion of sex inherent in inanimate objects. It is in direct opposition to the views of Chinese natural philosophy, which make the sun male and the moon female.

The pedigree of the sun-goddess was constructed afterwards, when the position of younger brother had been assigned to the moon, and it became necessary to explain how the pair had come into existence. In Izanagi, their miraculous parent, and his consort Izanami, we find a mythical couple whose name signify the male-who-invites and the female-who-invites, appropriate to the first beings who were conscious of a difference of sex. These begot in succession the islands which form the Japanese archipelago; the gods of the mountains, rivers, seas, woods, of wind and fire while reascending from them; the different epithets of the sun-goddess, which had lost their signification as mere synonyms, were supposed to be the names of the gods who had preceded her parents; and thus the starting point of the mythology was placed in the personality of the Lord-in-the-very-centre-of-Heaven, conceived as a self-existent, mysterious and invisible being, possessed of infinite and absolute power.

In the earliest ages the shrine of the sun-goddess stood in the mikado's residence, as one of his family gods, and her emblem was the mirror, which is to the present day one of the sacred treasures of the Japanese sovereigns. As we have already seen, the occurrence of a great national calamity at some period during the prehistoric age was the cause of her worship being removed to a separate temple; and it was finally established at Watarahi, in the province of Isé. To the same spot was afterwards brought the shrine of the Goddess of Food; and the two deities henceforth occupied together the chief place in the Japanese pantheon. The number of annual ceremonies performed in their honour was greater than fell to the portion of any other gods; and the rituals to be used on each occasion, both by the members of the priestly family of Nakatomi—sent as the envoy of the mikado—and by the high priest of the two temples, were strictly prescribed compositions. At the presentation of offerings, on the seventeenth day of the sixth moon, the following ritual was addressed to the sun-goddess:—

“He (the priest envoy) says: Hear all of you, ministers of the gods and sanctifiers of offerings, the great ritual, the heavenly ritual, declared in the great presence of the From-heaven-shining-great-DEITY, whose praises are fulfilled by setting up the stout pillars of the great HOUSE, and exalting the cross-beams to the plain of high heaven at the sources of the Isuzu river at Udji in Watarahi.

“He says: It is the sovran's great WORD. Hear all of you, ministers of the gods and sanctifiers of offerings, the fulfilling of praises on this

seventeenth day of the sixth moon of this year, as the morning sun goes up in glory, of the Oho-Nakatomi, who—having abundantly piled up like a range of hills the TRIBUTE thread and sanctified LIQUOR and FOOD presented as of usage by the people of the deity's houses attributed to her in the three departments and in various countries and places, so that she deign to bless his [the mikado's] LIFE as a long LIFE and his AGE as a luxuriant AGE eternally and unchangingly as multitudinous piles of rock; may deign to bless the CHILDREN who are born to him, and deigning to cause to flourish the five kinds of grain which the men of a hundred functions and the peasants of the countries in the four quarters of the region under heaven long and peacefully cultivate and eat, and guarding and benefiting them deign to bless them—is hidden by the great offering-wands."

In the praying for harvest, which was celebrated at the mikado's residence, thanksgivings were offered to the sun-goddess for bestowing upon her descendant dominion over land and sea, in a passage which possesses considerable poetical merit:—

"I declare in the great presence of the From-heaven-shining-great-DEITY who sits in Isé. Because the sovran great GODDESS bestows on him the countries of the four quarters over which her glance extends, as far as the limit where heaven stands up like a wall, as far as the bounds where the country stands up distant, as far as the limit where the blue clouds spread flat, as far as the bounds where the white clouds lie away fallen—the blue sea plain as far the limit whither come the prows of the ships without drying poles or paddles, the ships which continuously crowd on the great sea plain, and the roads which men travel by land, as far as the limit whither come the horses' hoofs, with the baggage-cords tied tightly, treading the uneven rocks and tree-roots and standing up continuously in a long path without a break—making the narrow countries wide and the hilly countries plain, and as it were drawing together the distant countries by throwing many tens of ropes over them—he will pile up the first-fruits like a range of hills in the great presence of the sovran great GODDESS, and will peacefully enjoy the remainder."

Similar honours were paid to the goddess of food, who, under another name, was worshipped at Hirosé as well as at Isé. Hirosé stood at the junction of two rivers, and the chief object of the two yearly festivals celebrated in the fourth and seventh moons was to pray that the goddess would moderate the strength of the streams which flowed out of the mountain gorges past her temple, and calm the violence of the winds which blew down the ravines, so that the growing crops might be preserved from the destructive action of flood and storm. Besides the usual offerings of cloth, the produce of the chase and of the fisherman's net, with rice and liquor, there were presented a horse, spear, and shield to this goddess, in consequence of her having been assumed to be the founder of one of the noble families. The ritual used on these occasions, which has been preserved with the others, is

evidently corrupt, and possesses little independent value, being almost entirely made up of passages from those which have already been quoted.

We have now reviewed all the chief rituals which are concerned with the presentation of gifts to the gods, either to appease their wrath, to obtain temporal blessings, or out of gratitude for benefits already received. In the course of our remarks we have seen reason to suggest that out of the practice of burying with dead chieftains objects of value or utility, there arose a belief in the existence of invisible beings of superior power and goodness, who presided over various departments of natural phenomena, and that these spirits, by a process not traceable in every case, were for the most part identified with the ancestors of living persons. It was a matter of course to make the same offerings to these deified abstractions as had hitherto been made to real ancestors, and the rule once established was applied in the worship of all the gods, whatever their origin. These rites and ceremonies formed the practical manifestations of objective religion, which everywhere comes earlier in the order of development, while subjective religion, the notions of good and evil, and the consciousness of sin against the supernatural beings who rule man's fate, attain a definite form much later. It has hitherto been believed upon the authority of some native scholars that Shiñtau taught no system of morals, and in comparison with the elaborate ethical doctrines of the Buddhist priests and Chinese philosophers, it possesses little worthy of the name. Nevertheless, it is possible to show that the indigenous belief of the ancient Japanese contained unformed materials, out of which might have evolved in the course of ages both positive morality and law, had not the process been interrupted at an early stage by the advent of teachers from beyond the seas, who brought with them ready-made codes and dogmas, the superior and indisputable authority of which was at once apparent to the minds of a people only too ready to receive impressions from without. In the ritual of the General Purification we have the evidence of this statement.

The rite of purification was originally two-fold, that is, it consisted in washing a polluted person in a running stream, and in destroying his clothing, and these ceremonies, necessitated at first by actual defilement, continued afterwards to be performed in a symbolic manner in order to discharge a moral pollution. Part of the General Purification, when it became a fixed semi-annual festival, consisted in measuring the mikado for clothes, supposed to be cast into the nearest river, but which were in reality given to the attendants, while iron figures were dressed up and thrown into the river as substitutes. The ceremony of washing gradually fell into disuse, or survived at most in the practice observed by

worshippers at a temple of dipping their fingers in the sacred water which stands by the steps, previous to prostrating themselves before the god. When the meaning of pollution was extended so as to include actions which people in a more advanced state denote as crimes, to the casting away of garments was added the sacrifice by way of expiation of such articles as were most valuable to men living in primitive circumstances. Thus was discovered a means of fining offenders, and perhaps, also, though we have no proof of it, a mode of obtaining compensation for a man who had been injured in his person or property. In the beginning of the ninth century we find that four degrees of "purification" had been established, in proportion to the gravity of various pollutions and offences, and distinguished by the quantities of the things offered in expiation, Horses, swords, bows and arrows, food, the skins of wild animals, utensils of all kinds, the raw material of cloth and a host of other articles, in fact very much the same classes of things as were offered to the gods in propitiation, or as marks of gratitude, are mentioned in the regulation of the year 810. Besides the purifications imposed on individuals known to be guilty of one form or other of offence or pollution, it was the practice to perform general purifications throughout the country after the occurrence of a grave calamity, such as the death of the mikado, or the outbreak of a plague, so as to avert the further anger of the gods, by cleansing the whole people from the unknown defilements and offences which had brought punishment upon the land. On these occasions the sacrifices offered at the capital were provided out of the treasury and storehouses of the sovereign, while in the provinces the governors and people had to contribute according to their rank and means. Eventually it became a settled rule to perform the ceremony twice a year, on the last day of the sixth and twelfth moons, not only at the residence of the mikado, but also at every chief local shrine in the land, and it is the ritual used at the capital on these occasions which has been preserved in the Ceremonial Regulations of the chronological period *Yœngi* (901-923).

The offences mentioned in the ritual as requiring purification are there divided into heavenly and earthly, the former including mischievous acts done with the intention of injuring a neighbour's crops, the flaying of animals alive, and the pollution of sacred places, while wounding a living person, or hacking at a dead body, leprosy, incest, bestiality, the use of incantations, killing cattle, death by lightning, and one or two other mishaps are enumerated in the second class. This apparently arbitrary division may have arisen in one of two ways. The so-called heavenly offences are chiefly such as would be possible only in an agricultural community, or to agriculturists living in the midst of a

population of hunters and fishermen. Now, there is good reason to believe that the immigrants from the continent of Asia who originally settled in the province of Idzumo, the seat of the earliest Japanese civilisation, were tillers of the ground. They conquered and ruled the aboriginal hunters and fishermen, but the two races, instead of amalgamating, for a long time separately pursued their hereditary occupations. That men who apparently came from the sea had in reality descended from heaven was an idea easily accepted, and a celestial origin being thus attributed to the superior part of the community, the word heavenly would be adopted generally to express whatever was peculiar to their mode of life, and in enumerating the offences of the whole people was consequently applied to offences which could only be committed by the agricultural class. At the same time it is quite possible that the distinction is wholly of mythical origin, and takes its rise from the legend according to which Susanowo devastated the rice-fields of his sister the sun-goddess, defiled her palace, and having flayed a piebald horse backwards, threw the skin into the room where she sat weaving cloth in the midst of her maidens. All of these offences are supposed to have been committed by him in heaven, and as they include two kinds of actions, the performance of which is not necessarily confined to any section of a people, perhaps it is safer to adopt the opinion of the Japanese commentators, who explain the distinctions as based solely on the myth.

A more logical division of the offences, by which they are classed according to their real character, is into, first, offences properly so called, such as ruining a neighbour's crops by flooding his fields, or killing his cattle by magic arts; secondly, misfortunes, such as death from lightning or from snake-bite; and thirdly, pollutions of various kinds. Among the latter are included wounding a living person or a dead body, leprosy and proud flesh, crimes such as incest and bestiality, to which are to be added death by fire or drowning, enumerated in the Book of Rites of the temples at Isé among "earthly offences." The shedding of blood was held to defile both the shedder and the person whose blood was shed, an idea which has left its indelible mark in the language, where the most common word for wound or hurt is *kega*, defilement, and a wounded person is called a "defilement man." Death, in whatever way it occurred, whether in the course of Nature, by accident, or by violence, was a source of pollution to the surviving relations and members of the household, and has continued to be so regarded even in modern times. Of the three "offences" specially designated calamities, two at least were originally regarded as causes of pollution, namely, death from lightning (calamity of a god on high), and the defile-

ment of the house-interior by birds flying over or perching on the smoke-hole in the roof. Death from snake-bite was no doubt at first regarded as a pollution, but as in the other two cases just named, it was perceived that the sufferer was in no way responsible, and the idea of mishap eventually replaced that of pollution in connexion with it. That leprosy and proud flesh should have continued to be regarded as unclean is no doubt owing to the intense feeling of disgust, stronger than pity in a barbaric race, which such diseases excite. Whatever may have been meant by proud flesh, leprosy at least was regarded as contagious, and the leper was held unfit to associate with the rest of mankind. The appearance of a burnt or drowned corpse likewise caused a feeling of repulsion that led to these modes of death being retained among causes of defilement. By a metaphorical extension of the prevailing notion, the various forms of incest, namely, with a man's own mother or daughter, or with the daughter or mother of the woman with whom he cohabited, were added to the list, and also unnatural crimes committed with cows, mares, bitches, and hens, according to the enumeration in a passage of the "Notices of Ancient Things." It is worthy of notice that incest with a sister is not spoken of, and seeing that in early Japanese the word *imo* is used for both sister and wife, it appears probable that such unions were not considered objectionable. Certainly, in later times there is evidence that marriages, though forbidden between children of the same mother, were allowed between children of one father by different mothers.

It is evident from all this that by far the larger proportion of actions which are to be found anywhere enumerated in the Japanese religious books as offences, were originally looked upon as causes of pollution; and this notion was the germ of the ancient classification of actions into good and bad. If the word *tsumi*, which we are forced by its modern applications to render "offence," had from the first possessed that signification and no other, it is difficult to see how it could have come to be applied, as we have seen that it was, to a large class of occurrences which were either unavoidable misfortunes, or at worst, the result of carelessness. Moreover, the word *tsumi* itself conveyed at first no idea of guilt, but simply expressed something that was disagreeable, whether in the acts or the appearance of men. In fact, we have here one of those numerous cases discoverable by students of early history, in which a word starting with a general, undefined, obscure signification, fitly corresponding to the vague notion of the men who use it, gradually becomes restricted in its application to one of the ideas which emerge out of the chaos, and thus obtains a distinct and unequivocal meaning, while other new terms are adopted to express the remaining products of the medley.

Amongst the so-called heavenly offences are several which, as we have before observed, are proper to an agricultural population, namely, breaking down the ridges which inclose the rice-fields, and so draining them of the water indispensable to the preparation of the soil for planting out the young rice; filling up the water-courses, opening the sluices by which the irrigation is regulated; and so either flooding the fields when they should have been left dry, or wasting the water stored up for future requirements; sowing the seed a second time in the crowded nurseries of young rice-plants, thereby hindering their development, and concealing sharpened stakes in the swampy bottoms of the fields, so as to injure the feet of those who went down to prepare the soil for planting, or to clear the growing rice from weeds. Together with these must be placed the practice of killing a neighbour's horses and cattle, kept as beasts of burden, by magic arts; or what is more likely, as the etymology of the word suggests, by the mixture of poison with their food. It is worthy of note, that theft is nowhere mentioned; a fact which suggests that this ritual owes its origin to a very primitive condition of society, in which theft was impossible, owing to the non-existence of valuable property of a portable nature, and where the life in common was so open to observation that such a crime, even if attempted, could not have escaped immediate detection. The goods belonging to the primitive groups were owned in common by all the members; so that if the idea of appropriating any object to his own use ever occurred to an individual, it would be a very simple matter to frustrate his intention, without holding him to be guilty of an offence. In fact, the conception of wrongful acquisition of individual property in a thing could not precede the general recognition of rightful private ownership. Under a patriarchal despotism such as existed in the earliest times, the only persons against whom it was possible to offend were the chieftain and his deified ancestors, who were more likely to be displeased with marks of disrespect, such as the defilement of the sacred places, or with the appearance before them of disease or deformity, than by such acts as would be condemned according to a modern code of ethics. It was by treating a murderous assault on another member of the community as a blood-pollution that it first became possible to punish such acts. When injuries to the person had been thus recognised as offences, the original idea had become already considerably extended, and the tendency thus set up enabled injuries to the crops planted by another, or to the animals used in carrying on the agricultural pursuits on which life was dependent, to be included under the term. We see here distinctly the germ of a criminal law; that was, however, not destined to come to maturity. Of civil law there was no question then, for the notions on which it is based

have, in Eastern Asia, arisen only after the criminal law has been completely systematised.

The ritual opens by calling upon the assembled princes of the mikado's family, the ministers of state, and all other officials, to listen, in words which are a modern addition after the establishment of a form of administration modelled on that of the Chinese. To this succeeds a second enumeration of the sovereign's servants, according to the old division, into scarf-wearing companies (women attendants), sash-wearing companies (cooks), quiver-bearing and sword-bearing companies (guards), with which begins the genuine ancient text. The nature of the mikado's title to rule over the land is then stated, as in the ritual of the gods of pestilence, already quoted, after which we have a list of the offences of which the nation is to be purged.

“ Amongst the various sorts of offences which may be committed in ignorance or out of negligence by heaven's increasing people, who shall come into being in the country, which the SOVRAN GRANDCHILD'S augustness, hiding in the fresh RESIDENCE, built by stoutly planting the HOUSE-pillars on the bottom-most rocks, and exalting the cross-beams to the plain of high heaven, as his SHADE from the heavens and SHADE from the sun, shall tranquilly rule as a peaceful country, namely, the country of great Yamato, where the sun is seen on high, which he fixed upon as a peaceful country, as the centre of the countries of the four quarters thus bestowed upon him—breaking the ridges, filling up watercourses, opening sluices, double sowing, planting stakes, flaying alive, flaying backwards, and dunging; many of such offences are distinguished as heavenly offences, and as earthly offences; cutting living flesh, cutting dead flesh, leprosy, proud flesh, the offence committed with one's own mother, the offence committed with one's own child, the offence committed with mother and child, the offence committed with child and mother, the offence committed with beasts, calamities of crawling worms, calamities of a god on high, calamities of birds on high, the offences of killing beasts and using incantations; many of such offences may be disclosed.”

The high priest then arranges the sacrifices, and, turning round to the assembled company, waves before them a sort of broom made of grass, to symbolise the sweeping away of their offences. At this point occurs in the original a direction to the priest to repeat “the great ritual, the heavenly ritual,” which has exceedingly puzzled most of the commentators, because the said ritual is not forthcoming from the authorised collection of rituals. By the industry of Hirata, however, several versions of what seems to be the missing document have been discovered, and it turns out to have been a short address to all the gods, calling upon them to hear the remaining part of the principal ritual, which describes how the sins of the people are swept away and

got rid of by the gods of purification, after which the original proceeds:—

“When he has thus repeated it, the heavenly gods will push open heaven’s eternal gates, and cleaving a path with might through the manifold clouds of heaven, will hear; and the country gods, ascending to the tops of the high mountains, and to the tops of the low hills, and tearing asunder the mists of the high mountains and the mists of the low hills, will hear.

“And when they have thus heard, the Maiden-of-Descent-into-the-Current, who dwells in the current of the swift stream which boils down the ravines from the tops of the high mountains, and the tops of the low hills, shall carry out to the great sea plain the offences which are cleared away and purified, so that there be no remaining offence; like as Shinato’s wind blows apart the manifold clouds of heaven, as the morning wind and the evening wind blow away the morning mist and the evening mist, as the great ships which lie on the shore of the great port loosen their prows, and loosen their sterns to push out into the great sea plain; as the trunks of the forest trees, far and near, are cleared away by the sharp sickle, the sickle forged with fire; so that there cease to be any offence called an offence in the court of the Sovran GRANDCHILD’S augustness to begin with, and in the countries of the four quarters of the region under heaven.

“And when she thus carries them out and away, the deity called the Maiden-of-the-Swift-cleansing, who dwells in the multitudinous meetings of the sea-waters, the multitudinous currents of rough sea-waters shall gulp them down.

“And when she has thus gulped them down, the lord of the Breath-blowing-place, who dwells in the Breath-blowing-place, shall utterly blow them away with his breath to the Root-country, the Bottom-country.

“And when he has thus blown them away, the deity called the Maiden-of-Swift-Banishment, who dwells in the Root-country, the Bottom-country, shall completely banish them, and get rid of them.

“And when they have thus been got rid of, there shall from this day onwards be no offence which is called offence, with regard to the men of the offices who serve in the court of the Sovran, nor in the four quarters of the region under heaven.”

Then the high priest says:—

“Hear all of you how he leads forth the horse, as a thing that erects its ears towards the plain of high heaven, and deigns to sweep away and purify with the general purification, as the evening sun goes down on the last day of the watery moon of this year.

“O diviners of the four countries, take (the sacrifices) away out to the river highway, and sweep them away.”

The horse is emblematic of the attention with which the gods will deign to listen to the prayer offered up on behalf of the

people by the high priest, as representative of the mikado. By modern commentators the first of the four deities who take charge of the sins of the people, and carry them off to the nether world, is identified with the gods of evil, who sprang from the defilement washed off from his body by Izanagi, after his return from the kingdom of the dead, and the following two, the Maiden-of-Swift-cleansing and the Lord-of-the-Breath-blowing-place, are explained to be the Great-Corrector and Divine-Corrector deities created by him to amend the evil caused by the former. They are less successful in their attempts to clear up the obscurity which to their eyes seems to surround the name of the Maiden-of-Swift-Banishment. The necessity incumbent upon an orthodox adherent of the ancient creed, of accepting every myth as a statement of indisputable fact, renders it impossible for him to adopt modes of interpretation which to the student of comparative mythology appear both obvious and necessary. That defilements, in order to be got rid of, should be removed to the nether world, the country inhabited by the dead, who at their departure from life had been a cause of pollution to all their kin and household dependants, was a perfectly natural suggestion, and what was needed in order to complete the idea was a means of conveying the defilements to the place whence they were supposed originally to have proceeded. The polluted objects, and the expiatory sacrifices, to which various kinds of pollution were by a fiction supposed to be transferred, as in the case of the clothes of the images substituted for the real clothes of the mikado, were cast into the nearest river, to be carried down into the ocean, and so into the region of the dead, which a natural inference placed at the root or bottom of the earth, beyond the sea. The four deities who take part in this transmission are merely personifications of the different stages of which the whole process of purification was imagined to consist. Far from feeling bound to interpret the account of Izanagi's washing which is given in the "Notices of Ancient Things" as the origin of the rite of lustration, we can only see in it a poetical myth intended as a means of giving additional sanctity to a long-established practice. Izanagi and Izanami having already been invented to account for the existence of the world and the human beings which people it, it was convenient also to put on their shoulders the origin of evil, and the discovery of the expedients by which its results could be avoided. It is their constant predisposition thus to confuse cause and effect, together with their habit of seeing a mysterious signification in every inconsistent fable which they are unable to interpret, that renders the native expositors of the ancient religious books such untrustworthy guides in the search after a clue to their true meaning and import.

The doubt will probably suggest itself to some readers, whether this practice of lustration may not have been derived in some way from China, where certain ideas as to the uncleanness caused to members of a family by a death in the household are well known to exist, while others may be disposed to conjecture that it is a development of doctrines held by the Buddhists with regard to impurity. And it might be urged also that both Chinese philosophy and the Buddhist religious practice had been introduced into Japan long before the date of the ceremonial law in which this ritual and others have been preserved. But we think that the mere fact of similar conceptions having existed in another country among another race of people than the Japanese is not sufficient to establish the theory that they could only have originated in a single centre, from which they spread in various directions wherever the circumstances were favourable, or facilities for their transmission might be supposed to have existed. It would be easy, for instance, to discover striking parallelisms between the notions concerning pollution entertained by the race which practised lustration in Japan and the teachings and rules on this subject contained in the books of the Jewish law; and thus to give another handle to those persons who are bent on discovering in the Japanese nation the remnant of the lost tribes of Israel. Or what coincidence with the ancient Japanese rite could be more remarkable than that a Peruvian Inca, after confession of guilt, should bathe in a river and repeat the formula: "O thou river, receive the sins I have this day confessed unto the sun; carry them down to the sea, and let them never more appear," as Dr. Tyler tells us, in his "Primitive Culture." It would, perhaps, be more to the purpose to quote Voltaire's statement that the Kamschatdales performed a rite of purification, though, as they did not appear to entertain any notions of right and wrong, he did not see what they could desire to purify themselves of. For there may easily have been some community of race between Kamschatdales and the aborigines of Japan. But the language of the rituals in itself seems to prove that they were the spontaneous growth of the Japanese mind. There can be little doubt that they existed in an unwritten form long before the introduction of the Chinese written characters. The references which frequently occur in them to an extremely primitive condition of life renders it highly improbable that they should have been composed by people who had already felt the influence of Chinese civilisation, and, under Chinese tuition, had made progress in the social arts. Their grammatical construction, too, is absolutely unlike that of Chinese documents intended to be read into Japanese. Instead of sentences divided into short periods of almost equal length, we have long successions of attributive clauses piled one upon the

other in a manner which, while it unconsciously recognises the philosophical truth that all phenomena are influenced by what has preceded them, is, nevertheless, perfectly characteristic of the Japanese language. And if a further proof were wanting of the authentic character of these rituals, it is to be found in the fact that whenever the priests who committed them to writing met with a word the meaning of which antiquity had already obscured, or which could not be adequately expressed by a Chinese equivalent, they reproduced it, syllable by syllable, in Chinese characters treated merely as phonetic symbols, which certainly would have been unnecessary if the original had been a Chinese model. Until, therefore, similar religious compositions are discovered in some other Eastern Asiatic language we shall confidently rest in our belief that these rituals, as well as the other parts of pure Shiñtau of which they are the outgrowth, are the native product of the ancient speakers of the Japanese tongue, and not, as some recent writers have too hastily assumed, a conscious imitation of doctrines and myths imported from China.

ART. III.—THE SARACENS IN ITALY.

Storia dei Musulmani in Sicilia. Per MICHELE AMARI.
Florence: 1858.

IT is a curious, though perhaps idle speculation, to follow out in thought an imaginary change in the history of the world, and try to fancy what would have been the effect on Western civilisation—to what extent the current of modern thought would have been deflected, and the tide of modern progress stayed—had Italy, as for a time seemed not improbable, been overrun and occupied like Sicily, by the victorious Saracen hordes.

What manner of renaissance should we have had if Mahometanism, not Christianity, had been its informing spirit—if the Arab, instead of the Latin race, had guided its earliest footsteps—if the subtler but narrower genius of the East had supplanted the broader, more genial, and more universal Italian intellect, in presiding over that new birth of human thought? Would Christian art have been stifled ere it struggled into life, or would the germ from which it grew, taking root elsewhere, have given us perhaps a German Raphael, or a Scandinavian Michael Angelo? How would have fared the buried relics of Pagan art, disinterred by a people whose religion enjoined their destruction? Where would the ancient manuscripts brought to light by the agents of the Italian courts, in every remote corner of Europe, have found their eager commentators and jealous guardians, with a Saracen

Emir ruling Florence instead of Lorenzo the Magnificent, and an African Sultan installed at Rome in the chair of Leo the Tenth?

The answer to these, and many similar questions, may perhaps be sought in the history of a country analogous to Italy in position, in climate, and in race. Spain shook off the yoke, and trampled out the religion of her Arab conquerors, but failed to rid herself of the effects of their dominion; nor could all the culture of her Castilian Kings, or all the wealth and prestige of her Western conquests ever raise her inhabitants to the level of adjacent peoples. The dark taint, of Berb, or Moorish, blood long lingered, and lingers even yet among the Iberian Celts, as it does among the Italian Greeks of Sicily, and the island and the peninsula which lie nearest to the great equatorial continent, still form a connecting link between African barbarism and European civilisation.

The land below the Alps seems to our modern eyes an inalienable appanage of the Caucasian race, but in the earlier centuries of Christianity its ultimate fate was still in the balance; and there was no visible reason why the successive surges of white conquest, which had swept over it, might not in their turn have been submerged and overwhelmed by one final surge of black conquest. At one time, indeed, two such dark waves, flowing from opposite directions, had nearly met and closed over the cradle of European civilisation; and a very slight further impulse, on one side or the other, would have enabled the two great Musulman dynasties of the West to join hands over the trampled soil of Italy, and make the Mediterranean an African lake. The Moors of Spain, established at Frassineto, had then thrown themselves across the South of France into the mountains of Savoy, whence, for nearly a century—from 889 to 955—they desolated the valleys of Piedmont and commanded the passes of the Alps, while the Moors of Africa were able during the same epoch, in 984 and 935, to attack Genoa, pillage the Riviera di Levante, and return home laden with booty and prisoners, increased by a successful raid on Sardinia. But these chance and aimless currents of invasion, guided by no common purpose, and wanting the master influence of a single will to bind together their scattered forces, ebbed as they had flowed, leaving indeed a temporary track of devastation, but no permanent change in the landmarks of history.

The hordes of fanatics launched from the heart of Arabia like volcanic matter from a vast crater, only retained their conquering power during the first white-hot fervour of their new faith. When that pristine energy subsided they remained like the spent lava torrent, an inert mass of decomposing elements, unless where

secondary eruptions of religious excitement fused them into fresh intandescence, and sped them on a fresh career of destruction. Such an impulse was found in the mystic doctrines of the Shiita, or Shia, supporters of the succession of Ali, a sect of Persian origin, organised with rights of initiation like a secret society, by a sort of Eastern Cagliostro known as the *Kudddh*, and headed by a mysterious Grand Master or hidden Pontiff, whose name was never revealed to the vulgar. Its Apostle in the West, Abu-Abd-allah, selected the highlands of Barbary as his theatre of operations, and laboured there for years with such secrecy and success that he burst upon Africa like a thunderbolt, when issuing from the mountains in 801, at the head of the warlike tribe of Kotâma, an armed and organised nation three hundred thousand strong; he took the field with strange emblems and ensigns never seen before, and overthrew the reigning Aghlabite dynasty to the rallying cry "To horse, Cavaliers of God!"

And such another revival restored to reformed Islam its first conquering fury, when the tenets of a solitary dervish on an island of the Senegal, after smouldering for years in the bosoms of a few sectaries, suddenly blazed into life among the rude shepherds of the Sahara, and borne by them in their migrations in search of food to the slopes of Atlas and the Pillars of Hercules, soon spread from the desert to the Mediterranean, and from the shores of the Atlantic to the Bay of Algiers. The *mordbit*, as they called themselves in honour of their founder, from the Arabic *ribdt*, a recluse (whence *marabut*) founded in 1062 the present city of Morocco, and crossing the Straits of Gibraltar, as the allies of their co-religionists, made the Spanish form of their name, *Almoravids*, formidable throughout the peninsula. Having defeated the Christian army under Alphonso of Castile at Talavera, in 1086, they quickly absorbed all Arab sovereignty in the provinces they had come to defend, and establishing a branch of their dynasty in the Balearic Islands, became a terrible scourge to the commerce of the Mediterranean. Before their leader's death he was panegyrised in 1900 cathedral mosques as the most powerful of living Mahometan princes, but like all previous hosts of Mussulman invaders, his followers too lost their momentum as the first glow of fanaticism subsided, and their power died away, as it had blazed out, with the rapidity of a shooting star.

Islam, however, never brought this living fire of earlier zeal to the shores of Italy, where there was no force to meet it of vitality comparable to its own. There its incessant but desultory attacks resembled rather predatory raids than onsets of invasion, and had no abiding effect on the history of the country, though they

probably had in modifying the character of part of its population. In the southern half of the Peninsula there was scarcely a place of importance that was not in their hands during some part of the ninth and tenth centuries. The Green Flag waved over the Ionian sea from the walls of Táranto; on both sides of the blue Straits, from the mosques of Messina and Reggio, the muezzin called the faithful to prayer in the name of the Prophet; the Emir of Sicily exacted tribute from Byzantium as the ransom of Calabria, burning Brindisi and desolating the province if it remained unpaid; the Sultan of Bari lay in wait for the commerce of the Adriatic and ravaged its shores to within sight of the Bell Tower of St. Mark's; the savage armies entrenched on the Garigliano, and encamped in the Amphitheatre of Capua, had the country between them at their mercy, and wasted the Campagna to the very gates of Rome. Nay, Rome itself was not safe from their assaults, and saw the victorious Infidels, in 846, defy the capital of Christendom from amid the blazing ruins of the Basilicas of the Apostles, then outside the walls. Salerno, besieged for a year, from 871 to 872, was only saved, when reduced to the last extremity of hunger, by the united arms of the Empire and the Papacy. The great monastery of San Vincenzo in Volturno, was pillaged and burned after a stout resistance in 882; the still more famous one of Monte Cassino in the following year; the Castle of Cape Misenum, near Naples, and the entrenched camp of Agropoli, in the mountains behind Pæstum, were Saracen strongholds; the settlement on the Garigliano resembled an African town; and from it plundering parties went out in all directions, while an auxiliary colony, established at Narni, held the passes of the Apennines, to rob or put to ransom pilgrims on their way to Rome.

Nor did the swarthy adventurers always come as enemies; the republics of Naples and Gaeta favoured and harboured them, while they were constantly called in as auxiliaries on one side or the other by the Longobard princes of South Italy in their incessant petty wars, generally to be betrayed by their allies, and fall a victim to the united arms of both parties on the conclusion of peace. Thus, Athanasius, Bishop of Naples, sent to Sicily in 881 for a strong body of Saracen soldiers, and encamped them on the western slopes of Vesuvius, under a leader named Sichaimo or Soheim. Their contract seems to have included full licence of rapine in all the neighbouring country, for they carried off to their camp all they could lay hands on, particularly arms, horses, and women. Their memory was long perpetuated in the popular distich—

Quattro sono i luoghi della Saracina,
Portici, Cremano, la Torre, e Resina.

When, however, the Pope, John the Eighth, fearing the incursions of such formidable neighbours into his own territory, remonstrated with the bishop, he treacherously consented to abandon them to their enemies; and attacked by the combined forces of Capua, Salerno, and other cities, they were driven, after a vigorous defence, into the mountains of Pæstum, where they remained unmolested. From those days until the present the followers of the Prophet have had little cause to admire the superior good faith of Christians.

Fortunately for Italy, the scattered bands of freebooters to whom she was an easy prey, were as disunited as her own inhabitants. Acting under independent leaders, and acknowledging no central authority, their utmost aim in capturing a city was to have a convenient haven of refuge for their pirate squadrons, or base of operations for their predatory hordes—the highest object of their ambition rather store of rich booty to barter in the marts of Sicily, or gangs of captive Christians to sell in the ports of Africa, than extension of national territory or increase of national importance.

Only once in the history of Arab conquest did it seem possible that it might permanently extend its dominions beyond the Faro, when for the first and last time an African prince landed in Italy with the definite plan of subduing it to Islam, and bore the standard of the Prophet across the Straits of Messina with the declared purpose of fighting his way to Mecca by way of Rome and Constantinople. There was no insuperable obstacle in his path, nor any force below the Alps capable of withstanding the fierce soldiers of the Prophet, fired with a fresh inspiration of fanatic zeal, and led to victory by an able and ardent chief. The native population, debased by the crushing tyranny of the Roman Empire, and ground into further disorganisation by successive shocks of foreign invasion, was without national spirit as without social cohesion; their rulers, the Longobard counts and dukes, though perpetually at war amongst themselves, seemed incapable of facing an invading army; the nerveless grasp of the Empire of the East was fast slipping from its Italian provinces, and Byzantium itself was at that very moment seriously threatened by another Mussulman leader, as Leo, the Renegade of Tripoli, had already collected in the ports of Egypt and Syria, the naval force with which, two years later, in 904, he took and burned Thessalonica. The moral force wielded by the Papacy was powerless against an infidel tyrant, who would ask no investiture from the successor of St. Peter for the dominions won for him by the sword of Islam; the Western Empire, without naval forces, could ill contend with a power in command of the Mediterranean; and to complete the anarchy and prostration which

prevailed from the Alps to the Gulf of Táranto, the Hungarians were at that moment descending like a swarm of locusts upon Lombardy. The event which to all outward seeming could alone save Christendom, was the one which actually occurred—the death—miraculous according to Italian tradition, and which even a less believing generation may call providential—of the man who was at the moment the incarnation of the power of Islam, and the impending scourge of Europe.

Ibrahim-ibu-Ahmed, the terrible Brachimo Affricano of the Italians, stricken down like Alaric, in the prime of his vigour and the zenith of his power before the walls of the same Calabrian stronghold, left no successor to his schemes of conquest; and the projected empire whose sceptre slipped from his dying grasp at Cosenza, was lost for ever to the future of his race.

What that empire would have been, and what the fate of Christendom in the hands of such a conqueror, we can best imagine by a glance at his previous career—perhaps the most atrocious recorded in history. The world indeed scarcely knew what excesses human nature was capable of, or at what monstrous perversion it might arrive, until it saw the corrupt civilisation of Mahometanism grafted on the innate ferocity of the race of Ham, and the artificial vices of an Eastern satrap united, in the person of this prince, to the savage blood-fury of a King of Ashantee. The Arab chroniclers, not easily moved to surprise or horror by the deeds they narrate, are driven in his case to psychological speculations more in harmony with modern taste, to account for his sanguinary eccentricities; ascribing them to a dark and dreadful melancholy incident to the atrabilious temperament. Born in the middle of the ninth century, he was twenty-five years of age, when, on the death of his brother in 875, he treacherously supplanted the boy nephew, whose rights he had sworn to maintain. The throne gained by crime, he nevertheless filled in the beginning with honour and decorum, nor did the first six years of his reign give any indication save in one perfidious massacre, of the horrors that were to follow. They were marked rather by works of public utility; the erection of a great mosque at Tunis, the addition to that of Kairewân of a cupola supported by thirty-two marble columns; the enclosure of Susa within walls of defence, and the establishment of a system of beacons, which, by a varying number of lights repeated from point to point, flashed intelligence along the coast of Africa, from Ceuta to the Delta of the Nile. The tyrant, meantime, took measures to strengthen himself against rebellion, erecting outside the walls of his capital a strong citadel, which he called Abu'l-Feth, Father of Victory, and substituting for the free body-guard—whose mutiny he had quelled by extermination—

a standing army of from three to five thousand Negro and Serb or Croat slaves—savages of the torrid zone and northern barbarians, eager, like half-tamed bloodhounds, to avenge on humanity at large their enforced subjection to a master's will.

These undertakings drained the treasury, and to replenish it he debased the currency, and imposed additional taxes—measures of oppression which led to seditious risings on the part of his people. His sanguinary propensities seem to have hitherto lain dormant, but opposition now roused the slumbering tiger within him; rebellion was stamped out in blood, and Tunis and Kairewân saw waggon-loads of corpses paraded through their streets, and trophies of human remains suspended to their gates. His rage for carnage grew with indulgence, and the chroniclers remark that his humour became every year more terrible. One of his many crimes—the treacherous massacre of the Arabs of Belezma—prepared the way for the overthrow of his dynasty. The extermination of this tribe, whom he had lured into his power by promises of pardon, removed a barrier from the path of the Kotâma Berbers, their hereditary foes; and these fierce followers of the Shiita—the mountain chivalry of Barbary—the terrible “Cavaliers of Allah”—marched unopposed to the coast and dethroned the house of Aghlab in the person of Ibrahim's grandson, the parricide Ziadet-Allah.

Jews and Christians were compelled by his orders to have the figure of an ape and hog respectively painted on their doors, and to wear on their shoulders a white cloth with the same distinguishing badges of their creeds.

Mahometan sectaries fared even worse at the hands of the orthodox tyrant. A doctor of the conquered tribe of Neftûsa having boldly declared that his countrymen held the Kharegite doctrines denying the sanctity of Ali, he butchered the three hundred prisoners surviving with his own hands, piously returning thanks for having already extirpated the rest of their stock. Their hearts, which he had scientifically transfixed with his spear, were torn from their bodies and suspended to the gates of Tunis.

His domestic massacres were not less numerous or frequent than those which had religion or public order as their pretext. Chamberlains, courtiers, and guards were put to death for a suspicion or a caprice; his palace was a human slaughter-house, and no life within its precincts was for a moment safe from his rage, save that of Sida, his mother. His unflinching regard for her was the one trace of natural feeling in his breast, but with this exception nothing in humanity was sacred to him. Sex and kindred, age and infancy, were alike to his indiscriminate ferocity, or rather it raged more furiously where the ordinary dictates of

nature would have stayed its frenzy, seeming to seek in those nearest to him in blood its more especial objects, and in women its choicest victims. One of his sons and eight brothers, beheaded in his presence, paid the penalty of standing too near the throne; and its heir, Abdallah—brave, loyal, and blameless—never felt his neck a moment safe from the scimitar of the executioner. No daughter born to him was allowed to live; and though Sida contrived to save and rear fourteen of the condemned infants from the unnatural decree, she only deferred its execution. With the mistaken idea that the sight of his offspring would soften his implacable determination, she presented them to him when nearly grown up, but though he dissembled his grim resolve under an appearance of amiable satisfaction, he only waited for her departure to order the executioner to bring him, without delay, the heads of her *protégées*. *

Superstition added its contingent to the long roll of Ibrahim's victims, for the prediction of his astrologers that he should be slain by a little one—fulfilled in a certain ambiguous sense by his death in the infancy of the century, in the year 902—bore for him a more obvious significance, and directed his cruel suspicion to seek the predestined assassin among the boy-pages of his court. Those who showed particular promise of youthful daring were first made away with, the survivors then despatched, lest they should avenge them, and their places supplied by negro youths who quickly shared the same fate. A rumoured plot in the palace, caused on one occasion the massacre of three hundred guards; on another, all the attendants were butchered *en masse*, lest one, unfortunate enough to have picked up a handkerchief with which the tyrant had wiped his lips after secretly drinking wine, should survive to tell the tale, and convict him of a breach of the Mahometan law. So each fresh murder brought several others in its train, tyranny engendered suspicion, suspicion was acted out in massacre, and the terrible cycle of crime went on repeating and renewing itself in an ever-widening orbit of destruction.

A dark and morbid desire to profane and scrutinise the very sources of life, was part of the sanguinary frenzy of this human tiger, indeed all deliberate cruelty analysed as an independent passion, will be found to spring from an evil physiological curiosity, lurking in the secret depths of our nature. Thus, as he himself declared, the desire to discover the spirit that had defied him, drove him to tear out and anatomise the yet quivering hearts of his victims, pursuing the hated principle of life to its inmost stronghold, and slaking his rabid thirst for human blood at the fountain-head. Such excesses of ferocity seem rather to belong to some African Moloch—some dreadful

imaginary demon of carnage—than to a being with the attributes of ordinary humanity; but they are recorded by too many independent authorities, and affirmed by too much weight of corroborative evidence to be rejected as fables or discredited as exaggerations. They lasted for twenty-seven years of triumphant tyranny, but the complaints of Ibrahim's subjects at last reached the ears of his nominal suzerain, the Caliph of Bagdad, who sent him a despatch, requiring his immediate abdication in favour of his son Abdallah. And now comes the strangest part of this strange drama, for the haughty tyrant yielded unqualified obedience to the mandate of his distant superior, although his chagrin on its receipt brought on a severe attack of jaundice. The most probable conjecture of historians to account for his submission is that it was due to the critical position of his own dominions, then menaced by the rapidly advancing followers of the Shiita, inflamed with zeal for their newly adopted creed, and marching from the mountains with the irresistible momentum of its first fanaticism. In any case the fierce African potentate offers the spectacle of a conversion as strange as any narrated in history, whether we ascribe it to policy, hypocrisy, or a genuine, though perverted, impulse of repentance.

Summoning Abdallah from Sicily to assume the reins of government in his stead, he exercised his last acts of sovereignty in reversing his previous abuses of power. He abolished the taxes, threw open the jails, reformed the laws, and gave large sums in charity from his private coffers. Calling the date of his abdication—902 of our era, 289 of the *Ægira*—the Year of Justice, he whose crimes had procured for him even among African tyrants, the distinctive appellation of the Impious, clad himself in haircloth, girt his loins with a rope, proclaimed the Holy War in the guise of a humble penitent, and vowed a pilgrimage to Mecca through seas of infidel blood.

His first enterprise was directed to the extirpation of the Christians of Sicily. They still retained possession of the Val Demona, and the country round Messina and Syracuse, in a state of quasi-independence, though tributary to, and liable to incursions from, the Mussulman conquerors; who on their side of the island, were divided by diversity of origin into two hostile camps, the tribes of Arab and Persian lineage settled in and about Palermo, being perpetually at war with the native African colonists of the district of Girgenti. The Palermitans under a Persian leader named Rakamardweih, had for four years been in arms against the mother country, and Abdallah when unexpectedly summoned to change places with his father, was engaged in a successful campaign against them, in alliance with their hereditary foes, the Berbers of Girgenti. He had not only

taken Palermo after three pitched battles, in which the flower of its population perished, but had defeated the Byzantine army on the mainland, and sacked Reggio, where his clemency to the vanquished had excited his father's indignation. No such gentle treatment had the Christians of Calabria and Syracuse to expect from the fierce penitent, who now came to his island dominions in the full exercise there of the sovereignty abdicated on the continent of Africa.

Palermo, girt with suburbs so extensive as to number two hundred mosques without the walls, and dominated in the centre by the oval citadel known as the Cassaro, was in those days, as great a cosmopolitan centre as Constantinople in our own; and its population, in the emphatic words of the monk Theodosius, included representatives of the Saracenic brood, gathered from the four cardinal points of the compass. There Greeks and Lombards chaffered over their wares with Jews and Persians; Arabs and Berbers jostled Tartars and Negroes on the crowded quays; beards and hair of every cut and colour, every cast of features and tone of complexion contrasted sharply in the liquid shadow of the narrow streets; the flowing robe and majestic turban of the Oriental, the scanty garments of the tropical savage, the rude furs of the Northern barbarian, mingled in picturesque confusion under the amber Sicilian sunlight; in short, all varieties of race and costume included in the vast dominions of the Mussulman empire seemed to have sent typical specimens to the City of the Golden Shell.* Such was the motley population among which Ibrahim came to recruit volunteers for the Holy War, and raise the standard of the Prophet to the cry of "Death to the Unbelievers!"

He moved thence against Taormina, the central stronghold of Christianity in the island, held by its choicest champions, reinforced by a Byzantine garrison, and excited to resistance by the preaching of Sant' Elia, the aged saint and prophet of Castrogiovanni, who, like a Sicilian Savonarola, exhorted the inhabitants to penance and prayer, foretelling the destruction impending over the city, and the approaching triumph of the terrible Brachimo. His sinister predictions were but too quickly and fatally realised. Ibrahim's fury of bravery and fanaticism secured the victory to his followers in a great battle outside the walls, and his infernal genius contrived to surprise his enemies even within the impregnable fortifications where they thought themselves secure. Urging his negro guards up the precipitous rock on a side deemed impracticable, he launched them among the bewildered garrison to the terrible cry of "Akbar Allah," the

* Amari. "Storia dei Musulmani in Sicilia," vol. ii. p. 32.

knell of the hapless Christians. Mercy to the vanquished was no part of the sanctity aimed at by the warrior penitent of Islam, and a terrible scene of indiscriminate carnage followed; the city was burned, and all the inhabitants who failed to make their escape were ruthlessly put to the sword without regard to age, sex, or condition. Amongst the prisoners taken was the aged bishop, Procopius, and his venerable aspect seems to have inspired some pity in the inhuman breast of the victor, who offered not only to spare his grey hairs if he consented to abjure his faith, but to raise him to such a position that he should be second only to himself in Sicily. Procopius only replied with a smile.

“Why do you smile?” exclaimed the fierce Mussulman; “do you not know who speaks to you?” “The demon, by your lips,” was the undaunted answer of the captive, “wherfore I smile at his suggestions.” The infuriated tyrant not only ordered his instant execution, but had his heart torn out “that he might seek in it the secret of the proud soul that had defied him;” and, according to the chronicler, he went so far as actually to devour it in his unnatural frenzy. The fellow-prisoners of Procopius, whom he had exhorted to constancy with his last breath, were then despatched, their remains thrown in a pile on those of the martyred bishop, and the whole set fire to, “that men might know,” as Ibrahim said, “the fate in store for those who dared to resist him.”

Sicily being now at his mercy, he crossed to the mainland, where Abdallah's victories had already broken the power of Byzantium, and, marching unopposed through Calabria, reached Cosenza, which he prepared to besiege in due form. In addition to the Byzantine theme of Longobardia, corresponding to the Calabrias and Basilicata, South Italy was then divided into six hostile states: the Longobard principalities of Benevento, Capua, and Salerno, the republics of Naples, Amalfi, and Gaeta. All were equally terrified at the approach of the formidable Brachimo, and the neighbouring towns despatched envoys to his camp to make their submission and beg for terms of peace. He sent them back with the haughty answer, “that Italy was his own, and he would deal with the inhabitants according to his pleasure; that the Greek and Frankish petty tyrants might equally despair of resisting his power; that the city of the old man Peter might first expect his onset, and that then would come the hour of Constantinople.”

On receipt of this menace the cities began to provision and fortify in haste, while the inhabitants of the rural districts flocked into them for refuge. The magnates of Naples, sitting in council under the presidency of Stephen, the Bishop, and Gregory, the

Consul, decided to raze to the ground the Lucullan Castle on Cape Misenum ; "the villa first built by Marius, then bought and beautified by Lucullus; the scene of domestic crime and unblushing depravity in the hands of the earlier Cæsars, and of the inglorious exile of the last of their line (Augustulus lived there as the pensioner of Odoacer A.D. 479) ; transformed in 496 into a monastery and monument to San Severino ; and in 846 into a fortress occupied by the Mussulmans of Sicily ; its walls were a chronological table of the revolutions of Italian society during nine centuries."*

For five days the Neapolitans laboured at the destruction of this monument of antiquity, and brought thence the relics of the saint in solemn procession to Naples, where they were deposited in the monastery which still bears his name. The hymns were chanted in Greek and Latin, both languages being then spoken indifferently by the people. The universal panic culminated when a portentous rain of stars towards the end of October seemed a menace from the sky of some dire calamity ; but the omen was viewed differently, and was interpreted to herald the overthrow of the invader, as soon as it was reported that San Severino appearing in a vision to a child had bidden him reassure the Neapolitans with the promise of his advocacy in heaven. The Arab chroniclers record that that year (902 A.D.) was called the Year of the Stars, and add that it had thus received three names, since Ibrahim had entitled it the Year of Justice, and others the Year of Tyranny. The faithful followers of the Prophet had, however, no reason to look with apprehension on the blazing meteors, since the Koran teaches that they are nothing but curious demons, hurled down by the angels for listening too closely at the gates of Heaven.

Yet simultaneously with that portent in the skies, Azrael, the smiter of the strong, had entered the Mussulman camp ; the siege of Cosenza languished, for the tyrant whose fierce purpose and adamantine will alone welded together the discordant elements of his unwieldy host, was stricken with mortal disease, and the fermenting hates and jealousies of his followers were only waiting for his last breath to break into open dissension. The actual manner of his death is variously told by Italian legend ; some versions ascribing it to an apparition of St. Peter, some to the prayers of Sant' Elia, and others to the direct vengeance of Heaven itself in the shape of a thunderbolt.

His worthless grandson, Ziadet-Allah, had no control over the mutinous host, whom he led back to Sicily without delay, transporting thither also the remains of the deceased tyrant. Autho-

* Amari. "Storia dei Musulmani in Sicilia," vol. ii. p. 90.

rities are divided as to their final resting-place, and none knows to-day which continent is polluted by their touch. His tyranny of twenty-seven years had been followed by but seven months of penance, when his death, at fifty-three years of age, so unexpectedly cut short the career of conquest on which, to all human forecast, he seemed but entering; liberating Italy from the greatest danger to which she has been exposed during our era, and averting from her for ever the threatened ruin of permanent African dominion.

It is indeed true that for yet a century and a half desultory eddies of Mussulman invasion ebbed and flowed over her southern provinces; but the maritime republics were, already gathering strength to stem their progress, even before the fair-haired Northern warriors appeared upon the scene, like demi-gods among the races of fallen humanity, to hurl back for ever the dark tide that had so long threatened the shores of Europe. The new champions of the Cross, come of a race fresh from Scandinavian fiords and forests, and but recently converted to Christianity from the worship of Thor and Odin, brought the vigorous vitality of their northern blood, and the first fervour of a purer faith, to overthrow by the mere impact of their touch the hectic civilisation of the East and the spent fury of Mahometan fanaticism. The record of their conquest reads more like an heroic poem than a sober page of history, and we should doubt the veracity of its chroniclers were not the bare outline of its manifest results as wonderful as any of its romantic episodes. A little band of warriors cast away upon a foreign shore, who become within a few years one of the leading powers of Europe—sought as allies by both Empires, courted by princes and pontiffs, and dreaded by the followers of the Prophet from the Atlantic to the *Ægean*—their story is surely as wonderful as that of any paladins of romance.

But while they overthrew Mussulman rule in the Two Sicilies, they could not so easily obliterate the traces of Mussulman colonisation. The manners and morals of the conquerors were first modified by its influence; those of the ruling family so notoriously so, that the descendants of the pious House of Hauteville were renegades in all but name, and the Second Roger and the Second Frederick kept court at Palermo more in the style of Eastern Sultans than of Christian Princes. Mere local corruption of manners, however, introduced by a luxurious Court, passed away with the foreign dynasty; while the effect of a strong infusion of African blood among all classes of the native population is still perceptible after the lapse of six centuries; and no one can estimate the difficulties of the present Italian Government in ruling its southern provinces who does not take

into account the survival of the Saracen element among their inhabitants. This persistence of race in Italy, where the boundary of a commune sometimes has been for centuries a line of demarcation between two hostile states, and a few miles of water channel still form an impassable barrier to hereditary traits of feature and costume—where a dialect of Greek lingers still among the mountains of Calabria, and a dialect of Arabic is the common language of Sicily—must always be a problem to Anglo-Saxons, whose mother country has blent so many discordant elements into one homogeneous whole. The most superficial observer, however, cannot but conjecture the terra-cotta tinted skin, the lizard-like rapidity of glance and gesture, and the mobile irregularity of feature common to the natives of Sicily and Calabria to be inherited from other ancestors than those of the more sedate and lighter-complexioned Roman or Tuscan, while a more intimate knowledge of the people only brings to light a still greater difference in their morals and modes of thought.

The condition of Sicily is notorious; but while Liberals and reactionaries dispute over the share of their respective parties in causing it, they do not care to trace its origin further back, and connect it with the history of the remote past. Yet it is a striking fact that the ancient geographical distribution of Saracens and Sicilians still influences the comparative degrees of public safety in the island, and that tracing on a map the territory where violence and anarchy at present reign supreme, we accurately define the zone where Christianity was almost extirpated under the rule of the Moslem, where Mahometanism triumphant struck its roots deepest, and persecuted, found its last refuge in the land.

It is at least a coincidence that the country round Palermo, Girgenti, and Trapani, known to-day as the disturbed provinces, was described in the thirteenth century as the Saracen March. There in the wild borderland, where the war of race was fought to the bitter end, the dim tradition of violence still survives under other forms, and adapts itself to altered circumstances. There the Mahometan settlers, again and again expelled from their homesteads, harassed and plundered the new occupants from their retreats in the mountains; and there the modern brigands, lording it over the land as if they felt themselves its lawful proprietors, still levy fine and blackmail as the ransom of its possession by others. There the Saracens, driven from their capital by religious persecution, organised themselves in the wilderness as bands of outlaws, resuming their hereditary classification as Arab tribes; and there, in Palermo and its district, the names of those very tribes, imported by the aristocracy of the

desert from the Land of Yemen, survive in the nomenclature of the criminal associations to this day. These fugitives, finally starved into submission and deported by Frederick the Second, formed the great military settlement of Lucera in Apulia, and colonised great part of the Calabrias, where the conquerors of Sicily, exiled by the grandson of Barbarossa, have left their wild blood and long inheritance of wrong to filter through many a generation and break out in many a form of crime.

Amari's description of the depredations systematically committed by the despoiled and outlawed Palermitans in the thirteenth century, might almost pass for an extract from the Italian papers in our own day; and the capture by the Saracens in 1221 of Orso, Bishop of Girgenti, who ransomed himself for a large sum of money, after fourteen months' captivity, differs little from the case of the English banker kidnapped by Leone's band in the autumn of 1876. Nay, to go even further back, we might, with little alteration, make the account given by Ibu-Haukal, an Arabian traveller, of the *ribât* of Palermo in 972, serve to describe the haunts of the Mafia of Palermo in 1877. The *ribât* were barracks for volunteers, who, kept in the frontier towns at the public expense in readiness to repel invasion, formed a sort of Mahometan militia; and degenerating with the degeneracy of Islam, became a public evil instead of a public safeguard. Retaining nothing of the zealot save his disregard of human life, and nothing of the soldier save his contempt for all peaceful avocations, every form of depravity and crime found in them instruments ready made to its hand. The swaggering cutthroats who lord it in the streets of the Sicilian capital to the present hour, disdaining every trade save that of violence and bloodshed, have faithfully preserved the characteristics of their Saracen prototypes.

In Sicily, however, a fortuitous concurrence of circumstances might possibly have caused a single though startling coincidence; that between the boundary line separating conquerors and conquered six centuries ago, and the frontier of order dividing comparative tranquillity from open violence to-day. But on the Italian mainland, where we can invariably connect isolated Saracen colonisation, with localised modern brigandage, and track it from point to point by the moral taint it has left in the population, we are forced to ask ourselves if the recurring association can be due to mere chance? The great Saracen settlement of the Garigliano—the plague spot of central Italy—has transmitted its inheritance of violence to Fondi and Itri, the robbers' nests of the Neapolitan frontier. Round the former of these roved Marco Sciarra, the courteous bandit of the 16th century, immortalised by his message to Tasso, while the latter is distin-

guished as the birthplace of the still more famous hero, Michele Pezza, known to opera-goers as "Fra Diavolo." Bovino, on the edge of the great table-land of Apulia, enjoys the reputation of being the greatest brigand nursery in that part of Italy, and a glance at the map shows its proximity to Lucera, where Frederick the Second established his swarthy chivalry in 1239. So tender was he of their religious susceptibilities, that Christian worship was prohibited within the walls of the Saracen sanctuary, and the fierce warriors, when expelled from their stronghold thirty years later, must have carried with them to the neighbouring mountains a bitter sense of wrong, and undying enmity to civil order. A band of turbaned marauders occupied at Agrópoli, in the mountains of Pæstum, the very haunts of the brigands who still hold at their discretion the province of Salerno, while the whole population of Calabria, which, from the deportation of exiles across the Straits became assimilated to that of Sicily under the Normans, may for irreclaimable violence and savagery be classed with that of Sicily to-day.

The trade in human flesh and blood seems to spring from some instinct inherent in the African race, like that of the predatory black ants, whose expeditions are always directed to the capture of prisoners of a different species. White captives, either to put to ransom or sell as slaves, were the choicest booty of the Saracen pirates of the Mediterranean; the slave trade is still the main obstacle to civilisation throughout Africa; and the same propensity, modified by circumstances, breaks out in the favourite practice of the Italian brigands of kidnapping to exact ransom. That it is no modern invention is shown by the instance above quoted—no doubt one of many—of its practice by the Sicilian Saracens as far back as the 13th century.

The hereditary or traditional character of brigandage is indicated by its localisation for each band, while its component members are always changing, is yet perpetuated in its own district with a mysterious persistency, like some indigenous product of the soil. Its vague and undefined identity endures from generation to generation, outlasting dynasties and surviving revolutions; so that we find the actual banditti of Fondi and Itri represented in Tasso's time by Marco Sciarra, and nearer to our own by Fra Diavolo. The territory of these outlaws is as definite as that of more regularly constituted communities, and the laws of their organisation far more unchanging. Who shall say that they have not subsisted for ten centuries as well as for three?

If moral evil could be compensated for by æsthetic good, the conquerors of southern Italy might put in a just plea for indulgence, and monuments of architectural beauty, wherever they have been established, oblige us to confess that Europe has not

been altogether a loser by the inheritance of the Saracens. In Sicily, though we have no remains of their actual period of domination, their Eastern fancy touched with its visionary grace the more ponderous and material taste of their conquerors, and the combination created a group of buildings unique in Europe. All know how the Arab genius, triumphing supreme in Spain, has bequeathed to us in the very names of the Alhambra and the Alcazar a spell by which to summon to our fancy vistas of shining courts and airy colonnades as our ideal of all that is most exquisite in stone or marble. And who, visiting the beautiful Moorish remains of Ravello, and gazing across the Bay of Salerno to the ruins of Pæstum, and down on the sapphire cove where Amalfi nestles a thousand feet below, does not feel in his heart half-tempted to forgive the pirate crews whose galleys so often furrowed that blue expanse, and brought terror and desolation to those smiling shores?

The great subterranean reservoir on Cape Misenum, known as the Piscina Mirabilis, though generally attributed to the Romans, might, perhaps, with greater justice, be ascribed to the Saracens. There is at least the negative evidence that it is not mentioned by any Latin author, while the character of its architecture suggests, though it does not prove, Moorish origin. The safety of the Mussulman garrison, cut off from all communication with the land, must naturally have depended on an artificial supply of water, of which the Romans, masters of the country, were independent. Even the Roman fleet, for whose accommodation it is supposed to have been built, would hardly require so exceptional a contrivance on their own shores, while the Saracen galleys, whose crews could not scatter in safety on a hostile beach, may often have been obliged to resort to it before they could continue their voyages. A great underground tank was also built at Lucera for the use of the Mussulman garrison, and all Eastern nations construct subterranean reservoirs like the vast artificial lake which underlies part of Constantinople, and whose extent has never even been explored.

To analyse the Sicilian and Calabrian dialects would require the science of a skilled philologist; but it is interesting to note in a more superficial way how many Arabic words have crept into modern Italian, and how some have made their way into our own language. To begin with, the name Saracens, by which, however, they never called themselves, but were known by other nations, is apparently derived from *sarkin*, or *sarrakin*, strangers. The Italian *darsena* (dock yard), and our own *arsenal* come equally from *dar-es-sena'h*; *giarra* and *jar*, from the Arabic verb *giarr*, to draw; applied in Sicily to large vessels for holding oil, or small ones for sweetmeats. *Marg*, in Arabic a meadow, in Sicilian

means a *marsh*. Perhaps the flower *African marigold* has brought its English-sounding name from the land of its birth. *Cake*, which we trace to the German *kuchen*, has a striking similarity of sound to *ke'k*, a sweet dish eaten in Africa as far back as the tenth century. *Kokuk*, Arabic for paper or parchment, applied figuratively to scroll-shaped ornaments, became *rococo*. *Camlet* has nothing to do with *camel*, but comes direct from *khamlah*, a hairy cloth; as *cotton* does from *kattân*, a weaver. *Augia*, an arch, gives us *ogive*; while *azure*, *admiral*, *alembic*, *almanac*, *camphor*, *cipher*, *magazine*, *tariff*, *zero*, and *zenith*, with many other scientific and commercial terms are as Arabic in form as they are in origin.

In Italian *cuffia* (cap) from *kufia*, a headdress; *acciacchi*, from *as-shiakwa*, ailments; *bali* and *baliato*, magistrate and magistracy, from *wâli* and *waliato*, an emir and his jurisdiction; *cânova* (wine-cellar), from *khdnuwa*, a vaulted shop on the ground-floor; *catinella*, from *cutà*, basin; *dogana*, from *diwân*, a council or assembly, in low Latin transformed into *dohana*; *tiratoio* (cloth-mill), from *tiraz*, a silk factory; with *tarsia* (inlaying), *scialbo* (pale whitish), *camicia*, *giubba*, *gabella*, and *taccuino* are among the more obvious and patent derivatives.

Itria, the Arabic name of vermicelli—as much manufactured in Sicily under the Saracens as it is at the present day—may have given its name to *Itri*, the notorious brigand colony near Gaeta; and if so, the coincidence would point to its having been founded, or at any rate occupied, and rechristened by the Mussulman fugitives from the Garigliano, and would be another link in the chain connecting the mediæval with the modern plague of Italy.

ART. IV.—THE LATE YAKOUB BEG OF KASHGAR.

1. *Official Report of Mission to Kashgar*. By Sir T. D. FORSYTH. Calcutta. 1875.
2. *Visits to High Tartary, &c.* By ROBERT SHAW. London. 1871.
3. *Kashmir and Kashgar*. By Dr. BELLEW. London. 1875.
4. *Lahore to Yarkand*. By G. HENDERSON. London. 1873.
5. *Eastern Turkestan*. By Professor GREGORIEFF. St. Petersburg. 1872.
6. *The Turkestan Gazette*. 1874 to 1877.
7. *The Peking Gazette*. 1877-78.

OF all the rulers and petty potentates who have strutted on the stage of Central Asian politics during the last generation only one has succeeded in stamping the impress of his genius on the history of the period, only one has obtained a reputation

beyond the confines of his own particular state, and has been generally recognised as an independent sovereign in the capitals of Europe. That solitary exception was Yakoob Beg, the late ruler of Kashgar, who died last summer at the town of Korla, in the very heart of Central Asia. The few works that are extant on the region in which his influence was paramount, give but an idea of this ruler during his prosperity, and it is only from the files of the *Turkestan Gazette* that the true narrative of his decline and fall can be learnt. We propose, in reviewing the works named at the head of this article, above all to place on record a history in some detail of this man, who was chiefly remarkable for having given, during twelve years, a settled government to an extensive territory. We believe that in itself this will not prove uninteresting, and it will undoubtedly make clearer the events which are now transpiring in Eastern Turkestan, and of which the Chinese and the Russians are the sole arbiters.

Mahomed Yakoob was born in, or about, the year 1820, in the flourishing town of Piskent, in the state of Khokand. His father, Pur Mahomed Mirza, had at various periods of his life held positions of some responsibility in the administration of the places in which he happened to reside. Originally a native of Dihbid, near Samarcand, he had migrated to Khodjent, in the reign of Mahomed Ali Khan, with the intention of entering the priestly order. For some reason or other after he had enrolled himself as a student in a religious seminary he changed his mind, and, instead of entering the Church, turned his attention to secular affairs. He was soon elected Kazi of Kurama, a district and town of Khokand, and there he married, his first wife, a lady of considerable influence in that place. By this marriage he had one son, Mahomed Arif, who has since filled several posts of trust in the Administration of Kashgar, notably that of Governor of Sirikul; but of late years this half-brother of Yakoob Beg appears to have been under a cloud, as in 1872 he was removed from the public service. About the year 1818, Pur Mahomed, or Mahomed Latif, as he was more generally called, changed his place of residence from Kurama to Piskent, and shortly afterwards married again. His second wife was the sister of Sheik Nizamuddin, the Kazi of Piskent, a lady of most noble lineage and claiming family connexion with many of the leading officials of Khokand. Yakoob Beg was the issue of this marriage. The origin of the family of Mahomed Latif was neither so clear nor so influential as that of his second wife, but when his son had elevated himself in the eyes of his countrymen, a descent from Tamerlane was claimed for him, of which it is impossible for us to test the accuracy. The family of Yakoob Beg's father seems to have come from Karategin, on the borders of Badakshan, and, in the time of the Usbeg conquest of that district, the father of Mahomed Latif fled for refuge into

Khokand. At that time the inhabitants of Karategin were mostly Tajiks, who are the descendants of Iranian peoples, and who, although now subjected to the Turk-governing classes of these states, still retain the fine presence which is characteristic of the Aryan family. It was of this race that Yakoob Beg was a striking representative, and although his whole life was occupied in ruling nations almost exclusively Tartar, he exhibited some of the distinctive traits of his origin in the manner in which he accomplished his task. Some of the more prominent among his supporters as well as the flower of his army, the warlike Badakshi, could boast that they too represented that master race, whose birthplace is supposed to be in the valleys of the Indian Caucasus. It will be seen therefore that the father of Yakoob Beg had filled several minor official posts, and that on his mother's side he had relations still more advanced in the public service. But there can be no doubt that it was to the marriage of his sister with Nar Mahomed Khan, the Governor of Tashkent, that the youthful Yakoob owed his first introduction to public life.

The early years of the subject of our remarks were passed in his natal town of Piskent, and it is said that it had been resolved that he should follow the profession which his father had repudiated. But the youth was far too wayward to submit to any restraint upon his impulses, and the design of educating him as a "mollah," if it was ever seriously entertained, had to be abandoned long before he arrived at what are termed years of "discretion." The influence of his brother-in-law obtained for him a minor situation in the palace of the Khan. Once launched on the troubled waters of Khokandian politics the young aspirant to distinction showed that he had at last discovered his proper element. In 1845, when we may suppose that he was about twenty-five years of age, he was appointed Mahram, or Chamberlain, to the new Khan, Khudayar, and soon afterwards, chiefly through the intercession of his brother-in-law, was raised to the rank of Pansad Bashi, or commander of 500. This was in 1847, in which year he married a Kipchak lady of Julik, a village near Ak Musjid. He had three sons by this marriage, Kooda Kul Beg, Beg Kuli Beg, and Hucc Kuli Beg.

After this promotion came rapidly. Khudayar Khan himself was favourably impressed with his chamberlain, and created him Koosh-Bege, or "lord of the family"—more intelligibly translated as deputy-vizier—with the charge of the important fort on the Syr Darya called Ak Musjid—White Mosque. This post he held with great credit to himself down to the year 1853, when the Russians commenced that forward movement of which, to judge by events, we are yet far from seeing the close. At that time Russia had acquired scarcely a single post of the greatest

strategical importance, and the Syr Darya was as far removed from her influence as the upper course of the Oxus is now. Ak Musjid was the grand obstacle in the path of the Russians operating from Kazalinsk, and was at once the symbol of Khokandian sovereignty and the barrier to Russian aggression. It was resolved therefore that this fort, which encouraged all the marauding clans in its vicinity to continue their depredations against Russian subjects should be wrested from the Khokandians. To raze it with the ground or to convert it into a stronghold for the Czar appeared to the Russian generals no act of an unjustifiable character. Nor, if we regard this act simply as one of self-defence on their part, should we be disposed to cavil at the means which they adopted. It is only because the justification for this action is more ambiguous that we should venture to condemn as unnecessary the Russian action with regard to Ak Musjid. To General Perovsky this undertaking was entrusted. The distance from Kazalinsk to Ak Musjid is not much over two hundred miles along the banks of the Syr Darya. No very extended commissariat arrangements were necessary, nor did the march delay the Russian officer for long in commencing siege operations. The force with which he appeared before the walls may not have been large in numbers when compared with the armies of modern times, but in all that makes a disciplined body of men formidable it was exceptionally well supplied. The artillery was more numerous than is usually considered necessary for similar purposes, and the expedition was still more efficient in cavalry and engineers. The garrison of Ak Musjid, on the other hand, was ill-supplied both in provisions and in ammunition, and the fort itself presented neither in its position nor in its construction any feature that an engineer officer would have considered calculated to make it capable of sustaining the attack of artillery for twenty-four hours. The Russian lines were constructed in the most approved method, but twice were their approaches destroyed, and twice their mines countermined.

During twenty-six days the bombardment was fast and furious, and during all that time the Khokandian defence was not less stubborn or persistent. All the efforts of the garrison to break through the beleaguering lines were unavailing, and after so protracted a cannonade little more resistance could be expected from ramparts which were pierced in several places by wide and gaping breaches. The resolute commandant, who had done everything required by the most exacting code of military honour, confessed that there was nothing to be gained by a continued resistance, and, as it was known that the Russians were making preparations for an early assault, a messenger was despatched without delay to the Russian general expressing the

willingness of the garrison to capitulate on honourable terms. The Russian officer, enraged at the long defence of the Asiatics, refused to entertain this proposition, and gave orders for an immediate assault. Ak Musjid fell, and in its place arose the Russian fort, No 2, now more generally known, from the name of its captor, as Fort Perovsky. The historical student may be permitted to believe that this title should rather perpetuate the infamy than the fame of this general. In the winter following Yakoob Beg, with Sahib Khan, the brother of Khudayar, attempted to retake it by surprise, but the *coup* proved abortive, and the Russians have never receded from their new acquisition. Although Mahomed Yakoob became to a certain extent notorious for his gallant defence of Ak Musjid, it would appear from his being styled after that event simply "Mir," or chief, that he had sunk in official status. It is probable that the principal cause of this loss in rank was his failure to retake and not his ill-success in defending Ak Musjid. He was, however, too good a soldier to be left entirely in the shade, and the Kilaochi fort was placed under his control. This post he held until the murder of the Khokandian minister, Mussulman Kuli, in 1858.

In order to make the subsequent career of Mahomed Ya k clear, it is necessary for us to say something of the state of affairs in Khokand itself. On the death of Mahomed Ali, who had governed the state well during his tenure of power, dissensions broke out in all parts of the Khanate, and it was only the influence and personal energy of Mussulman Kuli, a Kirghiz chief, which restored something like order to the distracted country. This astute statesman had selected Khudayar Khan as the most eligible of the candidates for the throne, but this had given umbrage to, among others, Mullah Khan, an elder brother of Khudayar's. Now on the death of Mussulman Kuli (from the chief responsibility of whose murder it is impossible to exonerate Khudayar), who alone had given vitality to the *régime* of Khudayar, Mullah Khan and his partisans began to hope that it would be possible to oust the ruling Khan. Among those who participated in this intrigue was the governor of Kilaochi, and when it had been crowned with success, and Khudayar, deposed, had fled for refuge to his neighbours, he reaped the advantage of his duplicity in receiving the post of Shahawal, a sort of chamberlain or court intendant in the palace of the new ruler. For the moment his progress was rapid. His old rank of Koosh-Bege was restored, and his unimportant charge of Kilaochi was exchanged for the more important post of Kurama, of which his father had once been Kazi. Nor did his fortunes under the rule of Mullah Khan cease here, for in 1860 he was despatched to Tashkent to assist Kanáat Shah, the Nahib of Khokand, in

making preparations for the reception of the Russians, who had for some time assumed a threatening attitude towards Khokand. But at this point in his career Mullah Khan was murdered in a palace brawl, and the exiled Khudayar returned to enjoy his own again. Both Kanát Shah and Mahomed Yakoob veered round to the cause of the old Khan; and the latter, in return for their support, agreed to forget their former delinquencies. Yakoob's reward for this piece of time-serving was his reinstatement in the governorship of Kurama. It was during these troubles that Alim Kuli appeared upon the scene. A Kirghiz chieftain, he also possessed much of the personal vigour and ability of his predecessor and kinsman, Mussulman Kuli. The triumph of Khudayar on this occasion was short-lived, for Alim Kuli at once set up a fresh rival in the field. Shah Murad, a grandson of Shere Ali Khan, a former ruler, was the puppet of whose name Alim Kuli thought fit to avail himself. Despite his governorship of Kurama, Mahomed Yakoob again deserted the cause of Khudayar, and threw in his fortunes with those of Alim Kuli. It should be remembered that Khudayar had always treated him with kindness, and that in their earlier days they had to some extent been boon companions. On this occasion, too, his insincerity received its due reward, for the enterprise of Alim Kuli failed, and Mahomed Yakoob fled to Bokhara. During his absence Alim Kuli, at first defeated, had succeeded in placing his own nominee upon the throne, and Khudayar once more became a fugitive. In 1863 the Emir of Bokhara, Mozaffur Eddin, raised a large army and entered Khokand for the purpose of reinstating his brother-in-law, Khudayar, in his possessions. With that force went Mahomed Yakoob, who now appears for the last time on the troubled scene of Khokandian politics. Mozaffur Eddin soon gave up his intention, and the Bokharist army, which had advanced some distance into Khokand, was recalled. Khudayar Khan for a short period ruled again in peace, but his government was not left undisturbed for long. Alim Kuli plotted his overthrow anew, and was joined by Mahomed Yakoob and others of the leading men in the state. In the meanwhile Shah Murad, the first khan set up by Alim Kuli after the death of Mullah Khan, had been got rid of by the same means as the latter, and Alim Kuli then put forward Seyyid Sultan in his place. Although Seyyid Sultan was paramount in a great part of the state, Khudayar Khan still retained some hold on another portion of it, and three years were occupied in the progress of a bitter civil war. The part that Mahomed Yakoob played in it was far from unimportant. In a certain sense he may be said to have been the right hand man of Alim Kuli throughout, yet their relations were not free from jealousy. At first he was sent to his

old district of Kurama to gain that over to the side of the new Khan, but on the capture of the important position of Khodjent he was called away from Kurama to participate in the operations that were being carried on against Tashkent. That city surrendered at once, and the rising under Alim Kuli had thus far been crowned with success.

Khudayar Khan still held out in the western regions, but his authority seemed to have finally departed. At this moment the appearance of a third power gave a different complexion to the internal affairs of Khokand; and, among other reasons, tended to induce Mahomed Yakoob to undertake that expedition into Kashgar which resulted in his own advancement to independent sovereignty. While Alim Kuli and his lieutenant were engaged in consolidating their hold upon Tashkent, news reached them that Tchimkent had been occupied by the Russians, who had for some time been menacing Khokand. This intelligence was soon confirmed by the arrival of the survivors of the garrison. This was in April, 1864, and until October in the same year, when the Russians appeared before the town, Mahomed Yakoob was actively engaged in strengthening its defences. But although these measures argued a resolution to stand on the defensive, when Tcherniaeff's army approached, the Khokandian officer, with a rashness that cannot be too strongly condemned, went forth from behind his fortifications to encounter it in the open. The result of the combat that ensued was such as might have been anticipated. The Russians were victorious, and Mahomed Yakoob was obliged to find refuge for himself and his discouraged army within the walls of Tashkent. The Russians had, however, suffered severe loss; and either awed by the bold demeanour of their old antagonist, or, more probably, experiencing some difficulty in obtaining supplies, they withdrew to Tchimkent, there to await reinforcements, and to collect the necessary munitions for commencing the siege of the city. Some months afterwards the Russians returned, but it is only necessary here to say that after winning a great battle outside the walls of the city, in which Alim Kuli was killed, Tashkent surrendered to Tcherniaeff. Nor is it necessary for us to follow the history of Khokand any farther, for Mahomed Yakoob's connexion with it ceased at this time. Suffice it to say that, despite the intervention of Bokhara, whose army was severely defeated by Romanoff-ky at Irjir, Khokand in the ten years that closed in 1876 slowly, but surely, passed under the sway of Russia.

The reputation of Mahomed Yakoob was lowered by his defeat before Tashkent, and the old jealousy between himself and Alim Kuli became more bitter. There had never been much sympathy between the Kirghiz chief and the Tajik soldier of fortune. The

former recognised in his Koosh Bege a possible rival, and the latter's path to supreme authority was barred by the existence of the former. It was evident that any excuse, therefore, for getting rid of his lieutenant would be very welcome to Alim Kuli; and the occasion was not long in presenting itself after the first withdrawal of the invading Russian army. It was while these events were in progress at Tashkent that an envoy arrived there from Sadic Beg, a Kirghiz prince in the regions between Ili and Kashgar. He brought intelligence that his master had availed himself of the weakness of the Chinese and the discontent of the people to seize the capital, Kashgar; and he requested the Khan of Khokand to send him the heir of the Khoja kings of Kashgar, who was living in Tashkent, in order that he might place him on the throne. As the facts really stood, Sadic Beg had only laid siege to the capital, and finding that he was met with indifference by the people, and with strenuous resistance by the Chinese, had recourse to the plan of setting up a Khoja king to strengthen his failing efforts; but of the true state of affairs in Kashgar it is evident that everybody in Tashkent was profoundly ignorant. The Khokandian policy had always been, however, to maintain their interest in Eastern Turkestan, and to discredit as far as possible the Chinese. An envoy bringing tidings of fresh disturbances in Kashgar was, therefore, always sure of a friendly reception, even if he did not return with some more striking tokens of amity. But on this occasion the danger from Russia was so imminent, and all the strength of the State so directed to preparations for home defence, that Alim Kuli, whatever he may have thought of the prospects, and however much he may have sympathised with the objects, of his enterprise, was unable to give the Kirghiz emissary any assistance. When, however, Buzurg Khan, the eldest son of Jehangir Khan, who on a previous occasion had invaded Kashgar, either of his own inclination, or instigated, as some say, by Mahomed Yakoob, offered to reassert his claims to the throne of Kashgar, Alim Kuli expressed his approval of the design, and assisted him with a small sum of money and a supply of arms. But although he could spare no troops, he lent Buzurg Khan the services of the Koosh Bege Mahomed Yakoob as baturhashi, or commander-in-chief. Thus did Alim Kuli get rid of his troublesome subordinate by sending him on an expedition which, to all appearance, would end in defeat and disgrace.

Before following his fortunes into Kashgar, it may be useful to summarise the chief events of his career in Khokand, and to call attention to the more marked characteristics of the man at this eventful period of his life. Up to this point Mahomed Yakoob had given little promise of the distinction to which he

was yet to attain. He may even be said to be a disappointed man, for, no longer young, he had left the most energetic years of an Asiatic behind him, and was commencing the decline of life. He had indeed earned the reputation of being a gallant soldier, if a not very prudent one; and in the intrigues that had marked the history of his State for twenty years he had borne his fair share. But no one would have ventured to prognosticate that he could win battles against superior forces, that out of a miscellaneous crowd of men he could make an efficient army, and that on the ruins of a fallen State he could erect an administration that obtained general recognition and praise. The most favourable prediction would have been, that he would fall at his post like a brave soldier and true Mussulman. But he had one grand recommendation, which supplied the want of many other advantages, such as wealth and family power. His orthodoxy as a follower of the Prophet was incontestable. Through the whole of his life he had made it his one great object to secure the approval of the Church. When he was reduced to the most desperate straits in Kashgar, when some of the most faithful of his followers fell off from him, and Buzurg Khan himself plotted against him, he never lost heart so long as the representatives of the Church stood by him, and mainly through their aid he triumphed over every difficulty. In every way he championed the interests of his religion. He enforced the Shariat as it had never been enforced before; he re-erected the injured temples to the Khoja saints; and he absolved all the mollahs from taxation. It was the one declared object of his life to go to Mecca; but this he was always compelled to perform by deputy. His past life, therefore, had given him a reputation for courage and for religion; and although he was nearly forty-five years of age when he came to the crisis in his career, he showed that he had not lost the vigour and energy necessary to earn him his due reward. As a rule his recognised orthodoxy stood him in good stead, and with each fresh triumph he came more and more to be regarded as the most redoubtable supporter of Islam in Asia.

The Chinese had appeared in Kashgar in the middle of the eighteenth century, and by skilfully availing themselves of the quarrels of the native princes, made themselves masters of the whole region from Ili on the north to Khoten on the south. For rather more than a century before the inroad of Sadic Beg they had given a settled government to these States. During the reign of the great Emperor, Keen Lung, which embraced about the first half-century of the Chinese domination, there was widespread peace in this portion of his dominions. The subjected races had lost the heart to revolt, and indeed the Chinese governed them so well that there was no inducement for them to attempt to shake off a yoke which was made as little

galling as possible. But shortly after the commencement of the present century it became evident that the power of China was falling off, and that deterioration continued to be manifest until about the year 1863. The whole empire seemed to be rent, beyond all hope of recovery, into disjointed fragments. In the fifty years between 1813 and 1863 several invasions of Kashgar, on the part of Khoja adventurers under the auspices of Khokand, took place: but they, one and all, such as those under Jehangir Khan and Wali Khan, which were temporarily successful, failed to make any permanent impression on the Chinese power. But they resulted in this much at all events, that the massacres of Chinese garrisons by the inhabitants, and then the equally sweeping destruction of the people by the infuriated Khitay soldiery on their reappearance, hopelessly destroyed the good feelings which the lenient and prosperous rule of the Chinese for the first fifty years had done much to call into existence. The intrigues of Khokand added fuel to the flame, and there was always a predisposition on the part of a large portion of the population to join any invader who came in the guise of a Khokandian general. If we had only to explain the despatch of the expedition of Buzurg Khan, the causes of its being joined by many of the people would not be far to seek; but we have to discover the reasons why it alone, of all the other Khoja invasions, attained a permanent success. That is obviously a far more difficult inquiry, for we must dismiss at once the untenable theory that this was exclusively due to the talents of YakooB Beg.

Within the frontiers of China proper was to be found the disease which rendered the strength of its Government weak at its extremities. The cause of some of the discontent that broke out in China shortly after its disastrous war with this country is mysterious. It would appear that there are some popular aspirations, which a Tartar dynasty finds it impossible to satisfy. What these may be, we are of course more ignorant than the ruling classes at Peking; yet that the latter are now beginning to realise the existence of such, after these have to a certain degree been vanquished in the field, cannot be contested by those who have remarked the strange petitions presented of late at the capital. The Taeping revolt in the metropolitan provinces, and the Panthay insurrection in Yunnan, both affected the strength of the Chinese in Ili and Kashgar in an adverse manner. But the effect of these was as nothing in this respect to the great Mohammedan rising that broke out in 1862 in Kansuh and Shensi, and that quickly spread westward through the Mussulman cities lying beyond. A sketch of that movement is absolutely necessary to show how the task before Buzurg Khan and his lieutenant had been facilitated, and to make clear what is often forgotten,

that their chief opponents were no longer the Chinese, but these very Mohammedan, or Tungan, rebels against the authority of Peking. From a remote period there had been extensive Musulman settlements in Kansuh and Shensi, and in the seventeenth century these had been the cause of some anxiety to the Emperor Kanghi, and to his successors passed the legacy of harmonising Buddhist institutions with Mohammedan fanaticism. At one time the Emperor Keen Lung sought to settle the question for ever by ordering the massacre of every Mohammedan over fifteen years of age. But whether because of the partial execution only of this threat, or for some other reason, this sweeping measure did not have the desired effect. Persecution may have been a means of giving vitality to a religion that milder opposition might have rendered meaningless; but it is certain that these settlements had become more numerous, more self-reliant, and more hostile to the other Chinese by the middle of the present century. They became more and more a people within a people, and the dislike of one creed towards the other embittered the ordinary relations of life. If we are to believe the testimony of those who knew these settlements when at their most prosperous period, we should describe these Tungani of Kansuh as a sober, honest, and agreeable sort of people. Their physical superiority over the other Chinese was probably due to their abnegation of opium, bang, and other deleterious stimulants. With so satisfactory an explanation ready to our hand and patent to all, we need not, as some do, seek a cause for their superiority in attributing to them an origin from some mighty race which had issued from the regions of the frozen north. These Tungani were of great use to the Emperors of China, and several functions in the public service were exclusively filled up from their ranks. They made excellent soldiers, but as policemen and public carriers they excelled still more their other fellow-subjects. In this latter employment many found their way to Hamil and Urumtsi, where they settled, and their numbers were swollen by discharged soldiers, who, sooner than return to China, remained, with all the advantages accruing to military settlers. In the lapse of a generation or so they had so multiplied that they formed a majority of the population of the cities mentioned, and in the northern regions of Jungaria they spread rapidly. Ili became almost as much a Tungan city as Urumtsi; but, on the other hand, to the south of the Tian Shan the Tungani were outnumbered by the Andijani and native Kashgari. Westward of Kucha the Tungani never possessed any political influence. The Tungani were, therefore, Mohammedan subjects of China, and they left in the service of the State their own homes in Kansuh to find new ones in Eastern Turkestan. They carried their religion with them, and retained their prejudices and antipathies

for the Buddhist Chinese, or Khitay. They derived one advantage, too, from migrating westward, for they left behind them in Kansuh the inferiority in position to the other Chinese, and all the suspicion with which they had come to be regarded at Peking. In Kansuh it was natural for a Tungan to be disaffected; but, removed to another sphere, he was treated with implicit confidence. They enjoyed equal privileges with the most favoured of the Khitay, with the sole exception of some of the Sobo tribes, and they formed a majority in the army, as well as in the civil service of the State. The Chinese authorities never anticipated danger from them, and it is not easy to discover the reason why this natural expectation was falsified. The Tungani were fervent Mohammedans, if not among those most orthodox in form, and, as we have seen, they believed in their own individual superiority. The antagonism of religion, and the contempt arising from physical qualities, were both fostered by the "mollahs," or priests, who became very active within the Chinese dominions when these had been extended by conquest into the heart of Asia. As if in retaliation for a Khitay conquest, the Mohammedan religion was slowly but surely undermining the outworks of its rival's power. It required many generations to pass away before the effect of these machinations became visible, and it was not until the power of China fell into a rapid decline—a decline which many thought, with some show of justice, too, was to herald the fall, but which later events have seemed to make but the prelude to a more vigorous life than ever—that these Mohammedan propagandists among the Tungani knew that the time had come when they might hope to reap what they had sown with such persistency and patience. It is impossible not to connect this event to some degree with that unexplainable revival of fervour among Mohammedan races which has produced many astonishing results in the last thirty years.

In 1862 a riot occurred in a small village in Kansuh, which was suppressed with some loss of life. People were beginning to suppose that it possessed no special significance when disturbances broke out on a larger scale at Houchow, or Salara, in the same province. It soon became apparent that the Tungani had risen, and the unarmed Khitay were massacred in all directions. The revolt soon assumed the proportions of a civil war, and the infection spread into a portion of Shensi. Then ensued scenes of the most frightful barbarity. The Khitay, who had all their lives dwelt as neighbours with the Tungani, were butchered without mercy, chiefly at the instigation of the "mollahs." All the governing authority centred in the hands of the priests, who incited their followers by word and deed to commit acts of unexampled ferocity. The insurrection, even when we make

allowance for the difficulties besetting the Chinese Government in other directions, must be held to have been attended with unexampled success. This can only be accounted for by the supposition that the Khitay were taken, completely by surprise, and realised neither the extent nor the nature of the danger to which they were exposed until it was too late. Before the close of 1862 a Tungan Government was established in Kansuh, and its jurisdiction was for a time acknowledged in part of Shensi also. The priests organised some sort of administration, but devoted most of their attention to extending their influence westward, and to making preparations for the inevitable return of the Chinese. Such was the progress of the Tungan movement in its native country; it naturally exercised a very potent influence on the Tungani in the country lying beyond Kansuh. The example set them by Lanchefoo and Houchow was speedily followed by Hamil, Urumtsi, Turfan and Manas. The same success attended the insurgents in this quarter that had favoured their kinsmen in Kansuh, and the Chinese power was completely subverted. The Khitay were butchered, if possible, with greater cruelty than they had been in Kansuh, and new Tungan States were founded in each of these cities. Each district retained a nominal independence, and placed at its head either a priest, or a body of priests, or a descendant of one of the old Eleuth Princes. Then the movement spread with irresistible strides to Korla, Karashar, and Kucha, where it came to a sudden halt, and south of the Tian Shan the Tungan revolt never extended west of Aksu, to which it, after a considerable delay at Kucha, eventually attained. For some months after the declaration of independence on the part of these cities, Western Kashgar, or Altyschahr (six cities), and Kuldja, remained in the possession of the Chinese, but with the severance of all communication with China it was patent that their authority would be challenged at an early date. It is not necessary for us to follow the fortunes of the Khitay in Kuldja in any greater detail than to say that contemporaneously with the Khoja invasion of Kashgar an insurrection was transpiring therein which effaced all trace of the power of China, and which, after an installation of a native Government for a few years, resulted in the Russian occupation of this province, which is still, and to all seeming always will be, maintained. Having now traced the two chief reasons of the decadence of Chinese power—viz., the difficulties by which the central authorities were beset by the Panthay and Taeping risings, and the serious disadvantage they laboured under from the Tungani having established themselves in the chief cities along the route from Kansuh, it is time for us to return to Yakoob Beg, and see how he fared in his undertaking.

By a treaty with Khokand the Chinese had sanctioned the appointment in each of the chief cities of a Khokandian Consul, or rather tax-gatherer, seeing that his chief duties were to collect the imports allowed to the Khan of Khokand on all goods imported into Kashgar from his State, in return for his keeping the peace towards China. But these men, as a rule, were Andijani or Khokandian immigrants, and they brought with them all the religious prejudices which they were free to indulge in at home. They never regarded the Chinese with any other but the liveliest feelings of hatred, and there is little doubt that their secret instructions were to foment, as much as possible, ill-feeling against the dominant power. As a matter of fact, they soon became the centres of intrigue against the Chinese, and in the preceding Khoja invasions their active participation with the invaders had always been punished with extreme reprisals. But as China never felt strong enough to prosecute war actively against Khokand in these later years, the Khan was always permitted to depute fresh consuls as his representatives in Yarkand and the other cities. Long before Yakoob Beg had set out from Tashkent, the people had risen under the Andijani emissaries, and combining with the Tungan soldiery in the Chinese service, surprised and massacred their Khitay defenders. In the city of Yarkand more especially did the Andijani element proclaim itself, but the supremacy of the aliens was disputed by two Khojas from Kucha, who had left their city when the Tungan movement absorbed it. In alliance with the Andijani these and their followers stormed the Yangyshahr, or fort of Yarkand, but the indomitable Khitay governor defrauded them of their triumph by setting fire to the powder magazine, and thus blowing himself, his family, and the garrison, together with many of the besiegers, into the air. On the fall of the fort, the Khojas obtained the chief control, and a priest of the name of Abdurrahman was set up as king. The other cities speedily followed the example set them by Yarkand, and the Chinese power was overthrown on all hands. The Khitay were massacred by the Mohammedans in all directions, and only the citadels—notably that of Kashgar—still held out for Pekin. To these fled all the survivors of the Chinese colonies, and had the Chinese Government not been hampered in every corner of the empire, these could easily have held out till aid came. Noteworthy among these forts, on account of its importance, its strength, and the number of its garrison, was the Yangyshahr of Kashgar. The inhabitants of that city were unable to make any impression upon it, although they had found so eager an ally in Sadic Beg, the Kirghiz freebooter.

It was during this check that Sadic Beg bethought him of setting up a Khoja candidate to the throne, and had for that

purpose despatched the embassy, of which we have already spoken, to Alim Kuli, the regent of Khokand. When Buzurg Khan and his lieutenant left Tashkent in response to this summons their followers were only six in number, but these were tried soldiers and steadfast followers of Yakoob Beg. In their journey from Tashkent to the city of Khokand their ranks were swollen by a reinforcement of sixty-two volunteers. Here the final preparations were made, and during the first days of January, 1865, this little band of adventurers passed out of the limits of Khokand into Eastern Turkestan. The mountain forts which were intended to guard the Terek pass had been deserted, and, without encountering any opposition, the little force, which had been joined by some of the inhabitants, reached Mingyol, a village in the neighbourhood of Kashgar. In the interval between the despatch of his envoy and the arrival of the Khoja Prince, Sadic Beg had formed a more sanguine view of the situation of affairs, and half-regretted that he had invited Buzurg Khan in at all, more particularly when he found that the Khoja had a following of his own and a skilled commander in Yakoob Beg. He then strove to dissuade Buzurg Khan from proceeding further in a matter fraught with such great peril, and he laid emphasis on the certainty of the return of the Chinese, when summary vengeance would be exacted. His arguments were unavailing. Buzurg Khan, or more probably his lieutenant, was deaf to all his representations. The enterprise they had embarked upon must be followed out to the bitter end. Almost immediately after this interview at Mingyol Buzurg Khan entered Kashgar, where he was placed on the throne of his ancestors, and for a short time administered justice in person. Had his rule continued as well as its commencement promised we should have heard less of the Athalik Ghazi.

The first thing that became clear in the new administration of the country was that the rival pretensions of Sadic Beg and the Baturbashi of the Khan could never be reconciled. On finding that he was destined to play a secondary part where he had expected to be supreme, Sadic Beg called off his followers and set himself up as an independent prince at Yangy Hissar. The first enemy therefore that the Khokandian adventurers had to encounter was the chieftain at whose invitation they had entered the State. The Chinese garrison was still in possession of the fort outside Kashgar, but the national hatred of the foreigner was not sufficiently great to overcome the differences that started up between the allies. In the battle that ensued between these rival competitors the forces of Buzurg Khan were successful, and this victory was followed up by a close pursuit of the fugitives into their mountain recesses. The next step after

this conclusive failure of the Kirghiz chief to establish an independent power was for Buzurg Khan to establish a blockade of the Chinese garrison in the Yangyshahr of Kashgar, and having done this he was at liberty to extend the area of his authority in Kashgar itself. The city of Yangy Hissar opened its gates without resistance, but here again the Chinese held the fort. An attempt to storm the latter was repulsed with heavy loss, and a momentary lull ensued in the campaign. So far the cause of Buzurg Khan cannot be said to have achieved any astonishing success. It was at this period that Yakoob Beg came more prominently to the front and sought to heal the differences betwixt Khoja and Tungan by declaring that the Chinese were the sole adversaries with whom Buzurg Khan had come to deal. In order to assume a more complete control over the management of the war he induced Buzurg Khan to return to his capital, and to leave the reconquest of the State entirely in his hands.

Yarkand, as the wealthiest and most populous city, had always exercised a great influence upon its neighbours, and the indifference with which it still regarded the person of Buzurg Khan was in itself no slight cause of grievance. Alone in Yarkand had the fort followed the fate of the city, and before the occupation of Yangy Hissar by Yakoob Beg's forces it had enjoyed a government of its own for a space of about two years. Yet the relations of the Tungan and Khoja parties were not free from their old antipathies, and to heal the strife an arrangement had been come to by which the Khojas exercised jurisdiction in the city and the Tungan troops held the citadel. While these affairs were in progress in Yarkand, Yakoob Beg resolved to settle the question of rivalry for ever by establishing the authority of Buzurg Khan there.

With as small a following as was compatible with safety, Yakoob Beg set out from Yangy Hissar, and by slow marches approached the city. Difficulties were thrown in his way, and it was only after much negotiation that the authorities would consent to admit him within the town. Incensed at this unfriendly treatment, the wily Khokandian took his measures secretly, but effectually, for humbling the pride of the Yarkand rulers. In a street riot, probably got up for the occasion, the chief Khojas were arrested, and their followers expelled the city. Yarkand for the moment passed into the hands of Yakoob Beg, but, on this occasion, not for very long. As ill-fortune would have it a fresh army from Kucha had just arrived in the vicinity, and when joined by those who had been expelled from Yarkand presented a very formidable appearance. They marched against the city with complete confidence in their superior numbers, and Yakoob Beg, always in favour of the boldest course, marched out to meet

them. His van, under the command of Abdullah Pansad, one of his most trusted officers, suffered severely in a skirmish, and Yakoob Beg at once recognised the necessity for a prompt retreat. During the following night he made a forced march and arrived the next day after that at Yangy Hissar without any very serious loss in men, but with no baggage. The expedition to Yarkand then appeared in its true light as a rash venture.

This reverse at all events inculcated the necessity for caution upon the daring leader, and it was resolved to prosecute the sieges of the Chinese citadels with greater vigour. The Yangyshahr of Yangy Hissar was the first selected for the prosecution of military movements. The garrison was closely confined to its fort for forty days, and, on the repulse of several sorties, agreed to surrender. Yakoob Beg was desirous of showing moderation himself, but in the confusion that ensued more than 2000 Chinese were butchered. With the capture of this fort, the half-way house between Kashgar and Yarkand, the first great success of Buzurg Khan's expedition was obtained. At this moment a fresh danger was appearing from a different quarter. An army from warlike Badakshan was overrunning Sirikul in the south-west, and was threatening by its presence the neighbouring portion of Kashgar. Admitting his inability to cope with them, Yakoob Beg made overtures to the Badakshi chiefs, the result of which was that they took temporary service under him. The Kirghiz under Sadic Beg were also taken into alliance, and by these means Yakoob Beg found himself for the first time at the head of an army formidable in numbers. And there was urgent necessity for such a force, for a large army from the cities of Aksu, Kucha, and Turfan was advancing to dispute the palm of sovereignty with Kashgar, at the same time that the rulers of those cities extended their protection to Yarkand, now menaced by the military preponderance of its northern neighbour. This army occupied without resistance Maralbashi, whence they could advance westward as it pleased them. But Yakoob Beg had profited too much by his *past* experience to risk anything by assuming the offensive with inferior numbers. He accordingly drew up his forces outside Yangy Hissar, and there awaited the onset of the enemy. The Tungani did not delay long in their advance when they learned that the Kashgarian army had been mustered at Yangy Hissar, and as both sides were eager for the fray, the combat followed quickly on the first meeting. The fight appears to have been fiercely contested, and only resulted in a victory for Yakoob Beg through his own good generalship and desperate courage. The Kirghiz troops, half-hearted in their faith, and thinking more of the advantages of victory than of the duties of the fight, were the first to give way; and the Badakshi division, though still stubbornly holding

each inch of ground, slowly but plainly was retreating. The immediate followers of Yakoob Beg alone made any progress, and kept up the fight throughout the afternoon. Their chief fought on foot at their head encouraging them to desperation with the exclamation that "victory is the gift of Allah." Before the determined resistance of this phalanx, the Tugani exhausted themselves, and were only too glad towards evening to desist from the attack. With admirable devotion the little army of Yakoob Beg seconded him in his effort to turn this drawn battle into a decided advantage, and the Badakshi, returning at the critical moment, enabled him to assume the offensive with great effect. The Tugani were driven in a complete rout from the field, leaving a large number of killed and wounded to attest the completeness of the victory, while the desertion of more than 1000 Tungan soldiers in a body to his cause raised the army of Yakoob Beg to a higher nominal strength on its morrow than it had been on its eve. The Tungan army retired on Maralbashi, but its importance had disappeared. That town remained in its possession some time longer, but the influence it could exercise over the course of events in Kashgar had become powerless for good or for evil.

The results of this battle were in many senses important. Buzurg Khan, who was present on that day, had been among the first to seek safety in flight. When the news came that after all his side had been victorious, his mortification and chagrin were more evident than his satisfaction at the result. Unlike the Great Frederick on a similar occasion, he was unable to appreciate the good service his general had done him. His fear of the ambition of Yakoob Beg increased as the latter's claims to public recognition as the champion of the State became more evident. Many of his followers were only too eager to dim the lustre of the Baturbashi's achievements, and all the parasites of the palace, who feasted while the Khokandian warrior fought, added their cackle to swell the indictments of jealousy, greed, and fear. At this period the ruling parties in Yarkand, awed by the prowess of their neighbour, thought it would be prudent to come to terms with him, before they should feel the weight of his hand. Accordingly an embassy was sent to Yangy Hissar to tender the submission of the Yarkand authorities to Buzurg Khan, and to recognise him as sovereign of Kashgar. The envoy was also instructed to ask for the appointment of a city governor, who would be agreeable to Buzurg Khan, and his "vizier" Yakoob Beg. The example set them by the people of the city was promptly followed by the garrison of the fort: and they too in their address worshipped the "rising sun." It was on this occasion that the growing importance of Yakoob Beg was first clearly

revealed, and it added fuel to the flame of the morbid suspicions of Buzurg Khan. But before we proceed to consider the events that transpired in Yarkand, it is necessary for us to return to the citadel of Kashgar, where the Chinese garrison still maintained its forlorn guard over the last remnant of Chinese territory in Kashgar. During all these months the garrison had been more or less confined to the fort, but after the victory of Yangy Hissar the blockade became more strict. Treachery within too came to the aid of force without, and Kho Dalay, the superior officer in the fort, but not the commandant, made an arrangement with Yakoob Beg, by which favourable terms were secured to the garrison. Kho Dalay and 3000 Khitay troops took service in the army, and these became known as Yangy or new Mussulmans. This act of moderation on the part of Yakoob was cemented by his marriage to the daughter of Kho Dalay, and down to the visit of Sir Douglas Forsyth, in 1873, these still resided in a settlement of their own. But the last representatives of Chinese rule were not to make their departure from the platform of history in so ordinary a manner as an acknowledgment of the force of circumstances. A small minority under the commandant Chang Tay refused to accept the honourable conditions that their foe granted to them, and when the day arrived for the surrender of the citadel they withdrew into his "orda." When his family and dependents had assembled around him, and it was announced that the Kashgarian army was entering the gates, the resolute Amban set light to the powder magazine that had been placed underneath the room, thus protesting to the last the invincibility of Chinese institutions. "The tree which God planted it is impossible for human means to destroy," so reads their own proverb. This event took place in September, 1865, nine months after the entrance of Buzurg Khan into Kashgar, and it at once set free a large body of men for the prosecution of military operations in other directions. At this moment too a large body of the followers of Alim Kuli, of Khokand, arrived in Kashgar, so that altogether the power of the Khoja ruler had become very considerable. The contest was now becoming one chiefly between Buzurg Khan and Yakoob Beg, and the former's prime instigator was Sadic Beg, the Kirghiz chief, while the latter's chief supporters were his lieutenant Abdulla, and his old secretary Mahomed Yunus, since known chiefly as the Dadkwah or Governor of Yarkand. Both these conflicting interests were represented in the camp that was established outside Yarkand, and the Tungan soldiery and townspeople soon took sides in the struggle that, it was becoming more plain every day, could not much longer be put off. It would not be of sufficient interest to follow the ramifications of these intrigues in close detail.

Suffice it to say that the Tungan soldiery, both in the citadel of Yarkand and in the service of Yakoob Beg, plotted his overthrow, and that Buzurg Khan hoped to reap advantage from their design. At first everything went well for the conspirators, and Yakoob Beg found himself deserted by all but a mere handful of his followers. His fortitude in these untoward circumstances was above all praise, and after some weeks' desultory fighting in the neighbourhood of Yarkand and in the town itself, Yakoob Beg drew off his small army to receive reinforcements from Kashgar. The rivalry of these was finally settled in favour of Yakoob Beg on the field of battle, again in the vicinity of Yangy Hissar. Buzurg Khan was taken shortly afterwards, and was placed in honourable confinement; but so long as this incapable prince remained in Kashgar he was a source of endless trouble to Yakoob Beg. He remained a close prisoner for about eighteen months, but on being detected in fresh intrigues was banished to Tibet. After wandering for some years in various countries he found his way to Khokand, where he is said to be still residing with a large family. On the deposition of Buzurg Khan, Yakoob Beg reoccupied Yarkand, and established his authority there in the person of Mahomed Yunus, whom we have already mentioned. He now believed his rule to be so far consolidated that he permitted the Badakshi contingent to return home, presenting each man with a present over and above his pay. For many years afterwards he appears to have maintained some sort of influence in Badakshan, and this interference in a region which Afghanistan has always affected to regard as its own was never approved of by Shere Ali. To this very possibly may be attributed the scarcely concealed suspicion and dislike of these potentates towards each other. With the close of the year 1865 Yakoob Beg found himself installed, as an independent prince, in a considerable portion of Kashgar, and in a position for the prosecution of further conquests, about which with the commencement of the new year he energetically busied himself.

No sooner had Yakoob Beg become the recognised ruler of Kashgar than a marked change came over the friendly attitude towards the new rule in that State adopted by Khokand. This may indeed have been solely attributable to the personal dislike of Khudayar Khan, who once more had become supreme in the independent portion of Khokand, and who never forgot or forgave the faithlessness of Yakoob Beg towards him in the past. While the ambiguous conduct of Khudayar was rather a source of petty annoyance than of serious danger to him, in the east his possessions lay exposed to the attack of the Tungani so long as Aksu remained in their hands. There are some indications that he made friendly overtures to them, but as the basis on which he

treated was that his authority should be recognised by Aken and Ush. Turfan, these never had much prospect of a satisfactory conclusion. Mussulmans as the Tungani were, they had no sympathies in common with the Andijani or Kashgari; they remembered that they had formed a large proportion of the conquering armies of China, and they were no less convinced of their own superiority to the levies of Yakoob Beg than to the Khitay. To an impartial observer it was patent that the Tungani and Yakoob Beg should have entered into close alliance, and resisted with their united forces both the Russian occupation of Ili, and a Chinese advance out of Kansuh. But neither of these were impartial observers; they were the litigants themselves, and oblivious of every other consideration, submitted their quarrel to the sharp, but efficacious, arbitrement of the sword. We cannot refuse Yakoob Beg the credit he deserves for partially seeing through the hollowness of this contest, although, so far as we can trace, the idea never seriously suggested itself to his mind that the Chinese would ever dream of reconquering what he had won. Far and wide not a vestige of the Khitay power remained to show where once it had been vigorous and supreme. Shaken to its very foundations, the ruling caste in Peking would be glad to maintain a precarious hold over its own immediate provinces. Such was the opinion of Yakoob Beg, and we cannot blame him for failing to perceive that which no one could have been expected to anticipate. Freed from anxiety with regard to the return of the Chinese, Yakoob Beg, now becoming known as the Athalik Ghazi—Champion Father—a title conferred upon him by his old friend, the Emir of Bokhara, at the instance of the Sheikulislam in Kashgar—was the more willing to indulge his ambition for founding an independent State in the heart of Asia, which might serve as a bulwark to the tide of Russian aggression. It was filled with this grand idea that he resolved to place his relations with the Tungani on an unequivocal basis, either by conquest or by a defensive and offensive alliance. But before an open rupture with the Tungani had taken place, the Athalik Ghazi had, by an act of the most disgraceful treachery, seized Khoten and its dependency Sanju, although the local chief, the Mufti Habitulla, had, early in the campaign against Yarkand, proclaimed his adherence to the cause of Buzurg Khan, and steadfastly held to the promises he had then given. The murder of Habitulla and his chief followers cast a still deeper stigma on the unprincipled conduct of Yakoob Beg, and Khoten, after his death last year, proved its good memory by being the first to deny the authority of Beg Bacha. It was for a short time ruled by a chief elected from among its inhabitants, but has now hastened to make terms with the Chinese.

The Tungani in Aksu were the first to incur the wrath of Yakoub Beg. Their attitude had for some time been insolent in the extreme towards Kashgar, and they had even gone so far as to molest subjects of the new ruler. A large army was assembled at Kashgar, and, advancing by Artosh, fell on the Tungani before Aksu with impetuosity. A flank attack was at the same time made on the town by a division operating from Maralbashi. The army of Kashgar was victorious in both directions, and the defeated garrison was glad to find safety in a hasty retreat. Yakoub Beg then issued a proclamation indicting in general terms the hostile conduct of the Tungani, and promising pardon to all those who would recognise his authority. This edict is the more noteworthy as proclaiming the strict enforcement of the Shariat, and as impugning the orthodoxy of the Tungani, who, it was said, had lapsed into irregularities in form, that were not to be condoned by all true Sunnis. The claim was then advanced to the restoration of the sovereignty of the old Khojas up to Kucha, and to recover this region fresh levies were brought up to Aksu; that city itself was strongly fortified, and the Athalik Ghazi in person directed the movements of the army from the old capital of the Khoja Kings against their ancient fortress in the East. The spring of 1867 had not far advanced when the Kashgarian army appeared in the neighbourhood of Kucha, where the full power of the Tungani had been collected to meet the invasion. So formidable did the fortifications of the town appear, and so bold a front did the Tungan army assume, that he found himself unable to risk a battle until the arrival of fresh troops from Yarkand. He accordingly constructed a fortified camp outside Kucha, and there awaited the men and supplies which were to enable him to recommence active operations. The interval was seized by the friends of peace on either side to attempt a reconciliation, but all the negotiations proved unavailing. Each side spared no pains to bring up reinforcements to decide once and for all the question of superiority between Tungan and Kashgarian. In numbers the Tungani probably far exceeded their opponent, but theirs was a motley assemblage in comparison to his fairly disciplined and better armed array. The nucleus of his force, consisting of Afghan and Badakshi levies, officered by deserters from our native army, was probably more formidable than any other body of men in Central Asia, and inspired, by their prowess, the rest of the army with some confidence. The Tungani, mistaking Yakoub Beg's inaction for weakness, in a foolish moment left their fortifications to encounter him in the open, and were severely worsted in several skirmishes that ensued. Driven within the town itself, the Tungani found themselves completely environed by the Kashgarian army. Yet they

did not lose heart; and Yakoob Beg was unable to make any impression upon the town itself. The walls of Kucha were too extensive to admit of an effective defence at every point, and it was not long before the Athalik Ghazi perceived weak places in the lines of the enemy. An attack made from three different quarters simultaneously was repulsed, but an assault on the rear of the town by Yakoob Beg's son, Kooda Kul Beg, was more fortunate. Chiefly owing to the gallantry of this youth Kucha was captured, but the brave assailant lost his life in the fight that took place in the streets. With the fall of Kucha the Tungan power south of the Tian Shan was broken, and the survivors in all these districts hastened to atone for past offences by a thorough recognition of the new ruler. Although on this occasion he did not advance east of Kucha, he had the satisfaction of receiving embassies from the Tungani of Turfan and Urumtsi, suing for peace. This was granted for the time, but in 1871 a fresh war broke out, which resulted in the extension of Kashgar up to Turfan and Pidjant. The cruelties which marked this later campaign are said to have been the handiwork of Beg Bacha alone, but whoever was the responsible person, Karashar, Korla, and Turfan, once flourishing and populous cities, were converted into silent and ruined testimonies of a departed age. Such was the result of his wars with the Tungani. His nominal territory had been vastly added to, but it is questionable whether his effective power had not deteriorated. His eastern frontier was indeed secure against every adversary, save the Chinese, but with the decimation of the fighting population of the Tungani he had lost an ally who might, in his last campaign of all, have proved invaluable to him.

It is now time to turn to the consideration of Yakoob Beg's relations with a more formidable neighbour than the Tungani. During the earlier years of his career in Kashgar the Russians had been in no way concerned in the fortunes of either party; but in Ili their interests, political and commercial, had always been of higher importance. Consequently, when the Tungan rising made its appearance here, and the rivalry of Tungan and Tarantchi removed all the benefits of Chinese unanimity, the Russians were not well pleased. They discovered that the change meant to them the disappearance of their old trade intercourse, and that the fanatical and narrow-minded ruling classes were in no sense eager to renew the stipulations which had been ratified, after years of persistent negotiations, by the Chinese. The Tungani were accordingly not regarded with any friendly eye at Vernoe, and the necessity was being discussed in official quarters either of assisting in the restoration of the Chinese or of a temporary occupation of the region by Russia. The achievements of Yakoob Beg south of the Tian Shan precipitated the course of

events in the country north of it; and whilst Yakoob Beg was to some extent making hostile preparations at Aksu for an expedition into Ili, the Russians promptly forestalled him, and converted it into a Russian province. It was this occupation of Ili, or Kuldja, which brought Russia and the Athalik Ghazi into direct contact, and it was from this date (1869) that the attitude of these two powers towards each other became important. The Russians followed this occupation up by a curt refusal to recognise Yakoob Beg as the ruler of Kashgar. That state was a Chinese province, and they could only formally recognise the Chinese as its owners. A coolness at once sprang up between the two neighbours which was perceptible to the last. Although it was impossible for formal diplomatic relations to take place under these circumstances, the Russians were fully resolved to make as much use of their post of advantage as possible. Accordingly Russian merchants were encouraged to attempt the exploration of Kashgar, and in one case, that of Herr Kludof, this was done with some success. But this was an isolated occurrence. As a rule, the merchants were harassed in their business operations; their personal liberty was curtailed to the lowest possible point compatible with the laws of hospitality; Russian trade in Kashgar was reduced to a minimum, and Yakoob Beg, incensed at the refusal to acknowledge his title as ruler, retarded in a quiet but effectual manner the Russian commercial designs upon his little state. But the grand object of the Russians in dealing with these Asiatic countries has never been so much the welfare of their own individual merchants as the progress of the state interests or necessities, and all their diplomacy in treating with Yakoob Beg was directed to the object of obtaining his permission to the appointment of Russian consuls in the chief cities. Yakoob Beg knew of old what these functionaries meant, and into acquiescing in their creation he would be neither threatened nor cajoled. Until the year 1872 the Russians persistently refused to have any official dealing with the Athalik Ghazi. In a semi-official, or indirect, way they had taken advantage of the journeys of Herr Kludof and Captain Reinthol into his state to acquire information concerning it, and they had even gone so far as to make use of the Khan of Khokand as an intermediary in their negotiations with him. But all these tentative operations had been foiled by the firmness of Yakoob Beg, whose attitude throughout had been one of great consistence and dignity. So long as the Russian authorities refused to recognise him as the Emir of Kashgar, so long did he meet defiance with defiance, and threat with threat. For the first time in the annals of Central Asian conquest the Russians were foiled by a native despot, and for the first time they paused in their advance, partly through a belief

that the new state of Kashgar was able to offer a strenuous resistance. This fact is the more noteworthy as being one of the rare instances on which Russia has shown a nervous susceptibility of the power of neighbouring states. In 1872, after four years spent in fruitless attempts to drive what would be considered a hard bargain, the Russian authorities, fairly worn out by Yakoob Beg's persistence, and anxious to come to some definite understanding with him, despatched Baron Kaulbars, the explorer of the sources of the Syr Darya, as their envoy to Kashgar. This embassy was courteously welcomed at the capital, and indeed Yakoob Beg had every reason to feel satisfied with his diplomatic triumph.

It is not necessary for us to follow in any detail the course of the relations between these two scarcely concealed enemies. At no period did any cordiality subsist between them, and often and often were they brought to the very verge of a rupture, although Yakoob Beg sent his nephew, Yakoob Khan, or Hadji Torah, to St. Petersburg, where, for a brief season, he was the most welcome of guests. But between a power carving out a fresh empire from the various Mohammedan states of Asia, and a state which represented under peculiar circumstances the cause of Islam in the most advantageous position for its defence, it was sufficiently clear that the recently cemented friendship could not bear much friction. At last, in 1873, all the necessary preparations were made for a Russian invasion of Kashgar, and for a moment it seemed as if the question was to be summarily settled by the sword. But at this moment the despatch of an English embassy to his state gave him a new lease of life; and the Russian authorities, under strict instructions from St. Petersburg, gave up their hostile designs against Kashgar. Yakoob Beg made the most of his new English ally, and once more had recourse to that game of brag which had stood him in such good stead during the earlier years of his rule. But the Russians had by this time taken the measure of his strength more accurately, and were only moderate in their attitude lest they should give umbrage to this country. When it became evident that the mind of this country was more indifferent than had been at first supposed to the fate of Kashgar—for while the Forsyth embassy had interested us in the personality of the Athalik Ghazi, it had also consoled us with a sense of the security afforded by the difficulties interposed by nature between Eastern Turkestan and India—these preparations, which had for a time been stopped, were recommenced with greater vigour than before. Stores of ammunition and food were collected at Naryn and the other mountain forts, while large bodies of troops were directed to Kuldja. The invading force was to be entrusted to the command

of the two Skobelevs, the younger of whom has gained on the fields of Bulgaria and Roumelia an imperishable reputation for reckless daring. Twenty thousand Russian soldiers were to undertake the task of chastising the Athalik Ghazi for eight years of independence. For the first time in his career the bold spirit of Yakoob Beg misgave him, and, too late to be of use, he had recourse to concession. The Russians had gone too far now to draw back, and the battalions were in daily expectation of receiving instructions to cross the frontier. At this moment, when his ruin seemed inevitable, fortune intervened. A Kirghiz insurrection in Khokand had compelled Khudayar Khan to flee to Russian territory, and that insurrection, joined by the forces of the Khan himself, under his brother-in-law Abdurrahman Aftobatcha, soon established a fresh Government in the eastern portion of Khokand. This at first appeared to be one of those internal commotions of such frequent occurrence in Central Asian states; and although the Russian advance into Kashgar was suspended until it was known what Nasruddin, the new Khan set up by the Aftobatcha, would do, the main body of the forces still remained echeloned round Kuldja and Naryn. It soon became evident that the conspirators in Khokand had ulterior designs in their rising against the authority of Khudayar, and that they intended to attract general sympathy to their persons by challenging the authority of Russia throughout Western Turkestan. In this they looked for assistance from the Turcomans beyond Khiva, from the ruler of Bokhara, himself humbled on many an occasion by Russia, and above all, from Yakoob Beg, of Kashgar, menaced at the moment by Russian threats. Suffice it to say, that after a defence of six months the Khokandians were crushed by the forces with which it had been intended to invade Kashgar, and that neither Bokhara nor the Turcomans nor Yakoob Beg moved hand or foot to assist these champions of their country and their religion. Yakoob Beg was thankful that they had diverted from his state the invasion which he knew himself impotent to resist, and therefore followed the strictly selfish and undoubtedly prudent policy of neutrality. If Yakoob Beg had never given other Asiatics reason to believe that he aspired to be their protector; if he had not arrogated to himself a supreme position by right of the good service he would render when the final effort should be made to shake off the Russian thralldom, we might then think that he had simply been weak in refusing to join the Khokandians in a war against Russia, and that he had let pass by unutilised the only occasion he would probably ever have of combating on some terms of equality the great northern power. But when we remember that he, throughout his rule, had encouraged all Asiatics, and, above all, his own

countrymen, the Khokandians, to place their trust in him, and to consider him as always eager to participate in a war against Russia, we must condemn more strongly the vacillating conduct of the Emir throughout this crisis. His desertion of the great cause, in which he alone could have induced the various potentates to forget their mutual jealousies, at the most critical period of Russian rule within the last decade, remains the one blot on his foreign administration; but even that unfortunate vacillation of purpose cannot destroy the admiration inspired by his bold defiance and consistent opposition to all Russian pretensions to dictate terms to him as ruler in Eastern Turkestan.

With this country his relations had at all times been amicable, and the friendly receptions accorded to Mr. Shaw and Sir Douglas Forsyth secured him the sympathy and goodwill of many among us. These bonds were still further strengthened by the favourable impression produced, both in India and in this country, by his envoy, Hadji Torah. But our goodwill never went beyond words, for, in the first place, it was not clear what we could do for him, and in the second it was patent that any active intervention could only be adopted at great risk and greater expense. In his dealings with his two civilised neighbours, it is only with Russia that there is much to be said about them.

Yakoob Beg's chief claim to our consideration is that for more than twelve years he gave a settled government to a large portion of Central Asia, and that however faulty his external policy—now pushed to the verge of audacity, and then, when the moment came for daring, weak and hesitating—his internal management of affairs was founded on a practical and sufficiently just basis. As a warrior he had done much to rouse our admiration, and had proved on many a well-fought field and in many a desperate encounter his claim to be considered a fearless and resolute soldier; but in this he was equalled, if not excelled, both by his lieutenant Abdullah and by his son, Beg Bacha. But in capacity for administration, Yakoob Beg far surpassed all his contemporaries, and the merit of his success was enhanced not so much by the originality of the method adopted, as by the unique vigour and perseverance with which it was put into force. The interior working of the statecraft of Yakoob Beg, who made his state, young in years, tower above its fellows, would naturally be a very interesting theme to dilate upon, but here we can only briefly trace some of its salient points. To commence with the court and its immediate surroundings, there were no great nobles or public functionaries whatever. Those chiefs who, whether they were Khokandian leaders, or Kirghiz or Afghan adventurers, had proved their fidelity to their ruler, and also their capacity for service, were actively employed either as governors of districts or

as commandants of forts. Periodically they came to pay their respects in the capital, and at frequent intervals Yakoob Beg would visit them and superintend their operations in person; but in so active and so sparsely peopled a community the intellectually gifted members of the society were far too valuable to be permitted to become mere palace ornaments. To make the rule of the late Athalik Ghazi a vigorous welding of a naturally indifferent people into a state of good order required a never-relaxing vigilance on his part, and a corresponding energy and devotion on that of his subordinates. The former of these was never wanting, and the latter was at his disposition until the last six months of his rule. We have already spoken of his strict orthodoxy as a Mussulman, and the chief strength of Yakoob Beg's rule lay in the support of the Church as a body, and of the more fanatical Andijani element. As for the native Kashgari, they have not much religious zeal at all, and it is a delusion to speak of them as fanatical Mohammedans in the same degree as it is true to apply that term both to the Bokharists and Afghans. But while he founded his temporal authority on a religious basis, and proclaimed the universal application of the Shariat, he did not neglect other measures for strengthening his personal sovereignty. His military system was at once the marvel and the admiration of his neighbours, and although his best troops were few in number, they deserved in all probability much of the praise so freely bestowed upon them. But the greater proportion of his soldiers were raw recruits, uncertain in their fidelity, and more than dubious in their personal courage. The great difficulty under which he laboured was, however, in procuring arms for them. The presents sent him from this country, and the few cannon he was able to purchase, were made the most of. These were mostly useless after a short time for want of the proper ammunition; and although he asserted that in his workshops he could build cannon and make cartridges, this had never been proved, and is far from probable. The flower of his army was undoubtedly the Afghan-Badakshi element in it, and these officered by sepoys who had deserted either from Kashmir or from India made really good troops. These may have numbered two thousand, but it is more likely that they did not exceed five hundred. The Tungani from Aksu and Kucha were also hardy and experienced soldiers, but they were not to be relied upon in any emergency. The former were mostly employed as artillery, or as *jigits*, *djinghites*, horse-soldiers. The latter generally acted as *sarbazes*, foot soldiers. Both these were regular troops who resided in barracks, and performed military duties. Between *jigits* and *sarbazes* it is not probable that Yakoob Beg could ever muster more than ten or twelve thousand men. In addition to

these more or less regular troops, he had the Khitay contingent under Kho Dalay, which would fight against every enemy except the Chinese; and the Kirghiz tribes would generally furnish a large number of light cavalry and skirmishers when occasion required. Far be it from us to attempt to detract from the high credit which is due to the Athalik Ghazi for accomplishing the great things that he did with such bad materials. If this review of his military system is properly considered, it will be seen that higher praise is due to Yakoob Beg for what he did than if he had found himself at the head of a physically vigorous and warlike people. As the ruler of an effete population, who never were noteworthy for courage, he beat back every invader from his borders, and stamped himself as one of the great conquerors of his age.

His civil administration was not less practical; Kashgar was parcelled out into a certain number of districts, and at the head of each district was placed a Dadkwah, or governor. Nominally vested with supreme control in his government, he was technically subject to the approval of those he governed. Tyrannise in petty ways undoubtedly many of them did; but, as the life of the subject could only be taken away by the express order of the Emir himself, the most powerful weapon in the hands of an unscrupulous viceroy was removed. At stated periods, also, he had to proceed to the capital to give a report of the chief occurrences in his province, and on these occasions petitions containing charges against the Dadkwah were formally considered in his presence. Another check on the Dadkwahs was to be found in the Kazi, or judge, who alone decided all legal matters.

The prominence given to the legal authority was not without a good effect on the public mind, and even in the administering of the law precautions were taken to prevent its abuse. All ordinary offences, such as petty thefts, acts of irreligion, &c., were punished summarily with a certain number of strokes from the *dira*, or strap carried by the attendants of the Kazi; but any charge for which a more severe chastisement seemed necessary had to be investigated by a member of each official rank; so the Kazi passed a culprit on to the Mufti, the Mufti to the Alim, and the Alim to the Dadkwah. Should any of those authorities differ as to the necessary punishment, and an adjustment be found impossible of attainment, then the disputed point was reserved for the consideration of the Emir himself. The Dadkwah alone could declare what the punishment should be, and he had to be present at the time when it was administered, the governor being responsible in his person to the Sovereign for any miscarriage of justice within his jurisdiction. Under this system it is not to be wondered at if order was maintained throughout

the country. Thieves, vagrants, and beggars were arrested and incarcerated, if found abroad during the night-time or under suspicious circumstances, and difficulties were thrown in the way of those who wished to travel from one part of the state to another. Without the *permit* of the Dawkwah no individual could leave his home, for the roads were constantly patrolled either by regular troops or mounted police, and these had strict instructions to convey back to their homes any persons journeying without Government permission. Yakoob Beg's police system was in no sense inferior either to his military or his judicial. The guardians of order were divided into two classes, the secret and the municipal. The municipal were chiefly the attendants on the Kazis in the towns, and the suburban patrols stationed at all cross roads, and generally throughout the country. In numbers these were limited, but to judge by the result they performed their duties in a very effective manner. But the secret were a far more effective body. They permeated all ranks of society, and were omnipresent. Their zeal was invincible, for it resulted in their own advancement, and every one was eager to enter their ranks and receive the pay and emoluments that were the reward of their good service. The eagerness shown by every one to speak ill of his neighbour in a very short time produced a block in the progress of justice, and restrictive acts were brought into operation to remove the threatened confusion in public business. Laws against libel and false accusations were passed, and the punishment for such offences made extremely stringent.

Another effective method was to reduce the rewards given to informers. These measures produced a salutary improvement, and during the last years of Yakoob Beg's rule the secret police had become no longer a nuisance to the public and the ruler alike, but a most powerful assistant of the latter in his dealings with the former. But while Yakoob Beg gained strength in one direction by this effective police system he lost as much in another. Order was supreme, but discontent was widespread. The freedom of the subject had disappeared, and in its place had sprung up a sense of thralldom that had never been apparent under the Chinese rule. Neighbours feared to express their convictions even to those whom they had known for years, and a sort of stupor fell over the population which even perfect security could not dispel. In the bazaars the busy hum which prevailed during the Khitay domination had given place to a more monotonous undertone, and although the morality of the Mussulman law far excelled that of the tolerant and indifferent Chinese, the merits of the new Government were effaced by its harshness and rigour. Many said, too, that the good state of public morality was only on the surface, and that as much vice existed beneath

this pleasing exterior as during the days of the opium smoking, bang-drinking, and amusement-loving Khitay. A blight had fallen on the energies of an enervated population, and all the attempts of Yakoob Beg, who, as a warrior, was averse to trade, to increase the prosperity of his state seemed doomed to failure. Yarkand alone maintained some of its old activity, and Kashgar itself assumed something of the appearance of a capital. But everywhere else was stagnation and retrogression. The Chinese had been expelled and the Tungani crushed, but the effort those triumphs had cost produced exhaustion. A ruler, who devoted his attention to military matters so much as did the Athalik Ghazi, who sought to play so important a part in the affairs of neighbouring states, was not the one most fitted to raise Kashgar from its fallen condition. The money spent on warlike stores and in the maintenance of a large army, if devoted to more peaceful operations, would have raised Aksu and Kucha to cities of the first rank once more, and would have really added to the effective strength of the nation more than high sounding, but useless enterprises against the Tungani, and towards Wakhan. The truth does not seem to have been far exaggerated in the pathetic language of the son of the ruler of Artosh when he said, "During the Chinese rule there was everything, there is nothing now."

We have now nothing left but to briefly consider the terminating act of Yakoob Beg's reign, and it is not necessary to say much here on this final catastrophe. In the autumn of 1876 the rumour reached the Emir that a Chinese army had commenced operations to the east of Turfan; but it was not until the fall of Manas in the October of that year that he perceived that this fact was of importance to himself. Swiftly the rumour ran through Kashgar that the Khitay were returning for their revenge, and all the memory of their former prowess revived at their preliminary successes north of the Tian Shan. Yakoob Beg, undisturbed for twelve years in his occupation of Eastern Turkestan, had now to face the same danger which had crushed every Khoja prince from Jehangir to Wali Mahomed. With all his natural courage, the heart of Yakoob Beg must have misgiven him. The return of the Chinese after so long a respite seemed like the inexorable decree of fate. Early in the spring of last year the Chinese army, considerably more numerous than that collected by the Athalik Ghazi round Turfan, commenced operations from Manas by forcing the Devan pass through the Tian Shan, and also from Hami by pushing on a detachment against Chightam and Turfan. Both operations were crowned with success, and Yakoob Beg, driven out of Turfan, seems to have kept up a running fight to Toksoun, where he was again severely

beaten. He then withdrew in haste to Korla, where, some weeks afterwards, he died, either through natural causes, or by the hand of the assassin, as is now the accepted version. His army thereupon abandoned all the country up to Kucha, and the Chinese slowly advanced into Kashgar. In the meanwhile, Beg Bacha had, after some opposition, succeeded his father; but the skilful generalship of the Chinese has compelled him to seek refuge in Russian territory. Practically speaking, Eastern Turkestan has reverted to its old position as a Chinese province, and the story of Yakoob Beg and of his rule passes into the domain of history. He undoubtedly possessed great abilities, and for a modern Asiatic he achieved no mean task. As soldier and ruler he equally excelled, and in his own private life he appears to have been both moderate and generous. Steeped in all the customs, the intrigues, of the Court of Khokand, he emancipated himself from the enervating influences of that Court, once he became an independent ruler, and has left a name which, whether he be handed down to history as Yakoob Beg or as the Athalik Ghazi, will not lightly pass out of the pages of Central Asian chronicle. Therein is the chief proof of his individual superiority. When Khudayar Khan, Mozaffur Eddin, and possibly Shere Ali, are forgotten, the mention of Kashgar will bring back the remembrance of a warrior who roused sympathy in the streets of Calcutta, and in the reception-rooms of London. Identified with the Mohammedan religion, and the bold defier of Russian power, the sympathies of all his co-religionists were attracted towards him; nor soon, though he failed in accomplishing the summit of his and their desires, will he be forgotten by those who had come to regard him as a heaven-sent champion. His premature end, brought about by an invasion which was generally considered to be an impossibility, dispelled every illusion about the power of his state. But in closing this account of the great ruler we may say that his final overthrow in no way detracts from the high esteem in which we must always hold this able and successful sovereign.

ART. V.—GEORGE ELIOT AS A NOVELIST.

WE must judge of books as we judge of men, and the fair way to appreciate one's fellow-creatures, is not to pay exclusive attention to any one mental or moral trait, and in that way produce a psychological caricature, but to endeavour to form a true, adequate, and complete conception of the man's whole thinking and feeling nature. Books, which are in the completest sense the immortal parts of men, and go on living and moving

and teaching, and doing good or evil long after the hands which wrote them, or the brains which dictated them, have passed into the indistinguishable dust of the grave, must be criticised in the same manner that men are. No trivial inquiry into the style, no dry disquisition as to the manner will meet the one case any more than a description of a man's coat will meet the other. Writings are not inorganic matters to be placed on the trim shelves of some museum, to be comprehended in classes under some byword, but organic things which are transfused with the life from which they emanate, and to understand them in their oneness and manifoldness, you must understand the life that is in them. Any earnest criticism must go deeper than the skin of style, must concern itself with more than the varieties of expression, must weigh and understand the meaning of the book and the writer who stands behind it as a man stands behind a mask whose mimic features are a nimble likeness of his own; must determine the thought and purpose of the one and the other.

How do we then arrive at our conclusions as to men? How is it we eagerly accord our admiration to some, are indifferent to others, and are earnestly antagonistic to a third class? It is doubtless true that in many cases our likes and dislikes are scarcely rational. Men embrace or strike at one another, if not in the dark, at least in very dim twilight. In many cases habit, prejudice, common interests of the mart, community of feeling about trivial pleasures, common purpose in slight affairs, are the bonds which attach men to their so-called friends. But these are casual friends who are lightly come by, and may as lightly go; they are not the friends who, in the words of Ecclesiasticus, are the "medicine of life and immortality." These wholesome friendships have to be sought oftener in the large field of history than in the narrow garden of society. We ransack the past for our heroes if the present will give us no human worthiness to worship, and the bonds between the great of the past and ourselves, are quite other than those which attach us in ephemeral friendships with our poor contemporaries. Our community with these is in noble thought, in strong conscience, in clear resolve, and in diligent execution of unselfish purpose. It is these qualities we look for in our heroes; it is these qualities which command our ready, our officious admiration and respect, which make us the worshippers of those who have them in great measure, the friends of those who have them in some allowance; and it is for these qualities which we must look in all the works which men perform, before we can pronounce them good or bad. Books are no exception to this rule, for books are, on the whole, the noblest works that man has ever created, the most adequate monument to his transcendent genius. It is true that other great

deeds have been done besides those which the pen has accomplished. Besides writing noble books, men have at all times been busy in the paramount duty of living noble lives, which latter is a prerequisite of the former, and, indeed, the end and object of all these other works, whether they are done in words, in stone, in colour, or in music. But while we praise books, we must not forget that many men have found the sword more adapted to their strong hands and valiant hearts than the pen, and they have served good ends with that coarser instrument. Man's hand, too, has wielded the trowel to noble purpose, and we have those unbrageous works of stone which, with massive lightness, keep shelter sacred through centuries of time and storm. The brush, too, has been used with conscience, and the results of the patient labour of those who have dipped the sun's-rays in their dye-pots, light our dark days with reflections, as in a sworn mirror, of the beauty and brightness of the past.

But whether we deal with painting or sculpture, or architecture or literature, we must consider the same spiritual facts, the honesty of the worker, the tempered flesh which was a ready instrument at the beck of high thought and great purpose. We come back always to the question as to the moral and intellectual nature of the man who did the work, and his relation to us in our two-fold nature. He is speaking to us through these his works; he is influencing us through these his endeavours, and our business in criticism is to find out how he is affecting us, with what purpose and result.

These principles may be understood by most readers, but they are apt to be lost sight of in the ordinary bustle of criticism. Criticism every day sinks beneath its high function because it is almost impossible to find a competent critic. To understand a man and his work, one would require to be the man, and yet to be some one other than the man at the same time. One must be the man in all his sympathy with the work; but other than the man in all his sympathy with himself. Hence the real difficulty of excellent criticism. To criticise George Eliot and her books, one ought to follow her through every effort of her consummate genius from the first to the last, retrace her laborious steps of effort, sympathise with every thought which has passed through her brain, and every feeling which has been in her heart, and yet ought, notwithstanding this intense intimacy, almost identity with one's subject, to transcend that subject by sharing in none of her selfish aims; by being dissociated from her in all her personal wishes. And to accomplish this work, to assume this attitude, it would require a genius greater than that possessed by George Eliot herself. However difficult it may under these circumstances be to find a competent critic for such works as she has given to England and the world—for national boundaries are too small for such large

gifts—some earnest essay in criticism may be made and perhaps is called for, when we find that the claim which has been made for her to be regarded as amongst the first of English novelists, has been eloquently disputed by Mr. Swinburne, who would place Charlotte Brontë in the position from which he has, according to his own view, deposed the author of "The Mill on the Floss" by his poetical bluster.

One preliminary word. While we regard George Eliot as one of the greatest of story-tellers; as one of the greatest masters of the art of peopling the world of thought with veritable men and women; as a writer who transcends all writers of fiction in the richness of her pages in errant wisdom, in delicious humour and in the crowding thoughts and reflections which make her books an inexhaustible magazine of wayside philosophy, we confess at once to a much more deep and sincere admiration of George Eliot's earlier than of her later writings. While, in every book that bears her name, there is almost incomparable merit; in some of the most recent there are very grave faults. We cannot look with the like satisfaction on all her works. Our criticism cannot be one current of unmitigated praise; and therefore our task is not only difficult, but, in a sense, unpleasant. We could have wished to recognise a gradual growth of power, a gradual sublimation of purpose, a gradual increase of ease and mastery over the mere material of her art in every successive effort of her genius; but, to our thinking, the "Scenes in Clerical Life," are, in some ways, more admirable as complete works of simple art than the elaborately tedious efforts of her later years. Certainly, neither "Middlemarch" nor "Daniel Deronda" will, in their laborious length, or in their painful elaboration, compare with those effortless productions of her masterful genius which have taken a unique place in our literature under the titles of "Silas Marner" and "The Mill on the Floss." There is the strength of growth about these—there is the weakness of planned effort about those. In these earlier works she moved with a grace and simplicity which can only be compared with Nature's motions—as in the wavy flight of a bird over a slipping river, or the unconscious ease of the sunflower as it follows the day with its own orb-like face. In the later works she moves with an artistic grace which is by no means despicable, but it is the grace as of society which has taken thought as to its courtesies, and is not averse to show the art of its smiles. True, these latter would have moved our most ready assent and most grateful admiration, had we not had her earlier works to judge her by. No one but herself could have lost reputation by two such works as "Middlemarch" and "Daniel Deronda."

The writer, whether of fiction or of any other work, has to

understand and report Nature. He is just the world's secretary, who has to see, to comprehend, and to take down all that happens at this wonderful congress, which is taking place in the world. All our books are "minutes," and he is the best secretary who has noted most, and most accurately, what passed in his own cognisance, whether that was a cognisance of feeling or knowing. But a writer may become trivial. A great many of his own experiences are quite worthless—a great many of his emotions are merely personal; to write these would be to note down things which others would not care to read. And hence the secretary has not only to write, but to select what he will write—and to do so well, he must understand and sympathise with the wishes and feeling of those to whom his writings are addressed. It is in this matter of selection that the art of the writer primarily lies. His whole nature makes the choice of his subject and of the various subordinate matters which illustrate and carry forward his central purpose, and therefore upon the nature of the man depends the excellence of his choice, and the merit of his books. The man with a foul mind might go through heaven and think it a brothel; while the saint would walk unharmed, save for pity, through the nether world. And so it is that bad men always find bad in the world to make books of—while the good and noble find great funds of good and nobility in Nature ready to their hands, in generous abundance, and it is thus that their books come to be noble and excellent. So it is that the wide man reports all Nature in his work, while the narrow man will report some trivial corner or backstair of the open universe. As we said before, this is true of fiction as it is of other writing, for fiction is *after all* just a kind of dissenting, non-conforming history. A man's books, therefore are, as we have argued, a means of measuring the man. If he is trivial they cannot be great; if he is wicked they cannot be good; if he is full of greed, and instead of aspirations has only needs, his books will not be full of nobleness. Books are not things altogether apart from their writers, they are rather the moods which they have shed. Hence it comes about that in judging of real books we are criticising real human characters, and in noting a change in the character of an author's work, we are at the same time noting a commensurate change in his own nature. We would here then endeavour to form some estimate of the large loving nature from which we have received these works, which stand so prominent amongst the books of our time: and then, after some endeavour to appreciate her earlier works, we would attempt to indicate the reason of the failure of her maturer efforts. Few writers, it seems to us, have done so much work of first-class merit as George Eliot. Few men have created half so many real men and women, who

are not only the toys of our idle moments when our mind is loitering over the pages, but are true influences in our lives long after we have closed the book. Few writers have moulded so many real human forms which, Galatea-like, have come to life, and moved amongst men and women born in the ordinary way. We may call these latter real, but they are less real to us; they are more strange in all their characteristics, in their motives, in their desires, in their predicable actions, than such men as Adam Bede, or Tito Melema; or such women as Dinah or Maggie Tulliver. Most men have the power of giving some life to their descriptions of their fellows. The art of assuming for the nonce the physical or mental characteristics of persons whom we remember or imagine, is not by any means uncommon. The art of the mimic, which consists in the assumption of physical characteristics is a very common gift. The art of the actor, who enters fully into the mental and emotional as well as the physical attitude of persons, who have to say certain words and do certain acts, is not rare, but it is a much less common gift than that of the mimic. The art of thinking and feeling with imagined beings, and of developing a course of conduct from such imagined thoughts and feelings, and harmonising all the acts and speech of these fancied beings with the conceived ideas and emotions which we are thinking and suffering with and for them, is the art of the novelist, and, in a small degree, it is enjoyed by many, in a great degree it is possessed by very few, and of these few it is possessed only by three, so far as we know, in a greater degree than we find it in George Eliot.

Shakspeare, a man of transcendent capacity in quite other ways, possessed this faculty in an equally transcendent degree. He was peculiarly fecund of men and women. He may have taken up into himself innumerable things, which of right belonged to others, but which by virtue of his potency he made his own. He may have borrowed a thousand of the sayings he has made current in our language from the common stock of the literary properties of the green room; but the men and women he sent upon our stage are his own; the life he gave them is an excrecence of his own overflowing genius. Into these he breathed the breath of life, so that his Hamlets and Macbeths, his Othellos and Lears, his Juliets and Desdemonas, became more immortal than their creator, who, as becomes a maker or god, is shrouded in curiously impenetrable mystery. Scott, a man of quite inferior capacity had, nevertheless, this great gift in an altogether exceptional degree; and it was probably in right of this commanding quality that he enjoyed the abundant popularity of his own day, a homage which has been but inadequately paid to his works of late. Fielding,

a man with more cleverness than Scott, had the same transcendent power. His view is quite different from that of Scott or Shakspeare; but in realising men, and in appreciating the describable characteristics by which they could be recognised in their integrity of disposition, and in deftly dealing with these qualities, so as to enforce a similarly vivid realisation in others, he was quite comparable with these. But with these three exceptions, we know of no one in English literature—or indeed in any literature—who has possessed this power in greater perfection than George Eliot. We would not compare her works with those of Shakspeare; which are, in all respects, transcendent: we would not wish to compare the works of Scott with some of hers, except in respect of this supreme power. But in this peculiar possession, these four writers seem in many respects comparable; although we think, that the order which we have chosen for their mention is a proper parallel to the order of degree in which they possessed this creative faculty. Apart altogether from this supreme faculty, we find qualities in George Eliot's work which we do not find in that of Sir Walter Scott or Fielding: but in relation to the translation of men's characters and dispositions, men's motives and desires, men's aspirations and men's fears, into words which have the effect of an *alto-relievo*, and let the human being stand out, not as a synthesis of psychological qualities, but as a real, veritable man—these writers were largely endowed, more largely endowed perhaps even than this writer of our own time, of whom we are so justly proud. We cannot but think that the "Antiquary" will compare with any of George Eliot's works, in respect of this paramount quality of the novelist, compared with which all other qualities which may be possessed by the story-teller are secondary and inconsiderable. This godlike quality of conceiving for others, men and women who shall cease to be imaginative creatures, but become real men and women of our higher acquaintance and more select friendship, with whom we may not eat or drink, but with whom we can laugh or weep, with whom we can think and sympathise, is shown in an altogether unique degree in that most admirable novel. But the curious excellence of these writers has been their prolificacy in that respect. They have not produced only one being who might be a careful transcript of their own long experiences of themselves, and might have the truth of a confession; but they have produced many men and women, with each one of which they have actively sympathised; they have carefully thought, and they have for moments or hours identified themselves, at the same time retaining their own individuality in critical separateness. This great gift of wide sympathy has been very sparsely given to men. It is the

gift of the poet of character—the novelist. And to none has it been given more lavishly, by none has it been exercised more liberally than by the great writers we have mentioned. In their works we find no type of character upon which they are so opulent of pains that they must stint those of another. They have sympathies which are not kept in channels like streams, but which overflow everything like a flood. Fielding is as true to life in Parson Adams as in Tom Jones. Scott understands Dandy Dinmont as well as he does Rashleigh Osbaldistone. And George Eliot enters into the feelings of Dolly Winthrop as fully as she does into those of Romola. It is then in this quality, which is the primary one in all writers of fiction, whether it is fiction for the stage or the study, that George Eliot transcends all contemporary writers—transcends them as much in this quality as she does in respect to all those which must be regarded when her true position in literature is to be considered. Only one woman is at all comparable with George Eliot in this respect. In our admiration for the one we must be careful to do no injustice to the other; and we would say here that the author of “Ruth,” “Mary Barton,” and “Cousin Phillis,” is second to none in her conception of feminine purity and loveliness of soul, second only to George Eliot—of all the writers of our time—in the appreciation of other sterling and sterile characters, and in the graphic power of making these live and move among us. In absolute purity of nature the author of “Ruth” stands separate from all others. No one knew what a womanly saint was except this saintly, pure, and tenderly pathetic writer. But as compared with the author of “Silas Marner” and “Romola,” it will be seen that her knowledge of motives was less complete, her sympathy was not so perfectly catholic, and her treatment of character is, on the whole, more episodic than thoroughly analytic. It is then, as we said, in this quality, that we recognise George Eliot as almost unrivalled in English literature. It is in this faculty that we find her almost unique among the writers of her time. We do not say that others may not have recognised and appreciated some particular type of character—high or low—and may have rendered that with adequate pains in words; but it is because no type is shown in *her* works, because all characters are adequately rendered—from the light-minded Hetty to the high-minded Romola, from the paltry Stephen Guest to the genuine Adam Bede—in her pages, because she has known and sympathised with and loved all manner of men and women. Possibly in one aspect, as we have said elsewhere, Charlotte Brontë is more than comparable with this strong-minded, richly-cultured, large-hearted woman. In Paul Emmanuel and Rochester, she has given us vivid portraiture of men in their emotional relation

to women who looked upon love as a pleasant slavery. No doubt these are masterful creations. But Charlotte Brontë was altogether wanting in George Eliot's catholicity; her sympathies ran in a passionate but narrow channel; she was intense where she loved, but her heart was very compact, and she had no wide human sympathy—no spreading motherly love. She was as hot as fire, not widely general to all like summer. Her conception of the world of character was altogether straitened and inadequate, while George Eliot's is wide and almost as all-embracing as the loving arms of Nature herself. In these estimates of George Eliot, estimates by comparison, for it is difficult to appreciate excellence in any other way, we do not lay any stress upon her more recent productions. We shall refer to some of these hereafter; but at present, in endeavouring to define her exact literary rank among her peers, we are content to bear in mind her earlier triumphs. In the works of her more mature years there is too much effort, too much strain and stress to allow of their being placed in the small list of perfect works of art. Ease and simplicity are characteristics of the purest products of genius. The products of that faculty of faculties are marked by an entire absence of studied elegance, of conscious power, of considered effort. They are as natural as a bird's song, as a moon rise, or the morning incense of flowers. But in George Eliot's recent works we find none of that luscious spontaneity which marked her earlier books; they are elaborately wrought, they are carefully compiled from a rich and miscellaneous experience, they are skilfully finished; but every one of these results shows the mechanism by which they were produced. The author seems now to be doing out of duty what at one time she did out of love—as an old person might go stiffly through a dance which at one time seemed the free and harmonious play of his lithe limbs. George Eliot has for some time been doing affectedly, against the grain of her mood, what at one time she did naturally, and with her whole nature, and so great is the glamour of this true genius, so closely in some respects has she copied the model which she herself set in her prime, that a great many people have failed to perceive the change which has taken place. The catholicity and width which we admire in her early books is an unconscious catholicity and width, not a laborious sympathy with the separate and remote. Her width of thought and sympathy while she was the exponent of the romance of English provincial life was infinite. Her width of thought and feeling since she has preached—as she does principally in her poems—a barren philosophy; since she has devoted herself to the somewhat intricate exposition of the truths of popular science; since she has become didactic as to certain great social problems, has been confined within somewhat narrow

limits. These objects, which were apart from the larger purpose of comprehending human life, have had the effect of curtailing the rich proportions of her great sympathy, and have, as a result, rendered her later productions, less than her earlier ones, the spontaneous products of a great, opulent, overflowing nature. But our views, in this regard, will be better understood if we examine one or two of the works which belong both to her early years, and one or two of those upon which her latter fame must rest. As a complete work of art "Silas Marner" stands foremost amongst her great works. It possesses all the qualities which go to make an excellent fiction. The interest is healthy and sustained. The characters, from Silas himself to Godfrey Cass, or even to the pithy sketch of the more contemptible "Dunsey," are all drawn by a deft and vigorous hand, and without the redundant painstaking and accumulation of laborious detail which is characteristic of inferior work. We see that the author has an accurate knowledge of all kinds of men, and a power adequate to expressing their characters in harmonious action and accordant speech. Here that power is shown in the quick, strong strokes of a master, and not in the laboured execution and tentative development of a tyro. Nothing could be more complete or excellent than her vivid portraiture of the miser Silas, and his regeneration after the loss of his treasured gold by the advent of the youthful influence into his bent and broken life, that influence which constantly regenerates a sordid world, and, like new tides on our wont-fouled shores, brings wholesome cleanness and wide ablation to the cankering souls of an age. No sermon on the text from Wordsworth

"A child, more than all other gifts
That earth can offer to declining man,
Brings hope with it, and forward looking thoughts,"

which she has chosen to illustrate, could be more excellent and eloquent than this fine romance.

But it is not only on the bent figure, and at one time, bent soul of the weaver, with his strange catalytic seizures, that all her marvellous power of portraiture is expended. There is not a single sketch which is not a truthful transcript from the spiritual nude. A person may only appear on this narrow stage for a comparatively short period, like William Dane, of Lantern Yard, with his dishonest tampering with the larger lots of life which are more fateful than those which wrongly declared Silas guilty of the theft; but although he only passes across the scene, he leaves indelible traces on memory, and is rewarded with ready hatred. Nancy Lammeter, too, although so little is said of her, stands out in firm relief as a fine, pure, loving woman, with a tender

heart and a stiff conscience. All these are like some of Rembrandt's pictures, where a few dashes of apparently random colour produce a face with all marks of life upon its over-featured features. But we trace the master's hand as much in the unconsidered trifles of art, as in the high enterprises upon which reputation depends. Thus the men who talk at the "Rainbow" about the "red Durham," the coming of Mr. Lammeter to the Warrens from a "bit north'ard," and the supernatural phenomena connected with Cliff's holiday, are each possessed of a characteristic individuality. The scenes at the "Rainbow," of which that neutral-minded man Mr. Snell is the landlord, are inimitable. The readiness with which this large-souled and strong-brained woman can sympathise with the plodding intellects and stupid thoughts, strifes and superstitions, of these countrymen, is an indication of the great range of character which has inspired these immortal books. The really great man is great in his being the fellow, not of the peer or the savant, not of the clever or the good, but because he is the fellow and the friend of the tramp, and the ignorant; the fellow and the friend of the stupid and the bad. The great man is kith and kin with everything human. He calls the thief cousin on one side, as the saint is on the other, and so it is that George Eliot is at home with the stolid nonsense and consummate numbskulledness of Mr. Macey, and the "negative spirit" of Mr. Dowlas, and enters into their dark moods with a real sympathy, and yet with such strongly contrasted intelligence, that the result is heartily laughter-moving. The humour of these scenes, and of many that we find in the works of this period, is genuine; our smiles are not demanded by any poor mannerism or trick of words, an expedient which is of constant resource in the works of Dickens, but in sympathising apprehension of the incongruity between the dim thoughts of these men we are over-hearing, and the facts as they are known to us, an incongruity which touches our pity, but commands our laughter. Excellent specimens of this humour are to be found in the quaint talk of Dolly Winthrop. Here is an example of her theology in a sentence in which she persuades Silas Marner to go to church—

"For I feel so set-up and comfortable as niver was, when I've been and heard the prayers, and the singing to the praise and glory o' God, as Mr. Macey gives out, and to Mr. Crackenthorp saying good words, and more partic'lar on sacramen' day; and if a bit o' trouble comes, I feel as I can put up wi' it, for I've looked for help i' the right quarter, and giv' myself up to Them as we must all give ourselves up to at the last; and if we'n done our part, it isn't to be believed as Them as are above us 'll be worse than we are, and come short o' Theirn."

This is her opinion of men in one aspect—

"I've seen men as are wonderful handy wi' children. The men are awkward and contrary mostly, God help 'em, but when the drink's out of 'em, they aren't insensible, though they're bad for leeching and bandaging—so fiery and impatient." And here her description of and excuse for the pups which "the lads are allays a-rearing." "They *will* worry and gnaw—worry and gnaw they will, if it was one's Sunday cap as hung anywhere so as they could drag it. They know no difference, God help 'em; its the pushing o' the teeth that sets them on, that's what it is."

In none of these is there any exaggeration with the view to laughter. Each word is genuinely characteristic of the good simple woman, who utters it; and we love her well, while we laugh at her quaint views and admire her kind actions. There is no such excellent humour in George Eliot's recent works as that which we find so close packed in "Adam Bede," "The Mill on the Floss," and "Silas Marner;" and it is, perhaps, in this quality that her works are peculiarly transcendent. Other artists have had as large a command over pathos as George Eliot. Mrs. Gaskell had as much claim upon our tears, whether in her larger works like "Ruth" and "Mary Barton," or in her shorter stories like "The Half-Brothers," as George Eliot, but she scarcely ever insists on our smiles or laughter. She does not possess this great mastery over all our lighter moods which is the characteristic of the greatest genius. She may possess all the dark lands which belong to sorrow, but she is not ruler over the brighter, kinder lands which are the heritage of joy. She has one half of us, and that the half with conscience in it; but over the other half, which is the home of health, she has no sway. But George Eliot is a genuine humourist. She can laugh herself, and her laughter is taken up by her readers, until the whole of the waters of the spirit are shaken as if with the wholesome stirring of stagnaut soul by an angel visitant. She is a complete woman, and a complete woman must have sympathy with the joys as well as the sorrows, must be able to laugh as well as to weep; must have moments of genuine sport as well as of earnest prayer.

One other thing we would wish to note in relation to George Eliot's method. She never leaves her stories in the skies, as it were, but always gives them a local habitation in time and space. The historical atmosphere of her books is full of genuine chiaroscuro. And in each of her works there are valuable bits of landscape art which do credit to her clear eyes and clever hand. One always understands the social conditions which surround the persons of the drama, whether it is the strange thin atmosphere of the Lantern Yard community, or the lavish feasts and inherited customs of the Osgoods and Casses at Raveloe. The pictures too,

of Raveloe, of the cottage by the stone pits, of the town of St. Oggs, of Dorlcote Mill, are each in their own way perfect. Her style, too, in these excellent works is excellent. She has always something worth listening to to say, which is good in itself—either for the weight of wisdom or the buoyancy of wit which is in it, but at the same time furthers the purpose of her succinct tale. These are all worth remembering, and, as they are natural parts of the story, they are there of right, and not like the graces of style of inferior writers, only on sufferance.

But passing from these matters, the fine purpose of the book is what we praise, by our appreciation, most. If it has a moral—as all things have—it is, “that when a man turns a blessing from his door it falls to him as takes it in.” This is a true lesson. We must earn our blessings. This simple story tells how Silas Marner is blessed exceedingly, when his gold has been stolen from him by the advent of Eppie; how the gold which has dissociated him from the world of human hearts and human sympathies, and which, while he thought he clutched it, clutched him—was mercifully taken from him, and how a child-angel led him out of the prison of his life, and brought back to him men’s care and love and fellowship. It tells, too, how Godfrey Cass, who had spurned the blessings which were offered him—who shrank from duty when it was irksome to do and would have involved the sacrifice of the then most desired pleasure—Nancy Lammeter—comes in time to wish for the very blessing he rejected—the blessing of a young life and young love associated with his own serene existence, and cannot have his wish. We see how the lonely Marner is blessed with a child; and how the father, Godfrey Cass, is cursed with childlessness. Who has preached a sermon on duty which will go more powerfully, more poignantly, to people’s hearts than this simple story? Simple it is and yet adroit. The events are all consistently connected. There is, too, an entire absence of exaggeration. Marner’s merits are not made too much of, nor Godfrey’s Cass’s demerits too darkly coloured. The former is still the simple man, even after his regeneration; never rightly understanding how the “lots” at Lantern Yard came to be wrong, and still clinging to the hope that he had been cleared of the false imputation, but admirable withal, and lovable, by reason of his strong, tender, beautiful love for Eppie.

But there are other characters in this full little book which deserve some mention. We have referred to George Eliot’s strange power of completely sketching a character by means of a few well-weighed and well-placed words. That a word in a wise mouth will tell more than a dictionary in the mouth of a fool is certain, and is illustrated over and over again here. Miss Priscilla

Lammeter stands out plain, sharp, and out-spoken from these bound pages. Nancy is drawn to the life, if not from the life which is, after all, the truer way of drawing. Eppie is only a child; but there are few children in literature like those of George Eliot. As a baby, as we see her the first night at Marner's cottage, she is painted as only a Reynolds could paint a child. What a real baby scene it is when she "toddles about with her pretty stagger," and Silas follows, lest she should fall against something and hurt herself, and when "she is happily occupied with the primary mystery of her own toes, inviting Silas, with much chuckling, to consider the mystery too." These are only touches, but they are touches which make great pictures. The tragic element, too, of the discovery of the dead mother, low in the furze, and half-covered with the shaken snow, by the infant, with the cry of "mammy," is dealt with in a masterly way. But George Eliot is admittedly clever in her portraiture of children. She has a light and a true hand for these subjects, and a great motherly love which makes her sympathy with them "intense." She, like Romola, has a "maternal instinct, which was one hidden source of her passionate tenderness." All her children are real children. Nothing, for instance, could be more excellent in the way of portraiture than her sketch of Lillo, who "is as sensible as can be," and when Ninna cries, "goes and thumps Monna Lisa." "Lillo, conscious that his legs were in question, pulled his shirt up a little higher, and looked down at their olive roundness with a dispassionate and curious air. Romola laughed, and stooped to give him a caressing shake and a kiss." No one but Victor Hugo has done such justice to children as George Eliot. One requires to turn to "Ninety-three," look into the library at La Tourgue, and follow the play of René-Jean, Gros-Alain, and Georgette to find anything in literature better than George Eliot's children. No one else has given the dumb impulses which are strong in the mother's heart adequate expression. But she has other and wider sympathies. She has a deep feeling for animals. In this little book there are animals to make pets of for ever. First, there is the "friendly donkey browsing with a log-fastened foot," which Eppie and Silas pass on their way home from church. "A meek donkey, not scornfully critical of human trivialities, but thankful to share in them if possible, by getting his nose scratched." Then there is the brown terrier which is "barking and dancing" at their feet in "a hysterical manner," which "rushed with a worrying noise at a tortoise-shell kitten under the loom, and then rushed back with a sharp bark again, as much as to say 'I have done my duty by this feeble creature, you perceive;'" and last there is the

lady-mother of the kitten, who sat "sunning her white bosom in the window, and looked round with a sleepy air of expecting caresses, though she was not going to take any trouble for them."

Adam, it is said, gave names to the animals, but very few writers, with the exception, perhaps, of Burns, have given such accurate descriptions of animals as these. Natural history is beside the mark when you have such pictures as these of your friends of the rug and the paddock. There is a school of describers in colour who can do for animals on canvas what George Eliot can on paper, a school which had Landseer for its first great master, and is at present ably represented by Britton Rivière and Marks.

This is not an unimportant fact. By this means we may measure the capacity of sympathy of this great writer. In none of her writings does her large and liberal nature seem more capable, more sincere, than in this small volume. In none of her works is there such a world of sincere matter, matter which is not light reading for us, but serious didactic stuff, if we have the brain, the nerves, the passions, the love and the conscience, to understand it. If you have only read it once, read it again; if many times, still read it again. It is a fund of pure pleasure, and wholesome thought, and it is out of these that great resolves are made.

But although the "Mill on the Floss" is a less pleasing work, it is scarcely less excellent. In it we find all George Eliot's best powers braced to efforts which show their comely and fine proportions. Much of the book is profoundly humorous, and touches all the chords which have laughter for their tune. The book, too, is full of that sporadic wisdom which is one of the great charms of her rich writings. We follow with intense interest the story of the lives of those her creatures—creatures so real that they seem existences independent of the author's—as they move on her pages with the march of history, and are associated in all their vital relations, creatures which, in their whole conception, are devoid of the increases and diminutions, the exaggerations and disproportions, which are the frequent blemishes of inadequate art; we follow the career of the old miller, who has, like all other earnest men, had a hard struggle with this world, and for whom this world has been "too many;" we follow his career with painful interest, for it is the story of genuine qualities which are cramped by many baffling circumstances, and which, with all their right direction, end in futility. We follow the common career of the hard, narrow, and selfish Tom with interest; not, however, because his hardness, his trading, and his success have much claim on our regard.

His qualities were all of the common sort, out of which success on the Quay of St. Oggs, or in the business of Guest and Co. could be readily attained. We note him for his steadiness, prudence, self-seeking, and other decent apologies for the lack of virtues. We have, too, some sympathy with his efforts to secure his father's good name, and to get back the Mill. But his principal interest for us is in his relations to Maggie. It is almost the rule that the coarse and cruel should influence the good and noble in this life; and it is a sad part of the dire history of this world that that altogether tragic relation should exist. But, as we said, we follow these histories and the finer narrative of *Maggie Tulliver*, which is one of the most excellent stories in the whole range of literature, with a sympathy and a pity which is not dry-eyed, and at the same time we are in the presence of one of the most transcendent literary productions of our times. The book, like some fine wood, is constantly opening innumerable vistas on either hand, through rocky or lawny depths, which are all subordinated to—but all associated with, the broad sad path of narrative which we are following. These innumerable shrewd glances at all matters which may attract or interest, are characteristic of some high minds. Shakspeare was full of topics, Victor Hugo ransacks all Nature, and his pages teem with philosophic remark, often, even to the detriment of the current interest of his tale. But George Eliot, although rich in these bye matters, subordinates the main interest of these to the main interest in her book. But, as we have pointed out before, the purpose of the book is what we have primarily to do with—and the purpose of the “*Mill on the Floss*,” although not the noblest, is perhaps the honestest in literature. We can conceive few more pathetic stories than that which is told in this book. Although, as we said, it is full of humour; although the scenes with the Dodson Aunts—whether at Dorlcote Mill, when they come merely in the way of friendship, or when, after Mr. Tulliver's failure, they come to see what can be done for “*Poor Bessy*,” are in some senses inimitable. Mr. Pullet, with his fine memory for the medicine bottles, and his lozenge-infested tongue. Mr. Glegg, with his observations as to great political events, and the concurrent appearance of slugs or green flies in his garden, are both laughter-moving sketches. Of quite another and more genial kind of laughter, Bob Jakin and Mumpa, are the pleasant centre. But notwithstanding all these occasions for smiles which are to be found in these volumes, the book is incomparably sad: and all these gleams of the light of humour only serve to make the darkness of the tragedy the more pathetic. The tragic element is never lost sight of throughout. We can laugh at the “*having*” Mrs. Glegg, with her Dodson traditions

and her Baxter's "Saints' Rest;" at Mrs. Pullet, with her medicine-taking, her nosological reminiscences, and her intricate system of locking things up, and locking up the keys in puzzling complexity. We can laugh at stupid Mrs. Tulliver, with her sorrow which kept her awake of nights—that her best bleached linen should be all over the country, and that the silver teapot should go to the Golden Lion, although it had a "straight spout." But under all these, as under the lights which sparkle and flicker on the tide, there are deep currents of darkness and sorrow. In no page of the book do we escape from a haunting sense of sadness. Maggie is not a happy child; her lot has fallen upon somewhat uncongenial soil. But most of the good seed falls by the wayside or among thorns. We see her finer nature amongst human surroundings, which torment her. Her father's love for the "little wench" is beautiful, but her mother is always hard to her; and her own beautiful, unrequited love for Tom is not happy love. That her childhood has not been happy, the nails in the head of the fetish in the long garret, and the other injuries which have been inflicted upon its patient woodenness, bear witness. No story of childhood is more exquisite, or more pathetic than this of Maggie Tulliver. The girl Maggie is not perfect withal, far from it. She is by no means an exemplary good child, and she does not grow up into a model woman, with a nature like garden soil, shallow, but well regulated with walks of duty laid out here, beds of culture there, and walls of principle hemming all in; but a large, loving, luxuriant, gadding nature, with great desires, with large reaches of conscience, with luxuriant and sudden growths of affection and passion, and with timeous repentances and long remorse. We see how wayward she is—how she rebels against irksome duty, until she comes upon the long ago marked copy of Thomas-à-Kempis, and how she retaliates on herself, as she used to do on the wooden doll, by a harsh asceticism. We see how her nature carries her into a beautiful love, which is inextricable from her womanly pity for Philip Wakem, and how she sacrifices herself and him to the calls of revengeful duty at the instance of her brother. We know throughout that she has fightings within and fears without. We feel that hers is a real human nature with strong desires, a pinching conscience, and immense funds of undrawn-upon affection. It is not a model nature, with all the effective faculties in just proportions. A nature like Tom's, with which it is in fine contrast, will go through life in well-regulated decorum, but it wots not of the temptations which she has to suffer. It is the supernatural that is tempted most, that has the kingdom of the earth spread out, for rule; of angels ready to bear one up in any rashness—the stolid human animal knows of

none of these things. But it is in relation to her temptations that Maggie must be tried, and when fairly tried she will be found noble, inexpressibly noble; but it is a nobility which has won its spurs in terrible conflicts. She is not good because she has never been tempted, but because she has been tempted, because she has fallen; and because, notwithstanding that fall, and all the attendant conditions which, as with an omnipotent inertia of motion, tend to carry the human soul lower and lower, she recovers her conscience in that supreme moment, and turns back into the incalculably distressing path of duty, and walks upright in that. To our thinking this is the story of Maggie Tulliver, a story which could not end in any other way than it does. There was no possible noble end to that book, but the one which is here written, and written also on the tombstone in Dorlcote churchyard. To live after that triumph, to live to new temptations, and possibly to new falls, was impossible of contemplation. The only mercy was in death, and the flood puts the only bearable, although it is a tearfully sad, end to this great story.

It has, however, come to our notice that some by no means incompetent critics have lavished much resonant abuse upon George Eliot because of these last incidents in Maggie Tulliver's career. One, after speaking in adequately eloquent terms of the first two-thirds of this novel says: "But who can forget the horror of inward collapse, the sickness of spiritual reaction, the reluctant incredulous rage of disenchantment and disquiet with which he came upon the thrice unhappy third part;" and with characteristic unwillingness to leave a theme which gives opportunities for the unstinted flow of loud and laborious abuse he continues: "If we are really to take it on trust, to confront it as the contingent and conceivable possibility, resting our reluctant faith on the authority of so great a female writer—that a woman of Maggie Tulliver's kind can be moved to any sense but that of bitter disgust and sickening disdain by a thing—I will not write a man—of Stephen Guest's; if we are to accept as truth and fact, however astounding and revolting so shameful an avowal, so vile a revelation as this—in that ugly and lamentable case our only remark, as our only comfort, must be, that now, at least, the last word of realism has surely been spoken—the last abyss of cynicism has surely been sounded and laid bare."

There are other vituperative criticisms of a like sort in the pages to which we refer, and when a man of such competent faculty falls into such a vital mistake, some explanation may seem necessary; although to our thinking, unaided by this recent instance, the book itself seemed to contain all necessary explanation. We have no admiration for Stephen Guest, but to call him "a thing" does not advance our knowledge much; and to suppose

that a girl with Maggie Tulliver's nature could not fall in love with this man, with his handsome face and form, his deep manly voice, and his manly passion, is to make a supposition which is only excusable on the ground of a curious ignorance of the truth of woman's nature, and a curious carelessness in the reading of the pages in which Maggie Tulliver stands eloquently confessed. This fall or step of Maggie Tulliver's is sad, inexpressibly sad; this far more than the death of herself and her brother, reconciled in that supreme moment—in each other's arms—is what constitutes the tragedy of the book. This it is that wrings our hearts more than the happy deliverance which is brought by the wide waters, and the crushing wreck which obliterates these tragic children from the glittering face of these sorrowful floods. The tears which flow then are sweet; the shuddering sense of Maggie's error, the sickening sympathy with her when she goes back to the crown of thorns as preferable to any flower-crown which pleasure could put upon her flushed brow for an instant, is infinitely poignant. But to deny the truth of this is to make a foolish assertion which our whole knowledge of life, and a consistent reading of Maggie's character refute. To have made her walk straight to the goal of duty—to have made her consistently noble throughout—would have been to be dishonest to the whole purpose of the book; would have been a violence to the whole of the early part of the story. Maggie was a martyr, but she was tempted, sorely tempted; and that is the truth, not only of this story, but of the larger life which is around us, and is here reflected as in a globed water drop. It is real life which here sits for its portrait, and it is portrayed with a fidelity and accuracy which we find in few other pages of fiction. George Eliot did not set herself to write a pleasing book. She did not set herself to write—perhaps she was incapable of writing—such a stainless and almost sacredly pure book as the great work of Mrs. Gaskell; but she did set herself honestly to write a book about nobleness which is mixed with dross; of character which is complicated with passions; of conscience which is not master, but is mastering, although it wrestles, a fall with the world and the flesh. The truth of her story is expressed in one sentence of Philip Wakem's letter to Maggie, where he speaks of the love of Stephen Guest and Maggie. "I believed then, as I believe now, that the strong attraction which drew you together proceeded only from one side of your characters, and belonged to the partial, divided action of our nature, which makes half the tragedy of human lot."

We know the tragedy which came of it here. We know the sorrow which was the terrible consequence of that partial love which Maggie gave vehemently for an instant to Stephen Guest, and we know of the return to sane motives, the repentance, the

remorse, and the end. We might have had more pleasure in Maggie if she had never had these divided aims, these wayward impulses heavenward and otherward if she had been strong in right—but would we have felt her to be a sister as we do when we see her subject, even in her nobleness, to like solicitations from that which is not noble in her, as have visited us; would we, as Tom did in the last instant, when the end was come, call her by the endearing name of “Magsie?” and would we always think of her with such intimate love, with such deep and understanding sympathy as we do when we have closed this incomparable book?

So much, then, for two of her earlier works; let us turn to some of her later books and see whether the high standard which she gave us is maintained in these. First, we would remark that the latter books read less like novels than the earlier. There is a taste of medicine remains on the tongue, as there used to do when we had in our youth incautiously partaken of some officiously proffered preserves out of a spoon, instead of waiting to enjoy the stray scrapings of the pot in delicious furtiveness. Sometimes we detect a flavour of ill-concealed politics as in “Felix Holt.” Sometimes we find vague flavours of science in the pages of a book devoted to a study of social martyrdom, as in “Middlemarch;” or again we find suggestions of large, social, and national questions such as the gathering together of the scattered Jews in “Daniel Deronda.” We do not say that the treatment of such questions is absolutely incompatible with the performance of the highest work of the art of fiction. Large themes have been chosen as the central ideas of three of Victor Hugo’s great romance poems. The triple *avayku*, as he calls the fatality of dogmas, the oppression of laws, and the inexorability of Nature, have been expounded in the marvellous pages of “Notre Dame de Paris,” “Les Misérables,” and “Travailleurs sur Mer.” But the peculiarity of Victor Hugo’s method has made such polemics or such didacticism compatible with the production of perfect and unrivalled novel-poems, which we may call novels, but which do not deserve the name in the English sense. In these, which are in some ways the greatest literary products of the century, there is not the same effort made to realise human character, and the action is rather the action of overmastering ideas than of vacillating human beings. We are, when we read these, conscious that we are looking at the world, but we are at the same time aware that there is another world which we do not see, which is influencing and guiding the visible universe. There are men and women, loves and hates, and pleasures and passions on the scene; but these are rather puppets in the hands of fate, than the actual makers of fate. These books do not read like stories of life and character, but like

poems of man and destiny. They are not works which can be compared with the ordinary English novel, and a success in Victor Hugo's hands would augur nothing of the possibility of a similar success in the hands of others. Victor Hugo is a poet, who has tried to write prose. George Eliot is a prose writer, who has tried to write poetry. And to our thinking all these efforts which we have noted to conjoin problems of religion, of science, of politics, and of race, with her fictional products, have only tended to make her novels less satisfying as works of art, while they have not, save in quite exceptional quarters, done anything to create a reputation for her in these various departments of thought in which she has essayed to express herself. We say again that we do not deny the possibility of combining these earnest subjects with the lighter kinds of literature; but we deny that George Eliot has done so without serious detriment to both. She may indoctrinate us in politics, she may teach us science, she may give us vigorous views of the future of Judaism, but in giving us all this knowledge she is forgetful that she is sacrificing our sympathy, that she is estranging us from her moods with which before we were so happily intimate. It is possible, we believe, that all this might have been taught and our sympathy retained, but we do not find that George Eliot has succeeded in this difficult task. She may have taken some stray readers by these learned novels, but she has lost the masses; and in this instance we are satisfied to be in the majority. Her politics in "Felix Holt, the Radical," earned her small praise. Here, as in all her novels, there were many things that no one else could have written. The first chapter is as full of beautiful description as any similar number of pages in any book. Some of the Sproxtton colliers' talk is excellent over-hearing. But although there are many beauties there are grave faults. Her theories concerning the animal basis of all the moral virtues, might have been interesting elsewhere. Her opinions on many matters might have deserved the prominence they attain in these pages, in pages of their own. The book retains no hold upon our heart and memory as her earlier works do. In "Middlemarch," too, we have a good deal of science of a cheap and popular sort, although it is occasionally somewhat obscurely expounded, for George Eliot's style has lost some of her clearness, as her novels have lost their succinctness. As her books have grown unwieldy in their large proportions, her sentences have got somewhat tumid, not always with meaning it seems to us. But even in "Middlemarch," notwithstanding the fact that she had returned to her own peculiar field, English provincial life, notwithstanding many great merits, she failed to reach the high mark of her former excellence, she failed to gain the hearty assent of the readers of this country. In "Daniel Deronda," her most recent work, we find her prophe-

aying much as to the future of Judaism, and it may have been pleasant reading to certain Jews who share her hopes and fears in the imminent fulfilment of her prophesies; but these have scarcely been regarded as enhancing the somewhat forced, if fashionable, fiction, which goes by the name of that walking gentleman of slender character, who must by courtesy be called the hero.

How different it is with all her earlier works, from the slightest of the "Scenes in Clerical Life," to "Romola" In these there is no high-flown purpose to be served; no gospel to be preached, except the ever interesting, ever supreme gospel of the human heart—a gospel which is as old as time, but has its new revelations each day—each hour. In these great works, great although small, there was apparently no didactic purpose, but there was a far higher meaning, a far richer hope, a far more opulent promise than is to be found in any of these her latest books. "Middlemarch" is a most melancholy work. It is a book full of futile action—while "Daniel Deronda" is silly, for it is full of foolish hopes, which may have a meaning to a single race, but for which George Eliot has failed to secure a catholic response, or a common sympathy. In the first we have at least a beautiful life revealed to us, and if its success is sorrow, we are not left without the consciousness of the fine compensatory hopes. Compare Silas Marner, for instance, with his heart made young again by that finer alchemy, which substituted Eppie, with her golden hair, for his bag of tarnished money, with Lydgate, and his anxiety to find out "what was the primitive tissue," and to follow further in the great steps of Bichat—with his flippant marriage, his failure in Middlemarch, his ultimate Treatise on Gout, "a disease which has a good deal of wealth on its side;" his success and death. Compare Dorothea; that woman, who beside "provincial fashion, had the impressiveness of a fine quotation from the Bible, or from the older poets; in a paragraph of to-day's newspaper," with her disgusting sacrifice to the paltry pedant, Casaubon, and her ultimate marriage with the as paltry smatterer, Will Ladislaw—with Maggie Tulliver, her mistake and her expiation, and one will see how hopeful the earlier works were, how hopeless this redundant story, "Middlemarch," is. To us, these comparisons are disheartening. We read the early works with delight, we rose from them with hope. We had been in intercourse with the people of the world—some good, some indifferent, some bad; some had had our abhorrence, some our pity, some our love, and we could go on loving these to the end. But in these latter books we have a more populous world almost, for there are crowds of people in these overgrown works; but in no case do we find any who are so absolutely real in their merit or demerit as to command our unhesitating acceptance of them as veritable

human beings, who have come on the paper as it were in spite of the author : we rather feel in each case that the author has much credit for constructive ability, and we rise from the books in the end with feelings of disappointment and doubt. True, each book has merits, and we would not wish to make our criticisms too wide. Caleb Garth, for instance, is a fine sketch. It may be little more than a sketch, but everything which is material to our just conception of his character is here literally taken down. There are other clever sketches in this novel ; and there is much which, while it does not equal the power which we have noted in her earlier works, recalls, with vividness, that great faculty. But there is much of the work too mechanical in this book, Mrs. Cadwallader is too clever to have much character, or her character is sacrificed to her epigrams, which no doubt are good, but have less of the genuine ring of true humour about them than the fine sayings of Mrs. Poyser, for instance. George Eliot now makes fun, as if she were a little old, and tired of sport. Her treatment of the characters of Mr. Brooke and Sir James Chittam, errs in the same way. Tricks of expression such as the former's " You know ! " and the latter's " Oh, why ? " are apt to mislead the reader and the writer, for that matter, into a belief that character is sketched when only mechanical accidents of character are deciphered, and it is altogether beneath the dignity of an able writer to get fun out of the mere in season and out of season repetition of habitual phrases. However, there is more merit about the latter portraiture than about the former, and we could, if we had the mind to, quote some most excellent sentences which fell from Sir James, which show that the old power of entering into slow feelings and stupid thoughts is still instinct in George Eliot, and the old art of bringing these humorously to her readers also remains. But although " *Middlemarch* " contains much excellence, we cannot believe that as a whole our feelings of disappointment are not well founded. We confess we find much of the same literary skill, but it is the same skill jaded, and there is a want of the old spontaneous rush which produces the very highest literary excellence. The excellent, wise, and witty things which are constant like daisies among the ordinary herbage of her prose, and which would make a sound and genial proverbial philosophy, and which enrich our language much in the same way—although, of course, not nearly to the same degree—that Shakespeare's do, have in her recent works more the look of manufacture about them than of growth. Her humour, too, smells of the shop. There is some mechanical humour in " *Middlemarch*," as, for instance, the scene in the wainscoted parlour while Mr. Featherstone lies dead upstairs ; but we think these passages contrast but poorly with those

in her earlier works; while in "Daniel Deronda" there is a plentiful lack of humour of any quality. We confess that our liking for that sad and futile novel "Middlemarch," is greater than for that so-called "hopeful" book "Daniel Deronda." It is true the former leaves us a legacy of dissatisfaction, doubt, disappointment. There is nothing stimulating, nothing hopeful, in the story of high hopes declining into paltry affections, or great ambitions satisfied with insignificant successes of the monetary sort. Such stories do not leave us better or nobler, and we rise dejected and baffled from this story of provincial life. But even then we have memory of power, if wasted, of capacity shown, if misdirected; and of faculties still possessed, if not so vitally effective as heretofore. In "Daniel Deronda" we cannot find these indications of pre-eminence which were not wanting in its predecessor. There are some clevernesses in it. The shallow Gwendoline Harleth, with her deepening nature, would have been a clever creation if it had come from less creative hands than those of George Eliot. We do not object to the ideal of Mordecai—we see that George Eliot intended to invite our sympathy for this consumptive Jew and his great purposes, his huge aspirations; but we are sadly conscious that she has failed to secure that sympathy, that her art has been insufficient to secure an interest in this man, which makes Deronda's action with regard to him intelligible. We look at his aspirations without feeling their warmth and stimulation; we scrutinise his hopes and language without being touched with these. We have no intimacy with, no love for this Jew. And it is George Eliot's fault that we are thus indifferent. It is not because he is a Jew that we are aloof from him; for Christ has won millions of hearts, and he was a Jew. It is not because this is a fiction; for Walter Scott could make us love the Jewess, Rebecca, and indifferent to the Saxon, Rowena. It is because George Eliot has attempted a task beyond her cunning. The very apologies which are put forth for this creation are a confession of the failure. It is said that George Eliot has not imagined a character but has drawn from the life; that such a man as Mordecai did actually exist; that he was one of the club of students who met some forty years ago in Red Lion Square, Holborn; and that he was described by Mr. Lewis in an article in the "Fortnightly Review" in 1866. We say, such historical sanction for this lame creation is a confession of irretrievable failure. Who ever thought it necessary to defend any of her great creations by such paltry evidence as "true in fact?" Such creations ought to carry all their credentials to belief with them; ought to require no extraneous or historical proof of consistency and truth; and, when such are offered, it is a confession of the poor claims these have on us, claims which are disputed until a

certificate of birth is forthcoming. The great creations need never have been born; they are here. We care not whether such men or women ever existed; they exist. There is a truth in the best fiction which is higher than that of history; and it loses its reputation by consorting with such a scrivener-like fellow. But passing from Mordecai, what are we to think of Daniel Deronda and Mirah? These surely are faintly limned characters. There is in one place some fine analysis of Daniel Deronda's motives and vacillations, but it is analysis and not creation. We think it clever while we read it, but it leaves no indelible impression of the man's spiritual presence on our memory. Indeed, from beginning to end we get the fairest conception of this so-called man. A walking gentleman in a comedy, who has to look well, become his clothes, and say nothing, affects us as much and as permanently as this man. How Gwendoline came to regard him as a hero and a guide, it would be difficult to say, but that we remember that women will be women. That Mirah had a fine voice and sung well we believe, because Klesmer said so, but for indications of anything else fine we have looked in vain. Indeed, the book abounds with smudged sketches of character rather than complete and redolent creations. It may be, that as in "Middlemarch" we have the story of the fall of two souls bent on high purposes, with far stretching resolves, with great claims to noble action, by the contamination of common life and common love, so in "Daniel Deronda" we have two souls saved by the failure of selfish hopes, and the awakening of higher purposes than the gratification of desire, or by having a dilettante indifference turned into the large stream of national duty. These may be the purposes of these books, and for the disappointment which we experience with Dorothea and Lydgate, we may have been intended to compensate our natures with the hopes which might arise in relation to Gwendoline and Deronda. But again these theories are but poor excuses for the works. No such hypotheses were necessary in the case of Shakspeare's art. There was no need of such for Scott or Fielding, nor for George Eliot herself in her more genuine works. Not that such purposes are not legitimate. Some such aim is in every great work of art, but when the purpose renders the art less recognisable; when the purpose is all that can be pleaded for the book, the art of the artist has failed.

Before we could care for the loss or gain of souls, it was incumbent upon the writer to make these near and dear to us. As it is, the fall of the one is almost as much a matter of indifference to us as the salvation of the other. They are not of like flesh and blood with our own, as the earlier creations were. They are not "kith and kin" to us as these were, and will not be our

friends for all time. To us, we confess, these have been disappointments, notwithstanding the great claims which the books in which they occur have upon our respect and admiration; and they will continue to yield us only partial enjoyments and half-pleasures in the time to come. We shall go back to "Silas Marner," to "The Mill on the Floss," to "Romola," and to "Adam Bede," with our old delight when we want to see George Eliot as the true woman, speaking truly from her heart; and as the true artist, speaking with all the rules of her art latent in her wise taste and teeming genius.

We have insisted on one thing in this essay, and that is the identity of a man and his books. The book may be looked upon as the profile of his character. But while we think that this identification is essential in any intimate criticism, we must not forget that there must at the same time be an essential separateness between the man and his works of art. The object of the novel writer is to tell a story. We do not say that his sole function is to amuse the idle, or to occupy empty hours. Too many people seem to think such the duty of the writer of fiction, but we would not degrade his high office and great duties by any such misapprehension. Still, the primary duty of such writers is to narrate, and where an author forgets that duty, and becomes speculative, expository, literary, or historical, to the neglect of the tale which has to be told, the result must necessarily be a failure. A story may carry instruction, it may have a moral, it may teach some truth of science, it may be a stimulus to action, a persuasion to well-doing, but when any one of these becomes the object of the tale, the work ceases to be a work of fictional art, and will probably be only second-rate as a treatise on ethics or on science, as an oration or a sermon. Now, any earnest human being may find it difficult in these days to remain indifferent to many paramount questions. Science none of us can ignore with impunity. Religious questions are rife, and dogmas are a "drug in the market." The age is full of questionings, and just because the answers are few, the intellectual activity is great, and the dissatisfaction which is the spring of all great achievements is common amongst us. It could not be expected that a woman like George Eliot could remain apart from the intense and rapid eddying currents of the life of the age. Even in her early life she entered into the religious questions by translating Strauss's "Life of Christ," and Feuerbach's "Essence of Christianity," and since that time much of the scientific life of the period has been reflected in her own life. She has lived intensely in relation to certain important problems, and these have influenced her, not only in her life, but in her art. It is here that we would have insisted upon separateness. All that is essentially human in

George Eliot is compatible with a narrative which she may carry to the widest circle in space, and the most remote circle in time. Homer may be obsolete some day, but after two thousand years there are closenesses in his and our humanity which make his language ours, and George Eliot might expect to charm centuries whose foundations are not yet laid, except in such books as her own. But as we said, to convey a tale one must make that the object, one must subordinate all one's own personal vanities, or affectations, or clevernesses, or eruditions, or sciences, and make the tale with the human beings whose doings and sufferings make the story all prominent. It is for this reason that the creation of human character is the primary merit of the novelist, for it is that which is the indispensable element of story-telling. But the inferior writers of fiction are always two-minded, they have a story to tell, and they have also to prove that they are excellent story-tellers, or that they know all science, or are "well up" in art, or that they are anxious to save souls alive, and hence they fail. If they could have kept their pettiness apart from the tale, if they could have separated their vain or learned or religious selves from the narrative, they might have conveyed the incidents with explicable clearness, but they chose to be expository or what not, and they have been dull companions and disregarded teachers. The very intensity of their feelings about these matters has been their ruin. Their art was not all in all, their science or religion was something to them. So it has been with George Eliot to some extent. While she dissociated herself from to-day and the matters of the hour which had an intense personal interest for her, she was great. Her pictures of provincial life were exquisite. Other writers had chosen to dissociate their artistic from their personal interest by choosing the remote as a subject, and none have run the risk of bringing these into conflict by treating with scarcely concealed didacticism the great problems of the age. To Fielding and Austin and Scott these problems were as nothing compared with their art, and they have not risked that by the treatment of these. George Eliot has, and where she has made this endeavour, she has, as we think we have shown, failed. She has failed to subordinate her personal interests to the larger interests of her art; she has failed to see that there are questions of more importance to all ages than the science and the aspirations of this, and that her duty was to tell stories which would command the sympathies, not of the learned merely, but of the learned and simple; not of her own time only, but of all ages. She is content to allow her learning to appear in her books almost more prominently than her real gift. She seems scarcely to have assimilated these views, opinions, and theories sufficiently to inform and enrich her style merely, but she is in her later works

always alluding to them. An old man of consummate science if we meet him in society is, perhaps, a more agreeable and pleasant man by reason of his science. A young man of flippant acquirements and trivial experiences is generally the more disagreeable on account of his. The former carries all his experience lightly, and knows that his load is not *all*-important to his fellow-man. The latter will vaunt his latest discovery, will lead conversation to his own little eminence, and could never be mistaken for anything but a man of science. Now, it is thus with George Eliot in her recent works. She is not content to know and be influenced by the spirit of the age, but she will parade it. Her acquirements are so new that they will not go into small compass and be decently concealed; she must talk at length upon these great matters about which she seems to imagine all her readers wish to be informed. So it comes that there are passages in some of her works which read like passages from scientific essays, save only that some of them are lacking in the direct clearness which ought to be a quality of scientific exposition. Here, for instance, is a sentence from "Middlemarch." "These kinds of inspiration Lydgate regarded as rather vulgar and vicious, compared with the imagination that reveals subtle actions inaccessible by any sort of lens, but tracked in that outer darkness through long pathways of necessary sequence, by the inward light which is the last refinement of energy; capable of bathing even the ethereal atoms in its ideally illuminated space."

We confess that that might be clearer. But we do not wish to do more than refer to this matter. It is to this circumstance that we ascribe George Eliot's failure to maintain a reputation which she made suddenly so great, a reputation which, notwithstanding that these laborious and bulky efforts have not added to it, must always remain as one of the brightest ornaments of English literary history.

We said that in forming a true estimate of men we were bound to come to a conclusion not about external accidental matters, but about such central matters as high thought, strong conscience, and clear resolve. We have, in criticising the novels of George Eliot—for we have not had space to deal with the works in which she has chosen to express herself in a poetical form, for it is much more a matter of deliberate choice than it ought to be with a great poet, whose matter, like the soul of which Spenser speaks, makes itself a beautiful and resonant body—we say that in criticising these novels we have borne these matters in mind. We have seen that she possesses the great gift, which is only rarely bestowed, of understanding character in its infinite relations with its environment, relations not merely of passion and reception, but of action or aggression, and of enforcing her own conclusions

by adequate and beautiful speech. We have found her execution peculiarly skilful, and her purpose in most of her works a reassuring one, while in others it is somewhat impotent and futile. But we would note one more central matter in relation to her works, and that is the latent conscience which is in them, and the actual conscience which is a primary motive in each. Men may go through an ordinary London world without discovering that there is a "God's secretary," as Milton called "conscience," in men at all. Society seems to get on very well if people have taste enough to avoid rudeness and gaucheries. But to the real man or woman conscience is a real fact, and an all-important element in the world's progress and in man's life. This George Eliot has seen, and we not only recognise an intense conscientiousness in her writings to be true to the dictates of her own wide and womanly nature, which is the necessity of genius; but we find throughout her works that conscience plays a prominent part, and that her characters have souls as well as dispositions, have aspirations as well as tendencies. Had it not been so, we should have had reason to complain of George Eliot on the ground of incompleteness, she would have done injustice to life and character. But her merit is her sympathy, as we have said, with all men or with all moods and phases of character. With this faculty, in one sense divine, she has acute sympathy. We find this as much in "Romola" and "the Spanish Gypsy," as in the books we have already somewhat lengthily referred to. Our whole interest in "Romola" is in her great moral nature, which, as all great natures in this life are, has become associated with that shallower nature in its beautiful form, that nature which has contemned the past and yet thought to secure the future, that nature which has been content to forego the claims of conscience for those of vanity and ambition. The contrast between "Romola" and "Tito" is excellently instructive, and it has its whole meaning in these ethical questions, which are paramount elements in human existence. There was nothing strange in the association of these two. It will be remembered that when Tito came first to the solitary and dutiful woman, in the dark library of Bardi, his presence "was like a wreath of spring dropped suddenly in Romola's young but wintry life." We see how the same struggle was to be fought, under far other circumstances than those of Florence at the time of the revival of Hellenic and Latin thought and spirit under the literary and artistic sway of Lorenzo de Medici, under far other guidance than that of the great Dominican, Savonarola, upon the banks of the legend-haunted Floss. We see a crisis in conscience there when Maggie comes upon the marked copy of the "Imitation of Christ," and when the claims of the past are felt and recognised, not merely an inherited past of nature, or a traditional past of

vows of revenge against the Wakerns, but a past which has associated us with others, which has knit us in bonds of duty which none but rash and wicked hands will try to break. We find the same story told of Janet and Edgar Tryan, in the tale of her repentance. Indeed, as we have said, in all her early works, we find the same problem, and in all the same result. In each, conscience is the victor, not with easily secured laurels, but after vigorous battles with temptation—battles which are as hard, as real, as those we have to fight, and the victory in these may serve to nerve and encourage us in our own contests. In these, we never find that George Eliot for an instant shakes the foundations of duty, never for an instant loses sight of the great law of benevolence; and our duties to others, in each she counsels vigorous endeavour after a righteousness which is above religion, and a human love which is above all passion. This, then, is the great lesson we learn from these early books, while she seemed to be teaching nothing. It is a lesson which we see adumbrated, but scarcely so definitely taught in the books in which she seemed of purpose didactic. Not that in any of her works are these the sole motives. Her books are as varied as Nature, and that is their merit. Conscience is an element, but not the only element in life. And hence there are places for sensuous longings, even for sensual lusts in these books, but the latter are subordinated to the higher claims of Nature, and in this way her books are moral, while they are at the same time true to all the facts which piebald nature presents to the mind and heart of the artist. It is in this respect, then, that her books are so peculiarly excellent.

We may seem to have done some injustice to George Eliot's great merits. The temptation of the critic is to under-state or over-state defects or merits. Loud praise, or deep imprecation, is much easier of accomplishment, is generally much more popular when accomplished, than weighed and considered criticism. We have endeavoured to avoid either of those unjust extremes. We have endeavoured to convey an idea rather of the fine proportions of George Eliot's great works, than to dwell with flattery or blame upon any individual triumphs or failures. We have endeavoured to give some idea of her fidelity to Nature, a fidelity which is characteristic of all great writing; but it is a fidelity which is produced by a nice appreciation of the rules of art, and not by a literary pre-Raphaelitism, or photographic exactness. This fidelity is very great, so great that her books, when one remembers them, recur to one not so much as writings, but as facts. The writer does, as it were, stand aside and allow us to see the world past her. And that is a characteristic of high genius. Genius ought to write with such skill, with such care, with such art-concealing art, as to produce the illusion in us that he is nothing, that we

are not in his presence, but in the presence of the men and the incidents here referred to. He ought to move with such grace that we cannot see that it is grace, any more than we can recognise that the glistening waves of the cornfield are graceful, or that the hum of insects in the heat is musical. If he has this power, his books transcend books, and become parts of a living vital nature, and they interest us as if the people in them had personal relations to ourselves, which were enduring and true, and as if the events and circumstances were matters we must ourselves shape our conduct by. "Daily life" is, according to Göthe, "more instructive than the most instructive book." But in the perfect book we have daily life and art too; we have daily life, which is more instructive than the bare nature which presents itself to us in the workaday world. In this quality, then, George Eliot's words are most excellent; and we are pleased to acknowledge our great indebtedness to these books. We may have failed in placing our deep and most pleasantly acquired convictions upon this paper, in such a way as to carry the same certitude of belief to others; but we have at least endeavoured to estimate merits which have contributed so much to our pleasure and our higher thought; so much indeed, that any expression of gratitude looks startlingly inadequate in the presence of our deep sense of these infinite obligations.

ART. VI.—THE PEASANTS OF OUR INDIAN EMPIRE.

HAS the time come when we may answer the question so often put, What good will the visit of the Prince of Wales do to India? The peasants of great areas in the empire have waited patiently for many years in hopes of some improvement in their condition; they have accepted with gratitude the good intentions of many governors, as demonstrated by various theoretical improvements; but the question of certain improvement still remains. It is not implied that his Royal Highness could personally effect that which successive executives had failed to do; but it had been hoped that his visit might hasten the completion of an act of justice that has been long in digestion, long of expectation. It was hoped that its completion might have tended to cement more firmly many millions of people to the British rule, and that a new bond of union and peace between the Indian classes might have dated from this period.

The unfortunate condition of the Deccan peasants attracted the attention of the Bombay Government in 1829-30; but it was

not till 1832 that any serious efforts were made to improve it. Inquiries were then commenced in the Poona collectorate at Shalapoor on the outstanding revenues of that district. It was a ryotwar country, where each cultivator was liable to pay the assessment on the land in his occupation. This was a high rate accepted from the Mahratta rule; the yearly settlement had been carefully made for many years by British officers; heavy remissions had been given; but the fixed revenue of the year had never been collected, and an inquiry was instituted into the revenue balances for ten or more years. Notwithstanding the zeal and ability of the native officers employed under the direction of an English superintendent, Mr. R. K. Pringle, the sub-collector, the work went on slowly. The ryots did not think that anything in their favour could be contemplated; all previous inquiries had been in a contrary direction; they feared retaliation if they complained of oppression by Government servants; and they scarcely dared to complain of exactions or tortures by their neighbour, the money lender.

After a few careful and elaborate inquiries, ending in writing off the debt due, and in suspending one or more revenue officers for making false accounts, the horizon began to clear, and in the distance was seen an undefined extent of exaction, fraud, and torture, by hereditary and stipendiary native officers, with forgery, rapacity, usury, robbery, and exaction by grain-dealers and money-lenders, the victims in all cases being the cultivating peasants. It will be as well here to give a slight sketch of the ryotwar system in the Deccan, to enable the reader to comprehend the situation. Each village has a certain portion of land attached to it, some for cultivation, some for grazing, some for woodland, and often some as waste. Each village had an hereditary patell, as police officer and revenue-superintendent, an hereditary coolkurney, or clerk to the village; they came under the head of ballutedars, and with ten others received payment in kind from the general cultivators of the village. These payments were called hacks, corresponding to our English tithes, and were fixed quantities on certain areas of cultivation. We do not relate the duties of the other ballutedars, as they were not connected with the revenue details; but as their rights of tithes were claimed under all circumstances, they acted directly on the condition of the cultivator. In addition to these village claimants, there were the old hereditary district police and revenue-officers, called desh-mooks, head of the district, and deshbandy district-clerk. Under the peshwa they had to keep the peace of the district, to levy the revenue, and hand it over to the treasury in person, or through the agency of the patell and coolkurney of each village. At the time we speak of the duties of these district officers were

very undefined, though they received their allowances on the district collections, and sometimes exercised their original duty of collecting the revenue. The deshbandy kept an account of the district, the coolkurney of the village revenue. He had to give a receipt to each cultivator for his revenue payment. These demands were adjusted every year by the English collector of the district, on the assessment in use with the peshwa's Government. Remissions were granted if necessary, and the collections were made from October to October nominally, the sums uncollected being carried as a balance to the next year.

An English officer was appointed to inquire into these outstanding balances of revenue for ten years. The first point to ascertain was if the receipt of the ryot tallied with the book of the coolkurney; the second, if the book of the coolkurney tallied with the receipt in the treasury. The receipts of the ryots were seldom to be found; their memory could not be trusted; but as they had frequently paid through their bankers, evidence was sometimes obtained of payment in excess of their credits in the village books. On this point the coolkurney objected, that the banker had not paid to him the sum debited to the ryot. The proceedings were in public, *vivâ voce*, and summary. The bankers did not like producing their day-books or ledgers when they had them. They were necessary to the inquiry, and revealed long histories of improvidence, of exorbitant interest, and inaccurate accounts. Occasionally the original bond was found; Government revenue was traced to the banker's hands; he was debited in the balance-sheets, and the peasant was discharged. Many patells and coolkurneys were suspended from office, and district hereditary officers were convicted of extortion and torture.

The ordinary methods of torture were pepper bags tied over the head, standing in the sun with a heavy stone on the head, and other bodily pain. Extortion was also practised by preventing the man from eating or drinking, and by placing one or more men in the house till the claim was paid. Force, rapine, fraud, and forgery existed everywhere. Few complaints had ever reached the ears of the British authorities, and the peasants believed that all the sufferings they endured were known to and sanctioned by them. The report of these proceedings was circulated to all revenue officers in the Bombay territory. English sympathy was aroused, and a species of crusade was opened against oppression. Stipendiary and hereditary officers were brought to justice; English officers lost their health and temper in the perplexities of the inquiries into these old debts; and strange entries in the accounts came to light. Mr. Rose, who entered on his duties in 1834-5, found a sum of revenue due by one gomagee kopsee (*what's his name*). Impunity must have

lived some time before it reached this audacity in the revenue books.

Matters had been getting so bad, that about the time we go back to Mr. R. K. Pringle had undertaken a trial revenue survey. The principle of it was sound ; but as natives only were employed on the details, it could not last, and a revenue survey was established, with scientific English officers as superintendents. The condition of the ryots in the Bhimthari district of Poona is thus noticed by Lieutenant Nash in 1838 :—

“I am at a loss to convey the idea of the poverty and ruin, which I have received during my residence here. Several causes, the ravages of Holkan’s army in the beginning of the century, the dreadful famine which followed that campaign, and was repeated two or three times in the next twenty years; the violent epidemic of cholera, which raged about 1820; the heavy fall of prices after the introduction of British rule, and the consequent oppressive weight of the old Mahratta rates of assessment, were assigned, by the settlement officers, as having all contributed to this result.”

By the Government resolution, Bombay, 30th August, 1875, we also learn that the old average rate of Government assessment was about thirteen and a half annas an acre, in addition to the hacks (claims of the village officers) and illicit exactions. These exactions were gradually reduced; the hacks and other cesses were taken off in 1844; “nearly half the waste land was taken up in the first year,” and the effect of the thirty years’ settlement “has been to more than treble the Government revenue,” with an assessment of about “annas seven per acre.” In other words, the assessment was reduced about one-half, and the land revenue was trebled. When we see such results accruing in a few years of British superintendence, we are forced into asking the question, why it took eighteen or twenty years to do it? Famines, holkar, and cholera had nothing to do with the condition of Bhimthari. The district native officers had tried the same tales in 1832-3; but the unfortunate condition, so easily mended, was brought about by the absence of British supervision.

We have said *easily mended*; the ostensible cause in the Revenue Survey department was the reduction of the assessment. The revenue officers had never collected above half the old assessment; remissions were always heavy; and heavy balances were due for ten or twelve years. When the survey commenced the village and district hereditary officers were learning that they were overlooked; the stipendiary native officers were finding out that honesty was their best policy, and the peasants were beginning to get receipts for their revenue payments. Cultivators were in fact obtaining greater security from the oppression of the revenue authorities; while another cause was helping in the

Poona, Ahmednuggur, and Tanna collectorates to make the bankers more moderate in their exactions. The reduced assessment was only a part of a general amelioration.

The mountain range, and the long spurs of the Syadra mountains, are inhabited by tribes who, doing little in cultivation, live chiefly by the chase. Accustomed to arms, and with the recollection before them of Pindaree raids, these men formed into gangs of robbers, and preyed on the money-lenders. Murder, arson, mutilation, and robbery visited the usurers. The police were met and defeated, either by force or surprise. The head of Luximun, the brave native commandant of the Tanna police, was sent in a basket to the magistrate of the district by Ragojee Bangria, who kept the police, the Bheel corps of Khandesh, and several military detachments in constant occupation between 1844-5, inflicting many losses and injuries on the dealers and bankers, but assisted by the ryots in his marches and concealments. There was a romantic story at the time. The father of this bandit had been hung, chiefly through the instrumentality of Luximun. Soon after the execution he passed by the hut, where the widow was nursing a new-born boy. "Are you suckling the son to succeed his father?" said the officer. "I am suckling the son of Ragojee to avenge his father's murder!" replied the woman. Twenty years after that a party of the Tanna police were in search of the robber gang headed by the young Ragojee; the policemen had gone to a brook which ran by the jungle hut where they had bivouacked. Luximun Jemmedar, fully armed, was standing before the door in the grey of the morning, when he was cut down and beheaded by Ragojee; the head was carried off, and the gang escaped in the well-known forest paths before the police could get their arms and follow. The gang kept together for a year after this, but Ragojee was not caught for some years. The last of these gangs was destroyed by the police of Ahmednuggur in 1857. The hill tribes were disarmed after that, and the only natural Nemesis the ryots had against usurious oppression was taken away. Wild beasts have increased since then, and we shall presently see more of the savage relations between the banker and the peasant.

Returning to the natural order of events. The great work of the Bombay Revenue Survey commenced in 1836-7. There were several legitimate and useful taxes on the village books, but they had never been attended to, and had fallen into much confusion. They were called *obnoxious taxes* in a lump. It was suggested that they should be kept on the books, but not collected, in case a time might come when they would be useful, but they were all abolished in 1836, with a promise never to reimpose them. There was also a transit duty on grain which was always farmed out, the places

of collection were scattered about the country, and the officers in charge were often accused of speculation or extortion. It was difficult to reach the truth, and this source of revenue was also abolished. From this time the revenue of the Deccan depended chiefly on the land tax, and we have shown how well the Revenue Survey worked; its only fault was in making the labouring man the owner of the soil. The system, well digested and well executed, was welcomed by all classes. Government expected that there would be no remissions of land revenue, and that what could not be collected in a bad season would be realised in a good one; this proved fallacious; no year passed without a deficient crop somewhere, rain did not always fall, bullocks would die, fires did happen. It was only then beginning to be comprehended that a careful adjustment of revenue demands did more to diminish crime than all the punishments inflicted by the criminal laws. Increasing population, dear food, and facile theft multiply crime, but a careful adjustment of the land-tax on the individual ryot constituted the peculiar efficiency of the ryotwar system, and a money loss was a moral gain. The revenue officers had to bear in mind that small cultivators have often spent their last penny long before the last instalment of revenue is due; this must be paid; the banker advances it, and the peasant, already in debt, goes away rejoicing that the present demand is ended. Then comes the worst, not only of the consequences to the taxed, but of the political consequences to the taxer. The banker sues his victim in the civil courts. To an Englishman this does not seem a disastrous proceeding; a few extracts will show the ruin it brings now to the peasants of India.

The *Overland Times* of the 28th February, 1876, contains "the last Bombay administrative report, with some startling information regarding the administration of civil justice in the Presidency. The percentage of contested cases had fallen very low. . . . Nearly all the plaintiffs are money-lenders, and they have evidently very little trouble in getting a case decided in their favour. The judge of Ahmedabad had received a petition stating that the money-lending class corrupted the subordinate officials of the courts, so as to obtain decrees *ex parte*, manipulate auctions, and purchase property at nominal prices." The judge of Surat "thinks the common belief, that in many *ex parte* cases there has been no proper service of notice, is not altogether unfounded." The judge of Khandesh "considers the law gives such power over debtors, that the effect is to paralyse the industry of the country." The judge of Ahmednuggur "regrets that the whole civil machinery of the country should exist for the exclusive benefit of the Marwaries." The judge of Tanna

“deprecates allowing foreign usurers to turn measures intended for the protection of the ryots into a means for reducing them to a lifelong slavery.” These are strong expressions against the law by its executives, who have jurisdiction over extensive areas, assisted by one or more junior judges, and several natives, with courts in the district towns. These latter receive the cases between banker and ryot, and the clearer they keep the file the more credit they get from their superiors. We may suppose that their sympathy extends to their neighbours the capitalists, and not to the poor ryot. Judges and British assistants are seldom brought into contact with plaintiff or defendant, as they hold only courts of appeal on such cases; if there is any argument heard on the case, the most powerful is on the side of most pay. A ryot who is unfortunate enough to be sued in court for a debt, has nothing but a broken credit to pay an accidental attorney.

The Times of India remarks on the above judicial confessions:—“It seems incredible that all this was not discovered long ago, before the Deccanee ryots had arisen against the oppressors, the Marwaries.” Government knew it, but *The Times of India* did not; the whole condition of the ryot and his banker was known forty years ago, but the *Times* may refer only to the following in its issue of 21st February, 1876:—“When a Deccanee ryot finds himself completely sold up by his village Shylock, he either cuts off the money-lender’s nose or burns his house down. A case of this kind has just occurred near Poona. A villager, with the assistance of four others, waylaid the spoiler; four of them held him down, while the fifth cut his nose off. A number of such cases led to the Deccan Ryots Commission;” and, remarks the Editor, “the longer the delay in the application of a remedy, the greater will be the mortality amongst the noses of the money-lending classes of the Deccan.”

The disturbances which led to the inquiry just alluded to took place in the spring and summer of 1875; they were the results of spontaneous combustion in the peasants, in consequence of inordinate oppression by money-lenders, and, says *The Times of India*, of “subordinate Government officials.” As it is not said of what department, we may conclude that the officials alluded to were judicial servants employed in the execution of decrees, though, as we know, the peons of the revenue department may be also guilty of harsh and oppressive acts. The ryots do not wait to discriminate; all they know is that the oppressor belongs to Government, and is carrying out legal orders; they do not know much of the British Civil Court authorities, but they know the collector of land revenue very well, as he is always amongst them in that, as well as in his magisterial capacity. Their

sufferings were attributed partly to the exactions of the Government servants, but their vengeance took effect on the money-lenders. These men flood the whole country; they are as locusts, eating up every green thing. Few revenue authorities attended to a ryot's petition against his creditor; it was a civil case, not a magisterial one. The people exercised lynch law, and found that the police objected to their doing so. Military aid was called out against the unfortunate peasants. Several hundreds of them were caught, tried, imprisoned, and fined; the Commission was appointed to inquire into the causes of the disturbance.

Before coming to the results of this inquiry, a word may be said on the mutual conditions of ryots and money-lenders. They have always been essential to one another. The latter class are called unscrupulous everywhere, and they do not escape the imputation in their dealings with their careless, ignorant, and confiding neighbours of India. At the time we refer to, the mercantile classes were, of course, taxpayers to Government. They were pleasant, useful members of their social circles, and, in times of scarcity, energetic and zealous for the common good, while keeping an eye on their own interests. As to the ryots, all we can say is that the conditions of 1875 did not exist twenty years earlier, and if they had existed, we do not think that any peasant, occupying any village land, would have ventured to take the law into his own hands without laying his grievances before the magistrate of his district. An undefined storm-cloud rises over the subject here, concealing from us the cause of the present want of confidence between the peasant and the British officer.

A valuable paper by Mr. W. G. Pedder in the *Nineteenth Century*, No. 7, for September, 1877, gives, under the title of "Famine and Debt in India," some of the results of the inquiry to the English public. The subject is not familiar to English readers; to many it is distasteful; but as we find it presses more and more upon us, it will be familiar enough soon. We shall wonder why no one informed us of the danger, and why the authorities did not take measures to allay it. In this paper we find that the average assessment on land is "less than one-tenth of the gross produce." This tax is the same as rent in England, where one-third of the produce is supposed to be paid as rent. The actual rent of India is therefore low, but there are liquor and salt taxes, and duties on stamped paper; so that, including his debts, the poor peasant never has enough. Mixed up with the ordinary cultivating classes, we find enamdars, or holders of gift lands; sometimes free, sometimes as surringam, or service tenures, now a forgotten clause. There are also merasdars, or holders of pur-

chased titles, a species of tenure that might have been advantageously retained and expanded. These men are chiefly of Mahratta Coonbie caste, which furnishes our Sepoys. They are an attached and numerous family, spread over several provinces. A disturbance among the peasants would possibly irritate the Sepoys. The Coonbies are mostly dependent on the dealers; some of these are foreigners. While paying Government taxes, these tradesmen were not in excess of the demand. The Deccan Commission found them very numerous. There were fifty in one market town, nine in a village of 1200, and fifteen in one of 1600 people, with two or three in the smallest villages. Notwithstanding the exactions of these capitalists, which amounted in former days to more than the Government revenue, they are essential to the social system of the empire. There may, however, be too many of them. While they were called on to pay taks; while the peasants were slightly protected by the laws, and while a natural, but illegal, Nemesis threatened them, the money-lenders were more limited than they are now, when the conditions of their trade are rendered more secure, and when the Legislative Council has given laws, which assume an equality which is shown by Mr. Pedder not to exist. Many instances of inequality and strange perversions of justice are exhibited, unfortunately confirming the reports from the judges. There is "no hope for a moral reformation among the money-lenders;" there may be a chance of enlightening the peasants by education, but "their progress is slower than the ruin." In addition to the remission of taxes in 1836, the trades received more encouragement.

"Prior to 1859 the limitation for a money debt was twelve years, with simple interest at twelve per cent. per annum." The old native law allowed no more than double the sum advanced to be claimed in their courts of justice in any limit of time. In that year all the old usury laws were abolished. House, land, bullocks, and plough, which had been exempt under the wise and well-considered laws of Mr. Elphinstone, in the Bombay Code of 1827, were now liable to decrees of court in favour of the village Shylock, who also claimed his bond for personal service. This is the climax of the present law—slavery and irretrievable ruin to the bread-winner, the labouring, patient Coonbie of the Deccan. When these men found, in 1833-4, that the exactions and cruelties under which they suffered in British provinces were looked into and alleviated, they began to return to their native villages; when the low assessment on land was settled by the Revenue Survey, more exiles returned, and foreigners came to cultivate our soil. Now they are leaving again; formerly it was only personal illegal violence that they

fled from ; now it is legal ruin. The peasant in the ill-ruled country of the Guickwar assigned as a reason for not going into the better governed English territory, "We have no civil courts." "Politically," says Mr. Pedder, "it is a serious matter that the people should be forced to look to the independent States as the only refuge against the harshness of *British justice*." Having just detailed a catalogue of tyranny, he might as well have said *injustice*. Laws instituted by unintentional English Caligulas and Domitians, made subservient to rapine, slavery, and starvation, and continuing for many years without an effort to correct them, stamp our governors, our judges, British and native, with characters they do not deserve. Has it been to aid in the destruction of freedom, in the loss of property, and to insure ruin on innocent people, that the best scholars have been sought as rulers by competitive examinations; that they have been carefully taught criminal proceedings to punish law-born crimes, while no care has been taken to teach them Indian revenue duties, the careful performance of which has, as we have already said, been found to be one of the best preventives of crime? The Government of England is responsible for a part, the Legislative Council of India for the rest, of the present condition of the people.

Mr. Pedder tells us that "the inquiry of the Commission throws much light on the causes of this lamentable state of things. Foremost is the entire unscrupulousness of the money-lenders acting on the necessities, ignorance, and timidity of the peasants. The instrument by which the former is brought to bear on the latter is the civil courts." We have already exhibited the extreme of degradation, to which these courts are reduced in the eyes of several judges presiding over them, and, says Mr. Pedder, these "judges themselves are apt to regard law rather than justice; to look to returns rather than to results; to postpone to correct technical procedure the investigation of truth." We have therefore the executive in the act of administering a law, confessedly bad, in such a hurry, that they cannot find time to consider justice, though "the Commission point out with truth that the courts are intended to be distinctly courts of equity and good conscience as well as of law." This is enough for our present purpose. We can allow the best intentions, but the results are ruin to the peasants. Those who wish to go deeper into the miserable history may consult the Report of the Commission on the Deccan disturbances, and the very useful paper from Mr. Pedder, who at p. 188 attracts attention to the past and present. "The administrative experience of the old district judges gave them, poor lawyers though they were, a fair knowledge of the state of the people and of the country; the new ones sit per-

petually in their courts hearing appeals, and learn little of the results of the system they supervise."

Good times are these to the capitalists of India, the old Nemesis disarmed; the peasants fined or imprisoned for avenging injuries; new security offered for loans, by possession of lightly assessed lands; any rate of interest permitted; three years credit instead of twelve; easy and *ex parte* decrees, with execution and easy sale of house, farm utensils, cattle, and land-protection as far as possible to life and property. Well may these classes talk of the blessings of British rule. We have shown that these men were taxed prior to 1836, they have lived free since then, unless in the payment of a light municipal tax in such towns as have adopted that condition; but, by the late Financial Statement of Sir John Strachey, a licence is now to be taken out by trades—all we know at present is that the produce of this new tax is to form part of 800,000*l.*, and that no one is to be taxed over 1*l.*; to a practical person this seems a strange financial arrangement. There are said to be 200,000,000 (Bright says 250,000,000) of inhabitants of British India, if we take five per cent. as tradesmen at one rupee per licence, we get 1,000,000*l.*, taking the rupee at 2*s.*, it is difficult to imagine a licence tax averaging even so low as that, so we must await further information. The object of alluding to it here, is to remark, that unless great care is taken in arranging the value of licences, the executive will fall into the same confusion in this, as it did with the income-tax, a feasible tax if assessed by proper machinery, but a very improper and impossible tax, assessed and collected by imperfect machinery. In the same way, a licence system through one of the best taxes that could be arranged in India at present, is a very dangerous one unless it is arranged with the greatest care. This may be alluded to again when we come to consider the remedies for the present state of things.

Mr. Pedder concludes a very painful but absorbing paper, with a hope that the "report of the Deccan Commission will receive the most serious consideration of the Indian Legislature. . . . It is not too much to say that British honour and the character, if not the stability, of our empire in India is at stake. . . . It is a serious reflection that misery is being inflicted under the best meaning of Governments, and through the most scientific of systems." This is strong language from an Indian civilian; we endorse it with the additional hope, that the British public may be impressed with the situation of the Indian peasants, and insist on an alteration of the laws for debt.

We have now established the melancholy fact that the Indian peasants are worse off now than they were in 1859. Previous to that they were under some protection, and now it is remarked

by the Commission of Inquiry, "When we compare the law of India with that of other countries, we find that not one is so oppressive." We must not think that the oppression is confined to the Deccan; we have lately heard of bondsmen sent to the famine relief centres in the Madras territory. Sonthals and Moplahs have formerly taken the law into their own hands, as the ryots of the Deccan did. And Mr. Komesh Chunder Dutt of the Bengal Civil Service published a book in 1875, "The Peasantry of Bengal," in which he points out the "illegal" oppression of their peasants by the Zemindars, and prays the Government to intervene between them. It may be asked, if illegal, why have not these oppressions been stopped by the executive officers? *The Academy* of 16th October, 1875, explains—"With the natural bearing of an Englishman towards the sacred rights of property, the Government of Bengal have been jealous guardians of the rights of Zemindars which their own policy had created—even the Civil Service has been blinded to its evils, the Indian press is naturally on the side of the powerful aristocracy, and can find little sympathy for the oppressed helots of the soil." Mr Dutt points out that if the people are visited with a strong hand or by mistaken legislation, "English sympathy will in a future day cause a fresh rising of the masses, and the problem will rise again and again, demanding a permanent and an intelligent solution." This solution is offered, and the British Government is implored by one of its own servants, an Oriental, "to bestow the blessings on the British rule on the million, and not on the upper ten thousand."

While all this representation of legal and illegal tyranny is being made to the Government without producing any remedial measures, a natural famine falls upon the impoverished peasants over an area that had not been visited with a severe scarcity since 1833-4; at that time the ryots of the Sholapoor district had some stores of food grain, and the dealers had or found stores sufficient to tide over a year and a half of no production. In the Madras territory at that time the misery and depopulation were very great. We did not hear of food being brought into those districts, but now the energies of the Government and of the dealers are lavished in supplying food. The charity of England and the colonies has been freely given, and as far as possible a pauper population has been saved from destruction. While giving the governments and the executives of India the greatest credit for their exertions to meet the natural visitation, we shall be glad to urge them into some efforts to mitigate the results of their own legislation. This is a labour essentially belonging to the legislative departments, while every one finds remedy for famines.

The Nineteenth Century of November, 1877, gives "Sun

Spots and Famines," by J. Norman Lockyer and W. W. Hunter; also "Indian Famines," by Colonel George Chesney. The former suggests that if ten shillings out of every thousand pounds (about 4,000,000*l.*) lately spent on famine relief are put aside "for an inquiry into the physical laws of famine, we should await the next calamity with a very different power of dealing with it." The latter thinks that irrigation is the only remedy for famine. We learn, by the *Mail* of 12th December, that Sir Arthur Cotton and Mr. Bright are of the same opinion. The latter gentleman may be excused for not knowing, what the specialists must know, viz.—if the rains fail the food is not produced, and all tanks and wells dependent on the rainfall become dry and useless for irrigation. They also know that perennial rivers alone secure perennial irrigation; they are aware that the rivers of the Bombay and Madras territory are not necessarily of that character, and that consecutive dry seasons at their watersheds might render them useless. The speeches last alluded to were made at Manchester, where something has been done to promote famines, of which by-and-by. These speeches were telegraphed to the *Times*, and sown broadcast over the world. An article on the same date somewhat modified the effect, and Sir James Stephen has since, in the same paper, exposed the fallacies enunciated by that arch-enemy to all Indian officials—Mr. Bright. Strange to say, the Indian legislator has omitted a simple, though very important, point against irrigation. Of course some is necessary. India has it, and more if she requires it. But all artificial irrigation costs money, the interest on which is expected from the crops; as ordinary food crops cannot pay the high assessment on irrigated lands, other more valuable crops are raised on them; these crops give a fair return to the cultivators, who understand their culture; but every acre of irrigated land on which these valuable crops are grown, takes so much away from the food-producing area of the country. Again, the Indian peasants are not always in a condition to undertake the cultivation of wet land; it requires more hands, more cattle, more implements, and more money. Manchester has cried loudly for many years for more cotton; Indian peasants have produced it, but every bale is so much less food to store up against times of scarcity. We may also credit Manchester with the destruction of native Indian looms. While gentlemen are suggesting what each considers a security against famine, the financial minister in Calcutta, Sir John Strachey, issues his budget—the *Times*, 21st December—by which he partly adds to the load of taxation for the poor population. The local increase to the salt tax seems, as an abstract tax, to be very light, but the consumers have to pay, so that what with the carriage and the profit expected by wholesale and retail, the

price of salt is heavy on those who can scarcely buy food. We have shown above that a licence tax on trades is also to be levied; we have briefly alluded to its apparent inequality, and Sir George Campbell, in the *Mail* of 30th December, points out that this tax "touches every petty trader, but leaves all large traders, rich merchants, and bankers, and companies untouched." The Government of India and individuals are doing their best to meet famines in future, but only one, Mr. Rogers, of the Bombay Civil Service, advocates—in the *Mail* of 28th December—the moral improvement of the peasantry as the best insurance against famine. Mr. Pedder has remarked that they may die before they attain this moral improvement by education.

In whatever way we look at the condition of the peasants, we find heavy clouds hanging over them. Famines will come under natural laws; poverty has come under laws intended for their good. The Government is aware of the latter condition, but increases taxation upon them in the vain hope of saving its produce for another anticipated famine period; but it makes no effort to alter the laws which have helped to bring them to poverty now, and will bring them to desperation if allowed to continue.

The last things pawned or sold by the Indian peasants are the trinkets with which they adorn their women and children; in the course of last year silver and gold ornaments were brought to the Bombay Mint to the value of many thousand rupees. The value paid there did not represent the money realised by the starving owner. Mr. Pedder has shown how valuable land is sold at legal auctions for a trifle; can any one tell the price of the pottage sold by the Indian Jacob to his famishing brother, and can we foresee what the people will do when their pottage is gone? The papers of the day tell us of the importation to India of arms and ammunition; they tell of a Maratta sovereign with his training populations and his skilled officers; a nucleus for the brave race we are despoiling of their homes and their lands in the provinces of the Deccan under British rule.

The Prince of Wales visited India, the British Queen was proclaimed Empress of that great and many-tongued region; on the 1st of January, 1878, the anniversary of that proclamation was celebrated with much pomp and ceremony at Calcutta. The Viceroy unveiled a colossal marble statue of the Empress of India, given by His Highness the Maharajah of Burdwan, who again told the assembly of the "happiness and freedom we enjoy in our guarded rights, our protected religions, and our impartial laws." He talked of the "ties of sympathy, fellow-feeling, and brotherhood," but the peasants of the empire were not alluded to. The only great measure that required to

be done in 1875—a measure that had been suggested many times since England ruled the Deccan, and a measure that must be done if an Eastern empire is to be retained—has not yet been carried out; it is not too late now, though it soon may be, and it is not yet too late to associate new laws with the visit of the Prince of Wales, and with the new-found Empress, our British Queen.

It is easy to point out a blot; but it is impossible to see, at a distance from the scene, what measures would best obliterate it. We have the peasants to protect from the money-lenders, but we must not injure them. We have brought them more into collision than they were; we must undo the laws that have produced the evil; we must give justice to all, and this justice must be easy of access to those whose time is life. Many years ago we suggested that British civil judges should move about the districts, holding their courts at convenient central towns; we now repeat that suggestion, with the addition that where municipal bodies are established they should be made a stepping-stone for the poor. Our English boards of guardians ascertain the condition of our paupers; Indian municipalities might do the same in their arrondissements. These bodies might take first cognisance of agricultural money claims without fee, without stamped paper, and without the intervention of lawyers. The decision to be verbal to the parties, but noted in the municipal proceedings, and these should be available to the judge, who might indeed be an *ex officio* member of the municipalities in his circuit. It is, however, useless entering into details on measures which may already be in course of adoption. We have lately seen that farm implements and animals are no longer saleable for debt, under decrees of our civil courts; but we require something more, a speedy, inexpensive settlement of claims on the spot where the peasants live. We have to consider that the soil of India is the source of all the wealth of India, and that the peasant is the producer. On that produce he lives, by it he pays his land-tax. The sale of that produce in its raw or manufactured condition helps to circulate money all round the world. The Indian dealers and money-lenders initiate this widespread traffic. These capitalists are therefore important items in the social scale, and in taxing them under the system now proposed by Sir John Strachey, the greatest possible care should be taken in making the assessment equal upon all trades. The income-tax in India was a proof that natives cannot yet be trusted to assess one another, and so it failed, as we told the India Office it would fail, because there was no machinery adapted to it. Let us hope that the licence system may not fail from a fear of taxing the rich, and, while levying it, let us not forget that all we get is realised on the

produce of the soil, and while providing for future famines we must be careful not to cause them by now increasing the price of food to the poor peasants, who produce it. When an equal law has made these men rich, the higher-priced food would make them richer. The problem of Indian justice is like a Gordian knot—we must solve it by care and consideration. If we hurry even the complex subject of Indian social condition, if we go on increasing our expenditure without practising economy ourselves, and think that the produce of the soil can pay, while we are allowing the producers to be eaten up, we are not only doing what is repugnant to English feeling, but we are preparing an Indian blade to cut the knot that we cannot untie.

ART. VII.—RUSSIA ABROAD AND AT HOME.

1. *The English Despatch of April 1, 1878.*
2. *The Protest of Roumania against the Treaty of San Stefano.* 1878.
3. COBBETT'S *Political Register.* 1822-38.
4. MAZZINI'S *Scritti Editi e Inediti.*
5. *Report of the Trial of Vera Sussulitch.*
6. *La Vérité sur la Russie.* Par le Prince PIERRE DOLGOROUKOW. Paris: 1860.
7. *The Protocols of the Debates in the Turkish Parliament.* 1877-78.
8. *The Schouvaloff Salisbury Memorandum, of May 30.*

THOUGH the issue of the Congress, at the time we write, still trembles in the balance, there is good ground for being satisfied with, at least, the first result of a more energetic English policy. From the giddy height of his domineering position, the Czar has been brought down to an acknowledgment of his responsibility before a European Areopagus. Whatever may be thought of the composition of that diplomatic tribunal, or of the ideas which guide several statesmen that form part of it, it was well, at any rate, to teach the Autocrat of all the Russians and Baskirs that he cannot pursue his conquering career unchecked, in the fashion of a Ghengis Khan or Timur Leng.

"There is no longer a Europe!" had of late been a frequent cry of despair on the Continent. That cry was uttered when the arms of the unreformed Muscovite despotism—in defiance of a treaty-law established with great sacrifices of blood and treasure against aggressive Russia herself—once more pressed in upon

Turkey in the midst of her attempt at the most extensive reforms. With even greater intensity the same cry was repeated when the Czar began to dispose of his booty in high-handed manner, breaking the word of honour he had solemnly given at Livadia as unceremoniously as he had done in the case of Khiva. It was England which then came forward as a centre of resistance, round which Europe might rally. That move, in itself, was a praiseworthy one. It ought to have been approved of by none more than by those professed friends of peace and goodwill to all men, who talk so eloquently on the horrors of the "war-demon,"—except, it is true, when that demon wears a Cossack head-dress and has a *nagaika*, or knout, dangling from his lance-armed hand.

So far, England has carried her point as regards the diplomatic form of procedure. Suddenly, however, we are startled by the news that Government have pusillanimously, and in violation of their own public pledges, receded from the famous programme of April 1. The publication of the Memorandum of May 30 has filled England with an ill-concealed disgust. We readily acknowledge that, when dealing with the Eastern Question, it is difficult steering between the Scylla and Charybdis. Two great principles must be ever present to the mind of the thinking statesman. The one consists of the desirability and necessity—from a humane, national, and general political point of view—to secure better government to races long held in bondage. The other refers to the paramount duty of keeping at bay a huge danger which, under the guise of philanthropic efforts, has been lowering, for a long time past, towards that great central position between Europe and Asia, whence a military Power, with the Black Sea as its naval stronghold, could, in the opinion of Napoleon I., who may be said to have understood these things, easily exercise a world-dominion.

To some extent, the solution of the vexed Eastern problem, or problems, had been facilitated by the change wrought in Turkey a year and a half ago, from a despotic state of things into a parliamentary condition. It is, no doubt, the way of men who are for ever singing pæans in honour of the northern Autocrat, to decry the Ottoman Parliament as "a mere farce." To them we would reply that constitutional government in England itself has come from very small beginnings. Had the first weak attempt in this country been traversed, centuries ago, by a successful foreign invasion in the despotic interest, it might be difficult to say what would have been the result, as regards the future of English freedom.

Wherever we look among nations in history, we generally find that some strong pressure had to be put upon kings before they could be made to grant a charter. The pressure sometimes

came through danger to national independence, when a Prince had to bid for the goodwill of his subjects; sometimes through insurrection at home. In Spain, during the Napoleonic wars, a Constitution was elaborated in the midst of a national struggle, whilst the king was held in foreign captivity. In Prussia, in 1813, the monarch promised, at least, to convoke a representative assembly, as soon as the invader were overthrown. It is true, the promise was never fulfilled by Frederick William III. The shadowy "United Diet" which his successor introduced on the eve of the Revolution of 1848, was swept away in the storm of that popular movement. In Austria, defeat on the field of battle, in 1859, forced the Emperor to return to those parliamentary institutions which had first been founded in the Revolution of 1848. In Italy and in Denmark, before or during that year of tumult and deliverance, popular risings compelled the Crown to accept the parliamentary principles. But it is scarcely necessary to multiply instances.

It was even so in Turkey. In the midst of public danger, forces, long held in check, came to the surface at Constantinople, and, by successive street demonstrations, and by dethronements of a sovereign, established at last representative institutions. Why should western Europeans carp at these notable events? And why should they try to diminish the importance of parliamentary debates of which the English press, with a want of enterprise that was not observable during the Russian campaign, omitted to present to its readers even the faintest image. The plain, unanswerable fact is, that the first Ottoman Legislature, though a number of its members were nominated under the influence of local Government authorities, at once showed a spirit of Liberalism and of determined opposition, which did great credit to so young an Assembly. We can testify to this in a double sense—first, from having carefully gone through the whole of the debates of the Ottoman Parliament in the French text of the Constantinople press; secondly, from the personal evidence of men conversant with the Turkish language, who were repeatedly present at the debates. These latter gave us an account of lively discussions which had been considerably toned down in the official report. If such was the spirit of legislators hastily brought together in a transitional state of things: what might not have been expected from men elected on that freer law of suffrage which the late Assembly itself has enacted? At all events, there was quite enough of Liberalism even in the past Ottoman Parliament for the Czar to insist on its being sent home as soon as the Grand Duke Nicholas had arrived in close vicinity of the capital, and thus was able to hold a bayonet at the throat of the Turkish Government. Russians themselves, we imagine, would be right glad if they

could wrest from their oppressor such a "mere farce" of representative government as Turkey had obtained before the Preliminaries of San Stefano put a temporary extinguisher upon its newly gained liberties. Full political equality for all races and creeds is the leading maxim of the Ottoman Constitution. In this respect we may compare it to the amended Constitution of Hungary, where a similar variety of races exists as in Turkey. The variety of races and languages is a feature not exclusively characteristic of Turkey, where, no doubt, it is to be found in an extraordinary degree; but it is a feature common to a number of European countries—including England and Switzerland. It is to be found in the most extensive manner in Russia itself.

In Turkey, races are so strangely intermingled that, in many cases, no clearly defined geographical limits can be assigned to them at all. Hence, even some of the most thorough-going enemies of the Ottoman Empire formerly advised the establishment of an "Oriental Confederacy," rather than try the almost impossible experiment of unmixing Turks, Bulgars, Albanese, Greeks, and other tribes, from each other, over a vast extent of territory. To these advocates of an "Oriental Confederacy" it might, however, be replied that such a political formation already virtually exists. It is called Turkey, and is now, by Charter, in possession both of provincial and communal self-government, and of parliamentary institutions.

We do not say this with any view of prejudging better arrangements in a national sense. We hold that Greece might be safely enlarged, although we are well aware that the Hellenic Kingdom itself still contains within its frontiers a non-Hellenised, Albanese population; and although we cannot deny the fact of Epirus, Thessaly, and Macedonia being filled with various fragments of non-Greek races, besides the Hellenic or Hellenised population there. We furthermore hold that Roumania, in spite of her double-dealing conduct in the late war, ought to gain her full independence under a European guarantee. But we have no faith whatever in the Czar's schemes of national reconstruction. They are merely destined to add new tentacles to an already overgrown octopus of aggressive despotism. Only listen to the protest which the Roumanian nation, Russia's late forced ally, whom Alexander the Honest now tries to rob, has had to address to the Powers. The Protest says:—

"It is only through the *Journal de St. Pétersbourg* that we have learnt the authentic text of the preliminaries of peace concluded on 17th February between his Majesty the Emperor of Russia and his Majesty the Emperor of the Ottomans. Debarred by the Imperial Government of Russia from all participation in that instrument, the princely Government of Roumania, in taking cognisance of its tenor

in an entirely fortuitous manner, has experienced feelings of the greatest pain and surprise, which have been shared by the entire nation. This feeling has been so general amongst Roumanians that it becomes my pressing duty to request you to make it known without delay to the Cabinet of St. Petersburg. Having loyally entered into alliance with Russia, who, as a preliminary, guaranteed to us the maintenance of all our national rights, and the integrity of our territory; confiding in the good will of his Majesty the Emperor, for which no price has ever been demanded—the Roumanians, it must be confessed, have reaped nothing but the most painful deceptions from this understanding between the two Powers, their neighbours. Having requested the Roumanians to throw open their territory to form a base for her military operations; and further, having at a given moment earnestly requested the assistance of our soldiers, who have courageously shared in all the perils of a prolonged war, the Empire of Russia was thereby legally and morally constituted the guarantor and defender of our rights. We may add that by virtue of being the only Great Power amongst those allied to her in the war, she has reserved to herself, notwithstanding our incessant demands, the prerogative of fixing, by herself alone, the conditions of peace. There still, however, remained to us the hope that, even unknown to us, the spirit of equity, as well as the generosity of Russia towards a less powerful ally, might have consummated all our legitimate expectations. *Unhappily, we have been cruelly deceived by the instrument signed at San Stefano.* The benevolent solicitude evinced by the Russian Plenipotentiaries for the interests of the other little Oriental States which have more or less effectively aided the success of the Imperial arms, is absolutely wanting whenever there is a question of our own country. Has not Roumania amply fulfilled the pledges made to the Empire of Russia by the Convention of the 4-16th April of last year? Has the Imperial Government forgotten all the losses sustained by our country on account of the war? Our commerce totally stopped; our Danubian towns—formerly so flourishing—reduced to-day to a state of ruin; the entire population of the country infected with epidemics resulting from the accumulated numbers of sick and wounded; the cattle—the principal element in our agricultural prosperity—almost decimated by incessant military transport and by cattle plague; our roads damaged; our fields lying waste; our resources of every kind exhausted; in a word, our whole economical equilibrium seriously—and, perhaps for a long period—shaken. So many troubles—to which must be added the blood of our soldiers shed on the battle-fields of Bulgaria; so many sacrifices which we, a small State, have accepted with courageous devotion, did these merit as their sole recompense from the powerful Empire of Russia the abandonment of our interests, and the injury done to all our rights? Such, nevertheless, M. l'Envoyé Extraordinaire, even to the least clear-sighted eyes, is the position which we are made to occupy by the Treaty of San Stefano!"

Again—

"Our deception was brought to a climax when we perceived that,

by Article 28 of the Treaty of San Stefano, Russia separated the Delta of the Danube from the Ottoman Empire, not, indeed, to hand it over to Roumania, to whom it belonged by right, but to appropriate it, for the purpose of exchanging it, against our will, for Bessarabia, that portion of our soil which alone could assure to us an unrestricted and effectual dominion over the mouths of the great river.

“Is it not thus a fact, that it is not vanquished Turkey who pays Russia for the expenses of the war, represented by the Delta of the Danube, but in point of fact Roumania?”

“Furthermore, whilst proclaiming the independence of Roumania, the Treaty of San Stefano, a few Articles distant (Article VIII.), aims the first and heaviest blow against that independence, by arranging with the Turkish Government for the passage during two years of the Russian armies which are to occupy Bulgaria across the new independent State, without consulting the latter on the point.

“In April, 1877, when the Porte possessed certain suzerain rights over Roumania—at least in the eyes of foreign Powers—the Imperial Government treated directly with the Princely Government, in order to obtain for their armies permission to cross Roumanian territory; and now when the official independence of Roumania is imposed on Turkey as one of the conditions of peace, it is with the Ottoman Government that Russia makes an agreement to secure her military communications across our independent country!

“Now, during the last year we have learnt to appreciate by sad experience the effects of a foreign occupation even when it is regulated by a convention. What, then, can we expect from the obligation which is sought now to be imposed on us on a still larger scale of the expenses, the excesses, the ruin which always follow the occupation of a country by a foreign army, even supposing it to be the best disciplined in the world? Is it not evident that this transit of troops will be for years a fatal barrier to our natural and national development?”

“You perceive, M. l'Envoyé Extraordinaire, from those points on which I have laid the most stress, that the Treaty of San Stefano as a whole, and especially the particular Articles touching the affairs of Roumania, are calculated to prejudice our rights and to injure our most vital interests.

“I call your special attention to the following consideration, which, in my opinion, overweighs all the others:—

“Since the Treaty of Paris, the political transformations through which Roumania has passed, have all been brought about either on the initiative or with the approbation of the Great Powers who signed that treaty, who have taken the rights of our country under their protection. *By the Treaty of San Stefano, Roumania is deprived of the collective guarantee of Europe.* . . . In view of this unexpected situation, the Government of Roumania believes that it would be failing in the performance of a sacred duty if it did not protest loudly against the provisions of a treaty wherein no account is kept, either of our acquired rights, or of the promises which have been made to us. We protest loyally and solemnly against the Treaty of San Stefano, because, first, that treaty operates harshly against the country; and, secondly, because

it tends to place Roumania without the pale of the public law of Europe, and deprives her of the collective guarantee of the Great Powers which was assured to her by the Treaty of Paris. That guarantee is precious to us. It is our guarding ægis."

In presence of such a protest, we can easily understand that Europe at large should have felt manifest delight at seeing that Treaty-right still possessed a defender in England, against the barbarous lust of conquest. Is this proud position of England to be given up? No doubt we do not think that treaties are sacred under all circumstances, or that they can do away with national and popular rights—as little as we think that the Ottoman Empire is the perfection of a state-structure. But it is nevertheless of the greatest importance that Europe should keep to Treaty-right as against an ambitious, ever-aggressive Power, whose whole course in history has been marked by the destruction of self-governing nations. This will explain why popular opinion in Hungary—a country most directly menaced, after Turkey—and in Poland—a country torn to shreds and tyrannised over by Russia—has strongly approved of the firm attitude of the English Government and Parliament. The Greeks, too, threatened as they felt themselves in regard to their future national expansion, openly showed their dissatisfaction against Russia. Even Albanese and Armenians—nationalities within Turkey on this and the other side of the Bosphorus—addressed themselves to England with indignant protests against the Czar's scheme. So also the Liberal, Radical, and Republican organs of Berlin, Augsburg, and Vienna, of Pesh, of Rome, and of Paris, almost unanimously sided with the principles of this country, as declared on April 1. In short, it was found that the traditional policy of England, which, until Mr. Gladstone's defection took place, had been most vigorously upheld by our advanced parties, still represented the sense of enlightened Europe.

We ourselves had said in our last article, in April :—

"Whatever the ultimate reconstruction of these (Eastern) nationalities may be, under all circumstances we are convinced that no worse agency could be selected for solving the complicated problems of the East than the despotic Power which confessedly aspires to dominion in that quarter, and which is a standing threat to Europe at large. Hence we believe that 'shotted guns and revolvers' are very much required when parleying with Russia after the conclusion of a sanguinary war which the voice of Europe had condemned. It is with the object, not of delivering nationalities, but of coming nearer to the possession of Constantinople, that an unreformed tyrannous Power has made war upon Turkey at the very moment she began reforming herself. Only amiable enthusiasts who would deluge the world with blood for the sake of a crotchet, can ignore such a fact, which may become decisive for the security, the freedom, and the culture of Europe. Statesmen worthy

of the name will not be so easily deceived ; but, whilst discussing with the ambitious invader of Turkey, will firmly keep their hands on the hilt of the sword—ready for action.”

This mode of procedure has had an immediate effect upon Russia. The despatch by which Lord Salisbury undid the mischief he had done at the Conference in Constantinople, was hailed by Europe as a virtual act of deliverance from the incubus of Muscovite pretensions. When Alexander II. saw, from the military and naval preparations of this country, that England was in earnest, he suddenly paused in his headlong career. There were several reasons which rendered it unadvisable for him to act any longer in utter disregard of this country. We know from Moltke's description how Russia, in 1829, gained her point by the merest “fluke;” her army having then arrived, through losses in battle and epidemics, at a state of downright disorganisation. In the present instance*, the Czar had, in addition, to cope with perils vaguely threatening from within. Yet, faithful to a mode of action which, from the point of view of despotic interest, has certainly its reason of being, Alexander still “tried it on” for a while against England, and, practically, against Europe in general ; fearing, as he no doubt did, that the too rapid collapse of his high-flown pretensions abroad might lead to an acute increase of dangers at home. Nevertheless, he had at last to come into Congress on the condition laid down by England. Probably, none would, in the end, profit more from this submission—provided it is not once more rendered nugatory—than the Russian people itself, who can but gain in freedom if its hard taskmaster is taught a lesson.

In this matter, the true interests of the oppressed Russian people and of Europe are one. When the Preliminaries of San Stefano were forced upon the Porte, while this country and all the Continental nations were, week after week, kept in a degrading suspense and utter ignorance as to the contents of the so-called Treaty, it almost seemed as if our part of the world had found a new master—similar to the one who domineered over the Continent in the early part of this century. It was a bad outlook, indeed ; all the more so because a section of our Liberal party, unmindful of its best maxims, had allowed itself, under false and pernicious teaching, to be drawn on to the crusading

* In official Russian reports, which only reach to the end of January, 1878, the loss in dead and wounded, both in Europe and Asia, has been given as 89,304. The *Golos*, however, and several other Russian journals in the Government interest, gave the number of the dead alone (reckoning both those that fell on the battle-field and those who died from sickness) as between 120,000 and 150,000. At present (middle of June) not less than 25,000 Russian soldiers near Constantinople are said to be down with typhus, typhoid, and other diseases.

path—thus giving countenance both to an antiquated religious fanaticism, and to the worst designs of a semi-barbarous tyranny, which aims at the possession of the Eastern City of the World.

We, on our part, have steadfastly opposed this bigotry of the ritualistic pulpit, and of the ranting "Little Bethels," to which the able leadership of an ex-Premier—himself, unfortunately, but too full of theological speculations—had given the apparent dignity of a "policy." With deep regret we saw some Radicals, from whom better things might have been expected, improving the occasion of an onslaught against the Mohammedan "Infidel" by a revival of mediæval prejudices against our own Jewish compatriots. In utter forgetfulness of the origin of Mr. Goschen, and some other members of the Opposition, the Jews were suddenly declared to be worthless strangers to the land—solely because many of them upheld the views which the best English statesmen of all parties had hitherto maintained. It was with a feeling alike of regret and pity that we heard Mr. John Bright even speak in this narrow manner—him who, if his biographer is right, has Jewish blood in his own veins. If the Eastern Question is to be discussed in this miserable manner, there will soon be an end to all reasonable discourse. No Liberal who panders to these prejudices is worthy of the noble party-name he assumes. Nor can we admire the would-be profundity of those among us who charge the *République Française*, the *Temps*, and the *Journal des Débats*, with an "unconscious Bonapartism"—simply because these organs of enlightened French opinion remain true to the guiding maxims of Liberals and Republicans all over Europe.

Perhaps those who talk so glibly of an "unconscious Bonapartism" might study with profit the writings of an Italian leader, well known both for his unflinching advocacy of the Nationality principle, and for the severity with which he stigmatised all the tricks and practices of the Second Empire. In one of his earliest essays on Hungary, Mazzini said:—

"If there is a danger, at present, of invasions and of conquests that might annihilate the European equilibrium, such danger exists in the North. Russia is the only foe which the South of Europe has to fear. From Catherine II. down to our times Russia has pursued without rest, and with success, an idea of aggrandisement inimical to Europe. Similar to a sea that tears and undermines the shore, Russia has, step by step, hollowed out to the right, to the left, and in front, the territory that surrounds her; and now she looks with greedy eyes upon the South. Dismembered Poland, ever faithful to her own mission, has endeavoured to place a protecting wall between Russia and Europe. But the barbarians who sit in the Cabinets have let her perish in her heroic attempt, without understanding that at Warsaw the entire European question was once more

involved, and that the future of a world was perhaps the battle-prize. The Ottoman Empire formed another powerful barrier, impeding Russian advance. Consequently, the war between the two has always been a lively one, overt or covert. Russia felt that her chief foe was at Constantinople; she therefore laboured for a diminution of his forces with a persistency for which there is perhaps not an example in the chronicles of European policy. Making use of the ties of religion; taking advantage of the germs of insurrection which lay hidden in Greece; bringing about tumults and divisions in Turkey; and working upon the ambition or the fears of the pashas, Russia has not allowed a single moment of rest to the Sultan. . . . Emancipated from trammels which barred her path, with a power indirectly extending over Moldavia, Wallachia, Bosnia, Bulgaria, and Servia, the Russian Empire aims at the Adriatic through Herzegovina, and at the Mediterranean by means of Greece; aspiring to Hungary, to Transylvania, to Dalmatia and Croatia; and threatening to raise, by a general appeal, the Slav race over the entire area of the Austrian Empire. And as if to give a warning to Europe, the population of Russia augments with rapidity in an extraordinary proportion. Forty years will confer upon Russia a hundred millions of inhabitants."

Mazzini, who know the true character of the Russian Government, preached war against it in 1853, with all the fire of his eloquence. Ever and anon, in subsequent years, he dwelt upon the necessity of European combination against the designs of Czardom in the East. He even went to the length of saying, that if Austria—Austria which he hated with such deep hatred, and which then had not reorganised and liberalised herself into an Austria-Hungary, with double parliamentary institutions—were to resist Russian designs upon Turkey, she would thereby "act the part of a leader of the European Opposition." The last words he wrote on Russia, in 1871, shortly before his death, were words of warning against "the tenacity with which Russia, from the days of Peter the Great down to our own, has followed out the idea of the conquest of Constantinople." And he added:—"The cry of 'peace at any price,' which was raised in England by a whole influential school, whose leaders were Cobden and Bright, emboldened Russia to her attempt, and in a great measure brought about the Crimean War."

It will not be said, we trust, by the most insinuating writer of leading articles, that the hand of the great Italian who penned those words, was an unconscious agent of Bonapartism. There is a limit to suggestions, which cannot be overstepped without falling into political indecency.

The words of Mazzini, in reference to the danger threatening from Russia, have their full force, whether we turn to what he

wrote in his youth, or in his old age. They have all the greater force because he was otherwise given to schemes of re-casting nationalities, which scarcely took into proper account the strength of historical formations. At all events, he saw clearly enough that the first and foremost necessity for Europe, in her dealings with Russia, was, not to help her to further aggrandisement through a connivance at her attacks against Turkey, but rather to "restrict Russia herself within her proper national boundaries," which, in his opinion, she had broken through on several sides—especially by the partition of Poland.

To those who are not amenable to the teachings of Mazzini, we might easily offer similar extracts from Liberal and Radical writers of Germany, of Hungary, and of France. We prefer, however, giving some passages from an English source. They, too, though penned more than forty or fifty years ago, still read to a large extent as if they had been composed to-day.

If a proof were indeed wanted that the ambition of Czardom, like that of the Papacy, remains always the same—*semper eadem*—we need only turn, for a few moments, to the writings of a Radical of the old school, William Cobbett. In 1822, he said in his *Register*: "We have heard of great cruelties practised by the Turks upon the Catholics of Greece, and we must abominate the conduct of the Turks; but it is by no means certain that the King of the Cossacks has the most pure objects in view in his quarrel with these same Turks. In short, that man must be pretty much of a fool who can be made to believe that it is a love of justice, of humanity, and above all things, a love of freedom, which has put, or is putting, the armies of Russia in movement. Such a man must have totally forgotten Poland, and, indeed, have forgotten every war in which Russia has ever been engaged."

In the same letter—written fifty-five years before the civil and political equality of races and creeds was proclaimed by the Porte, and before an Ottoman Parliament had sat at Constantinople—Mr. Cobbett put Turkey and Russia on a level as regards political morality; and then added, with the bluntness peculiar to him and his time:—"Therefore, the only question with an Englishman is, or ought to be, the success of which of them is likely to be least injurious to England? And there can be no doubt, in the mind of any man that reflects, that England ought to wish for the success of the Turk. Let us look at the thing in its true light, namely, as a thing that may affect our immediate interests, and our permanent interests and power; bearing in mind that no nation has ever been fool enough not to pursue these objects, though to be secured by the amity or assistance of those whom it calls 'infidels.' The Americans are an extremely pious people; but when Mr. Jefferson—then President of the United States—

found that the interests of his country required a treaty of amity with the Dey of Algiers, he had no scruple to declare 'that there was nothing in the Constitution of the United States hostile to the Mohammedan religion.' . . . Leaving religion, then; out of the question, we shall find it is firmly believed by all men of common sense that the objects of the Autocrat are these—namely, to invade a part of the Turk's dominions; to conquer and to hold those dominions; to get and keep possession of several commodious seaports in the eastern part of the Mediterranean; to keep up stout fleets in that part of the world, to be able to make a formidable opposition to England in that quarter. . . . The Turk, at present, prevents the Autocrat from effecting the objects just mentioned, and, therefore, common sense tells us that England ought to be for the Turk. It is our business to preserve our power, and not to sink down into a little, pitiful, insignificant State."

We are certainly far from making mere selfish national interest the standard of State policy. The exclusive harping upon "British interests," to which we were treated so often during the session of 1877, with loathsome iteration, whilst in reality the policy then pursued was one of total inaction, has never had any charm for us. We do not even, and never did, think it a wise procedure morally to isolate England, as it were, by making "British interests" a parliamentary battle-cry, or rather a hollow cry of mere sound, signifying nothing. We much prefer the standpoint of European interest and treaty-law, the standpoint of the security, the independence, the culture, and the freedom of this part of the world, combined with the interest which not only England but all civilised communities have, in not allowing the Cossack and the Calmuck to threaten that ancient cradle of civilisation—Hindostan.

In so far, we do not fully go with the more exclusively "British" part of Cobbett's argumentation; nor have we any sympathy with some of his views concerning America. Yet we cannot but think that in the letter from which we have quoted, there is another remarkable hit, which seems quite applicable to recent times. Mr. Cobbett says:—"We find, in the history of all nations, periods of rise and periods of decline, and if we examine strictly into the matter, we shall find that these depend not upon times and seasons, not upon accidents, not upon any tendency in the nature of things, but upon the minds of those who govern, and, unhappily for this nation, the minds of those who have been governing for many years past, have been, what may properly be called, minds of shifts and expedients."

Believing, as we do, that the Greek cause, which Cobbett somewhat misunderstood, may be made a serviceable instrument for

opposing dangerous designs of Muscovite Pan Slavism, we yet must acknowledge that the Radical writer was right when, in 1829, he pointed out that "Russia wants a pretence for obtaining a firm footing in the Mediterranean;" that "the Turks hold the keys which lock her out of the Mediterranean;" and that this aggressive movement of a despotic Power which already governs territories of immense extent in Europe and Asia, would not only endanger the English empire in the East, but ultimately also English freedom itself.

The unlocking of the Dardanelles and the channel of Constantinople to Russia, Mr. Cobbett regarded as "the sure and certain beginning of the demolition of the naval dominion of England, unless maintained by war, and war, too, to be begun very soon, and crowned with success at any sacrifice." In this question, again, he overstepped the proper limits. None would, at present, wish to see any restrictions put upon the movements of the Russian merchant fleet. His apprehensions, even on that score, may, however, be understood to some extent, when we remember that he had good reason to fear, from the usual Russian practice, that the treaty in question would be used by the Czar for the furtherance of very different objects—that, in fact, this unlocking of the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles to Russia, in a commercial sense, might be similar to the first steps taken by Russia for the overthrow of Polish independence, and for the annexation of the Crimea. It was from such reasons that Mr. Cobbett wrote, with reference to the territories round the Black Sea:—

"They are fertile in all the most valuable products of the earth, lying, as they do, between 45 and 40 degrees of north latitude, and, of course, on an average, in the latitude of the south of France: and they abound in the growth of all the materials for building and fitting out ships. There are the timber, the hemp, the iron, the pitch, and, indeed, everything in superabundance. The Russian power has long been increasing on the land. She has, too, long had a great fleet of men-of-war, which she has always shown a strong desire to employ for the purpose of checking the power of England. But, shut up in the Baltic so many months in the year by the ice, not daring to come out and stay out for any length of time, we have always been able to laugh at the envy and malice visible in the several 'conventions' and 'confederacies,' and 'armed neutralities,' which she has, at various times, set on foot against us, and of which she has always been the animating soul. We always knew her wishes; we always knew what she was aiming at; we always knew that she wished to destroy our maritime dominion; we knew also that the French, and other maritime Powers, but particularly the French, wished to act with her in the enterprise; but, completely held in check by the frosts in the North, and by our friend, the Turk, in the South, we always laughed

at the naval ^{men}aces and demonstrations of Russia. But shall we laugh now?"

The French danger of Cobbett's time is fortunately past. There have been various changes, which render some of Cobbett's views no longer applicable. But the nature and motives of the policy of the northern Autocrats have not changed, as little as the political constitution of the Russian Empire has. In this respect his warnings are still to the point—all the more so, because Russia, once master, through a vassal, of Mediterranean or Egean ports, would be closer with her war fleet, now, to India than we ourselves are, owing to the opening of the Suez Canal.

Again, Mr. Cobbett put the matter graphically, in 1834, in the following few words:—"There will be a time to talk of Poland hereafter, perhaps; but what is Poland, compared with Turkey? *In Turkey, the Autocrat comes at us at once; and we must strike, or acknowledge that we dare not.*" And this seems to be written as if it were for to-day:—"The question that will now be put to me is this—'Would you, then, if you were Prime Minister, go to war?' Yes, at once; and my fleet should negotiate the Russians out of all the Turkish territories: the Autocrat should hear England speak from the mouth of the cannon, and from no other mouth."

An English fleet in Besika Bay, with a mobilised army in the background, and with Indian auxiliaries lodged at Malta, as an earnest of what might be done on a larger scale, has practically aided in "negotiating" Russia out of the haughtiness with which she flung the document of San Stefano into the face of Europe. Mr. Freeman, who has so long played the crusader, may wince at this, declaring it to be a virtual support given to Turkey. But then we may appeal from Mr. Freeman, the religious fanatic, to Mr. Freeman, the historian, who, in his "General Sketch of European History" (fourth edition, 1874), wrote:—"The Protestants (temp. Leopold I.) did not scruple to join with the Turks, and we can hardly wonder at them; for the Christian subjects of a Mohammedan Power, though they are dealt with as an inferior people, are not denied the free exercise of their religion." As for ourselves, we have no desire to get up such a retrospective enthusiasm for a junction of Protestants with Turks, on religious grounds. But we cannot deny that religious toleration has always been immeasurably greater in Turkey than in Russia; whilst, as to present times, Mohammedans, Protestants, Roman Catholics, Armenian Christians, and Jews, enjoy in Turkey the same political rights, and sit side by side in a Parliament. Russia, on the contrary—and Dissenters here might well take note of the fact—is still in the stage of the inquisitorial persecution of Dissenters, and has no Parliament at all.

The same Mr. Freeman wrote formerly in regard to Russian policy:—"More important than these losses of territory (1792) was the system of interference in the internal concerns of the Sultan's dominions, which went on from this time on the part of Russia. . . . They (the Christian nations) were always encouraged by Russia, though they seldom gained anything by Russian meddling in their affairs." To this remarkable concurrence of opinion between Cobbett and Mr. Freeman we will at once add the testimony of a great Liberal statesman, recently departed, who, in the beginning of the Atrocity Agitation, had somewhat wavered in his views on the Eastern Question. He soon, however, returned to his former practical views. In reply to an invitation to attend a meeting at St. James's Hall, under the presidency of Mr. Stansfeld, Earl Russell wrote:—

"I wish to see Christian precepts more than Christian faith adopted in the East. Men should love one another and not practise atrocious cruelties either for or against the Turkish Government. The Crimean war was a war, not for the defence of Turkey, but to oppose the designs of Russia. *It is well known that the Emperor of Russia opposes civil and religious liberty.* I cannot wish to see Russia at the head of the Government of Turkey; nor will I do anything to promote that object."

When Earl Russell wrote those lines, he certainly remembered the "Six Points," which he himself, during the Polish rising of 1863-64, had to present to the Russian Government, whose despotic rule excited, in those days, the wrath of the English nation, irrespective of party views. It may be useful to remind those who of late have talked so enthusiastically about the "Liberator Czar," what the views of Englishmen were in regard to the Government of Alexander II. at the time of the Polish insurrection..

Statesmen, public writers, masses of people in general, then espoused, with a warmth most surprising after so many years of indifference, the grievances of a down-trodden race which once formed the rampart of Europe. In the House of Peers, Lord Ellenborough, amidst much applause, showed the causes which "had changed the resignation of the Poles into despair, their despair into insurrection." In grave words, he asked Government to place itself at the head of public opinion. Lord John Russell himself, as Foreign Secretary, stigmatised the acts of the Russian Emperor which had provoked the rising, as "most imprudent and most unjust measures." In the House of Commons, a member drew up a Bill of Indictment, in which it was mentioned that the noblemen of Podolia, encouraged by previous counsels of Lord John Russell, had put forth a demand for certain reforms, and that the result of their docility in following the advice of an

English statesman had been their imprisonment in a fortress ; that, according to a statement made by the town council of Warsaw on July 20, 1862, the number of men and women thrown into a single prison in that city since the beginning of the year, under a charge of political offences, had been 14,833 ; that such had been the ravages of forced conscription that, in November, 1862, only 683 persons had been left at Warsaw for the pursuits of commerce in a population of 184,000 inhabitants ; that Count Andrew Zamoyiski was punished with exile for having presented a respectful petition ; that Prince Gortchakoff had threatened to inaugurate a policy of extermination, and to make of Poland a heap of ashes ; that the barracks and fortresses had been transformed into political dungeons ; and that in the terrible night of January, 15, 1863, the houses of the citizens were surrounded and invaded at one o'clock in the morning, in order to fill the ranks of the Russian army with unfortunate kidnapped men.

In presence of such facts, Mr. Disraeli declared it to be one of the moral obligations of this country to watch over the fulfilment of the engagements taken by Russia towards Poland in 1815. Sir H. Hoare, at a great Guildhall meeting, asked for war against Russia, rather than let the Polish movement be overthrown. The first resolution at that meeting was to the effect that Russia, by her system of confiscation, proscription, and massacre, had lost every right to the possession of Poland. The second resolution insisted on the breaking off of diplomatic relations. Lord Shaftesbury was among the foremost speakers in that sense, both in and out of Parliament. Lord Stratford de Redcliffe drew up a picture of atrocities, the details of which were so hideous as to suggest an obvious parallel of more recent times. Mr. Forster declared in the House that England was henceforth freed from the contract by which she had sanctioned Russian sovereignty over Poland. At an enthusiastic meeting in St. James's Hall, where Sir John Shelley presided, those present answered the question of the chairman as to whether, in case Russia persisted in her course, England ought to declare war, by a tremendous " Yes !"

No wonder Government, surrounded by such an agitation, at last presented " Six Points " to Russia, asking for a general and complete amnesty ; a national representation of Poland, in conformity with the Vienna Treaty of 1815 ; an administration exclusively composed of Polish officials ; full liberty of conscience ; the use of the Polish language on all public occasions, and in the education of the people ; and a regular system of military recruitment in the place of the arbitrary seizure of persons. As a preliminary measure, Lord John Russell insisted

on an armistice. A Conference of the eight signatory Powers of the Treaty of Paris was also proposed by him. Prince Gortchakoff, it need scarcely be said, or rather Czar Alexander, had not the remotest idea of complying with these requests.

Lord John Russell may have had these recollections in his mind when he refused pandering any further to an agitation which professed to look upon the Czar as the chosen vessel of civil and religious emancipation. Since then, the revelations made during the trial of Vera Sassulitch have once more given us such a ghastly picture of arbitrary and fiendishly cruel rule, and the issue of the prosecution has exhibited the Russian Government in such a glaring light of unpopularity among its own best educated and most well-to-do classes, that we are fully entitled to wonder at the perversity of a section of professed Liberals, who still cling to the pro-Russian tenets.

We have even seen it announced that, if there should be a hitch in the Congress, a fresh so-called "National Conference" would be convoked at St. James's Hall, and that Mr. Carlyle has already promised to act as chairman. We do not envy those who will take the great and gifted writer, who of late has applied his talents to the support of all kinds of slavery and despotism, as their political guide. Mr. Carlyle, unmindful of what Russia has done against Poles, Finlanders, Germans, and a host of formerly independent and self-governing races, sees in Russian dominion "a good and even noble element in Europe." With a fling and kick at all representative government, he says of the Russians:—"Conspicuously they possess the talent of obedience, *of silently following orders given*; which, in the universal celebration of ballot-box, divine freedom, &c., will be found an invaluable and peculiar gift." He thinks that in our own time they have "done signal service to God and man in drilling into order and peace" what he calls anarchic populations—that is to say, populations which refuse to believe in the despotic and corrupt government of an Autocrat. Nay, Mr. Carlyle apparently wishes even to extend the blessings of autocratic rule further westwards, for he says:—"The present Czar of Russia I judge to be a strictly honest and just man: and, in short, my belief is that the Russians are called to do great things in the world, and to be a conspicuous benefit, *directly and indirectly*, to their fellow-men."

In the worst days of the Holy Alliance, writers in the Imperial and Royal interest scarcely ever avowed absolutist principles so cynically. However, we are glad to see that in Russia itself there is an opinion among the more cultured part of the population, which utterly spurns the despotic teachings of the Misanthrope of Chelsea. This came out glaringly at the trial of Vera Sassulitch.

Her story—a typical one in the highest degree of Russian Government practices—is a story of the arbitrary and baseless imprisonment and exile in distant provinces, of an innocent, helpless girl of seventeen, who under no distinct charge whatever, but on a mere suspicion, was for eleven years driven round and round all through the Empire, in what has been rightly called an “infernal circle” of sufferings. To match the account of her misery, would tax the imagination of a romance writer. The story of Bogoljuboff, whom she, with the heavy load of dungeon and exile recollections upon her mind, meant to avenge, is that of a political prisoner subjected to infamous corporal punishment by a Chief of the Police, whose cruelty is on a par with his corruptness, but whose most demoniacal deeds did not prevent that good and “strictly honest and just” monarch, the Czar, from honouring him with his fullest personal confidence and friendship. At the trial of Miss Vera Sassulitch, the counsel for the defence made bold to speak of the ignominy which was inflicted upon Bogoljuboff, in the following words:—

‘He was conducted to the place where his human dignity was to be insulted. Not knowing why he is to be punished, he thinks indignation will lend him strength to resist those that throw themselves upon him. But he is grasped by the iron grip of jailers’ hands; they drag him down; and in the midst of the regular counting of the strokes by the surveyor of the execution, a deep groan is heard—a groan not the result of physical pain, but arising from the soul’s grief of an overpowered, outraged man. At last, silence reigned again. The sacred act had been performed!’

Among those present at the trial, who loudly applauded this bitter invective, there were, perhaps, some who remembered a similar personal experience, though the audience—like the jury—were mostly composed of gentlemen and ladies of the higher classes. It is not so long ago that the knout was abolished in Russia as an instrument of castigation for prisoners; but, as we see from the case of Bogoljuboff, the rod is even yet applied to political convicts. In the course of his speech, Mr. Alexandroff, the counsel of Miss Sassulitch, made a reference to a whipping machine once in use. This allusion created a deep impression in court. A correspondent has given the following description of the whipping machine:—Any suspected person, who could not be brought to trial, but whom it was intended to castigate, would be invited to call at the Office of the Secret Police. After a few moments’ conversation with the dread functionary, the floor would suddenly sink beneath the visitor’s feet, and he would find himself suspended by the waist; all that part of the body below it being under the floor, and concealed from view. Then, invisible hands would rapidly perform their duty—the trap-door would

rise again—and the visitor would be bowed out with great courtesy, and go home carrying with him substantial marks to remind him of his interview!

The acquittal of Vera Sassulitch, after she had openly pleaded “guilty,” by a jury mainly composed of Aulic Councillors and other titled dignitaries, is one of the most extraordinary facts in the history of jurisprudence. It goes far to prove the deep moral rebellion which exists in the hearts of, at least, the more thinking and more enlightened class in Russia against the unbearable tyranny of a government which affects to be able to “export freedom” for the benefit of Eastern Christians. This acquittal is a sentence of “guilty” against Czardom. Accepted as such, with evident joy, by a number of Russian journals which mustered courage for a moment to break through their fetters, the remarkable judicial occurrence seems like a forerunner of important changes to come. Probably the sense of such a danger quickened the resolution of Alexander II. to try coming to terms with England.

All through the world, the verdict of the St. Petersburg jury has met with either open approval, or at least a lenient judgment, which laid stress on the necessity of circumstances. The Liberal French press has spoken on the subject in a manner not to be mistaken. In law-abiding England also, approving opinions have been freely expressed. In Germany, one of the foremost legal authorities, and in politics a very moderate Liberal, Herr Franz von Holtzendorff, does not think it right to apply, in this case, the ordinary standard—say, of the legal condition of England, or of his own country. “In Russia,” he remarks, “the feelings of Right and Justice, which are systematically and artificially kept down and repressed, and which have no outlet in public life, concentrate themselves with their full weight in the verdict of a jury. That which the Press had no liberty of saying during long years is given vent to in the debates of a court of justice. An accusation is raised on account of a deed which, though punishable as a crime in itself, has been produced and nurtured by a system of administrative arbitrariness and gross ill-treatment that stands morally deep below the deed in question—a *system of corruption which cannot be attacked legally, nay, which enjoys all the honours the State can award*. . . . And who can help it, if an injustice committed day after day, in the name of the State, without any expiation, weighs more heavily upon the public conscience than the act of a single person who undertakes, by risking his own life, to rise, with a feeling of the deepest indignation, against so rotten a system of government? It is but too natural, this wrathful utterance of the popular voice, when it declares that a high official, who, *trusting in the practical approval of*

Imperial favour, ordains corporal punishments according to his arbitrary caprice against defenceless prisoners, is guilty of a greater offence than he who feels driven, by a passionate notion of justice, to erect himself, of his own will, into an avenger of the public conscience!"

"But," Mr. Holtzendorff continues, "far more significant even than the verdict of the jury is the fact that, in spite of its forming such a contrast to the existing law, it has apparently met with full approval, without exception, in the whole Russian press, throughout the upper classes, and even in the circles of Russian jurisconsults. *I myself have had occasion to become convinced that prominent Russian Officials gave their applause to that verdict.*" And the German author, who looks upon the political condition of Russia as one deeply tainted by all kinds of ills, continues:—"If, in a State afflicted with political malady, the institution of the jury had fallen so deep as to work with the mechanical certainty of a military court, and to heed nothing but the points of view of jurisprudence, without being touched by the current of moral aspirations, thus merely registering, with Byzantine obedience, the paragraphs of a code of law: such a phenomenon—keeping, as it would, the Government in a dangerous error as regards public life—would be far more reprehensible than that verdict of 'not guilty,' by which a whole system of Government was practically condemned."

This system itself, Herr von Holtzendorff describes as "a system of arbitrary police ordinances, and of the virtual sovereignty of the Adjutants-General of the Czar—a system of administrative deportations, of despotic arrestations, of press-gagging, of a swashbuckler's government."

So also Dr. Henry Jaques says:—"Where an absolutist monarch rules in arbitrary manner, without any limits to his power, the jury becomes the only representative organ of a people utterly bereft of all political rights. In such a case a jury is indeed entitled to speak, before all, the language of the people, the language of its aspirations towards freedom, which must be heard before everything else, if the nation is to acquire its true rights. Even as, in the *Iliad*, the orphaned Andromache says to the parting Hector: 'Thou art now father, brother, and dear mother to me!' so the Russian people may say to its jury: 'You are now legislators, judges, and the source of mercy at one and the same time to me! In you there reposes the One and All of my political hopes, of my political rights!'"

Nevertheless, an endeavour has been made by some incurable Russophiles in this country, to represent the Russian institutions as somewhat "liberal" and "progressive" ones, owing to the mere circumstance of Miss Sassulitch's case having been tried before a

jury. "Political prisoners," it was observed, "are, then, judged in Russia by juries. Is not this a proof of the injustice of the attacks made against the so-called despotic system?"

Those who reason in this way, are wholly unacquainted with the real facts. To this day, any one lying under a political charge in Russia is brought, not before a jury, but before a specially composed, packed tribunal which is at the beck and call of the Czar. Government appointed judges deal with the accused, without the participation of twelve men good and true. The arbitrary ruler of the Empire has never dreamt of applying the jury system to political matters; he always has kept to the well-known safeguard of tyranny. Jurors only exist in Russia for common crimes. It is the cheaper way of administering justice, and does not, in this restricted application, entail the least danger for the principal of political despotism. Had Vera Sassulitch, therefore, been brought to trial under a political charge, she would have been judged by a Government tribunal. As it was, Government thought it would be better to deal with her as with an ordinary murderess. Hence—and hence only—her case was laid before a jury.

We know that Count Pahlen, the Russian Minister of Justice, in whose cleverness the Czar reposed full confidence, and who has for a long time past been a favourite in the more intimate Court circle, suggested the proposal of treating the Sassulitch case as an ordinary crime. He, no doubt, thought public imagination would be less struck by the affair, if it were divested, as it were, of all State importance; and that a verdict of guilty, pronounced by jurors, would have the result of sadly diminishing the lustre of a martyr's crown. Of the issue of the trial he never, in his governmental wisdom, entertained the slightest doubt. When we look to the names of the twelve jurors who tried Vera Sassulitch, we can easily understand Count Pahlen's confidence. There were not less than seven Aulic, Collegiate, and Titulary Councillors among them; the remainder was composed of a nobleman, an honorary citizen, and some men of the learned class. Evidently the composition of juries at St. Petersburg is somewhat at the command of the Government authorities, even when a political deed is to be judged under the guise of an ordinary crime. Moreover, it was well known that the accused herself would plead "guilty." How, then, was it possible that a jury of Aulic Councillors and other dignitaries should do otherwise than say "Yes"?

The result of all these would-be clever arrangements of the Minister of Justice, and confidant of the Czar, is only the more striking. Of course, Government soon knew, after the verdict had been given, how to cure the defects of the jury system. By a simple ordinance, the verdict was quashed; the re-arrest of

Miss Sassulitch, who had mysteriously disappeared on the day of her release, was enjoined by the Secret Police Office to all its agents; a fresh trial was ordained, to be held at Novgorod; and measures are now being elaborated both for a change of the whole jury system, and for the more efficient discipline of lawyers who have to defend an accused. Count Pahlen himself was dismissed. Such is the vaunted Liberalism of Russian institutions and the Head of the State.

Certainly, Prince Dolgorukoff correctly described the condition of his country when he began his work on *La Vérité sur la Russie* with the following words:—

“What is Russia, from a political and administrative point of view? It is an immense building with a European exterior, decorated with a European frontage; but furnished and administered inside on the Asiatic pattern. The vast majority of Russian officials, disguised in more or less European costumes, proceed, in the exercise of their functions, like veritable Tatars. On what basis does the Russian administration repose? On law? Most assuredly not; no country is richer than Russia in laws, ordinances, and regulations of every kind; the Russian Code is the most voluminous on earth; it contains fifteen thick volumes of more than a thousand pages each; every year new supplements are published. But this Code, so useful to the prosperity of the paper-mills, is a dead letter for the country. The first article of the first volume, *placing the Emperor, as it does, above all laws*, transforms all these fifteen thick volumes into the most voluminous pleasantries. The Russian Administration is based, not on the equality of all before the law, as in Europe, but on their equality before the caprice of the governmental authority and the venality of the administration, as in Asia. In order to escape from its power, one must be a member of the Court Camarilla itself, or be protected by it—even as in Asia.”

Prince Dolgorukoff wrote these words four years after the accession of Alexander II.; and they are as true to-day as they were then. The caprice of the governmental authority, and the venality of the Administration, are still blended in an unholy union. General Trepoff himself, the Chief of the Police, was suddenly discovered, after the attempt made upon his life, to have unaccountably amassed a fortune of 3,000,000 roubles, whilst he had begun life as a foundling! The matter came out when, believing to be at death's door, he had to make his last will. It was for this reason, and not from any desire to conciliate public opinion, that the Emperor—who until then had looked upon Trepoff as an efficient, but not corrupt, tool of his despotism—relieved him of his functions, on the plea of the state of his health. Yet, as soon as the verdict of the jury had been issued in favour of Vera Sassulitch, Alexander II. gave a fresh mark of his favour to the tyrannical head of the police!

In law—if that word could be applied to a state of things

which is very near political savagery—the Emperor of All the Russias “can exile everybody, take away from every Russian his property, his freedom, his life, and cut off heads according to his whim.” So Prince Dolgorukoff says; but he hastens to add some soothing words as to the enlightened and benevolent character of Alexander II., which we, on our part, must say have not been verified by subsequent events in the Caucasus, in Poland, and in Turkestan, or on Bulgarian soil—for instance, at Plevna. Prince Dolgorukoff also mentions that the Emperor, “though Autocrat by right” (that is to say, by right professedly divine), “is very rarely an Autocrat in fact.” This statement we accept with a qualification that applies to all such cases. There is not, there cannot be, there never has been, an Autocrat in the sense of the absolute power of a single person. The most irresponsible monarch is dependent on a number of tools, who in a vast Empire are, of course, frequently beyond the control of the central power, and whose personal corrupt interest leads them to practise acts of deception upon the very source and fountain head of arbitrary rule. This is the nature of all Autocracy.

Hence Prince Dolgorukoff also states that the Czar is often deceived—“*Russia being the country of official and organised lies.*” At every one of the numerous steps and gradations of the administrative power in Russia, the lower officials present to their chiefs reports and memoranda of the situation which everybody, from the *Stanovoy* (Under-Surveyors of the Police Districts) up to the Ministers and to the President of the Privy Council, know perfectly well to be false. The Ministers present to the Emperor reports which they know to be false. Again, the Russian author avers that justice only exists in Russia by name. In order to obtain justice, if one is an honest man; or in order to commit an act of injustice to one’s profit, you must pay, pay always, pay everywhere, or have powerful and active protectors, either among the Ministers or among the Camarilla, or among the persons intimately connected with the Camarilla or the Ministers. And in paying, one has still to be on one’s guard against being deceived. Among the Russian Judges and Secretaries of Tribunals (the latter exercising the greatest influence on the course of judicial affairs), it is the custom to call a “dishonest man” him who receives money and yet deceives the one who gives it. But to promise to do an act of injustice for an agreed sum of money, and to keep that promise, is by no means, according to them, a blameable deed; “it is an act of wisdom.” This terrible venality, the author adds, proceeds in part, as regards the lower functionaries, from the smallness of their salary.

When we see that a verdict is arbitrarily set aside by Government, and that the very basis of the administration of justice is despotically altered because the decision of a jury has been

adverse to the Crown, we do not wonder at reading the following description in *La Vérité sur la Russie* :—

“The Minister of Justice ought not to be judge himself; he ought not to quash the decisions of the tribunals according to his arbitrary pleasure. This does not happen in any civilised country; it is only an Asiatic custom, disgraceful for Russia. What might we not say of that law which is so unworthy of the true dignity of a civilised Prince—we mean the custom which transforms the Emperor himself into a judge, when, setting aside all the laws he himself had published, and treading underfoot the decisions of every tribunal, he has all law-suits, all rights of property, and of the security and honour of individuals, submitted to his Imperial pleasure? Why have laws at all? Why have any courts of justice?”

Written eighteen years ago, these questions are still applicable in Russia to the fullest extent.

Other remarks, referring to the Administration, are equally applicable to-day. There have been absolutist governments, among various nations, with a great deal of strict efficiency about them, from the point of view of their own despotic interest; being founded, as they were, on the principle of personal merit of the tools employed—if merit is not too noble a term for the abasement of intellectual gifts to the use of tyranny. But “in Russia,” we learn—“the merit of a man is a great obstacle to his advancement, especially if a sentiment of personal dignity is joined thereto. Cunningness, the predominating quality among slaves, is taken there for profundity of the mind. Merit is feared by the mass of nullities who direct the Administration. The sentiment of individual dignity is looked upon, by the Bureaucracy and the Camarilla, as almost a personal offence. A man accustomed to bow and to scrape, to flatter, to intrigue, to sneak, and to creep, and who is bent upon stealing, reaches everything; and the more he crawls, the more he is an obsequious flatterer, an intriguer, and full of greediness, the more quickly does he arrive at his aim.” In short, the bureaucratic system of Russia—the *tchin*—is “to-day nothing but a hot-house of incapables and of thieves.”

There is a so-called Senate in Russia, a mere governmental body, not a representative assembly, which was instituted in 1711. According to the terms of the law, the Senators are to watch over the Ministers, so that the latter may properly fulfil their duty; but the Senators themselves are removable and revocable at the will of Government and at the caprice of the so-called Minister of Justice! No wonder this body has “always signalised itself by a complete absence of dignity and of moral sense, doing obeisance in the ante-chambers of male and female Court favourites, and subscribing, in an ignoble spirit of slavishness, to the most iniquitous, the most cruel, the most odious decrees.” Year by year, this body has incessantly sunk to a lower depth.

According to the graphic description given, inefficient generals, decrepit admirals, and officials whose places are wanted for ministerial protégés, find in the Senate a haven of repose. If an official has an apoplectic fit, he is made a member of the Senate. At a second apoplectic fit, he is appointed to the Privy Council; at a third apoplectic fit, he may aspire to become Minister. If he is so appointed, and gets a fourth apoplectic fit, he is a candidate for the first vacancy of the post of President of the Cabinet Council. We can easily understand, with such a mode of government, the many signs of corruptness and inefficiency in the Russian Administration, during the late campaign against Turkey.

“Russia”—to make a last quotation—“has from the time of the Mongol invasion, in the thirteenth century, down to our days, been nothing but an immense pyramid of oppression. In this vast edifice, slavish subjection and arbitrary force reign from top to bottom; and from the bottom to the top there is developed, in formidable proportions, the official lie, *the lie erected into a political institution*—the bitter and dreary fruit of slavish subjection and of the absence of all individual freedom, of all publicity, of all serious and real control. This despotism, already hideous in itself, exercises still an eminently deleterious moral influence. It dries up the noble and elevated sentiments; it degrades the soul; it corrupts, perverts, and lowers the character, even more among those who exercise that despotism than among its victims.” There is not a Russian, with a spark of sincerity about him, who will not acknowledge this to be a faithful picture.

The misery will not cease until the Muscovite Empire—the only country now in Europe which has no Parliament—has undergone a great political change. Here we come upon a notable, and, in a certain measure, not very encouraging historical fact.

Almost all European countries, without exception, have at one time been in possession of representative institutions, either of a national, or at least of a local and provincial character. Italy, with her many civic Republics in the Middle Ages, though as a nation she only was a “geographical expression,” to use Metternich’s sneering phrase; Spain, with the constitutions and *fueros* of the various kingdoms out of which she grew; France, with her older provincial *parlements*, which, it is true, were but a feeble image of political life; Sweden and Norway, with their ancient diets; the old German Empire, with its numerous free cities, its many provincial assemblies, and its rather aristocratic Imperial Diet; Hungary and Poland, with their tumultuous assemblies of noblemen and towns’ deputies—they all possessed some kind of parliamentary institutions from times long gone by. Through wars or domestic misfortunes, some of them lost these privileges for awhile—only to recover them afterwards in

a better shape. In Russia, however, if we except the city of Novgorod, and a few other towns in the north, the nation at large has for more than a thousand years remained under the iron yoke of princely absolutism.

Herberstein, who went to Russia, after the downfall of Mongol dominion, as the envoy of the German Empire, exclaimed in astonishment:—"The Grand Prince speaks, and everything is done; the life, the property of the laymen and of the priesthood, of the highest nobles as well as of the citizens, all depends upon his supreme will. He brooks no contradiction, and everything in him appears just, even as in God; for the Russians are convinced that the Grand Prince is the executor of the heavenly will. 'God and the Prince have willed it,' are the ordinary expressions among them." "I do not know," Herberstein adds, "whether it is the character of the Russian nation which has formed such Autocrats, or whether the Autocrats have stamped this character upon the nation." So wrote, nearly 400 years ago, a studious foreign observer, whose feelings of wonderment at the degradation of the Russian people put Mr. Carlyle to shame, who, as a free Briton, knows of no better title to admiration than the slave's quality of "silently following orders given."

It may be difficult to decide the question as to whether the character of the mass of the Russian nation has formed the outrageous type of its Autocrats, or whether Autocrats have stamped their character upon the nation. But there can be no doubt that, barring the few years which followed upon the election of the Romanoff dynasty in 1613, Russia has never enjoyed even the semblance of a representative government. After the death of Ivan the Terrible, Muscovy fell into utter disorganisation. Before his time, the country had been conquered, held and governed by the Tatars of the Golden Horde for fully two centuries and a half. This terrible yoke of foreign Asiatic dominion was only taken from it through the disunion among the Mongol tribes. The Czarate of Moscow, which thereupon arose, was merely another name of the arbitrary rule of the Khanate of the Kiptchak. Russia, already tyrannically governed under the early Rurik dynasty, had become thoroughly Asiatised by the long Tatar rule. The last ruler of the house of Rurik, who died in 1584, governed in a manner before which the worst deeds of Oriental despots fade into the background. Then followed a troublesome period of civil wars, or rather of dynastic Pretendships. It was the time of the usurper Czar Boris Godnuoff, himself the descendant of a Tatar mirza, or noble, who had become a convert to Christianity, and of the various false Demetriuses. The sanguinary brutality which characterises this epoch, must be read in its details, if one would have a proper notion of the debasement into which Russia had then sunk.

The election of a new dynasty was brought about by representatives of the nobility, the clergy, and also of some of the towns. In consequence of this, there arose a germ of representative government, from 1613-19; but presently that weakly plant of a *duma*, or Parliament, decayed again. Russia fell back into a despotic Byzantinism; this time characterised more by a monkish drowsiness than by tyrannic energy. Peter I. brought back the despotic principle in its fulness—with a cutting force before which many a head rolled to the ground, often severed from the body by the inebriated Czar's own hand. There were some attempts, now and then—as under the Empress Anna—to wrest from the Crown a few parliamentary privileges in favour of the nobility; but these attempts invariably miscarried. Generally, the higher and lesser aristocracy could not agree among themselves; or there were traitors in the camp. The road to Siberia thus remained always open for the quieting of the more daring spirits.

The institutions of Sweden, Poland, and Hungary—that is to say, representative government on the aristocratic pattern, even as it existed in principle, though in a somewhat better form, in England before the Reform Bills—was the highest goal to which the political ambition of a few men then secretly soared in Russia. But they were not able to achieve anything practical. A leaden reign of Absolutism crushed them as soon as their political fancy tried to open its wings. In the older writers on Russia we find a great deal about police practices and espionage, of so highly developed a kind, that the corresponding arrangements of more modern tyrants and usurpers look like a copy of the old Muscovite model. Thus in Margaret's time, in the beginning of the seventeenth century, the greater part of the servants in the houses of Russian noblemen were in the secret pay of Government. "All the roads," says that old French writer, "which lead out of the country are so closed that it is impossible to leave it without the special permission of the Emperor." When there were any apprehensions of a war with Poland, all strangers were sent to the frontiers of Tatar, from fear that they might put themselves in communication with the enemy; for "this nation is the most suspicious and most mistrusting people of the world." In short, the police practices in a country which is so often falsely represented as a "young nation" were such that the later saying about "Russia being rotten before being ripe" can be fully understood. Similar police practices still prevail in the Czar's Empire: none can leave it without the special permission of the Emperor; and men are sent off to Siberia at a simple Government order.

When we come to the reign of Peter I., we find that by doing away with the privileges of social rank which the older

families had possessed until then, he no doubt wrought an administrative reform. But the *tchin*, or bureaucratic system, which he created, and the "Table of Ranks" (*Tabél o Ranghah*) connected therewith, soon became the source of a new oppression that crushed out all individual life from the Russian nation. Meanwhile the tillers of the soil were enslaved throughout the length and breadth of the land. Serfage had existed among them from ancient times. The contrary opinion has often been upheld by ill-informed writers, or by men who from patriotic motives readily yielded to a pleasant illusion; but that opinion is untenable before the documents of history. From the time of Boris Godunoff, bondage, which had until then existed side by side with a freehold system, became the normal condition of the masses. Catherine II., who liked to pose before Europe as the friend of philosophers, spread serfage still further. She extended it all over that part of the South which, up to her time, had not formed part of Russia, and where therefore some rough kind of autonomy, of the Cossack type, had been maintained. The immense majority of the country thus was made to consist of bondsmen. The insignificantly small section of a town's population, and of a more educated class, was placed under the most grinding political despotism.

No wonder the madness of Imperial tyranny should have run riot, under this system, to such an extent, that, as an antidote, the assassination of Czars by their own courtiers, and with the connivance of heirs presumptive, also became erected into a system. "Every Czar"—the Russian saying still is—"walks with his father's murderers before, and with his own murderers behind him." To mention only the chief events in that line, since Peter I., we may bring to recollection, that that cruel monarch murdered his son with his own hand. Catherine II. was implicated in the murder of her own husband, Peter III. Paul I. was assassinated by his courtiers, and with the assumed knowledge of his son and successor, Alexander II. The death of Alexander II. took place at Taganrog under somewhat mysterious circumstances. The death of Nicholas, which occurred so suddenly, at a very convenient moment, was explained in medical bulletins which had all the appearance of being concocted. Indeed, they were said, at the time, in a medical journal of the first rank, to be utterly at variance with the possibilities of a scientific diagnosis. Such a succession of violent or mysterious deaths is Orientalism with a vengeance. The history of other Eastern despotisms does not furnish a similar Chamber of Dynastic Horrors.

The events which came in the wake of the French Revolution, compelled the Emperor Alexander I. to grant a Constitution at

least to his Polish Kingdom. The Napoleonic invasion had laid bare the existence of a danger which taught the Czar the necessity of a concession on the vulnerable western frontier of his Empire. Russia herself remained under strictly despotic rule. At the time of the Polish Revolution of 1831, the draft of a general Constitution for Russia was found among the papers of the Imperial Commissioner at Warsaw, Nowosilzoff, with whom Alexander II. had for several years been in correspondence on this subject. It seems that the project was kept in pickle in case a fresh troublous time should arrive. The character of the Constitution in question may, however, be inferred from the chapter dealing with the attributes of the Emperor. "The sovereignty," it is there said, "resides indivisibly in the person of the Monarch." He is "the sole source of all civil, political, legislative, and military powers." The Senate, or Upper House, was to be appointed by the Emperor for life. For the Second Chamber, the Czar was to appoint two-thirds of the members out of the totality of those elected, who were to be presented to him for a choice! There was yet another curious enactment. "All Jews, without exception, even when entered as members of the guilds or of the proprietary class, were to remain excluded from the communal assemblies, and from all participation in the exercise of political rights." This latter proviso would perhaps have met with the approval of that new-fangled class of our Liberals who ask themselves whether Jews can be patriots, and whose patriotism may be summed up in an attitude of beatified admiration before the Divine Figure the North.

At the death of Alexander I., a rising was attempted at St. Petersburg, in favour of a Constitution. It is true, some of those soldiers who had been gained over by the heads of the movement, thought that, in shouting for a "Constitution," they were doing homage to the wife of Grand-Duke Constantine. Nicholas overthrew this insurrection, and waded through blood to the throne. The cruel subsequent overthrow of the Polish Revolution hardened his tyrannic heart even further. In 1848, he was ready, if any request had come from neighbouring monarchs, to send his Cossacks and Baskirs into Germany or Hungary. The Hungarian movement of Independence was actually vanquished by his aid, in 1849. Then he made his spring upon Turkey—the failure of which attack only men bereft of all political foresight can deplore. Yet there are men at present among us, who so far forget all true Liberal teachings as to bemoan, even retrospectively, the ill-success of one of the worst tyrants in history, whose influence lay like an incubus over Central and Southern Europe. Mr. John Bright actually has asserted that the Western Powers, in 1854-56, had "garrotted Russia!"

It has been explained in a previous essay, how Alexander II. decreed the Emancipation of the Serfs merely with a view of traversing the movement in favour of the introduction of a Constitution, which began to show itself once more, though but in vague form, after the Czar's defeat in the Crimea. Every true and intelligent well-wisher of the Russian people must see that such defeats of an already overgrown Empire which contains so many captive and oppressed nationalities, is for the benefit of the Muscovite nation itself. One could scarcely expect that Russians themselves should wish for a defeat of their national arms. Yet, so great is the misery under which the country suffers, that among the more active section of discontented Russians, there are some men who would be glad of strong pressure being brought upon Czardom by means of military defeat from without. The Government of Alexander II., like that of Nicholas, showed its true character after the defeat of a Polish rising. Batak pales before the Reign of Terror which was initiated by the present Emperor in Russian Poland, in 1864. Ever since, the barbarous policy of never-ceasing conquest has been the guiding principle of Alexander II.—first in Central Asia, then in Eastern Europe; both kinds of enterprise being destined ultimately to affect English power in Asia.

Since the present Emperor has crushed all attempts at a Constitutional movement, we have heard much about Nihilists, Socialists, Anarchists, and so forth, in Russia, or among Russian exiles abroad. Those conversant with the novels of Turguenieff and Tchernishevski know the types of men and women comprised under those names. Repeated State Trials in Russia have, moreover, brought them in a very lively manner into the foreground. Besides the anti-Governmental sects mentioned, there are Slavophiles and Pan Slavists of the Aksakoff and Katkoff school, and other members of a so-called "Young Russia," whose aims and objects have not unfrequently fitted in with those of an astute Government policy that made use of their aspirations for its own benefit.

In the State Trials, which have of late been so frequent in Russia, one of the most remarkable facts in the history of secret political movements has come to light. Youths of both sexes, of the highest social class, were found to have hired themselves out in the guise of common workmen and factory-girls, so as to get into contact with the lower people, and to indoctrinate the masses with their own, often rather crude and utopian, tenets. This shows, at any rate, a deep estrangement between an eager and active section of the cultured strata on the one hand, and the Government power on the other. It points to a disturbed state of things not unfavourable to a great political change, provided

Czardom were suddenly to lose its prestige by a signal military defeat abroad. In such a case, we are convinced that the somewhat fantastic ideas which were elaborated in the darkness of tyrannic oppression, would soon change into more practical views.

The chief drawback, it is true, is to be found in the backwardness of four-fifths of the Russian population, which constitute the agricultural class, and which form, perhaps, the most sluggish element in all Europe. At the same time we know, from trustworthy information of our own, that in a number of towns where autocratic authority has hitherto had its real seat and stronghold, Government have latterly been driven to employ the most curious practices for the sake of coping with the forces of dissatisfaction. Manufacturers who were at issue with their workpeople on a wages question, had to be told by the police that they must continue paying the usual wages. Detective agents were put by the police authorities into factory-rooms in the garb of overseers, with the forced assent of the masters, so as to find out whether the revolutionary propaganda had not its own emissaries there. We could say more on this subject from various sources, were it not that, under present circumstances, it is better to refrain from dwelling on details.

With an exhausted exchequer; with an army decimated by battles and by the ravages of sickness and epidemics; and with discontent brooding in several chief towns, the Czar is not in a position to face new dangers abroad. This country is, consequently, master of the situation. Well may we say, therefore, that a great responsibility attaches to our own Government, who by a firm bearing may at one and the same time successfully uphold the cause of public right as against conquering pretensions, and embolden the more Liberal forces in Russia itself to wring concessions from the oppressor.

It would be a sorry achievement for England to have gained her point on a mere question of diplomatic etiquette if, in return, her representatives were to sacrifice the substance by letting Russia encroach upon a neighbour's territory, be it in Europe or Asia. If Bessarabia, Batoum, and Kars are not kept from the Czar's grasp, the seeds of a new war in Danubian quarters will have been sown, and this country may look out for coming perils in her Asiatic Empire. It is a time of great crisis, fraught with all kinds of political forebodings. In the interest of Europe, in the interest of England, in the interest of the deliverance of the Russian people itself, we consider it desirable that our representatives, whilst showing full readiness to secure good government for Turkey, should unflinchingly refuse any territorial increase of the already overgrown Russian Empire.

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

THEOLOGY.

AN anonymous author, undertaking to vindicate the claims of Spiritualism against the pretensions of Materialism, offers us what he considers a verification of the supernatural in Nature by the free use of science.¹ While professing not to deal with scepticism in some of its naturalistic doubts, but with those who deny supernaturalism, and who refuse to believe in a personal God, he contends for a revelation in an inspired record, as an essential bulwark against error, and the only infallible guide to truth; as the corrective of scientific generalisations which would banish God from the world, and as the teacher of moral and spiritual laws which are co-ordinate with and analogous to those physical laws which a scientific generalisation has revealed. The task which he has undertaken is one difficult to execute. In the whole of his volume we cannot find any approach to a sustained or convincing argument. The author may occasionally succeed in exposing the inconsistencies and shortcomings of opponents, or in establishing the not very novel position—that man is powerless to read the secret of existence, or bewildered by rival hypotheses, or unable to grapple with speculations which transcend experience; but we, at least, have not discovered in his book any verification of a supernatural element in Nature, unless we accept authoritative statement as scientific truth, and plausible inferences as positive demonstrations. To lend the character of science to his work the author has imported into it numerous quotations from Helmholtz, Hæckel; Tyndall, Owen, and others, exhibiting, no doubt, a creditable acquaintance with their writings, but not producing on our mind the impression that he has any title to speak from the throne of science with autocratic voice. Scattered here and there through his pages are sentiments with which we accord, together with the expression of a lofty, though vague, moral enthusiasm, which reflects honour on him. The author is right, too, in cautioning us against the dangers of unbelief. Negations are at best unfruitful; and no noble or even reasonable life is possible to man without some creed for the intellect, or some rule of conduct for the heart. Popular religion sometimes embodies a practical wisdom, unconsciously transmitted, as part of the experience of the race, and in abandoning its authority we are liable to abandon traditional teaching, which a sound philosophy would justify and inculcate. So much we can concede to the defenders of the old faith; but when they claim for their creed the recognition

¹ "The Supernatural in Nature: A Verification by Free Use of Science." London: C. Kegan Paul & Co.

of scientific truth or a conformity with it—when they profess to find in the Bible an infallible guide; when Genesis is made to harmonise with geology; when Christ is regarded not as a gracious benefactor of our race, but as an ultimate and divine perfection; and those who accept the well-weighed conclusions of grave and thoughtful critics are denounced and derided because they do not take the author's view of the Bible and its contents—we cannot but feel strong repugnance, and express serious disapprobation. Nor is the writer simply discourteous; he can be incorrect as well. Complaining that the argument from design is met by the humorous reply, "If there be pepper in the soup, there must be pepper in the cook who made it, since otherwise the pepper would be without a cause"—he gives Mr. J. S. Mill the credit of inventing this combination of salt, pepper, and soup. Now, in the first place, far from rejecting the argument from design, Mr. Mill acknowledged its validity; and, in the second place, he employs this parody as an answer to the *à priori* reasoner, Descartes, who asserted that the Efficient Cause must at least have all the perfections of the Effect, and for this singular reason—"Si enim possumus aliquid in ideâ reperiri quod non fuerit in ejus causâ, hoc igitur habet a nihilo."

With a similar predilection for the conciliation of the old creed with modern thought, Mr. James Hawkins has, in his "Phases of Modern Doctrine,"⁵ endeavoured to embody a series of opinions which are flowing through independent literature. With his assertion, that science and philosophy are decidedly making clearer the interpretation of Scripture, we can agree, but only in a sense opposed to that which he advocates. The spirit of full-blown theological compromise is upon us, and we look drearily forward to endless essays, which undertake to prove that the round is not so very round, nor the black so very black; that there is really no difference between Moses and Murchison, Professor Huxley and St. John the Evangelist. Mr. Hawkins, who perhaps goes nearly as far as this himself, takes under his protection the main opinions of Lamarck, Tyndall, Wallace, Darwin, and Huxley, as based on a most intelligent observation of the laws and operations of Nature, and attenuates the Scriptural notices of the Devil into "allusions to a pre-existent principle of evil, or something antithetical to goodness under different significations, highly suggestive of infiltration and sympathy as regards the Christian, Mosaic, and foreign religions." While Satan thus vanishes in theological mist, Jesus appears in all the glory of a liberal and enlightened nineteenth century professor, studying not only the Jewish traditions, but the teachings of Zoroaster, and mastering the intelligence and utilising many of the legendary incidents of Buddhism. Indeed, according to Mr. Hawkins, "it is not a difficult task to detect that Christ had also an intimate knowledge of the writings of Plato!" whilst Plato, it seems, had a divine insight into all that was afterwards recognised as the doctrine of pure and simple Christianity. Christ, he adds, was "deeply

⁵ "Phases of Modern Doctrine in Relation to the Intellectual and Active Powers of Nature and Man." By James Hawkins. London: Longmans & Co. 1878.

skilled in logical argument," and was so extraordinary a person, that he *may have been* the Saviour and the Son of God; though "it really matters very little whether he was a phenomenon, or whether he merely believed himself to be so." In dealing with questions of Biblical criticism Mr. Hawkins, like a famous provincial mayor, seems to be animated by a laudable desire to be "neither partial nor impartial." He earnestly enjoins the duty of indoctrinating the rising generation with the everlasting wisdom of the Bible, to enable it to keep up the holy traditions of childhood, and magnify the mystic source of creation. But at the same time he admits that some at least of the Old Testament books contain no evidence of the actual or personal existence of the Deity, and avers that in the New Testament there is much that cannot be accepted in a true or literal sense, much that has been designed and dishonestly interpolated by early enthusiasts of Christianity for sectarian purposes. So anxious is he to do justice to the sceptical side, that he commits himself to the preposterous assertion, that no records having reference to Christ are known of a date earlier than two centuries after his time; and appears to be of opinion that the authorship of none of the books of the New Testament is ascertained; while there are, he tells us, substantial grounds for believing St. Matthew and St. John to have been eye-witnesses of certain incidents in the gospel narrative. Matthew is only supposed to have written his gospel, while there is but a probability that St. John was the author of the writings attributed to him. Such even-handed justice is seldom measured out, and orthodoxy and heterodoxy alike may gaze admiringly on their common champion, who, like the paradoxical politician in the Biglow Papers, so ingeniously faces south by north.

Of the history of Pantheism,³ conceived in the same generous spirit, one volume only is before us. The author modestly speaks of his work as an outline, describing it as a compilation derived more frequently from translations and abridgments of originals than from originals themselves. This is a sufficiently correct description, for entire pages are borrowed from Colebrook, Thirlwall, Lewes, Draper, Huxley, and Mill. In his account of Servetus the author follows the guidance of Dr. Willis, in his elaborate biography. The section alone on Lucilio Vanini deserves to be noticed as exceptionally original. The volume contains no philosophic exposition of Pantheism, but the author eulogises it as a noble and elevating creed. While professing himself an adherent of this creed, he repudiates only the paganised form of Christianity; and far from condemning the teaching of Christ, cherishes for him an intense and reverent admiration. By a somewhat lax extension of the term Pantheistic he includes among his historical illustrations the leaders of the Ionic school and Pythagoras.

Another advocate of a metamorphic theology appears in the person of Mr. Baring-Gould, an advocate of cultivated mind, refined taste,

³ "General Sketch of the History of Pantheism." Vol. I. London: Sam. Deacon & Co. 1878.

and generous aspiration. In his interesting essay on the Origin and Development of Religious Belief,⁴ he has interwoven science with philosophy and philosophy with theology. The religious instinct, the religious idea, the law of religious development, the origin of polytheism and monotheism, the history of theosophy and various pantheistic speculations, are all explained and illustrated in his learned volumes. In the chapters on the Idea of Evil, Asceticism, Mystery, Sacrifice, Catholicism, Protestantism, and Christian Dogma, will be found many instructive and attractive pages. The work is faulty, as it seems to us, from its too comprehensive grasp, its vagueness, want of cohesion, and baseless and elusive metaphysic. Mr. Gould begins with an avowal of his dissatisfaction with the popular evidences of Christianity, the authority of an infallible church or an infallible text. Though he does not deny the inspiration, he does deny the cogency of biblical testimony. Infallible, he says, as a moral and spiritual guide, the Scripture, when the law of the incarnation is applied to it, is seen to be full of imperfections, grossness, trivialities, and mistakes. The same may be affirmed of the church. If Christianity, continues Mr. Gould, is to recover lost ground, it will be by bringing together those truths which have been denied by Protestantism on the one hand and by Popery on the other. There is, he thinks, a true Catholicism whose rudimentary outline pre-exists in the instinctive craving, the unsatisfied wants of the human soul, and the demonstration of whose cardinal doctrines is to be found in the philosophy of Hegel, for, he explains, if the principle of Christianity is in the soul, it is Hegel who is destined to play a conspicuous part in the reconciliation of modern thought with the dogma of the incarnation; Hegel who supplies a key to unlock the golden gate which remains closed to the mind of modern Europe. Such is the vision in which Mr. Gould indulges. To us it seems strange that when Germany has abandoned the teaching of Hegel, Englishmen should be dazzled and misled by that splendid mirage; stranger that Christianity should seek its champion in the philosopher whose language is so ambiguous that men of high intelligence deny that the God of Hegel is a personal God at all, or that *his* Son of God is the historical Jesus. According to Hegel the finite human spirit is the highest known development of the infinite spirit, and the objective *Geist* is merely the sum total of the subjective *Geists*. What then, it will be asked, has become of the absolute *Geist* or infinite spirit, since all that exists must be either subject or object? We answer, it is distilled in the Hegelian dialectical retort till nothing remains. Or is the absolute nothing absolute being?—is it a reality? Is our thinking of God, as Hegel says, the existence of God, though his real existence he nevertheless affirms is Nature? Hegel's doctrine of contradictories is held by one of his philosophical countrymen to show the weakness of his system, but Mr. Gould thoroughly adopts it. Non-existence is the same as existence, and contraries are identical;

• 4 "Origin and Development of Religious Belief." By S. Baring-Gould, M.A. London: Rivingtons. 1878.

this being that, and now being then. We cannot think that such a system, so obscure, so evasive, so audacious in its absurdity, can ever lend support to the Christian religion, but, if the doctrine were accepted, the critical and historical difficulties would still remain. The religious instincts on which Mr. Gould lays so much stress may no doubt be referred to the elementary feelings of human nature, but we must be careful not to confound compound with simple sentiments, not to create a psychological romance out of misinterpreted feelings, and not to convert this romance into history or legend. In the sense of human imperfection we may see the correspondent of the fall of man, but that sense does not prove an historical fall, nor the existence of an ancestral Adam. The desire for peace and rest, the yearning for internal satisfaction and calm, of reconciliation with self, with man, with the universe, does not prove the atonement by Christ, even that version of it which is advocated by Mr. Gould, who rejects the Protestant doctrines of original sin and vicarious sacrifice. Can we really understand by the help of the Hegelian legerdemain how the infinite spirit descends into the lowest depths of the finite, and while alienating himself retains his identity and returns into himself? and if we could realise this impossible dialectical movement, would it follow that it has necessarily an historical counterpart, or that that historical counterpart is to be found in the evangelical narrative or the Catholic transcript of it? Shall we not rather ask with Strauss, If we know the incarnation, death, and resurrection as the eternal circulation, the infinitely repeated pulsation of the divine life, what special importance can attach to a single fact which is but a mere sensible image of this unending process?

Mr. Baring-Gould in his concluding chapters refers approvingly to Dr. Newman's⁵ well-known essay on Development, a reprint of which work, first published in 1835, when the author was more than half-persuaded to be a Catholic, is now before us. In this ingenious and original dissertation, written with characteristic urbanity of manner, and the magic of a pellucid language, Dr. Newman virtually recommends Catholic method and Catholic doctrine, though his pages were not in the first instance written to prove the divinity of the Catholic religion. Criticising the famous canon of Vincentius of Lerins, so dear to the Anglo-Catholic school in our youth—*quod semper quod ubique quod ab omnibus*, Dr. Newman argues that it is of various and unequal application, and that the test which it furnishes can never be fully satisfied. The extant teaching of the fathers, he observes, is incomplete, or worse than incomplete. St. Ignatius may be considered as a patripassion, St. Justin Arianizes, and Tertullian is heterodox on our Lord's divinity. Origen is suspect, and St. Methodius speaks incorrectly of the incarnation. Scripture, too, is not all sufficient. The prophetic text provides a fulfilment by imposing a meaning. A reader who came to the inspired text by himself beyond

⁵ "An Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine." By John Henry Newman, D.D. London: Basil Montagu Pickering. 1878.

the influence of that traditional acceptance which happily encompasses it, would be surprised to be told that the prophet's words referred to our Lord. He submits his reason on competent authority, and regards "certain events as an accomplishment of predictions which seem very far removed from them." Out of the difficulties thus intimated, the theory of Development, it is alleged, alone can extricate us, the expansion of the Christian creed being a necessary attendant on any philosophy or policy which has had an extended, intellectual, or social dominion. There is, no doubt, a certain general truth in the theory of historical development, but whether it can with consistency be applied to a revelation supposed to be perfect in itself, is questionable. The sense of living reality would be obliterated from our picture of the Apostolic age if, accepting the principle of development, we were to interpret the varying and opposing conceptions of the New Testament writers by the rigid dogma of a later century, and identify the teachings of Paul and James, of Matthew and John. And this air of unreality, this forced interpretation, this violation of all the rules of philosophic criticism, would serve as a counterbalancing argument to discredit the principle and indispose the intellect to receive it. But, further, we see no evidence of any sacred authority attaching to the words of the saintly men who appear to initiate the development, or any guarantee of the divine institution, or inspiration of general councils which determine them. Dr. Newman, however, distinguishes between genuine developments and doctrinal corruptions, offering us the following seven notes of the sound evolution of an idea—preservation of type; continuity of principles; power of assimilation; logical sequence; anticipation of the future; conservative action upon the past; chronic vigour. On the success of his detailed application of these distinguishing marks, our readers will decide for themselves. In the new edition of this *Essay* alterations have been made, the author informs us, not in its matter, but in its text. The volume as it now appears is dedicated to the President of Trinity College, Oxford, in token of the author's sense of the gracious compliment paid him by making him once more a member of a college dear to him from undergraduate memories.

Dr. Newman with great plausibility, as it seems to us, considers the doctrine of eternal punishment as the correlative of the doctrine of atonement. Dr. Farrar, on the contrary, rejects it emphatically, and therefore, we presume, modifies the received view of the atonement. In his eloquent volume of sermons⁶ he expounds his notions of posthumous existence, of heaven and hell, and the future consequences of sin, substituting, apparently, the aching pang of God's revealing light, the willing agony of his remedial fire for endless torment and material flame, meant not to correct but to harden. For reasons which we forbear to recapitulate, we decline to concur in the Canon's conclusion that endless punishment is not a scriptural doctrine, and

⁶ "Eternal Hope. Five Sermons Preached in Westminster Abbey, November and December, 1877." By Rev. Frederick W. Farrar, D.D., F.R.S., Canon of Westminster, &c. London: Macmillan & Co. 1878.

hasten to congratulate him on his forming one of that multitude of clergymen, bearing names very widely and honourably known, who, though in opinion they differ in detail, agree in the utter repudiation of the popular theology; and gladly close our brief notice of his learned book with a citation from his passionate protest against the doctrine which he condemns:—

“I call God to witness that, so far from regretting the possible loss of some billions of æons of bliss by attaching to the word *αιώνιος*, a sense in which scores of times it is undeniably found, I would here and now, and kneeling on my knees, ask Him that I might die as the beasts that perish, and for ever cease to be, rather than that my worst enemy should endure the Hell described by Tertullian, or Minucius Felix, or Jonathan Edwards, or Dr. Pusey, or Mr. Furniss, or Mr. Moody, or Mr. Spurgeon, for one single year.”

A more astounding heresy than that which consists in the abandonment of the doctrine of eternal punishment is that which is described and elucidated by the Rev. Edward Miller, under the name of Irvingism, or the so-called Catholic and Apostolic Church.⁷ The author's professed object in writing the history of this movement has been, he tell us, to induce those who have unconsciously wandered into self-chosen paths to return into the unity of the Catholic faith. Irvingism is the child of the nineteenth century. It had its immediate origin in the curious fanaticism respecting the interpretation of the prophecies, and the supposed impending second advent of Christ. It aimed at a revival of Catholicity, and the restoration of Apostolic faith and practice, but it was founded, as Mr. Miller shows, on misconception, abuse of types, and wild attempts to realise the phenomena of the Apostolic age. Its success, however, has not been great, for, since 1840, all the acts of the Apostolic College have been invalidated by the frustration of the “sealing” process, on which a predicted increase was to depend. The 12,000 places for each tribe, on which they calculated, were not only not filled up by the Apostles before their death, according to the announcement, but after more than forty years' operations the Irvingite body numbers only about 10,000 members. Mr. Miller, in following the course of the development of Irvingism, relates some singular particulars of its representative men, Cardale Drummond and Thomas Carlyle, who, like his greater namesake, was a schoolfellow of Irving's at Annan. A brief notice of Irving himself does not leave a very favourable impression on the mind of the powers of this “Messenger of Truth in the Age of Shams.” However noble-minded Irving may have been, he was certainly misguided, and Mr. Miller has no great difficulty in exposing the baselessness and vanity of the pretensions of the so-called Catholic and Apostolic Church. We shall not, however, follow him through his minute examination of these pretensions, but satisfy ourselves with stating his condemnatory sentence—namely, that the verdict of the Catholic Church is against them; that

⁷ “The History and Doctrines of Irvingism.” By Edward Miller, M.A., Vicar of Butler's Marston. Two Vols. London: C. Kegan Paul & Co. 1878.

for seventeen centuries no trace can be discovered of the peculiar tenet of a fourfold ministry, nor in particular of the need of apostles and prophets; that they have no miracles which are not referable to natural causes; that many of their prophecies have been falsified by the event; and that the gift of tongues, a travesty of the day of Pentecost, was the utterance of gibberish. On the other hand, Mr. Miller, in a true Anglican spirit, commends the Irvingites for having placed in conspicuous light the Church's duty of watching for the Lord's second coming, the doctrine of the incarnation, the necessity and the advantage of a grand and ornate mode of worship, the doctrine of Eucharistic sacrifice, and the need of Catholic unity.

Blaise Pascal has nothing in common with Edward Irving but a certain religious intensity, and a gloomy grandeur of temperament. In a little volume⁸ of the series, entitled "Foreign Classics for English Readers," Professor Tulloch has brought together with fine skill and taste the story of Pascal's life, controversy, and thought, setting forth at sufficient length his scientific achievements, displaying the characteristic merits of the "Pensées" and the "Provincial Letters," revealing the profundity yet strange limitation of Pascal's intellectual constitution, and describing the nature and groundwork of his theological belief.

Illuminated by scientific thought, learnt at the feet of Tyndall, Bain, Spencer, Lewes, and Carpenter, the author of "Science Unlocking the Bible,"⁹ has been enabled, he informs us, to "comprehend the words of our Saviour." In a work dedicated to the memory of John Stuart Mill, he undertakes to apply the teaching of these philosophers to the doctrines of Christianity. But while vindicating an antiquated orthodoxy, he succeeds only in creating a chaos, in which vicarious sacrifice and mental force, molecules and immortality, Genesis and jelly-fish, all meet in admired confusion, resembling the premature dance of atoms, without, however, like them, finally subsiding into an orderly world.

A volume with the quaint or awkward title "Through Rome On,"¹⁰ may be described as the spiritual autobiography of a perplexed spirit, educated as a Protestant, becoming a convert to Catholicism at the early age of fifteen, and later self-emancipated from the creeds of all the churches. Mr. Waters has traced in plain, straightforward language the history of his various struggles and experiences. His book has the interest naturally attaching to such a narrative.

The organisers of the Papal Zouaves of Canada, who when the temporal power of the Papacy was in the agony of dissolution, flew across the sea to the succour of the Pope, are, says the author of "Rome in

⁸ "Pascal." By Principal Tulloch. Edinburgh and London: Blackwood & Sons, 1878.

⁹ "Modern Science Unlocking the Bible; or, Truth seen from Three Points." London: Longmans & Co.

¹⁰ "Through Rome On; or, a Memoir of Christian and Extra Christian Experience." By Nathaniel Ramsay Waters. London: Trübner & Co. 1877.

Canada."¹¹ panting for an opportunity to fight for the restoration of the secular sovereignty. Indeed the battle, it appears, has already commenced; the right of the clergy to exercise undue influence over the elections has been asserted and contested; and the immunity which church property enjoys is assailed. The Church of Rome is declared to be all but omnipotent in Canada; and though the author deprecates a repressive policy, he looks forward to the time when, finding the burden of clerical domination intolerable, the people, on whom that weight falls with greatest force, will make a supreme effort to cast it off. His explanations and protests are vigorously stated in the eighteen chapters into which his subject is distributed.

"Philochristus"¹² may be defined as a sort of fifth Gospel, written by a friend or disciple of Christ, on the basis of the Synoptic version of his history, though here and there the author deviates a little from his model, as when he denies the destruction of trees by the miraculous power of Jesus, and includes among his followers Nathaniel and Nicodemus, names that occur only in St. John's Gospel. In these supposititious "Memoirs of a Disciple of the Lord"—for such is the title preferred—there is little or no distinctive dogma; nor has the new Gospel the occasional impressiveness and majestic simplicity of the old Gospels. An extraneous but appropriate interest is, however, imported into its pages by the introduction of extra-evangelical characters and non-scriptural incidents. The hints of the Synoptists are expanded into graphic statements, pictures are drawn of persons and places which give an air of living reality to the narrative, and throw a poetical gleam over its groundwork, but serve to illustrate the position of Jesus and the characteristics of his age. The writer's object seems to be to exhibit the moral sweetness and attractive power of Christ, the bright and genial spirit, the purity and eternal gladness, the modest self-reliance, authoritative utterance, and noble graciousness of the Saviour. The new Gospel is the production of a thoughtful, disciplined, and poetically constituted mind, believing in the inviolable order of Nature, and seemingly rationalising and refining away the supernatural element in the Christian legend.

To a student of the Talmud,¹³ who has passed ten years in the Holy Land, we are indebted for a translation of eighteen treatises from the Mishna, or *Second Law*, with explanations from the Gemara, or *Completion*, and other sources. The treatises are selected to illustrate Bible teaching, and in particular the inner life of the Jews during our Saviour's sojourn upon earth. The Mishna and Gemara together make up the Talmud, or *Teaching*. The Mishna is held to have been transmitted orally through forty receivers from Moses until the times of Rabbi

¹¹ "Rome in Canada: The Ultramontane Struggle for Supremacy over the Civil Authority." By Charles Liudsey. London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington. 1877.

¹² "Philochristus: Memoirs of a Disciple of the Lord." London: Macmillan & Co. 1878.

¹³ "The Talmud." By Joseph Barclay, LL.D., Rector of Stapleford, Herts. London: John Murray. 1878.

Juda, the Holy, who is said to have gathered into one digest the numerous traditions thus transmitted about A.D. 190. The Mishna of Rabbi Juda, revised by Rabbi Areka, is the text of the Babylon Talmud, that most esteemed by the Jews. The Jerusalem Talmud, begun in Jamnia and Tiberias, was completed by Rabbi Jochanan at the commencement of the fourth century. Mr. Barclay's volume contains some instructive illustrations, and the plan of the Temple. In a note the Book of Zohar is referred to in testimony of the opinions of the ancient Jews. We had thought that a belief in the extreme antiquity of that mystical production had been abandoned. It is said to have first appeared about A.D. 1280.

In his series of thoughtful and liberal Discourses¹⁴ on Immortality, the New Ideal, Spinoza, the Founder of Christianity, and other related topics, Dr. Felix Adler intimates that the Jewish people has ceased to be a national unit, and will only exist hereafter as a federation of religious societies. The modern Jews, however, believe that their mission is not yet ended; they hold that they are the Swiss Guard of Monotheism, and look for an expansion of their Messianic destiny, though they have dropped their belief in a personal Messiah. Dr. Adler, who is a biblical critic, contends that pure Monotheism was unknown in the time of the early kings, and that the Mosaic age is shrouded in uncertainty. There can now be little doubt, he tells us, that the composition of the bulk of Leviticus, and of considerable portions of the books of Numbers, Exodus, and even parts of Genesis, belongs to the epoch of the second Temple, and that the date of these writings may be approximately fixed at about one thousand years after the time of Moses.

If Dr. Adler is of opinion that the Jews will win the world over to the true Monotheism, the disciples of the new religion, which Dr. Congreve preaches with sober eloquence,¹⁵ indulge the hope that in the Son of Man, in the collective sense, that is, Humanity, the Jews might recognise the fulfilment of the more glowing language of their ancient prophecies. While admitting the value of the type of the Christ, Dr. Congreve pronounces it a continuous creation of human thought, an outline filled in by successive generations of saints and thinkers, with all that the rising conceptions of purity and holiness could contribute; and asserts, that beautiful as is the personal type, it remains open to the fatal objection that its influence is limited and exclusive.

"Antient Liturgies"¹⁶ is a valuable reprint of the texts, original or translated, of the most representative Liturgies of the Church, edited, with introduction, notes, and glossary, by the Rev. C. E. Hammond, late Fellow and Tutor of Exeter College, Oxford. Among the texts are included the Clementine Liturgy, the Armenian, Coptic, Ethiopic, the four Western Liturgies, and those of St. James and St. Mark.

¹⁴ "Creed and Deed: A Series of Discourses." By Felix Adler, Ph.D. London: Sampson Low & Co. 1877.

¹⁵ "Religion of Humanity. The Annual Address delivered at the Positivist School." By Richard Congreve. London: C. Kegan Paul & Co. 1878.

¹⁶ "Antient Liturgies, &c." By C. E. Hammond, M.A. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1878.

PHILOSOPHY.

PROFESSOR FOWLER has conferred a real benefit on students of English Philosophy by his edition of the *Novum Organum* of Bacon.¹ A work explaining the ideas of Bacon, by reference, not only to his own age, but also to the more developed methods of modern science, was much required in England: and Professor Fowler's work goes far towards supplying the desideratum. Of course, it is easy enough to find faults in Mr. Fowler's book. Bacon stands so much between two worlds—he is so impregnated with the fantastic phraseology of his own age, on the one hand, and so dazzled with visions of coming ages on the other, that the writer who would fully set forth his system, would require to possess an acquaintance with mediæval and modern thought, nothing less than encyclopædic. Such an acquaintance Professor Fowler would not, we presume, claim to possess. It may be indeed that we shall only fully understand the mingled truth and error in Bacon's work when some one shall have devoted a lifetime to the study of the complex forces, which directly or indirectly influenced the mind of Bacon. Meanwhile, in Professor Fowler's work, the student will find all that he requires in order to read, with profit, the double-visaged aphorisms of the Baron Verulam. We regret, indeed, that the Professor did not, instead of the disconnected discussions, which form the "Introduction," compose a general introduction, which should have shown how the Baconian Logic was a real *partus temporis*, marked by all the excellencies and the defects of the age, and thereupon gone on to sketch the leading points in Bacon's Theory of Inductive Reasoning. But it may be that an introduction of that nature would have contained less genuine work than the prolegomena actually embrace. The sixth section, for example,—“Bacon's Scientific Attainments and Opinions, with special Reference to the State of Knowledge in his Time,” together with sections 12 and 13, which deal with the reaction against Aristotle upon the part of the *renaissance* scholars, and the anticipations of Bacon's method on the part of predecessors—throws no inconsiderable light on the real place of Bacon in the history of philosophy. Bacon's phraseology is throughout carefully and lucidly explained; and the conception of “*forma*” is especially subjected to a searching investigation, although it seems to us that Professor Fowler is too imbued with the modern notions of cause and antecedent rightly to understand a conception which, however impossible to be discovered, goes beyond both these modern ideas, and tries to read the inmost secrets of creation. The editor has been eminently successful in collecting parallel passages to illustrate his author. The phrases of the

¹ “Bacon's *Novum Organum*.” Edited with Introduction, Notes, &c. By Thomas Fowler, M.A., Professor of Logic in the University of Oxford, Fellow of Lincoln College. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1878.

modern logician, the observations of the naturalist, and the experiments of the physicist, are skilfully applied, in order to elucidate the words of Bacon. Altogether, the University of Oxford may be congratulated on a valuable addition to the Clarendon Press Series.

Mr. Carveth Read's work² is, we fear, better in intention than in execution. Mr. Read has seen, undoubtedly, the weak point in the logic of the present day. The inductive logic, he remarks, "instead of being incorporated with the old, has merely been added to it." His essay has therefore two main purposes: "1st. To restore to logic the synthetic order of exposition: 2nd. To sketch the outline of the science, as consistently as possible, from the matter-of-fact point of view." But it may be reasonably doubted how far Mr. Read has effected, in any real sense, the aim which he set before himself. There is indeed an appearance of incorporating the old formal with the new inductive logic: and when we take merely the headings of the paragraphs, there seems to be a true synthetic exposition of logic, both inductive and deductive. But a consideration of the contents rather leads us to regard this synthesis as superficial. The analysis of "Relations" which Mr. Read accepts from Mr. Herbert Spencer as the aim of logic, while it covers much of the work which logic has to investigate, neglects, at least to a considerable extent, those questions of the nature of existence and substantial reality which constitute the basis, if not the beginning, of a theory of logic. Still, it would be a mistake to suppose that Mr. Read's essay contributes nothing to the problem it has put before itself. The mere problem itself is something: and, apart from the somewhat unintelligible phraseology and exaggerated symbolism in which the book abounds, Mr. Read's essay throws no inconsiderable light upon the questions of the logician. The chapter on "the discovery of classes" strikes us as particularly full of suggestive criticisms. Mr. Read examines with a thoughtfulness which is closely allied to originality, the various difficulties connected with the subject of causation, and in particular applies the law of conservation to determine such questions as: "Are cause and effect identical?" "Can a cause exist before its effect," &c. And Mr. Read goes certainly some way in solving the question as to the dynamical and statical aspects of phenomena, by holding that, "Possibly all coherent co-existence is ultimately co-effectual"—*i.e.*, resolves itself into the relation of co-existent part-effects of the same cause: though we cannot admire the terminology in which he expresses this result. Better, certainly, is the "Vicariousness of Causes" which he suggests as an alternative for the old unmeaning "Plurality of Causes."

Mr. Shadworth Hodgson³ may be taken as a counterblast to Mr. Read's "Theory of Logic." Mr. Hodgson is at war with all quantifi-

² "On the Theory of Logic: An Essay." By Carveth Read. London: C. Kegan Paul & Co. 1878.

³ "The Philosophy of Reflection." By Shadworth H. Hodgson, Hon. LL.D., Edin., Author of "Time and Space," "The Theory of Practice," &c. In Two Vols. London: Longmans, Green, & Co. 1878.

cations of the Predicate, all mathematical interpretations of the meaning of the proposition. "No system of logical formulas," he writes, "however completely, minutely, and accurately adapted to represent the classes and distinctions of things; and of relations discovered in objective phenomena, can supply—I do not say a means of discovering—but a test of the truth of discoveries when made, *unless* the logical formulas are also and independently expressive of the subjective process of thought employed in the discovery, *unless*, therefore, they give back primarily not the distinctions found in the things, but the steps and nexus of steps in the progress of the mind towards finding them." (p. 356). This is, of course, an isolated sentence: but it marks at least the standpoint of Mr. Hodgson's work. What, however, this standpoint is, or what are the main results of "The Philosophy of Reflection," we find some difficulty in saying. Mr. Hodgson certainly does not write for those who run; and we doubt whether any abstract of his ideas can be given, which will not be more or less misleading. Happily, however, in the preface, Mr. Hodgson takes us so far into his confidence as to explain the position he assumes with reference to the great philosophic system of the world. Although Coleridge, as he tells us, influenced him most directly by his principle of reflection, and that of distinction of inseparables, it is as a follower of Salomon Maimon, the thinker, on whom Dr. Witte, of Bonn, lately gave us an interesting monograph, that Mr. Hodgson comes forward to philosophy. He is continuing, in fact, the critical work of Kant: and not like Hegel or Schopenhauer, simply building an ontology above it. Thus reflection is the cardinal point of the system. It is this, in fact, which distinguishes philosophy from Science: philosophy is just an "ultimate subjective analysis of the notions which to science are themselves ultimate." For this principle of reflection Mr. Hodgson makes some not inconsiderable claims. It is a principle "established beyond the possibility of reversal:" so that, indeed, "whatever other parts of the system may be found untenable, this will stand." And thus Mr. Hodgson claims for his results a very different value from that which Lange would assign to all systems of philosophy. His doctrines, which are the development of those previously enunciated in "Time and Space," and the "Theory of Practice," harmonise, he holds, with the results which Science has otherwise established: and thus, he adds, "we are at last in possession of a metaphysical system which will not have to be reversed, however much it may in the future be enlarged and differentiated."

These pretensions are too far-reaching to be investigated here. Mr. Hodgson does certainly give a remarkably clear statement of the relation of philosophy to science: and the distinction which he draws between 'nature' and 'history' is one certainly of no small value. It supplies him with a ready answer to the ordinary antithesis of Idealist and Materialist.

"When," he says, "we draw the above necessary distinction between nature and history, then the question so often put—Materialist or Idealist? is to be [Vol. CX. No. CCXVII.]—NEW SERIES, Vol. LIV. No. I. N

answered, in the first place, by the further question—Do you mean in philosophy or in psychology? For the two domains are essentially different: and those who answer this question with me will probably reply also with me to the first question—Idealist (or rather *Reflectionist*) in philosophy: Materialist in psychology, and indeed in all the sciences. The causes and the genesis of this and that individual conscious being, as well as of each and all the states and processes of his consciousness, depend upon matter in motion. And if you tell me that matter in motion is nothing but sensations in co-existence and sequence—I reply that this is an analysis of the *nature* of matter, not an account of its genesis or history. The first *cause* that we can discover anywhere is matter in motion. and that we can analyse this cause subjectively, only shows the truth of my assertion that the domain of genesis, of history, of science, is subordinate to the larger domain of nature and philosophy.” (p. 226)

This is, we think, sound doctrine, not unclearly expressed. We cannot say that we apprehend so clearly some other parts of Mr. Hodgson's metaphysic: but we do not doubt but our failure is due chiefly or altogether to the haste in which we have required to read the book; and that, with a more leisurely perusal, the subject would present itself with a clearness deserving of its importance. Sure we are, at any rate, that the reasoning by which Mr. Hodgson shows that “the natural relations of man are with infinity,” is one well deserving of attention: and that the follower of Kant, no less than the disciple of Hume, will find much food for reflection in Mr. Hodgson's volume. Mr. Hodgson is evidently well acquainted with the history of philosophy: and he applies the logic and metaphysic of Aristotle with especial skill to illustrate his own position.

Some books may be judged of by their title-page, and Mr. Shields's volume⁴ rather suggests this mode of criticism. But lest we should be deemed over-hasty in our judgment, we shall lay some lines which seem to give the key-note of the book before our readers

“The reconciliation of science and religion is not only a distinctive problem of philosophy, but precisely that one chief problem, by the solution of which her own function is exhausted, her goal attained, her mission accomplished. In establishing the validity of human reason, in maintaining the authority of Divine revelation, in logically combining them as co-ordinate means of knowledge, and pouring their blended light upon all classes of facts, she is but fulfilling that sublime ideal, towards which her followers, from age to age, have been struggling with unquenchable hope and courage. The one last perfect philosophy is to be sought, and can only be found in the demonstrated harmony of science and religion.” (p. 466.)

This attitude towards philosophy will not, perhaps, be seriously controverted by many; the important thing, it will be felt, is—what is the philosophy which thus reconciles science and religion, which sees a “continuous process of correlate forces,” and a “dazzling series of miracles blending together as but the sure logic and even pulse of

⁴ “The Final Philosophy; or, System of Perfectible Knowledge issuing from the Harmony of Science and Religion.” By Charles Woodruff Shields, D.D., Professor in Princeton College, Member of the American Philosophical Society. London: Trübner & Co. 1878.

one almighty mind." This, Mr. Shields informs us, is neither the positive philosophy or theory of nescience as ignoring revelation, nor the absolute philosophy or theory of omniscience as superseding revelation, but the ultimate philosophy or theory of perfectible science as concurring with revelation. But when we come to ask for a closer description of this ultimate philosophy, we get little else than empty phrases. The ultimate philosophy we learn is to combine the truths of the positive and absolute philosophies in a *via media*, which Mr. Shields describes in somewhat high-flown language.

"As a sound absolutism will be the only cure for the materialism, scepticism, and atheism of the extreme Positivist, so a sound positivism will be the only cure for the idealism, mysticism, and pantheism of the extreme Absolutist. Let the deductive process of the one be pressed, in ignorance of the laws of facts, and our science cannot but be vague and visionary: let the inductive process of the other be pressed, in ignorance of the causes of facts, and our science cannot but be partial and schismatic: but let both processes be conjoined as complementary factors of knowledge: the deductive with the inductive, the rational with the empirical, intuition with experience, conjecture with observation, revelation with discovery, and then we may hope for that *ultimatum organum*, or last unerring logic, by which philosophy is to mount toward perfect knowledge." (p. 549.)

This view will probably be accepted by most thinkers as indicating the path in which philosophy must in the future move; the question, however, will perhaps suggest itself, Did it require 600 pages to arrive at so general and abstract a result?

Mr. Garden's "Dictionary of English Philosophical Terms"¹ need not detain us long. The work is evidently intended for junior students; at least, we do not suppose that those who have any ordinary acquaintance with the literature of philosophy will derive much advantage from perusing it. To younger students, however, it may be of not inconsiderable value in supplying them with rudimentary conceptions of some of the more common words used in philosophy. The work is at least free from actual errors of the kind which we noticed in Professor Calderwood's edition of Fleming's "Vocabulary of Philosophy." But one would hardly have supposed that Mr. Garden was the author of a work on logic, and therefore presumably of a chapter on definition, when we find "Imagination" described as the "the faculty of producing images" or "ethics" as the "science of morals;" and in a "dictionary" it was surely unnecessary for Mr. Garden to inform his readers that the investigations of metaphysic "are in close connexion with the fundamental truths of the Gospel."

Professor Huber is a writer whose works are always stimulating and suggestive; though we wish that he would occasionally give us something beyond the monographs, or studies of forty or eighty pages to which he generally confines his speculations. Meanwhile, a step in this direction

¹ "A Dictionary of English Philosophical Terms." By Francis Garden, M.A., Trinity College, Cambridge, Sub-Dean of her Majesty's Chapel Royal. London: Rivingtons. 1878.

may be found in the series of "Psychological Studies" which he has projected, and of which he gives us at present a section in a monograph on memory.⁶ Those who are acquainted with Huber's little work on materialism (*Die Forschung nach der Materie*) will be prepared for the conclusions which the work supports. The physiological account of memory seems to Dr. Huber altogether insufficient. Matter, whether organic or inorganic, never reproduces impressions, it only retains them, and thus, though physiology "thinks itself able to eliminate the subject or mind," it does so "only in so far as it pays no regard to the distinction between mere retention and psychical reproduction." At the same time Professor Huber pays no little attention to the physiological side of memory and reminiscence, and his book is full of interesting cases of latent and abnormal forms of memory. But the problem, as he shows, still comes back to the simple question, How is recognition (*Wiedererkennen*), how is recollection possible? And to this question Huber can see no other answer than that it is only out of the very inward subjectivity that the act of recognition can arise.

"Reproduction is in fact the repetition of an act of knowledge: as such only does it fall within consciousness; it is a function not of the object, but of the subject, not of matter but of intelligence, or mind.

"I hold therefore that a sober-minded, natural science should, first of all, renounce all constructive hypotheses respecting the beginning and end of the cosmic process. With such attempts, science becomes transcendent,—that is, it oversteps the province accessible to it, and this, not in order to furnish actual knowledge, but merely in order to imagine a myth, embellished with the appearance of a knowledge of natural science."

Such is the verdict which Professor Huber passes on the modern cosmogonies in his monograph upon the philosophy of astronomy.⁷ The work is an instructive commentary on the more prominent astronomical theories of modern times.

Dr. Entleutner's work⁸ deals with the problem of the relation of philosophy to science, and solves the question through the system of the Neo-Schellingian thinker, Wilhelm Rosenkrantz, whose "Philosophy of Love" is appended to the little volume. The writer does not seem inclined to assign much importance to mere natural science. "The essence of nature will," he holds, "remain always a riddle to natural science, unless this be solved for it through another science." The "Philosophy of Love" itself is an interesting little fragment. Love, it shows, is the first and last, the beginning and the end: "it alone is the true life which, out of the original unity, has made variety, which permeates everything and binds everything again into unity. It is all in all—in one word, the Highest."

⁶ "Das Gedächtniss." Von Johannes Huber. München: Th. Ackermann. 1878.

⁷ "Zur Philosophie der Astronomie." Von Johannes Huber. München: Th. Ackermann. 1878.

⁸ "Naturwissenschaft, Naturphilosophie, und Philosophie der Liebe." Herausgegeben von A. F. Entleutner. München: Th. Ackermann. 1877.

Professor Kaulich's work on Ethics' would have been more valuable if it had been free from the theological tendency which characterises it. The writer himself allows his work to be written from "a decided theistic standpoint:" but a work which argues for the celibacy of the clergy, and maintains that the true Church is one only, and this a church universal, or catholic and holy, might be thought to be coloured by more ideas than those of simple theism. Dr. Kaulich's volume, however, is a clear and thoughtful exposition of the chief questions of moral philosophy. Beginning with an "anthropological" section, which shows that man alone can rightly be regarded as a moral animal, the writer passes to examine the idea of freedom, and asserts that "freedom is always the necessary correlative of self-consciousness." "Just as the content of self-consciousness determines true knowledge; and as this content and its indubitable truth is the last ground for the truth of thought, it is similarly only the rightly recognised content of self-consciousness, and everything inseparably connected with it, that must form the universal determining ground for action; so that in this way the inner truth of thought becomes also the truth of action." From this idea of freedom the writer passes to the "highest fundamental conceptions in Ethics," those namely of the good, of duty, and of virtue; and he shows, with some considerable power, how a theory of morals must at once become one-sided, if one only of these fundamental notions is applied in building up a moral system. From the metaphysic of Ethics, as we may call it, the work passes to Applied Ethics as the second division of the subject. Our space prevents us entering into this part of Dr. Kaulich's work: but we may say that the practical moralist will find in it a clear and comprehensive exposition of the different duties of life.

Dr. Biedermann has been known for many years as one of the most active exponents of Hegelianism in Germany; and he has supplied another proof of his adhesion to the spirit of the Hegelian faith in the two volumes which have recently appeared at Prague.¹⁰ We say "the spirit," because Dr. Biedermann departs considerably from the strict Hegelian traditions. Thus, instead of beginning with the abstract thought of logic, and proceeding through nature into mind, Biedermann begins with a science of mind which, first of all, traces the mental development through sensation and feeling, and only after it has provided a basis for cognition analyses the different "moments" in the sphere of thought and truth. Thus, to Biedermann, philosophy, as a science of ideas (*Begriffswissenschaft*) divides into three sections—a science of mind, a science of nature, and a practical science of life. (*Lebensweisheit*). It is with the first two of these three parts that the volumes now before us deal. Both volumes are instructive attempts to

⁹ "System der Ethik." Von Dr. Wilhelm Kaulich, Professor der Philosophie an der Universität zu Graz. Prag: F. Tempsky. 1877.

¹⁰ "Philosophie als Begriffswissenschaft." Von Dr. Med. & Phil. Gustav Biedermann. 2 Bde. Erster Theil. Die Wissenschaft des Geistes. Zweiter Theil. Die Naturwissenschaft. Prag: F. Tempsky. 1878.

supplement the work of Hegel. But it is the second volume that is most ambitious. Science, Biedermann points out, has made important progress since the days of Hegel: and it has become necessary to construct a new analysis of the notions and the formulæ it uses. How far Dr. Biedermann has succeeded in reconstructing Nature, as it passes through the different aspects of force and matter, mechanism and chemism, mineral and vegetable, we do not undertake to say; but we are sure his work should be in the hands of all those interested in an attempt to frame a philosophical analysis of the ideas of physical science.

The well-known "Philosophical Library," of which Herr Kirchmann is the indefatigable editor, sends us a number of volumes dealing with Kant and Spinoza, which it is impossible to do more than enumerate below.¹¹ Kirchmann himself has just translated the Posterior Analytics of Aristotle.¹² The work, so far as we have examined it, seems very correctly done; but we must wait till the Commentary appears, before we can be sure that the translator has rightly apprehended such distinctions as those of *αἰσθάνεσθαι* and *αἰσθησις*.

We have received the second and third instalments of Dr. Noack's Lexicon of the History of Philosophy,¹³ which includes articles on Bacon, Berkeley, and Descartes; a translation of Renan's Dialogues, by Dr. Zdekauer,¹⁴ a small dissertation on Theism and Pantheism, by Dr. Spaeth,¹⁵ some numbers of the Philosophic Monthly,¹⁶ which is edited by Professor Schaarschmidt, one of the most energetic teachers of Philosophy at Bonn; and the transactions of the Philosophical Society at Berlin,¹⁷ containing a Paper by Dr. Heydebreck, on the Limits of Painting and Sculpture; and another by Dr. Friedrichs on the Idea of Religion.

¹¹ (α) "Erläuterungen zu Kant's Schriften zur Naturphilosophie. Herausgegeben, von J. H. v. Kirchmann.

(β) "Supplement-Band zu Kant's Werken. Abtheilung I., Die Physische Geographie." Herausgegeben von J. H. v. Kirchmann.

(γ) "Der Theologisch-Politische Tractat Spinoza's." Mit einer Einleitung, herausgegeben, von Hugo Guisberg, Doctor der Philosophie.

(δ) "Benedict von Spinoza's Ethik." Uebersetzt, erläutert und mit einer Lebensbeschreibung Spinoza's versehen von J. H. von Kirchmann. Dritte verbesserte Auflage. Leipzig: E. Koschny. 1877.

¹² "Aristoteles Zweite Analytische, oder: Lehre vom Erkennen." Uebersetzt und erläutert von J. H. v. Kirchmann. Leipzig: E. Koschny. 1877.

¹³ "Philosophie-geschichtliches Lexikon." Bearbeitet von Dr. Ludwig Noack. Zweite und dritte Lieferung. Leipzig: E. Koschny. 1877.

¹⁴ "Philosophische Dialoge und Fragmente." Von Ernst Renan. Mit Genehmigung des Verfassers übersetzt von Dr. Konrad v. Zdekauer. Leipzig: E. Koschny. 1877.

¹⁵ "Theismus und Pantheismus." Ein Vortrag von Dr. H. Spaeth. Oldenburg: Schulzische Hof-Buchhandlung.

¹⁶ "Philosophische Monatshefte." Leipzig: E. Koschny. 1878.

¹⁷ "Verhandlungen der philosophischen Gesellschaft zu Berlin." Siebentes und achttes Heft. Leipzig: E. Koschny.

POLITICS, SOCIOLOGY, VOYAGES, AND TRAVELS.

TWO treatises on comparative politics—one Spanish, by Professor Gumersindo de Azcarate,¹ the other German, by Dr. H. O. Holst²—afford curious specimens of the mode in which the English Constitution in its various types is affording a theoretical, quite as much as a practical, basis to the political regeneration which is advancing in the Continental countries of Europe. Professor Gumersindo de Azcarate, while distributing his subject under the two heads of the English Constitution proper, and the political system of the Continent, poses the main problem for European reformers. The question, as he puts it, and as it is being unconsciously put in many places elsewhere is:—What are the parts of the English Constitution which are solely suited to England, and what are the parts of universal applicability? The jury and electoral system are specimens of topics round which this kind of controversy turns. Dr. v. Holst's treatise on the United States of America, at present only reaches down to the annexation of Texas. It exhibits research the most minute and exhaustive, and the English and American public will not brook any long delay in having it translated.

If modern social and political problems are never to be handled otherwise than with complete logical exhaustiveness, certainly Herr Paul v. Lilienfeld's "Thoughts on the Social Science of the Future"³ supplies an excellent type for the investigation to follow. It will be a long time before English readers will forbear to dogmatise on politics till they have trained themselves to contemplate "force as the origin of phenomena in Nature and Society," "human society as a real essence," "the development of higher nerve organs," and speech "as the instrument of the highest spiritual reflex action." It is good to study these things, and it would be a hopeful era for the country if a larger percentage of electors and parliamentary candidates were rendered more familiar with them in the public schools and universities. But it seems as if political philosophy in England was doomed to be inductive, and inductive only. Probably, however, English politics will draw in the fruits of the philosophy of Germany through the institutions to which it is giving rise, rather than through the schools and books of which Herr v. Lilienfeld's is a characteristic and eminent exemplar.

In Mr. Boyd's edition of Wheaton's great treatise on the "Elements of International Law,"⁴ the English reader cannot but feel a painful

¹ "La Constitucion Inglesa y la Politica del Continente por Gumersindo de Azcarate. Madrid: Manuel Minuesa de Los Rios. 1878.

² "Verfassungsgeschichte der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika seit der Administration Jacksons." Von Dr. H. v. Holst. Berlin: Julius Springer. 1878.

³ "Gedanken über die Socialwissenschaft der Zukunft." Von Paul v. Lilienfeld. Mitau: E. Behres Verlag. 1877.

⁴ "Elements of International Law." By Henry Wheaton, LL.D. English Edition, edited with Notes, and an Appendix of Statutes and Treaties, bringing the work down to the present time: London: Stevens & Sons. 1878.

hiatus in the lack of the copious notes of Dana or of Lawrence, which have so long imparted their main practical worth to the American editions. But the unhappy controversy between the distinguished American commentators had prevented any fresh issue of the work in America, and, in spite of Wheaton's name being the most familiar in every legal argument on the subject with which he dealt, his "Elements" have been almost a sealed book to students everywhere except at a few public libraries. It shows a marked and perhaps commendable self-restraint in Mr. Boyd to have abstained from flooding the work with a third deluge of notes, and to have presented Wheaton's text in its simplicity and its integrity. Mr. Boyd has indeed illustrated the text by copious modern references, introduced with the utmost conciseness, and has but very rarely interpolated longer passages referring to later opinions and decisions.

Sir Sherston Baker's edition of Halleck's "International Law" is, in some respects, more ambitious in its scope than Mr. Boyd's edition of "Wheaton;" and is a work of considerable—though very far from ill-grounded—pretensions. Halleck's work has long been rare, and almost inaccessible in England. It was written by a practical administrative officer, to meet the practical exigencies of the moment, and bears on the face of it all the vices and excellencies due to the circumstances of its composition. It is eminently concrete and practical, rather than abstract; and this, in the matter of International Law, is saying a good deal. But, on the other hand, it is distressingly unsystematic, discontinuous, and in every sense incomplete. General Halleck's authority is, however, always cited with respect in every controversy; and Sir Sherston Baker has rendered a noteworthy service in laying before the English student a readable, trustworthy, and erudite edition of the American work. The enormous mass of references with which the original work abounded, is properly preserved and supplemented in the new edition.

Professor Bonamy Price has at last published a work which approaches more nearly than any of his former productions to being a systematic treatise on Political Economy; and the treatise styled *Practical Political Economy*,⁶ formally covers all the main topics which the current English view of the general subject contemplates. But even this work is a republication of lectures, and in all such cases either the lectures or the book suffers—and probably both of them. Professor Bonamy Price has, however, treated all the more controversial parts of his subject in distinct treatises of a somewhat popular type, and the present work may be taken as a convenient chain on which to hang together all his better known theories.

Mr. Rowland Hamilton's "Money and Value"⁷ treats a small portion

⁵ "Halleck's International Law." A New Edition. Revised Notes and Cases. By Sir Sherston Baker, Bart. London: C. Kegan Paul & Co. 1878.

⁶ "Chapters on Practical Political Economy." Being the substance of lectures delivered in the University of Oxford. By Bonamy Price. London: Kegan Paul & Co. 1878.

⁷ "Money and Value" With an Appendix on the Depreciation of Silver and Indian Currency. By Rowland Hamilton. London: Macmillan & Co. 1878.

of a large subject with great fulness; and it is satisfactory to find that the growing school of English writers on these subjects, such as Mr. Rowland Hamilton, and Mr. David Cunningham,⁸ are thoroughly sound on questions in respect of which foreign, and especially American writers, are becoming increasingly unsound. Mr. Hamilton's treatise is close, logical, and systematic; and his careful Appendices, in reference to the depreciation of silver, will be read with peculiar interest. Mr. Cunningham's method is rather inductive and historical, the main obstacles to social well-being, in different countries, being examined from an historical stand-point, and the permanent economical conditions of such well-being established accordingly. Mr. Cunningham investigates the prospects of the British "manufacturer, when deprived of reciprocal commercial advantages," illustrates the "folly of protection," and insists with more energy than do many writers on similar subjects on the importance of the masses being instructed regarding the best conditions of social well-being.

Professor Virchow⁹ has republished, in English, his well-known speech at Munich. The state of scientific opinion in this country perhaps hardly requires the caution of Dr. Virchow. We are a long way off from a minute of the Privy Council enjoining the teaching in all our elementary schools of the extreme form of the evolution doctrine. Dr. Virchow's speech has been welcomed in some quarters as that of a stout opponent of Mr. Darwin. We need hardly point out that this is very wide of the truth. What he insists on is that a general scientific hypothesis, though probable, ought not, until established by discovery or experiment, to be taught as truth in the schools, and he warns the scientific world against the danger of public scepticism, which would follow the teaching of scientific dogma, which might turn out a few years later to be mis-stated. In enforcing this view against the views of Dr. Hæchel and Dr. Nügli; he points out how much is yet wanting to the complete chain of proof of evolution.

"Scotus"¹⁰ has attempted a very wearisome task: that of replying in detail to a review article. He has done it carefully, but there is nothing in his pamphlet which has not been said, or is not being said every day by the speakers and writers on the anti-Russian side.

We turn with pleasure to the second volume of the war correspondence of the *Daily News*.¹¹ Materials for history, so good in substance and form, have perhaps never been presented; and the recent death of Mr. McGahan, and the letters about him which have been published by his collaborateurs, give, if possible, a heightened interest to the narra-

⁸ "Conditions of Social Well Being." By David Cunningham, F.S.S. London: Longmans, Green, & Co. 1878.

⁹ "The Freedom of Science in the Modern State." By Rudolf Virchow, M.D. With a New Preface by the Author. Translated from the German, with the Author's sanction. London: John Murray. 1878.

¹⁰ A Note on Mr. Gladstone's "The Peace to Come." By Scotus. London: Trübner & Co. 1878.

¹¹ "The War Correspondence of the *Daily News* 1877-8, continued from the Fall of Kars to the Signature of the Preliminaries of Peace." London: Macmillan & Co. 1878.

tive. With such guides, it is good to re-read the story, while still it rings in our ears. They carry us, with unabated interest, through the second expedition of General Gourko, the sortie of Osman Pasha, and the fall of Plevna, the panic at Constantinople, and rejoicing at St. Petersburg, the meeting of the Turkish Parliament, the passage of the Balkans, the capture of Sophia, and march to Philippopolis, the fall of the Shipka Pass, the pursuit and defeat of Suleiman Pasha, the seizure of Adrianople, and the peace negotiations. While we write, these rapid letters are passing into history, and the result is being summed up in a new treaty. But nothing can surpass the vivid writing of these correspondents, whose powers of description are stimulated to the utmost by the necessity of instantaneously photographing the fleeting events of march and battle.

A second volume of a popular description of the various continents, islands, rivers, seas, and peoples of the globe, by Mr. Brown,¹² contains accounts of the United States of America, Mexico, and the West Indies. It is a quarto volume of 320 pages, well printed on good paper, and illustrated with 122 pictures from photographs or original sketches, chiefly of landscapes. The products, industries, climate, physical characteristics, social habits and history of the various regions are described in a fashion as far as possible removed from the dry "geographical text-book" style, and are interspersed with stories which make the whole picture live. Mr. Brown and Messrs. Cassell are doing a good work by thus popularising the study of geography in its wider sense. No child or uneducated person could fail to find an appetite for further geographical study after reading so admirable an introduction to it, and incidental hints are dropped as to books to be used in prosecuting any one of the various branches of knowledge to which the beginner is here introduced. Perhaps the object of whetting the appetite of the mature reader was more thought of than that of instructing the young when it was determined to use perfect freedom of speech on the political and religious topics which, by the scope of this work, necessarily arise in dealing with the conditions of the lands and their inhabitants.

Had no Briton ever been abroad before with the conveniences of trains, boats, diligences, guides, and hotels all "in connexion," the narrative of one particular "Briton Abroad"¹³ would doubtless have been interesting. But as a more vivacious account of a tour by Rotterdam and Brussels, with details of a visit to Waterloo, the passage up the Rhine, over the Via Mala to Como, Milan, Turin, and back home by the Mont Cenis Tunnel, Geneva, and Paris, might with great ease and speed be compiled from the smallest of Cook's pocket guide-books, the *raison d'être* of this volume is an unsolved problem.

·Capt. and Mrs. Clark Kennedy's¹⁴ trip to the Arctic regions and back was

¹² "The Countries of the World." By Robert Brown, M.A., Ph.D., F.L.S., F.R.G.S. Cassell, Petter, & Galpin: London, Paris, and New York.

¹³ "A Briton Abroad." By the Author of "Two Years Aboard the Mast." London: Remington & Co., Arundel Street, Strand. 1878.

¹⁴ "To the Arctic Regions and Back in Six Weeks: Being a Summer Tour to

by land, among all the *agrémens* of Norwegian travel. They went by boat to Christiania, and thence, driving their own carriages, by Trondhjem to beyond the Arctic circle at Tromsø. The travellers appear to have had the usual experience, an "exceptional" season. They expected to find hot weather in the ceaseless sunshine, but it was very cold, too cold for the Lapp plague of mosquitoes. That these exceptional seasons are frequent is obvious from the fact that a farmer must lay his account for his crops not ripening at all, though in other years they will sometimes grow two and a quarter inches in twenty-four hours. The great heat needed for this rapid growth is owing to the sun and the Gulf stream together. The condition of the Lapps is described as being very low, but no knowledge of the religious and educational movements among them seems to have come in Captain and Mrs. Clark's way. They warmly recommend travelling in Norway as being very comfortable, and in many respects very attractive for its scientific interest. Captain Kennedy's notices of birds and fishes are the makeweight to a certain amount of unimportant personal chatter. A useful list of details of expenses will be found at the end of the volume.

In two large volumes, adorned by a few sketches and photographs, and supplied with a map, Sir George Nares¹⁵ publishes a sort of official account of the Polar Expedition, which he commanded. The principal facts commanded so much public attention, and that attention was so long called to the question whether the outbreak of scurvy among the men was or was not owing to the lime-juice provided being kept in store, or only very sparingly served out, that perhaps a smaller public may be found to read these volumes than has been the case with former histories of Polar exploits. Sir George Nares defends the course adopted with respect to lime-juice, and maintains that lime-juice has not been served out on previous occasions to men who have borne the Arctic climate better than his men did; and he declares that the outbreak of scurvy is not, nor ever can be, accounted for. He says that the Pole is absolutely unattainable by the way of Smith's Sound. These volumes are well written, and will serve to satisfy the craving of Arctic "stay-at-home travellers" until the present Dutch expedition, and the projected American expedition to the Pole, are in a condition to report their successes and failures.

Mr. Schütz Wilson,¹⁶ a member of the Alpine Club, republishes papers contributed year by year to various periodicals and descriptive of his mountaineering adventures in the Alps, including one adventure on the way up the Bahnhorn, which might easily have been the last, both for him and for Melchio, the guide. They fell down a crevasse, upon a mass of ice, which bore their weight just long enough for them to escape, one by climbing up the smooth green ice walls, and the other

Lapland and Norway." By Captain A. W. M. Clark Kennedy, F.R.G.S., F.L.S., F.Z.S. &c., &c. London: Sampson Low & Co. 1878.

¹⁵ "Narrative of a Voyage to the Polar Sea." By Captain Sir G. S. Nares, R.N., K.C.B., F.R.S. Two Vols. London: Sampson Low & Co. 1878.

¹⁶ "Alpine Ascents and Adventures." By H. Schütz Wilson. London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle, & Rivington. 1878.

by being pulled up the rope which tied him to the rest of the party. Mr. Wilson is of the number of successful attackers of the Matterhorn; but in view even of the enthusiastic joys he has experienced in the more difficult exploits it will be good for many ambitious but incompetent or prudent persons to know that he holds the view from Mont Blanc to be the finest in the Alps. Mr. Wilson often makes very silly jokes; and yet his lighthearted enjoyment of his holidays is somewhat infectious; and if he mistakes his somewhat outrageous diction for poetry, it seems not impossible that what needs pruning in his literary style is the outcome of the most respectable feeling, that climbing is not worth doing for mere physical pleasure but ought to be used to refresh and exalt the mind as well as the body.

People who are bent upon killing time under a southern sky, and contemplate choosing Naples as the scene of their efforts, cannot do better than consult Mr. Stamer,¹⁷ who writes with authority, derived from six years' experience, about the place and the people, and treats of both in great detail, making no attempt to represent "Dolce Napoli" as a flawless Paradise, and never heaping unmingled abuse upon its inhabitants. He denies that the populace are more dishonest, mendacious, vindictive, and lazy in Naples than in other towns; whilst he enlarges upon their intoxicating passion for gambling, and admits their cold-blooded cruelty to animals. But, considering his poor pay, and poor food, "a more hard-working man than the Neapolitan is not to be found in Europe:" and if he lies, it is from an amiable desire to appear "particularly intelligent and wide-awake, and, above all, to be agreeable to the company." The chapter upon Pompeii is, perhaps, the most laboured, as it is certainly the least satisfactory, in the book. A light and careless tone may be endurable in the description of a street scene, which the reader can look at next week for himself, if he chooses: but Mr. Stamer makes a capital mistake when he attempts to awaken the silent city from the sleep of centuries by means of nineteenth century slang and cynicism. The result is not a picture, but a caricature, which hinders the imagination and in no wise helps it. But throughout the volume Mr. Stamer rarely dips below the surface, or touches questions of political and social interest. He comes in contact with the people when he hires a carriage, or buys a set of coral; and he likes to watch their varied gesticulation, to drive a good-natured bargain with them, and to describe them from a picturesque point of view. There is little beyond. On the other hand, the book abounds in minute details of practical value for housekeepers and invalids: its descriptions are clear and vivid: and some people may be glad to be warned in time against the dreary flatness of Neapolitan society.

Mr. Baillie Grohman¹⁸ has been devoting his attention to the work taken up of late years in many out-of-the-way nooks and corners of

¹⁷ "Dolce Napoli. Naples: Its Streets, People, Fêtes, Pilgrimages, Environs, &c., &c." By W. J. A. Stamer. London: Charing Cross Publishing Company. 1878.

¹⁸ "Gaddings with a Primitive People." By W. A. Baillie Grohman. Two Vols. London: Remington & Co., Arundel Street, Strand. 1878.

the world, of collecting stories and visiting festivals and ceremonies. This needs to be done in hot haste, lest the perishable, perishing treasures of "folk-lore" and quaint local custom should disappear before the rush of modern habit, as introduced and imposed upon the inundated lands by the annual flood of tourists and artists. Mr. Grohman knows the Tyrol well, and has been at no loss whither to turn his steps to find the most primitive Tyrolese villages left; and his love of the people makes him describe their peculiar customs and ideas without any tinge of the supercilious ridicule of the cookney traveller. His first description is of a Tyrolese "Passion Play," or rather "Paradise Play," where the finding of a proper Adam and Eve is a constantly recurring difficulty, because the love-making required by stage proprieties is not always desired by the parents of otherwise eligible actors. This play is given on Christmas Day in an out-of-the-way village as a religious ceremony, to which it would be wicked to charge for entrance. The village priest in the Tyrol is often a collector of antiquities, and many a curious hoard of carvings and pictures may yet be found by the fortunate hunter of "bits," locked up in church-tower or sacristy. Sometimes there will be rivalries between neighbouring villages founded on the supposed gifts and powers of the respective priests, one being held to have more power than his neighbours to help forward crops, avert storms, bring favourable weather. The schoolmasters of the Tyrol are great oddities, frequently being moulded into strange characters by the multiplicity of the avocations they are expected to fulfil as teacher, sexton, barber, scribe, farrier, churchyard artist, organist, village arbitrator, and what not. Perhaps the most valuable part of Mr. Grohman's volume is his collection of customs preparatory to and at weddings. In one part of the Tyrol the bridegroom's friend goes round to invite guests to the wedding, but is left to guess whether people intend to come or not, while disgrace falls upon him if sufficient provision is not made at the wedding feast, and loss if there should be too much. Many are the varieties of stealing or hiding the bride; many the ceremonies observed in crossing the threshold of the new home. But most of these primitive customs have been suppressed in those parts of Tyrol where the Catholic priesthood have much power. In the Ampezzo valley several weddings are, if possible, arranged to take place at the same time, and each bride is placed under the duennaship of a woman, called "the growling bear," until the wedding-day comes round. The girls must pass a religious examination, and their attire is regulated by invariable custom, varying for each of the Sundays on which their banns are published. But these customs are too many to allude to. They will be found interesting by those curious in such lore, and will be useful to some future writer of a dictionary of comparative "folk-lore."

Mr. Evans's¹⁹ well-known contribution to our recent knowledge of

¹⁹ "Illyrian Letters." By Arthur J. Evans, B.A., F.S.A. London: Longmans, Green, & Co. 1878.

Bosnia and the Herzegovina made his letters, written during the year 1877, to the *Manchester Guardian*, from the Illyrian provinces, more than interesting, and their republication in a volume is to be welcomed as making them more widely known and more permanently accessible. They do not profess to follow the course of the vicissitudes of the latter period of the Bosnian and Herzegovinian insurrection, but seek rather, by taking a careful survey of those provinces in their actual condition, and in reference to their history and the peculiar circumstances, to lead the mind of the reader to the political conviction at which Mr. Evans has himself arrived. It is well known that Bosnia is exceptional in having an old native aristocracy who are now Mahometans, but most of whom appear to be perfectly willing to profess Christianity if they do not lose lands and position, and power to oppress the rayahs by so doing. Part of Croatia, which used to be part of Bosnia, has a population which used to be Mahometan and now is Christian, but has close relations with the Mahometan population over the border. The Herzegovinian Mahometans are dissatisfied with the Turkish "Constitution." Russia appears to be content that Austria should take the position of protector to these provinces. And summing up, Mr. Evans expresses his conviction that, "in the interests of the populations that lie between the Save and the Adriatic, in the interests of Europe and of humanity, in the interests of the Hapsburg monarchy itself," Austria should practically incorporate the whole of Illyria, and make herself the centre of a south-Slavonian kingdom. For such a post Mr. Evans thinks that Montenegro is not fit, because it is not powerful enough to begin with. Mr. Evans takes it for granted that for this end Austria might with advantage, and will practically be able to, break with the dominant Hungarian minority and with her Roman Catholic traditions. That something must be done to relieve the misery, not only of the Bosnian and Herzegovinian populations, as they now are, refugees in the deepest conceivable misery on Austrian ground, but still more as they were before they rose against Turkish oppression and ferocity, is self-evident to any one who has sympathised with the noble work under which Miss Irby and Miss Johnston are almost crushed on the Illyrian frontier. To those whose attention has not yet been called to these regions, Mr. Evans's volume will bring news to wring the heart. He tells of a quarter of a million of starving homeless wretches dying in holes and corners, among whom the two good women are labouring to keep bodies and souls together, and especially to save from demoralisation, as well as from death, as many as possible of the children. The Austrian Government has helped, but that and all other help flags now. Mr. Evans's admirable volume ends with a short sketch of the Montenegrin war, and some notes on Montenegro in peace.

A gentleman and his wife were at Odessa, and thought they would go to Constantinople. They did so, and they took conveyances and routes familiar to all. Nothing particular occurred to them on the way, and the fact that some people think that the Turks will, and others that they will not, remain long in possession of Constantinople,

scarcely affords a valid reason for the publication of a small green volume.²⁰ The journey appears to have been made before any renewal of the old ever-new Eastern Question had begun to stir European interest.

Mr. Crosse²¹ is fortunate in having found comparatively unhackneyed ground, in having an intelligent interest in the history and prospects of the land he travelled in, and in having made acquaintance largely among one portion of the population among whom he found himself. That that portion was the Hungarian, Magyar, aristocratic, insured him the most intelligent explanations of the past and present politics of Hungary, at the same time that it inevitably prevented his gaining, if not his seeking, to learn the real state of feeling among the Wallachians and Servians, who are the poorer classes there. His recapitulation of what he was told is vigorous and very interesting. He saw for himself much proof of the wealth of Hungary and Transylvania in metals, sulphur, iron, corn, wine, and so on. He convinced himself that English farmers would be both welcome and successful in the Carpathians and the neighbouring plains, the popularity of England with the educated classes being considerable. But the other side of the picture—the jealousy and hatred of the Wallachs, and other subordinated populations towards the Magyars appear too little known to him to suggest themselves as probable sources of an amount of political disturbance in the country which would seriously compromise the well-being of immigrant English farmers, even in so fertile a country.

The title "*Russians of To-Day*"²² is not quite sufficient; it needs the addition of the words "as seen by a Russophobe." In a brief historical introduction the ancient Slavs are described as "polygamous, fierce, and thievish," the mythical will of Peter the Great is alluded to as though it existed and ruled Russian diplomacy, and the late Czar Nicolas is represented as having been entrapped by Russia into suffering Greece to become a kingdom. The first chapter deals with an impecunious noble reduced to poverty by spendthrift habits and the emancipation of the serfs, idle because the political system of Russia affords him no opening for work, and giving of his substance freely to the late war funds because he hopes to make a fortune out of a "lucrative berth" in Bulgaria. The second chapter draws a dreary picture of village life, and accuses the Russian women of drunkenness and the men of drunkenness and inroseness, adding—apparently as a reproach—that "they are active enough in rendering any service that would bring them a ten-kopeck piece." The peasantry are represented as ripening for revolt against the nobles and tax-gatherers.

²⁰ "*Constantinople. How we got there.*" By an Engineer. London: Remington & Co. 1878.

²¹ "*Round about the Carpathians.*" By Andrew F. Crosse, Fellow of the Chemical Society. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons. 1878.

²² "*The Russians of To-Day.*" By the Author of "*The Member for Paris.*" London: Smith, Elder, & Co., Waterloo Place. 1878.

In writing of the prevalence of drunkenness and the power of the beer-selling interest, the author forgets that as an Englishman living in a glass house he had better not throw stones. In a chapter on the magistracy and police, the common people are credited with honesty where they have not learned dishonesty from the police and officials. The accusation of corruption throughout the Russian army is made in detail and with a certain vivacity, and the magistracy and press pass also under the lash. Of course Poland helps to swell the account against Russia. And so on through almost all conceivable topics connected with Russia and its people. The whole volume is an "acte d'accusation" drawn up with virulence.

Mr. Selwyn Eyre²³ visited Russia in the summer of 1876, and spent some months in Moscow, whence he dated letters which he now republishes. If they contain little that is new to the ordinarily well-informed reader, they are written with the freshness of a man to whom the familiar every-day facts of Russian life were quite new. We have ceremonials in Greek churches, and accounts of the superstitions of the common people. While he believes in the doctrine that Russians are devoured by an insatiable ambition for territorial aggrandisement, Mr. Eyre, whose visit was paid during the earliest days of the Russo-Turkish war, alludes to one reason for the Russian enthusiasm for that war which has not been so much insisted upon as it might have been. It is the fact that all trade was stagnant, and every family personally interested in the solution of the "Eastern Question." For the people generally it was intolerable that there should be delay in the beginning or dilatoriness in the prosecution of the war. The nobles were confident of success; the peasantry more doubtful. Mr. Eyre was in Moscow at the time of the declaration of war and saw the striking service praying for a blessing on Muscovite arms, and also at the consecration of the ambulances provided by the Grand Duchess Constantine, and he concludes his volume with a touching description of the scene at the departure of troops for the "front."

The frank story of the career of a young magistrate²⁴ in India might be profitably read by all who interest themselves in Indian affairs in any way. The writer appears to have had an ordinarily successful life until ill-health compelled his retirement after at the utmost a dozen years of service. Going out quite young, a "competition wallah," he was bound to pass an examination in India in subjects practically useless for the bulk of his future work and to idle away some months in Calcutta. His first experience in a magistrate's court was under a man who complained of the then new Criminal Procedure Code of 1861 because it compelled the magistrate to hear for himself the evidence in each case instead of telling off clerks to hear and report upon it. The powers given to a young man almost wholly

²³ "Russian Life and Customs." By Selwyn Eyre. London: Remington & Son, 5, Arundel Street, Strand. 1878.

²⁴ "Life in the Mofussil." By an Ex-Civilian. Two Vols. London: C. Kegan Paul & Co., Paternoster Square. 1878.

ignorant of the people among whom he was to administer the law, were limited to fines of 50 Rs. or one month's imprisonment, and at every end and turn he was for some time dependent wholly on his clerk. He says it occurred to him to think what the English public would think of a magistrate who should in England prove to have a corresponding amount of competency for his post. Equally instructive and useful it is to notice how perpetual are the frequent changes of the law which such magistrates have to introduce to the people, and the perpetual removals of the magistrates to fresh posts requiring different qualifications and knowledge, and among totally diverse populations.

If Mr. Wakefield²³ had called his handsome volume a compendium of historical and practical information about the north-west of India it would have been a more exact title. As a personal narrative it is quite valueless, while as a book of general information, rather well put together, it is a book to be safely and widely recommended. Such popular books about India are urgently needed if the mass of English society is to be permeated with sufficient knowledge of Indian life and history to stir it up to require at the hands of Parliament that a better informed and keener interest in India shall be shown by those who have to decide many Indian questions. Threaded upon his very slight personal narrative, Mr. Wakefield gives a geographical description of India, an historical sketch, an account of Bombay past and present, and the religions of the Parsees, Hindus, Mohammedans, the railways of India, its social habits, its climate, its literature, its medical conditions, and some of its more remarkable architecture, ancient and modern. It is pleasant to find him speaking of native servants as at least honest and willing, not wanting in gratitude unless to such masters as fail to give them cause for gratitude.

The Government of India is having a series of descriptive memoirs of all the districts in the Madras Presidency prepared, and among these Mr. Morris's,²⁴ on the Godavery district, has a special value and significance just now, because in this district irrigation has had a fair trial and has produced good results. For its system of irrigation Sir Arthur Cotton is to be thanked, and it were to be wished that by means of this volume the English public might be roused to support his constant advocacy of the policy of irrigation in India. The district is in fact the basin of the river of the same name, and lies inland from the north-west portion of the Bay of Bengal. Mr. Morris gives minute details of the physical and social characteristics of the country, its history, the story of the "Annicut," or barrier across the river, barring up its waters to useful purpose, and the dependent irrigation system, the system of land tenure, and the general prospects of the district. At the close of the volume are tables of statistics, agricul-

²³ "Our Life and Travels in India." By W. Wakefield, M.D. London: Sampson Low & Co. 1878.

²⁴ "A Descriptive and Historical Account of the Godavery District." By Henry Morris. London: Trübner & Co., Ludgate Hill. 1878.

tural, judicial, vital, meteorological, and fiscal. The volume is to be recommended, perhaps, rather for trustworthiness and thoroughness, than for style or surface charm or amusement. But the number of persons who feel themselves gravely responsible for a competent knowledge of India and her affairs is happily on the increase, and they will heartily welcome this well-arranged volume.

Lieutenant-General Fytche²⁷ was lately Chief Commissioner of British Burma, and therefore is presumably a first-rate authority on all matters concerning Burma. He need, perhaps, scarcely have pre-faced an account of it by a sketch of his own forefathers, although some of them were Indian officials, but the enterprise of giving a short summary of the history of Burma from the earliest—even mythical—times, down to the time of his own arrival in Arakan, shows a certain simplicity of self-respect which disarms remark. The present condition, the capacities, and the progress of Burma, are described by Lieutenant-General Fytche with a minuteness that could only be supplied by the patient, careful, and kindly observation of a man occupying a position which gives him access to all sources of information. It is, then, interesting to know that he predicts a great future for Burma. It was by his predecessor, now Sir Arthur Playre, that the idea was struck out of utilising the four thousand monastic schools in Burma, in order to introduce that system of popular education which is likely to make Burma one of the most progressive of Oriental nations.

The example set by Mr. Hare, in his readable and useful, though not perfect guide-books to Rome and its neighbourhood, and London, is being ably followed by others. The latest of imitators is M. Séguin,²⁸ whose subject is Algiers, a less hackneyed topic than Mr. Hare's. This volume is a very satisfactory and complete helper to any one wishful to decide whether Algiers is, or is not, a suitable resort for his health or his pleasure, an indispensable companion to any one whose steps are turned resolutely towards Algiers, and a good compendium of information for "stay-at-home travellers." After describing the beauties of Algerian winters, and the sorts of ill-health which may be benefited by a sojourn there, M. Séguin gives the details of the route thither, only forgetting to warn weak-chested patients against the frequent fogs of Lyons, which is otherwise so attractive a resting place, and against the wild dust of Marseilles. Then comes a chapter of most useful information about the hotels, lodgings, markets, and tariffs of Algiers. The attractions of this balmy winter home are apparently greatly increased by the variety and picturesqueness of the native inhabitants, of classes of whom M. Séguin gives pictures. The earlier ancient history of Algeria, under Hercules and his successors, is compressed from the narrative of Sallust, its first Roman governor, and

* "Burma, Past and Present." By Lieut.-Gen. A. Fytche, C.S.I. London : C. Kegan Paul & Co., Paternoster Square. 1878.

²⁸ "Walks in Algiers and its Surroundings." By L. G. Séguin. London : Dalby, Isbister, & Co., 56, Ludgate Hill. 1878.

then continued up to the present day with vigour and candour, our own country showing a somewhat vacillating picture when the abolition of slavery came to the front. The story of Abd-el-Kader is well told, and all the varying successes of the French arms. Now the hard days of the colony are said to be over, the submission of the people secured, and a foundation laid for future good understanding between the conquering and conquered races. The inhabitants, while practising Oriental modes of bargaining, are singularly honest and trustworthy. The neighbourhood and adjacent country of Algiers are interesting in the highest degree, and M. Séguin has illustrated his book with a few sketches which show that it is very beautiful. M. Séguin has done Algiers good service with his book. Nor must one chapter in it pass without notice, because its interest is wider than that of many other portions. It details the miseries of the Christian captives stolen from Spain and Italy, or taken prisoners in wars with other countries, and held in slavery in Algiers up to the time of Lord Exmouth's expedition in 1816. Strange to say, a treaty existed between the English and Algerian Governments from the time of Charles II., and was renewed by James II. and George II., recognising as an institution the slavery of Christians in Algiers without power of redemption. The French were the only European power who steadily withstood the rapacity of the Deys of Barbary then.

Many years ago Dr. Charles Beke²⁹ expressed in his "Origines Biblicæ," an opinion that the true site of Mount Sinai was not that commonly accepted. In the end of 1873 he proceeded to search the neighbourhood of the Gulf of Akaba for a more satisfactory site, and returned to England fully persuaded that he had been successful. A very interesting volume details the particulars of his journey, and an appendix contains the controversy carried on between Dr. Beke and the members of the "ordnance survey" party of Sinai. Dr. Beke says that Mount Sinai is north-east of the heights held variously by various pundits to be the Mount of the Law. He says that the Israelites never were in Egypt at all in bondage, but in the land of Mizraim, to the north-east of Egypt. The idea of their having been in Egypt he traces to indefensible mistranslations in the Septuagint. From Mizraim the Israelites fled six days and nights, and crossed the Gulf of Akaba, receiving the Law in Jebel-è-Mir. He expected to find Jebel-è-Mir a volcano, but acknowledges that idea to have been unfounded. He disbelieves the reputation of the Egyptians for great learning, and thinks they gained much wisdom from the Greeks. His grounds for these opinions carry a good deal of weight, and have great verisimilitude. But the doctors in this subject differ much and vehemently—even, apparently, to the point of personal squabbling.

It is strange that just at the juncture when Egypt may be about to recommence an independent career, but when the thought of deficient

²⁹ "Sinai in Arabia." By the late Dr. Charles Beke. London: Trübner & Co., Ludgate Hill. 1878.

finances is most intimately connected with her name, Captain Burton³⁰ should have been able to take up a thread dropped five-and-twenty years ago, and find it the clue to wealth which ought to change the fortunes of Egypt. Wandering about in Arabia five-and-twenty years ago, Captain Burton came upon auriferous sand, and connected the discovery in his own mind with the ancient reputation of Arabia as a gold-producing country. But for one reason or another he never spoke of it, nor followed it up, until last year, when he obtained the concurrence of the Khediv, and "prospected" the coast of Arabia for a length of about eighteen geographical miles. He found the ruins of mining works which he thinks may have been active up to about the seventh century of our era; he found gold to an extent which makes him compare the coast to "California after the pick and fan men had done their work," and machinery was needful to make the workings pay; and he is not without hope of finding nugget gold further inland. But in addition to this, he found rich veins of silver, tin, iron, sulphur, porphyry, and turquois, and all manner of mineral wealth. The Khediv has wisely promoted a second visit for more thorough explorations.

One thing is made quite evident by the volume before us, that travelling in South Africa in a bullock waggon is neither easy nor pleasant. And Mrs. Roche's experiences were particularly painful, because she had to make the return journey with her husband—a hopeless invalid, to whom the inconveniences and shifts of waggon-life were distress, pain, and danger. For any one likely to follow in her track, Mrs. Roche's volume³¹ will furnish invaluable practicable information, such as is almost everywhere difficult to obtain. Her power of observation and search for knowledge of all sorts stood her in good stead, and her style is lively and vivid. When she was there the chances of trouble in the Transvaal did not seem near or serious, and the descriptions of native life are perhaps all the more useful because the picture is not blurred by the passing of shadowy clouds of fear and distress across it. Life in the Transvaal would appear to be about as rough as can well be imagined for English women, and the difficulties of housekeeping almost beyond endurance. Natal is a haven of luxury and voluptuous ease for dwellers "beyond." But all this is changing, and soon sufferers from weak lungs or pronounced lung disease may find it quite possible to get the benefit of the delightful South African climate.

Mr. Denny,³² in collecting and publishing a most valuable contribution to the ever-growing mass of folk-lore which our days are building on Grimm's great foundation, has endeavoured to give to his

³⁰ "The Gold Mines of Midian and the Ruined Midianite Cities." By Richard F. Burton. London: C. Kegan Paul & Co., 1, Paternoster Square. 1878.

³¹ "On Trek in the Transvaal; or, over Berg and Veldt, in South Africa." By Harriet A. Roche. London: Sampson Low & Co. 1878.

³² "The Folklore of China." By N. B. Denny, Ph D., F.R.G.S. London: Trübner & Co., Ludgate Hill. Hong Kong: China Mail Office. 1876.

contribution a more definite form than has been usual. He classifies and suggests to other students to classify his subject under the heads of superstitions as to personal fortune, superstitions as to various subjects (such as the recovery of drowned bodies, the use of salt, and so on), superstitions involving the interference of supernatural powers; legendary folk-lore, and fables and proverbial folk-lore. This classification should prove useful, although it obviously admits of criticism, and possibly of improvement. It is exceedingly curious to note how many customs, superstitions, proverbs, are identical, and how many nearly related, in China and in England, and still more in Europe. Some of these resemblances are not adverted to by Mr. Dennys; as, for instance, the English superstition about "consecrated" burial grounds is not named in connexion with the Chinese desire to find a "lucky" place for a grave, although he does call to mind a frequent desire to secure deep and pleasantly situated graves. Among the Chinese the month is divided into periods of ten days; yet the seventh day is considered unlucky for work, and that seventh day coincides, and has for many centuries coincided, with the Christian, and not with the Jewish, Sabbath, and is, in fact, a "day of rest." Seven appears to be as much esteemed among them as it is among us as an expression of completeness. "A hair of the dog that bit you," is as familiar an idea in China as here, only it is perhaps used more literally. To spit in a person's hand is, among the Chinese, a charm against evil, and is used in many parts of the world; while the ancient Roman custom of spitting on a child on the day it was named, survives in the baptismal spitting of the Romish Church. Modern "spiritualistic" writing has its counterpart, if it be not derived from China. Modern advocates of muscular Christianity may find friends in Central China, who "believe that the practice of gymnastics, if carried out with sufficient faithfulness, will enable the student to avoid the common lot, and pass bodily into the future state, ascending to heaven with his fleshly body." To students of folk-lore, and to mere gossiping readers alike, Mr. Dennys' book will be very interesting and amusing; and the fables may add much to the stock so popular in generations of European nurseries. The Chinese do not allow to fables so distinguished a place in literature, affecting to think them only fit for women and children, though using them with great effect sometimes. China appears to have an older publication of written fables than Europe, though her earliest fable cannot be credited with an earlier date than *Æsop*.

The numerous recent accidents in coal mines give special interest to Mr. Bagot's little book.³³ He points out that even apart from carelessness, the Davy lamp is not perfect, but allows flame to pass when the atmospheric pressure is great, and thinks that in fiery seams of coal there ought to be no blasting. If blasting be practised, he strongly deprecates all forms of dynamite, as being compounds requiring much

³³ "Accidents in Mines: their Causes and Prevention." By Alan Bagot, Mining Engineer. London: C. Kegan Paul & Co. 1878.

more expert handling than can be expected from miners, and dislikes even gunpowder, recommending gun-cotton as less dangerous. He attributes the emission of gas in coal workings largely to the presence of percolating water. He gives many good practical suggestions as to ventilation, machinery, and the like. Mr. Bagot has a great horror of trades unions, and does not seem to understand that individual carelessness being the usual cause of accident, everything which tends to promote feelings of community and mutual responsibility amongst the men, tends directly to safety.

Of the statistical publications of the Italian Government we have this quarter the following:—1.²⁴ A Report to the Minister of the Interior, giving a short history of statistical inquiry in Italy from the times of Guicciardini and the Venetian Ambassador to the present day, and the decree of King Humbert establishing a statistical board under the control of the Minister of the Interior. 2.²⁵ Statistics of "civil statics" for 1876, giving the births, deaths, and marriages for the whole kingdom for the rural and urban districts, and for each province, or group of provinces, for fourteen years back; also the average fertility of marriages, the condition, single or widowed, the ages, and the state of education of the spouses for several years, and for each province; the marriages of consanguinity and affinity; the legitimate and illegitimate births, and the foundlings; the age and condition of the dead, and the cause of death; and numerous other details. 3.²⁶ Statistics of navigation for 1876, classifying the Italian marine with trading and fishing vessels, sailing ships, and steamers, coasters, and vessels engaged in foreign trade, and giving the foreign and Italian tonnage for each port, and the numbers and classes of the seafaring population, &c. 5 and 6.²⁷ An account of the local finances of the different provinces and communes of the kingdom for 1875 and 1876, as compared with previous years; giving particulars of the principal sources of income and heads of expenditure. 7.²⁸ A miscellaneous collection of statistical papers, containing amongst other things a memoir on the mortality of the Italian armies and of other European armies, with some interesting maps of the comparative mortality from different diseases in different parts of Italy; also a table of the occupations of the population in Italy and other European countries; statistics of blindness, deafness, idiocy, and lunacy. The differences between Italy and our own country are strongly marked

²⁴ "Reale decreto di Istituzione della Direzione Generale de Statistica." Roma: Tip. Eredi Botta. 1878.

²⁵ "Ministero di Agricoltura, Industria e Commercio. Divisione di Statistica Popolazione, Movimento dello stato civile, Anno 1876, Introduzione." Roma: Tipografia Cenniniana. 1876.

²⁶ "Navigazione nei Porti del Regno. Introduzione e Parte Terza, Anno 1876." Roma: Tipografia Elseviriana nel Ministero delle Finanze. 1877.

²⁷ "Ministero di Agricoltura, Industria e Commercio. Divisione di Statistica. Bilanci Comunali, Bilanci Provinciali, Anni 1875 e 1876." Roma: Tipografia Cenniniana. 1877.

²⁸ "Annali del Ministero di Agricoltura, Industria e Commercio, Anno 1877. Numero 100." Roma: Tipografia Eredi Botta. 1876.

in the fact that 32 per cent. of the Italians are engaged in production of raw material, as against 9 per cent. in England and Wales; while of our population 22 per cent. are employed in manufactures, against 12 per cent. in Italy. 8.⁹⁹ A report by M. Solimbergo upon the trade of Egypt, Ceylon, Singapore, and Java.

SCIENCE.

THE reader of Mr. Lockyer's "Studies in Spectrum Analysis"¹ cannot fail to be struck by the enormous amount of knowledge which has been acquired by means of the spectroscope during the last fifteen years, and not less by the wide fields of research the recent methods have opened up, and the amount of which still remains to be done. Mr. Lockyer's book appears to us to be as valuable in pointing out what the spectroscope has *not* yet done, but what, if workers, intelligent and enthusiastic enough come forward, certainly will be done, as in bringing together and classifying the results of the labours of so many distinguished men in this domain of inquiry.

The first chapter is preliminary, and deals with fundamental notions—the undulatory theory of light, analogies between light and sound, wave lengths, absorption, &c. The second chapter is an important one; it describes the methods employed in the laboratory for obtaining and demonstrating spectrum phenomena. In connexion with this subject may be mentioned an expedient first proposed by Mr. Lockyer in 1866, and employed by him and Dr. Frankland in 1869, which consists in throwing an image of the source of light on the slit of the spectroscope, instead of placing the source itself in front of the slit. By this device the spectra given by different parts of the source, if this be not homogeneous—as, for instance, a candle flame or an electric spark between two metallic electrodes—are readily distinguished.

The third chapter is concerned with spectrum photography, and affords ample evidence, if any were wanted, of the important aid which photography has rendered the student of spectrum analysis. The first photographs of the solar spectrum appear to have been obtained by Becquerel and Draper, in 1842 and 1843, by using the simple arrangement of passing sunlight through a slit and a series of prisms and lenses, properly arranged, and throwing it upon a plate. In this way Becquerel succeeded in photographing the whole solar spectrum, with nearly all the lines registered by the hand and eye of Fraunhofer, from the extreme violet to the extreme red—a feat which has never been

⁸⁹ "Annali del Ministero di Agricoltura, Industria e Commercio. Della Navigazione e del Commercio alle Indie Orientali." Relazione di Viaggio dell' M. Giuseppe Solimbergo a S. E. il Ministro del Commercio. Roma: Tipografia Eredi Botta. 1877.

¹ "Studies in Spectrum Analysis." By J. Norman Lockyer, F.R.S. Second Edition. London: C. Kegan Paul. 1878.

repeated since his time. In England, photography was successfully employed, in connexion with the spectroscope, by Professor Stokes and Dr. W. A. Miller, both of whom obtained photographs of the violet end of the spectrum extending beyond H (the limit of the visible portion) to a distance six or seven times the length of the visible spectrum. In these investigations quartz lenses and prisms were employed, Professor Stokes having discovered that quartz is more transparent than any other substance to the violet or actinic rays. M. Mascart, who began his important work on the ultra-violet solar spectrum in 1863, employed diffraction gratings instead of the quartz prisms; and, by reflecting light from the first surface of the diffraction grating, was enabled to avoid the imperfect transparency of glass. Diffraction gratings on metal, of the most refined and perfect description, have been made and used by Mr. Rutherford, and are now largely employed in investigations on the spectrum. In Mr. Rutherford's telescopes for solar and stellar work, he has the lenses so ground as to bring together the violet rays to the exclusion of the visual rays;—the result being a telescope through which it is impossible to see anything, but through which the minutest star can be photographed with the most perfect sharpness.

The author lays great stress on the importance of taking and preserving permanent photographic records of the solar spectrum, in order that comparisons may be made from year to year, and thus information obtained of changes taking place in the absorptive qualities of the sun's reversing layer. He thinks we have already evidence that the quantity of strontium in the reversing layer has increased during the last twenty years. From this point of view photography cannot be regarded merely as an ally of the spectroscope, but as a part of the spectroscope itself.

In the fourth chapter, "On Atoms and Molecules spectroscopically considered," the bearing of the results of spectroscopic work on the kinetic theory of gases, is discussed. The author points out that the molecule of the physicist is a very different thing from the atom of the chemist, and explains the action of increasing temperature (including in this term the action of electricity) in simplifying the spectrum of an elementary substance. Here is also explained the grand generalisation of Kirchhoff and Stokes, which is stated in the following terms:—"Particles, the amplitudes of vibrations of which may be so slight that no visible light proceeds from them, or so great that they give out light of their own; absorb light of the same wave length and of greater amplitude, passing through them." The chapter "On Long and Short Spectral Lines" (chap. v.) is very interesting. It is stated that from the time of Wheatstone's first experiments, in 1835, in which he examined the spectrum of a spark passing between two different metals, and showed that it contained the lines of both, down to the researches of Stokes and Miller, in 1862, no reference can be found to any localisation of light in any portion of the *breadth* of the spectrum. A variation in the length of the lines in certain circumstances was, however, noticed by Stokes and Miller, and others. Mr. Lockyer (in

ignorance of the observations of his predecessors) first noticed similar phenomena in the solar spectrum in 1869. He observed that of the δ lines of magnesium vapour injected into the chromosphere, δ_1 and δ_2 were nearly of equal height, but δ_3 was much shorter; and similar phenomena were obtained in the laboratory. These observations have opened out a line of research which Mr. Lockyer has followed up with untiring assiduity, and already most important results have been derived from it; as, for instance, that only the longer lines are reversed in the solar spectrum; that when a metallic vapour is subjected to admixture with another gas or vapour, or to reduced pressure, its spectrum becomes simplified by the abstraction of the shortest lines, and by the thinning of many of the lines; and again, that when we pass from a metal to one of its salts (*e.g.*, the chloride) only the longest lines of the metal remain in the spectrum of the salt.

The remaining chapters in the book are on "Dissociation," "Quantitative Spectrum Analysis" and "Coincidences of Spectral Lines." Bunsen and Kirchhoff stated as a result of their researches on the spectra of salts, that the spectrum of a metal is the same, whatever substance it be in combination with. More recent investigations have led to a considerable modification of this statement. The experiments of Mitscherlich, and Clifton and Roscoe, went to indicate that compound bodies have spectra peculiar to themselves, and Mr. Lockyer has shown that this is unquestionably the case. He showed that the spectra of iodides, bromides, &c., when observed by means of a weak spark *in air*, are all alike, as maintained by Kirchhoff and Bunsen; but that this is not the spectrum of the metal is established by the facts that with a low temperature only the longest lines of the metals are present, showing that only a small quantity of the simple metal is present as a result of partial dissociation, and that by increasing the temperature, and consequently the amount of dissociation, the other lines of the metals appear in the order of their length with each rise of temperature. He showed also that though *in air* the spectra and metallic lines are in the main the same after the first application of heat, *in hydrogen* the spectra are different for each compound. An appended drawing of the spectra of the iodide, bromide, and chloride of strontium, and of metallic strontium, shows this very conclusively.

With regard to quantitative spectrum analysis, the results obtained, up to the present time, are not such as to cause the methods to be generally used: the author, however, has no doubt but that in the future spectroscopy is destined to afford important aid to the chemist. The work done, so far, has been chiefly in connexion with gold and copper alloys, the method depending upon the measurement of the lengths of the spectrum lines, by means of a micrometer.

The book is illustrated by several permanent photographs of radiation spectra, and coincidences of radiation and absorption spectra.

Mr. Rand Capron's volume on photographed spectra² contains a

² "Photographed Spectra." By J. Rand Capron, F.R.A.S. London: Spottiswoode, 1877.

hundred and thirty-six photographs of metallic, gaseous, and other spectra, printed by the permanent-autotype process, and thirty pages descriptive of the plates. The metallic spectra extend from *F* to *H*—no record being obtained of the less refrangible end of the spectrum by the photographic process—and were obtained of two sorts, (1) by the spark, (2) by the voltaic arc. For the spark spectra a large Ruhmkorff's coil was employed, giving a 2-inch spark, and for the arc spectra a battery of from 30 to 60 Grove cells. The spectroscope was of the direct-vision form originally constructed by Mr. Browning for auroral observations. The images on the camera plate were about 2 inches long, and were afterwards enlarged to double the size. Although no exact scale or measurements accompany the photographs, ready means of comparison are afforded in the case of the spark spectra by the air lines, and one very bright line (wave length about 5000) is generally employed for the purpose. In the case of the arc spectra certain of the carbon lines (wave length about 4230) serve a similar end.

The gas spectra are represented in the last fifteen plates, and for the purpose of obtaining these it was found necessary to resort to a different form of instrument to that employed for the spark and arc spectra. An attempt was at first made to take all the spectra with the same instrument, but it was soon found that less dispersion and a brighter image would be required to give any useful results with the gas, and one only of the series (viz., spark in coal gas) was taken with the same instrument as the metals. The photographs are beautifully executed, and form a series which, for purposes of reference, will be highly appreciated by students of spectrum analysis, though it must be admitted that their value would have been increased by a more careful and systematic identification of the lines.

Mr. Proctor's prolific pen has turned aside on this occasion⁵ from subjects more or less directly astronomical, in order to give us a treatise on the geometry of cycloidal curves. The book before us contains sections on the right cycloid, epicycloids and hypocycloids, trochoids, and epicyclics. A section is added, for convenience of reference, on the equations to cycloidal curves, although such equations belong rather to the analytical than to the geometrical treatment of the subject; and finally a section on the graphical use of cycloidal curves to determine the motion of planets and comets. A valuable collection of examples and problems, many of them original, complete the volume. Treatises on the geometrical properties of the conic sections are common enough, and during the last twenty years many good text-books have been published, but the geometry of cycloidal curves has not been equally popular, and Mr. Proctor is to be thanked for having brought the geometrical study of these interesting curves within the reach of many to whom the methods of the calculus are not familiar. The first forty

⁵ "A Treatise on the Cycloid and all forms of Cycloidal Curves, and on the Use of such Curves in dealing with the Motions of Planets, Comets, &c., and of Matter Projected from the Sun." By Richard A. Proctor, B.A., Author of "Saturn and its System," &c. With 161 Illustrations, and many Examples. For the Use of Students in Universities, &c. London: Longmans, 1878.

pages are occupied with the treatment of the right cycloid. On the fifth page we have a simple and elegant proof of the proposition that the area of a cycloid is three times the area of its generating circle,—a problem over which Roberval laboured for six years, and only succeeded at last by inventing a new curve for the purpose. The method adopted in this case is extended to the epicycloid, hypocycloid, trochoid, epitrochoid, and hypotrochoid. In all, thirteen distinct methods of solving the problem geometrically are either given in full or indicated (seven of these methods being original), while seven independent methods are indicated for determining the area of the epicycloid and hypocycloid (of which five are new), besides one method derived from the properties of the cycloid. The section on epicyclics is enriched by a number of beautiful illustrations of mechanically traced curves due to Mr. Henry Perigal, which were originally drawn to illustrate Professor de Morgan's article on Trochoidal Curves, in the Penny Cyclopædia.

The volume before us⁴ contains the two lectures delivered by Mr. Jordan during the last winter, on his new theory of the system of the world. They were challenge lectures. By advertisement, the attendance of Fellows of the Royal, Royal Astronomical, and Royal Geographical Societies was earnestly requested. Members or ex-members of the Council of the Royal Society, and the Scientific Staff of the "Challenger" Expedition were specially invited (at five shillings per reserved seat) to discuss what would be said by the lecturer in demonstration of the new theory of Vis-inertiæ, or the conflicting action of astral and terrestrial gravitation. The *savants*, however, did not respond very heartily to Mr. Jordan's invitation, and consequently the discussion came to nothing, and the lecturer remained master of the field. We cannot follow Mr. Jordan into his arguments respecting the causes of the directions of various winds and ocean currents. Unquestionably the best authorities on the subject do differ from each other considerably as to the explanation of certain oceanic currents, deep sea temperatures, and so on. Mr. Jordan would set them right by a theory of his own, which demands *in limine* that we shall give up Newton's first law of motion. The first part of this law states that matter at rest has no tendency of itself to move; this Mr. Jordan admits. The second part of the law states that matter in motion will continue to move uniformly in a straight line, unless acted on by external forces. This, according to Mr. Jordan, is a fiction, and has always been a fiction. It has been useful in explaining why the planets, &c., keep their places, as they go along their paths, and don't all rush together, but is now no longer necessary, because Mr. Jordan has discovered another cause for the observed phenomena. The sun exercises a *revolving force* on the planets, which, combined with the force of gravitation, causes the orbits to be described as they are. Similarly

⁴ "Winds, Ocean Currents, and Tides, and what they tell us of the System of the World." Two Lectures delivered at Willis's Rooms, King Street, St. James's, on Nov. 3 and Dec. 20, 1877. By William Leighton Jordan, F.R.G.S. London: Hardwicke & Bogue. 1877.

the moon is kept in her path round the earth by the revolving force of the earth; these revolving forces being due, in each case, to the motion of rotation, on its axis, of the primary. This, if we have not mistaken Mr. Jordan, is what he would have us accept in the first instance; and this is not a little.

The concluding part of the sixth edition of Weisbach's "Ingenieur" is in some respects even more important and valuable than its predecessors, in that it is concerned more directly with the practical part of the engineer's work. It contains formulæ, rules, and tables connected with machine construction in general, and with the following in particular—railway work, hydraulic work, corn and oil mills, cotton and wool manufactories, gas works, stone, brick, and wood structures, bridges, &c. Appended is a table of contents, and a very complete index to the whole volume, which, now completed, supplies civil engineers, architects, and mechanical engineers with an invaluable *vade-mecum*.

Mr. Lockyer's "Stargazing, &c.," is a handsome octavo, beautifully printed and profusely illustrated. It is an expansion from shorthand notes of a course of Royal Institution lectures delivered in 1870, which, for various reasons, the author was unable to publish (as he had intended) at the time. "Stargazing" differs considerably from ordinary works on astronomy; indeed, it is not a treatise on astronomy at all, but rather on the methods and appliances employed by the practical astronomer in his work, together with, in a few cases, some of the results achieved. It is divided into six books, of which the headings are as follows:—The Pre-telescopic Age, the Telescope, Time and Space Measures, Modern Meridional Observations, the Equatorial, and Astronomical Physics;—from which it will be seen what the character of the book is. Having disposed of the "Past" of Stargazing in the comparatively small number of fifty pages, the author proceeds to the discussion of the more practical part of his subject, and gives a popular account of modern reflecting and refracting telescopes, not least important amongst which is Mr. Newall's gigantic refractor (an autotype photograph of which forms the frontispiece of the volume), with an object glass of twenty-five inches diameter. The Americans, not to be outdone, have had a similar instrument constructed by Mr. Alvan Clarke, the object glass of which has an aperture of twenty-six inches, that is, one inch larger than the English instrument. The mounting of the Washington telescope is much lighter than Mr. Newall's, and a composite pillar gives place for the clock in the central cavity. The lenses for both instruments were constructed by Mr. Chance, of Birmingham. In the chapter on Time Measures there are some interesting details in connexion with Greenwich time, and the mode of distributing it. The distribution of time

* "Weisbach's Ingenieur." Sechste, völlig umgearbeitete Auflage, unter Mitwirkung von Prof. F. Reuleaux, herausgegeben von Prof. G. Querfurth. Vierte Abtheilung (Schluss). Braunschweig: Vieweg & Sohn. 1877.

* "Stargazing: Past and Present." By J. Norman Lockyer, F.R.S., Correspondent of the Institute of France. London: Macmillan. 1878.

is made from Greenwich, throughout the country, at 10 A.M., and 1 P.M. At one o'clock the galvanic current which acts on the magnet discharging the Greenwich time ball, acts also on a relay which completes various circuits. One of these goes to the London Bridge Station of the S.E.R. Company for transmission to Deal, another to the General Post Office for further distribution, which is effected by a series of relays, each relay sending off a portion of the current of its battery through each wire of its group. The lines are divided into four groups, (1) the metropolitan, (2) short provincial, (3) medium provincial, (4) long provincial; the first being wires passing to points in London only, the second to places within about fifty miles of London, the third to more distant places, the fourth to more distant places still, requiring signals. At 10 A.M. a considerable distribution goes on by hand. On the arrival of the signal from Greenwich the clerks immediately transmit signals through the ordinary instruments to some 600 places; these again act as centres, distributing the time to railway stations and smaller places. In the last chapters on Astronomical Physics, Mr. Lockyer is even more at home than in the earlier portions of the work. Here we have described the methods in use for measuring the relative amounts of light proceeding from different stars—that is, their magnitudes, and the experiments of Lord Rosse on lunar heat. By differential observations Lord Rosse showed that a small thermopile placed at the focus of his large reflecting telescope, was able to give some estimate of the heat of the moon, which may be 500 degrees Fahr. at the surface. The construction of the spectroscope, and the various forms of spectroscope for laboratory work, and for solar and stellar investigation, are then described at some length, after which follows a brief account of the different types of stellar spectra, the displacement and distortions of the hydrogen lines in the solar spectrum, &c. Two chapters on the Telepolariscope and Celestial Photography complete the volume.

Professor Newcomb's work⁷ covers a far wider field than the volume we have just noticed. It not only treats of astronomical instruments and instrumental methods, but it gives a very complete and extremely interesting account of the general phenomena of the solar system, of the stars and the chief constellations, meteors, nebulae, &c. In his preface, the author informs us that the work is not designed either to instruct the professional investigator or to train the special student of astronomy. Its main object is to present the general reading public with a condensed view of the history, methods, and results of astronomical research, especially in those fields which are of most popular and philosophic interest at the present day, couched in such language as to be intelligible without mathematical study. Professor Newcomb treats very fully the question of solar parallax, and in connexion with it the recent observations of the transit of Venus. In

⁷ "Popular Astronomy." By Simon Newcomb, LL.D., Professor, United States Naval Observatory. With One Hundred and Twelve Engravings and Five Maps of the Stars. London: Macmillan. 1878.

the Appendix is a list of the determinations of the solar parallax which have appeared since the discovery of the error of the old parallax in 1854. The latest determinations of the velocity of light by M. Cornu, who employed preferably the method of Fizeau's toothed wheel, are given; and on the question of the physical constitution of the sun, the author has thought it well to give the views of some of the most eminent students of the subject—*e.g.*, Father Secchi, M. Faye, Professor Young, and Professor Langley—in their own words. There is a very useful paragraph (pp. 139—145) on the magnifying power of large telescopes, both reflectors and refractors, on which subject the author points out that very exaggerated views are entertained by the public. In the case of a star, for instance, magnification means increase of apparent brightness; the star will not be magnified like a planet, because a point is only a point, no matter how often we multiply it.

On the whole, this is a work which we can heartily recommend. It records the results of the most recent researches on matters of general interest, and is always thoroughly readable, comparing favourably in this respect with, for instance, Herschel's "Outlines of Astronomy." We must, however, take exception to such a phrase as "the equivalency of heat and force" (p. 506), which the author uses more than once. If the phrase is a correct one, then the word "force" is not used in its ordinary sense:—why not "the equivalency of heat and mechanical energy?" A glossary of technical terms at the end of the volume adds considerably to its general utility.

So rapid has been the march of scientific events since Professor Graham Bell gave his first lecture in London on the Telephone in October last, that Professor Dolbear's little book⁸ will soon be, if it is not already, out of date. The instrument which he claims to have invented, independently of Professor Bell, is identical in form and construction with one of the forms of Professor Bell's instrument, and does not appear to possess any peculiar merit. The little volume before us gives a résumé of the chief phenomena of acoustics, magnetism, and electricity, which play a part in the action of the telephone, with a brief description of two or three forms of telephone, not including Professor Bell's. Its title is misleading, seeing that no instructions are given which would enable any one, not already acquainted with the apparatus, to construct one for himself.

The instructions to meteorological observers in India is an excellent account of the various instruments used in making observations, and of the various considerations which have to be observed in using them, in order to obtain satisfactory results.⁹ After the introduction follows an account of the Barometer, which should

⁸ "The Telephone, and How to Make It." By Prof. A. E. Dolbear. London: Sampson Low & Co. 1878.

⁹ "Instructions to Meteorological Observers in India: being the First Part of the Indian Meteorologist's Vade-Mecum." By Henry F. Blanford. Printed for the Use of the Meteorological Department, by the Orders of Government. Calcutta: Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing. 1876.

either be suspended from a gimbals, or made vertical with the plumb-line. The height of the mercury is always to be taken from the highest point of the curve of its convex surface. There is an account of the use of the vernier, and method of reading, correction for temperature, reduction to sea-level, determination of sea-level, selection and packing of barometers. Then follows an elaborate account of thermometers, actinometers, hygrometers, rain-gauge, wind-vane, and anemometer, a chapter on cloud observations, and remarks on the reduction of observations. The volume extends to ninety-five pages.

The "Meteorology of India" is a work of more than ordinary interest from a scientific point of view, because it gives an exact account of a region of unusual meteorological importance.¹⁰ The first section gives a general account of the physical properties of air and vapour, or physics of the atmosphere. The second section gives the Physical Geography of India and its Dependencies, treated under the heads of mountain zones, plains, tablelands, and hill groups. The third section relates to Radiation and Temperature, discussing monsoons, hot and rainy season, cold season, and other phenomena. To this succeeds a full account of atmospheric pressure and the winds, illustrated with minute maps showing isobars. Next succeeds hygrometry, cloud, and rainfall. The last chapter relates to storms, and then follow suggestions for future inquiry, and tables of the average value of important meteorological elements in India.

The Indian Meteorological Tables will be found of great practical value.¹¹ They are twelve in number. The first is for reducing observations of the barometer to the temperature of 32° F.; the second is to reduce observations of the barometer to the sea-level; a third shows the elastic force of vapour in lat. 22° at the sea-level; and the other tables all relate to various matters which have to be considered in making or correcting observations.

The report of the Cornwall Polytechnic Society gives an impressive idea of the excellent work which has long been done by it.¹² We would, however, take this opportunity to suggest that if the various West of England societies would combine for purposes of publication, they might issue, as do the scattered societies of New Zealand, an important volume of transactions, which would come under the notice of a far larger number of scientific men than is possible when the publications are issued separately at uncertain intervals. The Cornish report contains the president's address, which partly refers to some

¹⁰ "Meteorology of India: being the Second Part of the Indian Meteorologist's Vade-Mecum." By Henry F. Blandford. Calcutta: Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing. 1877.

¹¹ "Tables for the Reduction of Meteorological Observations in India, to accompany the Hand-book of Instructions to Meteorological Observers." By H. F. Blandford. Calcutta: Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing. 1876.

¹² "The Forty-Fifth Annual Report of the Royal Cornwall Polytechnic Society, 1877." Falmouth: Lake & Co., and R. C. Richards. Truro: Heard & Sons, and J. R. Netherton.

successful efforts of the Society to lessen the sufferings of Cornish miners from diseases of the heart and lungs; and then calls attention to various objects of interest contained in the Society's exhibition. Then follow reports of the judges appointed to award the Society's medals in the departments of mechanics, naval architecture, fine arts, photography, natural history, school productions, needlework, lace and art needlework. Lectures during the exhibition were given, and are reported in abstract: Mr. Worth on the Telephone; Mr. G. O. Trevelyan on Napoleon Buonaparte; and Miss Orme on State Education. A large part of the report is devoted to an account of the articles in the exhibition which obtained medals or commendation; and several important pieces of machinery are illustrated with woodcuts. Among these articles are phosphor bronze, compressor engine, self-governing steam pump, Ingersoll drill, pulsometer, hydrotrophe, pneumatic rock drill, wheel moulding machine, and a multitude of other machines. Dr. W. P. Cocks contributes an interesting article, "Contributions to the Falmouth Fauna and Flora." Then follows the valuable meteorological report for Helston, Bodmin, Falmouth, and Truro, which is illustrated by a diagram, showing the mean velocity and pressure of the wind, and mean atmospheric pressure and temperature for every day in the year. The volume concludes with a catalogue of the exhibition.

The Dean of Norwich has written a preface to a book by Dr. Bateman,¹⁸ entitled "Darwinism Tested by Language," which will not do much to commend it to evolutionists. It will not even stem the tide of research for scientific men to be assured, on Dr. Goulburn's authority, that in maintaining the possibility that man has developed from a lower type of life, "they turned their glory into the similitude of a calf that eateth hay." Dr. Goulburn, like many men who are too busy to follow the development of evidence on which scientific convictions rest, does not realise the fundamental truth, that the important elements of science are its facts; and that the scientific man counts it crime to let a truth slip that comes before him. If the facts of life so group themselves as to enforce the belief that the earth is subject to laws which insure eternal progress for plant, for animal, and man, it is not to be expected that the dictum of past ages, or of an eminent ecclesiastic, will command acceptance when it assures the faithful questioner of nature that this is contrary to the scheme of creation. It may be long before the origin of man is clearly demonstrated by fossil remains; but if inductive speculation can in the meantime unfold a sense of order and wonder and beauty, and give delight to those who are oppressed by a sense of man's imperfections, who shall deny to them the solace which the doctrine of evolution affords? The book itself is a curious one, full of quaint quotations, and some illustrations no less intended to enlighten mankind; one of an Ascidian is labelled

¹⁸ "Darwinism Tested by Language." By Frederick Bateman, M.D., with a Preface by Edward Meyrick Goulburn, D.D., Dean of Norwich. London, Oxford, and Cambridge: Rivingtons. Norwich: Stacy. 1878.

"Our pre-historic ancestor," while Hæckel's figures of Monera are reproduced and called "Man's first ancestor." It is remarkable to find the first third of a book on language occupied with a serio-comic examination of the descent of man; but the author starts with the belief that "God formed man of the dust of the ground, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life, and man became a living soul;" and does not look for, or find in this passage, anything to harmonise with the teaching of evolution. In the second part of the book the chief contention is that articulate speech is a distinctive attribute of man, at once universal, immaterial, and not found in lower animals; and all sorts of opinions are quoted which relate to the faculty of speech, but no contribution is made to knowledge. Altogether the book is an unfortunate one, for it is wanting in method and argument, and is largely constructed of quotations; it does not justify its title, and does not refer to the evolution of language, or even discuss in a rational way the origin of speech. Towards the close of the volume it is observed, "In all that has been said and written about evolution, I have been struck with the complete absence of facts—everything is hypothetical." The quotation gives not an inappropriate idea of the author's contribution to the relation of Darwinism to language.

The "Epoch of the Mammoth" is an attempt to bring into a compact volume all the evidence which bears upon the antiquity of man.¹⁴ The volume consists of some twenty-five chapters, extending to about four hundred pages octavo, but is not so precise or valuable a work as was to be expected from the well-defined materials which were ready to hand. In the first chapter, on First Glimpses of the Human Race, it is urged that the palæolithic man may be no older than the Chaldeans and Egyptians, and may have appeared abruptly some 6000 and 10,000 years ago. The second chapter treats of the unity of the human race, chiefly as evidenced by traditions of the Deluge and other diffused beliefs. The succeeding chapters give an elaborate summary of the facts which relate to the pre-historic peoples of the earth; and the author finds himself unable to accept either the division of time into ages of stone, bronze, and iron, or the generally accepted view of the remote epoch of the glacial period, or the current ideas as to the antiquity of the human race. The illustrations add to the interest of the work; but the author's theoretical views make it one of less importance than it would otherwise have had from the considerable research which it displays.

In "Tropical Nature" the general reader has brought before him not only a vivid survey of the characteristics of life in the equatorial zone, but an endeavour to account for many of its distinctive phenomena.¹⁵ Mr. Wallace has drawn largely on his own recollections of

¹⁴ "The Epoch of the Mammoth and the Apparition of Man upon the Earth." By James C. Southall, A.M., LL.D. With Illustrations. London: Trübner & Co. 1878.

¹⁵ "Tropical Nature, and other Essays." By Alfred R. Wallace. London: Macmillan & Co. 1878.

twelve years' experience in the Malay Archipelago and tropical America; but there is a breadth of grasp of scientific questions and a distinctive precision of treatment, as well as sufficient fulness of detail in matters which have a philosophical bearing, to make this volume an important contribution to science, and an invaluable sequel to the author's record of travels. Some of the more important essays have already been printed, wholly or in part; but they will find places in this work, giving it an entirety which would otherwise have been wanting. The book is arranged into eight chapters, which unfold the features of tropical climate, vegetation, animal life in the forests, and treat of humming birds, colours of animals and of plants; the antiquity of man, and the distribution of animals as indicating geographical changes. In this wide survey is a whole magazine of well-ascertained facts, and many suggestive ideas which, even if not always adopted without reserve, at least boldly endeavour, often for the first time, to grapple with difficulties, and unveil the mystery, of natural phenomena. In the chapter on Climate we are impressed with the small range of variation in temperature from month to month, the heat of the day in the equatorial zone rarely exceeding 90° F., while the cold of night as seldom falls below 74° F., the daily range of temperature in the Dutch Government of Batavia being about 12° in September when greatest, and only 8° in January when least. The cause of this high and uniform equatorial temperature which so scorches the European is found to exist in the vast amount of heat received from the sun during the day, and radiated at night to an atmosphere too densely charged with vapour to allow it to escape. So that tropical heat is referred to the same causes as account for the warmth of cloudy evenings in our own country, and the increase of heat on the Continent as the earth becomes warmed in the autumn. Other causes raising the temperature are the winds, which have all passed over warm regions, and the condensation of aqueous vapour from the atmosphere, in dew and rain, liberates large amounts of heat. The distinctive features of tropical forests are the tall trunks of trees with a crown of foliage shutting out the light, and descending aerial roots like buttresses—almost every tree being of a different kind from that next it. Below this high canopy are lower forest trees rising to forty or fifty feet; and yet below these, often a growth of herbaceous ferns, tree ferns, and dwarf palms, some six to ten feet high. The surface of the ground below is frequently covered with decaying leaves and fallen fruits, and sometimes carpeted with club-mosses and small flowering plants. Some of the smaller trunks in the lower parts are covered with blossoms, or are hidden by the quantity of fruit. The author suggests that this remarkable condition results from the fertilising influence on the flowers of the thousands of butterflies which frequent the ground in the forests, and urges, that since the bees, which love the sun, abound at the tops of the lofty trees, the crowns of the lower forest trees escape the influence of both groups of insects. The list of exogenous tropical woods valued in the arts of civilised life, include such trees as mahogany, teak, ebony, lignum-vitæ, iron-wood, sandal-

wood, and satin-wood ; there are trees yielding dyes, such as log-wood, brazil-wood, and sappan-wood ; others valued for gum, such as india-rubber, gutta-percha, tragacanth, copal, lac, and dammar ; and a host which supply drugs, spices, and fruits. Next to the trees, in striking features, are the creepers and climbers of the tropical forests ; twined like cables, or expanded like ribbons, they grow by indefinite longitudinal extension upward towards the light, leafless and without blossoms, till they reach the top of the great forest trees. The palms are often absent from large areas. Some, as at Para, in South America, have rigid leaves thirty feet long and five feet wide. Others are creepers like the *Calamus*, which grows to a length of 600 or 1000 feet, and yields the rattan cane of which cane chairs are made. In point of food, palms yield many of the necessaries of life, supplying bread, oil, sugar, salt, fruit, and vegetables, besides palm wine. Many of the palms yield sugar, and it is strongly urged that the *Arenga saccharifera* of the Malay countries should be cultivated for sugar in preference to the sugar cane, since it grows on ground that is almost waste, and yields several quarts of sap a day for weeks together, which only needs to be boiled and evaporated, to produce the sugar. The great points in favour of this source of sugar supply, are that the soil is not impoverished, and that neither manure nor cultivation are required. Ferns, ginger-worts, wild bananas, arams, screw-pines, orchids, bamboos, and mangroves, all contribute striking elements to the vegetation of the tropics ; and the account given of the practical utility of the bamboo is more than usually full. The sensitive plants of South America, species of *Mimosa*, are the last group noticed. At each step over them, the plants on each side, to a width of several feet, close their leaflets, droop, and lie prostrate, as though simulating death. In the department of animal life, the wealth of the tropics is most conspicuous in butterflies and birds, especially parrots, to which may be added apes and monkeys, bats, lizards, and frogs ; the snakes being less conspicuous. The number of butterflies is amazing, not only in individuals, but in species. In our own country there are 64 species of butterflies ; around the city of Para there are more than 700 species, brilliant with every variety of rich colour in contrast, and often as large as small birds. The account of ants, wasps, bees, beetles, and other insects, abounds in the interest of personal recollection. The parrots are chiefly characteristic of tropical America, and the Australian region, which together contain nearly 340 species, while Asia and the Malay Islands have but thirty, and Africa hardly more than twenty. Pigeons abound in the tropics, especially in regions where there are no monkeys ; since the monkeys devour their eggs. And it is remarked that the most conspicuous pigeons in all countries, exist where they have fewest enemies. The cuckoos, trogons, barbets, toucans, and passerine birds, are all interesting. One remarkable feature of tropical birds being the prevalence of crests, long feathers in the tails, and ornamental plumage. Lizards swarm everywhere, iguanas in South America, chameleons in Africa, and dragons in India and the larger Malay Islands. The serpents in

Borneo reach a length of twenty-six feet, and in South America one which had devoured a horse was nearly forty feet long. The most abundant of the amphibia are the green tree-frogs. The monkeys are eminently tropical, and abound in the forests of Borneo, West Africa, and the Amazons. The gibbons pass through the forests of Asia at a height of one hundred feet, as rapidly as a deer could cover the ground beneath. Altogether this picturesque survey gives a more definite conception of tropical life than has been offered hitherto, but it would, we suggest, have been even more valuable if the geographical limitations of the plants and animals referred to had been given more frequently and with more precision. The fourth chapter deals with humming birds, of which there are 400 different species, classed in 100 genera; and treats of their structure, ornaments, food, geographical distribution, and affinities with the swifts, and difference from the sun-birds. The most thoughtful chapters are those devoted to the origin of the colours of animals and plants, and constitute an admirable exposition of the principles of Natural Selection as explaining the origin in nature of ornament, and the reasons for its absence. It is not a little curious to notice how nearly parallel to the old interpretation on the hypothesis of design, are the views urged by Mr. Wallace, in which he endeavours to demonstrate that the minutest details of structure and colour have been acquired, because they better fitted the organism for the conditions under which it had to exist. The last chapter on the distribution of animals, as indicating geographical changes, is the least satisfactory in the book, since it neither gives a full summary of the distribution of life in the several provinces, nor demonstrates that the provinces exist, or shows how they came to acquire their distinctive groups of animals, or even discusses the method by which researches of this kind are made; and, least of all, does it attempt to show, from the present distribution of life, what the former configuration of land has been in later geological times. Granting the value of the author's survey of "tropical nature," in which natural history provinces are treated as though they were accidents, owing to the separation of tropical lands, it might have been expected that the same principle would have been recognised to the end; and that "temperate nature," and "circumpolar nature," would have been found to be worth at least a passing thought, especially when the present distribution of plants has to be kept in mind, in order to avoid being misled into unstable generalisation from a single division of the animal kingdom. We offer this criticism not to detract from the value of this part of the work, but only to express a conviction that in dealing with a problem of such magnitude, a larger method of treatment was required than the author has felt himself at liberty to attempt.

Professor M'Kendrick¹⁶ has written a text-book of physiology for medical students which possesses considerable merits, in placing, for the

¹⁶ "Outlines of Physiology in its Relations to Man." By John Gray M'Kendrick, M.D., F.R.S.E. Glasgow: James Maclehose. 1878.

first time. before the English student a practical account of the methods of study in modern physiology, and of the apparatus by which the conclusions taught have been obtained. Although an elementary book, it does not contain the elementary anatomy and histology usual in similar works, but is almost entirely devoted to the functions of the body. At the end of every section is a valuable series of select references, often with the volume and page of the work given, by which students who aspire to mastery of the literature of physiology may carry their reading farther. There is a General Introduction of twenty-five pages. Chemical Physiology occupies twenty-five pages more. It is largely devoted to tables, showing the various acids, bases, salts, sugars, fats, alcohols, pigments, &c., contained in structures of the body or its physiological products. It might also have been useful if another table had been added, showing the chemical composition of each of the tissues and of its physiological products. Histological physiology extends from page 56 to page 203, and discusses in the newest manner the physical properties and method of action of connective tissues, epithelium, contractile tissues, cartilaginous and osseous tissues, and nerves; and gives an account of the conditions under which substances become diffused through organic membranes. The remainder (400 pages) of the book is given up to special physiology, and there are about 140 pages of appendices. The chief subjects treated of are Nutrition, Innervation, Voice, Mechanism of Movements, Animal Heat, Reproduction, and Death. Each principal article is divided up into a number of short sections, which are remarkably clear, concise, and full of well-ascertained facts. In the section of the article Nutrition, however, which relates to the drinks used by man, we find no mention of the mineral acids, or lime-juice, or quinine, which form with water important items of the drinks used abroad in some departments of the public service. But in spite of a few occasional slight oversights, we have no hesitation in saying that no existing book on physiology is so well calculated to meet the wants of ordinary students, and lead to the easy acquirement of sound knowledge. It makes no pretence to the profundity of Michael Foster's text-book, all discussions on disputed questions being omitted, and the whole subject is much more briefly treated. But it is no small triumph to have accomplished for the medical student a task comparable to that by which Professor Huxley, many years ago in his *Elementary Lessons*, placed the leading truths of physiology before schoolboys. The work has been written throughout with admirable judgment, with lucidity, and in an interesting style.

Although the Swiss lake dwellings no longer possess the interest of novel illustrations of early European civilisation, the new edition of Dr. Keller's book¹⁷ upon them, edited by Mr. Lee, gives the most

¹⁷ "The Lake Dwellings of Switzerland, and other Parts of Europe." By Dr. Ferdinand Keller. Second Edition, greatly Enlarged, Translated, and Arranged, by John Edward Lee, F.S.A., F.G.S. In Two Volumes. London: Longmans, Green, & Co. 1878.

complete account of the remains of the peoples who built their houses upon piles driven into lakes which it has been possible to bring together; for the editor has gathered in and translated all notices of lake dwellings similar to those of Switzerland which have been found in other parts of Europe. The first volume contains the text, illustrated with some fifty woodcuts; the second volume consists of 207 plates, which represent the piles on which the houses were constructed, and between two and three thousand works of art in wood, horn, flint and various stones, bronze, and iron, and woven fabrics; these relics give a most imposing idea of the individuality, skill, and general intelligence of the people by whom they were made and used. It is suggested that the lake dwellers were probably Celtic, and that the dwellings ceased to be used in about the first century of our *era*. Their discovery was owing to the unusually cold season of 1853 and 1854, which by interfering with the melting of the snows, caused the rivers almost to dry up, while the lakes sunk lower than was ever known before, showing islands and shallows, among which the piles, in amazing abundance, were found; the first discoverer being Mr. Aeppli, of Ober Meilen, on lake Zurich. The piles and method of building vary in different localities: at Meilen they are of oak, beech, birch, and fir, from four to six inches thick, sometimes whole trunks, but chiefly formed from trees split into three or four parts. They are now soft and rotten, and as easily dug through as the silt in which they rest. Among them are the wedge-shaped stone implements, called celts, many of which are formed of materials which closely resemble hornblend-rock, diallage, and gabbro; others are of syenite, black sandstone, and jade, and many were in process of manufacture, the refuse fragments being found, as well as the stones used for grinding their surfaces. The tools were halted in stag's horn, which was inserted in a stout wooden club, and occasionally the halting and club were held together by means of a bolt driven through them. Hammers of serpentine, implements of flint and sandstone, corn-crushers and mealng-stones, besides large hearth-slabs, on which fires were kindled, occur. Bone implements comprise needles for knitting, pins for the hair, awls, chisels adapted for ornamenting pottery. Animal remains are wild boars and stags, ibex, fox, cow, sheep, dog, and a few remains of man. A bead of amber, clubs of oak, and a bronze celt were found, with pottery made by hand, which appears to have been used over the fire like modern pipkins. No inconsiderable number of the relics have been picked up from the bottom of the lakes where they lie exposed, by means of a kind of long handled pincers, worked with a string, and many more have been found with the aid of a scraper adapted to dig trenches in the mud on the bottom of the lakes. The difficulty generally felt as to the use of the classification of peoples into the ages of stone, bronze, and iron, is well stated; and it is admitted that just as some peoples use stone down to the present day, so it is impossible to affirm a definite antiquity for a tribe, because it used weapons of stone or bronze. More than one hundred and fifty localities for lake dwellings are known, and

the more typical ones described in detail. Almost every one has its own distinctive features and interest, which are admirably explained and described. Some of the lakes are very small, like the Moosseedorf lake, near Bern, in the relic bed of which linseed, water-chestnut, wheat, and barley are found. Others of the old dwellings are buried in peat moors, as is the case of Robenhausen, on the lake of Pfäffikon, where the piles cover about three acres in the form of an irregular quadrangle; and the relics yield the most perfect evidence of the life of the old inhabitants of the dwellings which has been met with, and show that the domestic animals kept in sheds upon the pile buildings included pigs, sheep, cows, and goats. Here are found seeds of raspberries, strawberries, elderberries, blackberries, and stones of cherries and sloes, besides stores of beech-nut and acorns. While flails, boats made from a single trunk, bows of yew five feet long, a last, a tub cut out of maple-wood, and crucibles are some of the remarkable objects met with. The account of the lake dwellings terminates at page 431. To this succeeds a geographical list of the lake dwellings in Switzerland and the neighbouring countries, extending to page 468. Then follows a general summary, in which the similar modern dwellings are noticed; and the various questions upon which a difference of opinion has been entertained are argued. There is a chapter on the vegetable manufactures of bast and flax, with an instructive account of the looms. The remainder of the book consists of various memoirs by Professor Heer on the plants of the lake dwellings, and an account of the animals by Professor Rüttimeyer. The latter comprise some thirty-six species or varieties of mammals, nearly all of which occur at Robenhausen, twenty-four birds, four reptiles and amphibians, and nine fishes. Then succeed memoirs by various authors on the lake dwellings of Württemberg, Bavaria, Austria, Hungary, France, Pomerania, and Mecklenberg; and the volume concludes with an account of the crannoges of Ireland, Scotland, and Wales, which most nearly resemble the lake dwellings, being built of branches of trees arranged like fascines, and mixed with clay and stones. In the present expanded form the volumes become an invaluable work of reference; while the story is so well and pleasantly told, that they may be read with interest by all who can appreciate the triumph of archæology, in vividly calling again before us the ways of life of the early inhabitants of Europe.

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

THE most important historical publication of the last few months is, undoubtedly, the new edition of Finlay's "History of Greece."¹ For some years before his death the venerable author had been engaged in revising and re-writing his several works on Greek history, and in re-shaping them into one continuous whole. On his death his executors offered the copyright to the University of Oxford. The University rightly accepted the noble gift, and has published the history in seven handsome volumes, edited by Mr. Tozer, of Exeter College. It is indeed a work of which any university, or even nation, may well be proud. Mr. Finlay, then an intelligent young Scotchman studying law at Göttingen, was carried to Greece in 1823 by his enthusiasm for the cause of Greek liberation; and there he remained, almost interruptedly, for the remainder of his long life. For some time after the establishment of the Greek monarchy, he occupied himself with farming. Finding, like so many who have taken to farming after early youth, that this was unprofitable, he devoted his attention to study, intending to write a history of the Greek Revolution. This work, however, expanded in the workman's hands, and finally resolved itself into the history of Greece under foreign dominion. His first volume, "Greece under the Romans," was published in 1843: his last, "The Greek Revolution," in 1861. These and several intervening volumes have been recast into the posthumous work now before us. It is not surprising that a work necessitating so much labour, and adapted, however great its merit, to comparatively so small a public, did not bring its author much gain. He himself has told us that his writing was not more successful than his farming. The reading world may, however, be thankful that he did not allow himself to be discouraged by the want of pecuniary success. We have gained a great treasure from his industry; and he has won for himself a name honoured by the learned of many lands. It is impossible for us in our space to criticise such a work, nor is it necessary; we have little more to do than to announce the appearance of what is certainly the most exhaustive and comprehensive work on its subject which exists in any language. It is marked by profound political insight, and by a very readable clearness of style. The publication reflects great honour on the University of Oxford, and on Mr. Tozer, the conscientious editor whom it appointed.

Dr. Lewis H. Morgan, a well-known American *savant*, has brought out a learned work,² in which he endeavours to trace the progress of humanity from the state of savagery to the dawn of civilisation. He

¹ "A History of Greece from its Conquest by the Romans to the Present Time." By George Finlay, LL.D. New Edition, revised by the Author, and edited by the Rev. H. F. Tozer, M.A. Seven Vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

² "Ancient Society." By Lewis H. Morgan, LL.D. London: Macmillan & Co.

divides the history of humanity into seven periods: three of savagery, bringing us down to the invention of the bow and arrow; three of barbarism, beginning with the use of pottery and ending with the knowledge of smelting iron; and lastly, the civilised state, which he considers to begin with the use of writing. Progress itself he divides into four heads—the growth of knowledge of the means of Subsistence, that of the idea of Government, the development of the Family, and lastly, the growth of the idea of Property and Inheritance. The second and third sections treating of the various systems of confederacy, tribe, and family, form the larger part of the work, and show evidence of a very profound study of the subject. The tribal and family relationship are thoroughly discussed; and we are supplied with much new information on the family systems of the natives of America and the Pacific Islands. Dr. Morgan's work is a valuable addition to the science of pre-historic man.

Mr. C. F. Keary, of the British Museum, has edited a small book on pre-historic man.³ The various chapters, most of which are written by the editor (the others being by A. Keary or H. M. Keary), give, in a modest style, the results of the latest additions to our knowledge of the stone age, the growth of language, village communities, and religion. It is of course impossible that all these, and other kindred subjects, should be very fully treated in a volume of 230 pages; and the specialist will find little to occupy him in this book. Mr. Keary, however, has laboured for another audience; it was his aim to put what is accepted as really known of the earliest antiquity into popular form for the benefit of the general reader; and he has performed his task with great success.

We receive a fifth edition of the first part of Max Duncker's "*Geschichte des Alterthums*." The work has been enlarged and improved by the additional knowledge acquired in the three years which have elapsed since the last edition was published. The present volume deals with the Egyptians and the Semitic peoples. Little need be said to commend a work which has already gained an European reputation.

Mr. Bosworth Smith, of Harrow School, has published an interesting volume on "*Carthage and the Carthaginians*."⁴ His work is mainly a history of the three Punic Wars, in which more than ordinary attention is paid to the less favoured first war. It contains little that is positively new. It is, however, written in a fresh and pleasant style. We have found the first chapter, a brief sketch of the life of ancient Carthage, and the last, which describes a recent visit to the ruins of the once proud capital, the most interesting parts of the volume.

³ "*The Dawn of History: an Introduction to Pre-historic Study*." Edited by C. F. Keary, M.A., of the British Museum. London: Mozley & Smith.

⁴ "*Geschichte des Alterthums*." Von Max Duncker. Band I. 5te verbesserte Auflage. Leipzig: Duncker und Humblot.

⁵ "*Carthage and the Carthaginians*." By R. Bosworth Smith, M.A., Assistant Master in Harrow School. London: Longmans & Co.

Dr. Carl Peter sends us a shorter Roman History,⁶ from the foundation of the city to the year 476 A.D., which he has written in 700 pages, for the use of the higher forms in the higher schools. The work appears to be very well adapted for its purposes, written as it is in a simple yet dignified style, and by an author who holds the highest rank among the historians of Rome. It has earned considerable success in Germany, two editions having been called for in two years.

We had the pleasure, nearly two years ago (*Westminster Review*, October, 1876), of commending the first volume of Mr. Skene's "Celtic Scotland," which had then just been published, and which, we notice, has since gained the warm approval of Dr. Pauli. We are glad now to welcome the second volume of the work,⁷ an instalment which will be found equally valuable with the first. This volume treats fully of the history of the Ancient Celtic Church, and its influence on the language and literature of the people. It is a work of the highest value; and our opinion of it is by no means to be measured by the brief mention to which we are limited here. Like almost all books which have been produced by deep and recondite labour, it can meet with no large number of readers; but our best historical scholars will be among those who will read it with admiration.

The third and last volume of Professor Stubbs' "Constitutional History of England,"⁸ has just appeared. It brings the narrative down to the accession of Henry VII., and it is hardly necessary to say that it displays the same deep investigation, and the same judicial acumen in assigning the relative importance of facts which distinguished the earlier volumes of this great work, which has already been recognised as of the epoch-making standard. So exhaustively and accurately does Professor Stubbs treat his subject that it seems hardly possible that any one can ever attempt to cover his ground again. Though it must be owned that he has brought his work down to a period at which every essential of our Constitution may be found in greater or less maturity, yet we should be glad to welcome a complementary volume commenting on the changes of direction under the Tudors and in the seventeenth century.

The second volume of Mr. Green's "History of the English People,"⁹ contains the period from the accession of Edward IV. to the death of Elizabeth. This work is, as we have before pointed out, an enlargement of the author's "Short History of the English People," which incorporates into the latter work, which is comparatively little

⁶ "Römische Geschichte in kürzerer Fassung." Von Carl Peter, Dr. der Theol. und Phil., Consistorialrath und Rector der Landesschule, Pforta, A. D. 2te verbesserte Auflage. Halle: Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses.

⁷ "Celtic Scotland; a History of Ancient Alban." By William F. Skene, Author of "The Four Ancient Books of Wales." Vol. II., "Church and Culture." Edinburgh: David Douglas.

⁸ "Constitutional History of England in its Origin and Development." By William Stubbs, M.A., Regius Professor of Modern History. Vol. III. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

⁹ "History of the English People." By John Richard Green, M.A., Honorary Fellow of Jesus' College, Oxford. London: Macmillan & Co.

altered, a considerable quantity of additional matter. It is written in a brilliant and attractive style; and will delight every student of English history. If we have any misgivings about the work it is for the many who will read it without a fair previous knowledge.

Mr. Watson Dixon is alarmed by the fact that the enemies of the clergy have of late had almost a monopoly in writing the history of England, and has accordingly devoted himself to relating the history of the Church of England¹⁰ from the Reformation, from a clerical stand-point. His first volume deals with the period between 1529 and the birth of the Prince of Wales, afterwards Edward VI., in 1537; and it would certainly be difficult to exhibit the clergy in a very dignified light during these years. The author has of course read Mr. Froude, and he seems to have read him with more attention than admiration. He is by no means disinclined to differ with him, and we know that there are those who say that Mr. Froude occasionally gives his foes the opportunity of differing with him successfully. In other words, Mr. Dixon's work appears to be intended to be a reply to Mr. Froude's history. Henry VIII., Cranmer, and Thomas Cromwell (whom, by the way, it is rather cruel to call Crumwel nowadays), are represented as unmitigated scoundrels without a redeeming point about them; even the Pope whom they opposed would be content with Mr. Dixon's language about them. The book is interesting and well-written. It is not unfair to any very great extent; but there is a tone of advocacy in it which will hinder it from taking high place.

We have received an interesting volume of "Historical Essays by the venerable Von Ranke."¹¹ The first paper, on Gonsalvi, the Minister of Pius VII., is an excellent brief history of the Papacy during the first quarter of this century. This is followed by two essays on Savonarola and Filippo Strozzi, which make a history of the rise of the Medicis. The volume ends with a paper on Don Carlos, the luckless son of Phillip II of Spain, which is printed in the form in which it originally appeared in 1829, which is, we think, a matter for regret. It is true that subsequent investigations have not yet satisfactorily solved that cruel mystery. This consummation we hardly expect until the Vatican shall have given up her treasures. It is not necessary to say that any volume by the illustrious Von Ranke is both learned and readable in the highest degree.

The second volume of Herr Gindely's "History of the Thirty Years' War"¹² describes the progress of the revolt in Bohemia during the years 1619 and 1620; and treats this portion of history with a fulness of detail with which it has never before been honoured. The author has consulted upwards of 5000 new documents merely on this small part

¹⁰ "History of the Church of England, from the Abolition of the Roman Jurisdiction." By Richard Watson Dixon, M.A., Vicar of Hayton, Honorary Canon of Carlisle. Vol. I., A.D. 1529—1537. London: Smith, Elder, & Co.

¹¹ "Historisch-biographische Studien." Von Leopold von Ranke. Leipzig: Duncker und Humblot.

¹² "Geschichte des dreissigjährigen Kruges." Von Anton Gindely. Band II. Prag: Tempsky.

of the Thirty Years' War; it is not wonderful then if he supplies us with many new facts and views. His work, if he is happy enough to complete it, will be the authority on the subject for many a long year. We notice that he expresses deep gratitude to Mr. S. R. Gardiner for assistance derived both from his books and from private kindness.

Mr. Cates has completed his translation of Merle D'Aubigné's History of the Reformation,¹³ and the eighth and last volume of the work is now before us. It deals with the course of the Reformation in Spain, in England, and in Germany between the years 1520 and 1547. There is not much to record except persecution in the case of the first-named country. In England we have Cromwell's fall and the three last marriages of his master; and in Germany the rise of the Anabaptists and the death of Luther. All is pleasantly told, but we are constantly reminded that we are reading the labours of one who writes in the spirit of the thing judged. Would that clergymen would only write on Science, or any other subject on which free opinion and speech are allowed them! Mr. Cates' translation is well done.

Dr. Ludwig Streit edits for the Scientific Series of Virchow and von Holtzendorff an interesting paper¹⁴ by Karl Kopf on Boniface, Marquis of Montferrat, King of Saloniki, and his friend Rambaut the Troubadour. It dwells on the moral character of the two men, and their relations to each, rather than on their achievements. It is quite equal in quality to the average of this excellent series.

Colonel Malleon has written a small volume¹⁵ on the "Final French Struggles for Supremacy in India;" which forms a valuable supplement to his "History of the French in India," which ended with the year 1761. The first half of the book narrates the last efforts of the French in Southern India in 1782-3; and the doings of the French war-ships and privateers in the Indian seas. We then find some lively sketches of various foreign adventures in India, among which those of de Boigne and Perron are the best. The volume ends with a sketch (which is now very opportune) of General Baird's expedition from India to support Sir Ralph Abercromby in Egypt in 1801. Although it arrived too late for active service, this expedition, which consisted of two brigades, some 6800 men in all (does history repeat itself even in details?), was transported to Egypt and back with perfect success, distinguished itself by the soldierly virtues of patience and good order, and greatly impressed the Turks. Colonel Malleon possesses the chief merits of the literary soldier—clearness and a spirited style, in the

¹³ "History of the Reformation in Europe in the time of Calvin." By the Rev. J. H. Merle D'Aubigné, D.D. Translated by William L. R. Cates. Vol. VIII. London: Longmans & Co.

¹⁴ "Bonifaz von Montferrat, der Eroberer von Constantinopel, und der Troubadour Rambaut von Vaqueiras." Von Karl Kopf, Herausgegeben von Dr. Ludwig Streit. Berlin: Carl Habel.

¹⁵ "Final French Struggles in India and on the Indian Seas." By Col. G. B. Malleon, C.S.I. London: Wm. H. Allen & Co.

highest degree, and he here has the advantage of touching on an almost unknown subject.

If one in ten of the world's great men could, like Wellington,¹⁶ claim this highest of eulogies, that the more closely he is regarded the more he is necessarily admired, how different were the historian's labour! Instead of the constant recurrence of selfish wars and intrigues, personal meanness, cruelty, intolerance, his pages would record only the movement of conscientious common sense, tempered now and then with a respectable blunder. Napoleon was glorified by people and by poets; "parlons-nous de lui, grand'mère," sang Béranger; but the publication of the great Emperor's correspondence has almost exploded the Napoleon legend. Wellington, by his aristocratic position and opinions, was little known to the masses; but he gains more and more of our admiration with each succeeding volume of his papers that we read.

"Nur zwei Tugenden giebt es: o wären sie immer vereinigt!
Ware die Gute auch gross, ware die Grösse auch gut!"

The seventh volume of the Wellington Despatches covers the period from April, 1830, to October, 1831, during the first five months of which the Duke was Prime Minister. It is the period immediately before the dawn of any of the veterans known in the flesh to the young of the present generation, save Russell, the great Reformer, who has just left us. The men who were most talked of (besides the Duke) were Canning, then lately deceased; Peel, who was a Minister; and last, but not least, Huskisson, a man who certainly promised such a future as made his melancholy and premature death a loss to his country. The chief events were the death of George IV., and the accession of his sailor brother, the "three days of July" at Paris, and, most important of all, the beginning of the actual movement for Reform. With reference to the first of these, we find the Duke careful of his duty even in small things: he keeps the Duke of Clarence, the heir to the throne, duly informed of the king's illness, but is as curt as civility would allow, and avoids seeing him, or discussing any other matters. The expulsion of the Bourbons makes him wonder, in his capacity of soldier, that the army of Paris could so easily be overpowered; but as Minister, as Tory Minister, nay, as head of a Ministry generally supposed to be unduly allied with the Bourbon-Polignac cause, he is careful not to compromise the State. He is not only ready to recognise the new French Government, but is almost inhospitable to the dethroned king when seeking refuge here. A writer in the *Times* has wisely called attention to the fact that Charles X. was only allowed to land in England after considerable delay, while Louis Philippe and the Empress Eugénie were received at once; and we may point out that Liberals were in office on the two latter occasions, while it was the good old high-and-dry, throne-and-altar, lion-and-unicorn party which hesitated over the representative of legitimacy. The questions

¹⁶ "Despatches, Correspondence, and Memoranda of Field-Marshal Arthur Duke of Wellington, K.G." Edited by his Son, the Duke of Wellington, K.G. Vol. VII. London: John Murray.

of the thrones of Greece and Belgium fill a large part of this volume ; but the interest of these discussions, engrossing as they then were, has vanished *comme les neiges d'antan*. On the question of Reform the Duke was, of course, wrong. He thought, in May, 1831, that the king's dissolution of Parliament in the preceding month, in the interest of the Reform party, was the most fatal step taken by the monarchy since Charles I. deprived himself of the power of dissolving the Long Parliament. "The Reform Bill," he writes in September, 1831, "is a measure which must destroy the power of the Government in this country ; and must occasion a revolution, and a revulsion and destruction of property." But, if he opposes it firmly, he opposes it honestly ; and neither in this nor any other instance have those who love him and his memory cause to blush. It is no small boast for them that his own papers, even private letters, the publication of which he never could have anticipated, form his highest eulogy. They are a possession for his country.

From distant Buenos Aires we receive a work¹⁷ on the chief public libraries of Europe and "la América latina," from the pen of Señor Vicente G. Quesada, director of the library of that fair city. He gives excellent descriptions of the national libraries in all the great European capitals, except, strangely enough, the splendid collection of books at St. Petersburg. It is sad to note that he is obliged to dismiss the most pregnant of all the libraries, that of the Vatican, with a very brief notice. He promises us in his second volume a special notice on the Indian Archives at Seville, which we expect to be of great value.

Mr. Taylor, formerly of Rugby, and now head-master of the Kelly College, sends an excellent school edition of Books III. and IV. of Xenophon's *Anabasis*,¹⁸ which he has brought out in continuation of the first two books, edited by him a few years ago. We are disposed to be a little jealous of the quantity of notes with which the school-boy of the period is supplied. They are too often written to order, to occupy so many pages ; they are too often valueless ; and if they do perchance contain useful information, they cannot easily be referred to. We have, however, only commendation for Mr. Taylor's work. He obviates our last objection by an index, and his notes, in great part, treat of the topography and natural history of the regions traversed, quoting later authors from Pliny to Layard, whom boys cannot be expected to know at first hand. An excellent map and convenient type and form enhance the value of the book.

A new edition of Goethe's "Egmont," with Dr. Buchheim's commentary,¹⁹ is one of the best publications of the Clarendon Press

¹⁷ "Las Bibliotecas Europeas y algunas de la América Latina, por Vicente G. Quesada, Director de la Biblioteca de Buenos Aires, &c." Tomo I. Buenos Aires : Mayo.

¹⁸ "Xenophon's *Anabasis of Cyrus*." Books III., IV., with Syntax, Notes, &c. By E. W. Taylor, M.A., Head-master of Kelly College, Tavistock, late Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. London : Rivingtons.

¹⁹ "Egmont : a Tragedy by Goethe. Edited, with English Notes, &c., by C. A. Buchheim, Ph.D., F.O.P. Oxford : Clarendon Press.

Series. It contains a long critical analysis, an excellent historical introduction, and some eighty pages of really learned notes, philological and historical. Probably most of those who have had as much experience as Dr. Buchheim in teaching German to Englishmen, find that the power of translating German into our language is a more difficult and rare accomplishment than is generally supposed and that there is ample need of all the very solid assistance given by the editor in this work. Much will be learned from these notes even by the most advanced student of German.

Messrs. Hachette publish, under the editorship of M. Jules Bué, of Oxford, three sets²⁰ of corresponding idioms, in French, German, and English, respectively. These books ought, we think, to kill off the wretched dialogue-books which are still to be found in ladies' schools and some country boys' schools, and most of which, however gaudily bound, are of almost antediluvian antiquity, as may be seen from the "150th edition" of the title-page, the miserable type, the stupidity of the dialogues, and, especially, from the chapters on travelling by steam-boat and railway, which are always "added" at the end, and which prove the book to have been composed at some period between the invention of wheeled carriages and that of the steam-engine. The phrases in these books are modern and well chosen. The dialogue varies as needed, unlike the old books which, having devoted ten pages to a conversation "with a shoemaker," thought it necessary to devote an exactly equal space to the hatter, the tailor, the chocolate-maker, and perhaps to the candlestick-maker, respectively. Each of the versions appears to us to be thoroughly well and carefully done.

From Messrs. Remington and Co. we receive a "Chronological Guide to English Literature,"²¹ by Mr. E. Nicholson. It consists of a full chronological table of our chief writers, with the titles of their principal works, followed by brief critical notes on the chief works in English literature. The book is short and clear, and seems accurate. It will be found handy for reference, but its chief end is to help those whom the Civil Service Commissioners compel to pretend to a thorough knowledge of English literature as a mere fragment of their knowledge before they are twenty years old, and it will doubtless aid them materially in keeping up the illusion so dear to the Commissioners.

In the series of primers edited by Mr. J. R. Green, Professor A. S. Wilkins has published a little treatise on "Roman Antiquities,"²² which is wonderfully exhaustive for the size of the book; though (as we have often said with reference to these "Primers") we cannot imagine who

²⁰ "Class-Book of Comparative Idioms." French and English Parts by Jules Bué, Hon. M.A. of Oxford, and W. Collett Sanders German Part by Dr. Theodor Wehe, Principal German Master in Dulwich College, and Professor R. Lennheim. London: Hachette & Co.

²¹ "Chronological Guide to English Literature." By E. Nicholson. London: Remington & Co.

²² "History and Literature Primers." Edited by J. R. Green. "Roman Antiquities," by A. S. Wilkins, M.A., Owens College, Manchester.

would expect to learn much of ancient Roman life from a book of 126 small pages.

Professor Dowden's little work on "Shakspeare"²³ (in the same series), is not open to the same objection. Much that is useful and instructive may be said about Shakspeare in 160 pages, and millions read Shakspeare who have not the time or power to study even so small a commentary as this. Dr. Dowden's little book is full of excellent critical and biographical matter.

The iconoclastic spirit rages among the historical writers of the present day. Signor Bertolotti²⁴ sends us a work on the "Cenci Family," originally published in the *Rivista Europea*, which dissolves some of the dearest illusions of the British public. From our earliest years we have always opined that Shelley's Cenci *père* was not such a character as Shakspeare would have drawn: but it is not without surprise that we read, on apparently irrefragable evidence, that Francesco Cenci was a comparatively respectable man who had to contend with great difficulties. His first misfortune was that he was the legitimised bastard of a priest. That he was of a violent disposition is certain; and he was accused, not on the best of evidence, of unnatural crimes. By his first wife he had a dozen children, a fact which will certainly tell in his favour in this country. He did not put this wife away in order to marry another, as has been asserted. On the contrary, he remained a widower for nine years after her death. Born in 1527, he married Ersilia Santa Croce, who bore him the large family above mentioned, and died in 1584. She was probably a good and wise woman, who kept a violent husband in bounds; for it is only after her death that we find him charged with a disorderly life. In 1593 he married Lucrezia Velli, a widow, who was subsequently executed with her stepson and stepdaughter for his murder. All Francesco's children seem to have turned out ill; and he was a severe and exacting father. Beatrice, his youngest daughter, was very closely secluded; in spite of this fact, however, Signor Bertolotti proves beyond a doubt from her own will that she became the mother of an illegitimate child. The murder of Francesco was apparently perpetrated for the lowest of selfish motives, and, though for a time unsuspected, was duly punished by the ordinary process of law. Beatrice, who was twenty-three years of age when she was executed with her brother and stepmother, seems from her will and its codicils, one of which has only recently come to light, to have been a clever and thoughtful woman of business habits. Not satisfied with exposing her true character. Signor Bertolotti proceeds to show that we are deceived even in the famous picture said to have been painted from her by Guido Reni. He argues that Guido Reni did not work in Rome until seven or eight years after the death of Beatrice; and that there are

²³ "Shakspeare," by Edward Dowden, LL.D., Professor of English Literature in the University of Dublin. London: Macmillan & Co.

²⁴ "Francesco Cenci e la Famiglia, Notizie e documenti raccolti, per A. Bertolotti." Firenze: Tipografia della Gazzetta d'Italia.

extant catalogues of the Barberini Gallery (in which the picture in question has notoriously been preserved) of the years 1604 and 1623, neither of which mentions any picture of the Cenci, nor even any work by Guido Reni.

"Trovo invece *una madonna in abito egiziano* di Paolo da Verona, il qual quadro potrebbe spiegare il turbante, che tiene in capo il ritratto, il quale un poeta, come ben osserva il mio amico, W. Wyl, pel primo attribuì a Beatrice Cenci. È noto come Guido Reni fosse solito di augurarsi il pennello di Paolo Veronese."

Rarely has a story been more completely annihilated than the conventional Cenci legend has by Signor Bertolotti's convincing essay.

Mr. Thomas Craddock sends us an Essay on the life and works of the unhappy J. J. Rousseau.²⁵ The work proves a careful and minute study of what its subject said of himself, and of much that has been said of him by others; and its conclusions are generally just and well-grounded. He has not, however, supplied us with much that is new. He says that the life of Rousseau has yet to be written; but the account of his own pitiable character which Rousseau himself has given, severer on himself than any other writer could have been, will probably be repulsive enough to deter any biographer from the unpleasant task. Mr. Craddock's book is pleasantly written, and ought to be largely read by the general public.

The veteran Mr. Trelawny has brought out an enlarged edition²⁶ of his "Records of Shelley, Byron, and Himself," which were first published twenty years ago. It is a volume of fascinating interest, and of great historic value, as written by the man who saw much of the two great poets at the close of their lives. There is not very much to be said of a book which has been so much read for a score of years. We may, however, note that the author, although he admires Shelley as much as the most enthusiastic of his worshippers, is not blind to his faults, or to those of his surroundings. He can see the selfishness of Leigh Hunt and Godwin, the ordinary character of the second Mrs. Shelley, and the occasional absurdities of her husband. Trelawny evidently liked Byron far less than Shelley. The talk of these two poets, as is generally the case with everything of which one forms very high expectations, is disappointing, as recorded here. It is indeed often trivial and dull, only occasionally enlivened by a little rhapsodical nonsense from Shelley. Mr. Trelawny's account of Shelley's death is somewhat at variance with that given recently by Mr. Barnett Smith, who seems aggrieved by this fact, as his narrative is supported by what he calls the highest living authority; it is, however, fair to say that Mr. Trelawny all but saw Shelley drowned, and saw his body as soon as it came ashore, which is more than Shelley's living representatives

²⁵ "Rousseau as described by Himself and Others; with Remarks and Explanations by Thomas Craddock." London: Arthur Hall & Co.

²⁶ "Records of Shelley, Byron, and the Author." By Edward John Trelawny. 2 vols. London: B. M. Pickering.

saw. The latter part of the work, narrating the daring adventures of the author during the war of Greek Independence, is very exciting, and is by far the most wholesome part of the book.

Mr. Trevelyan has done well in publishing a cheap edition of his excellent biography of Lord Macaulay.²⁷ It was our pleasant duty, when this work first appeared, to speak of it at great length in the most favourable terms (*Westminster Review*, July, 1876). We have by no means altered our opinion of it; and as we consider Lord Macaulay to have been not only a very great man, but one of the few who rise in our esteem the more closely they are regarded, we are glad to see his life published at a price which places it in the reach of moderate purses. In addition to the lofty spirit which Macaulay's life breathes, there is much in his career to stimulate and encourage to exertion; and for this reason his biography will be found a very valuable present for young people. The present edition is in two handsome volumes, printed in good-sized type.

An abridgment of Mr. Pole's "Life of Sir William Fairbairn"²⁸ has just been published. We had occasion (*Westminster Review*, April, 1877) to speak of the original work last year. The present volume appears to be a judicious selection; and we are well pleased to see the record of an encouraging career brought within reach of the young and of the non-wealthy.

Mr. Smiles' "Life of the late Mr. George Moore"²⁹ is not one that will add greatly to his well-earned distinction. Mr. Moore was a by no means extraordinary man, who came to London, a boy, with a little more than the traditional half-crown, and by dint of hard work and uprightness attained great wealth, a large part of which he spent in wise charity. In such a life there is seldom much that it is necessary to record; and in the earlier parts of such a life there is often much that it is better to forget. In the present work, for instance, we are told of certain devices which Moore practised when a commercial traveller, to extort orders from tradesmen. The career of a bagman allows little scope for dignity, perhaps; but some of the incidents here recorded, apparently with approval, are positively offensive, and tend to lower our opinion of one who was doubtless a good and beneficent man. Somewhat late in life, Mr. Moore became a religious man; and his main efforts, when he became wealthy, were in aid of religious education. A thousand pounds, which he had promised conditionally on religious instruction being given, appear to have had a most stimulating effect on the piety of the founders of the City Middle-Class Schools. One reverend gentleman (we believe we are only assigning credit to the deserving when we say that it was the Rev. W. Rogers,

²⁷ "Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay." By his Nephew, G. O. Trevelyan, M.P. New edition, 2 vols. London: Longmans & Co.

²⁸ "Life of Sir William Fairbairn, Bart." Edited by William Pole. Abridged edition. London: Longmans & Co.

²⁹ "George Moore, Merchant and Philanthropist." By Samuel Smiles, LL.D. London: George Routledge & Sons.

famous as the chief governor of Dulwich College), being probably unaware of Mr. Moore's offer, tastefully proposed to "hang theology and get to work at once." This was done; and accordingly Mr. Moore declined to pay the thousand pounds. It is unnecessary to say that the clerics were ready to do any amount of prayer, &c., when it was found that Mr. Moore stuck to his point. Altogether, Mr. Moore's life offers nothing for our contemplation or imitation. He worked hard, made money, liked to associate with bishops and parsons, and to take the chair while Dr. Percival, Dr. Jex Blake, or the Archbishop of York were making speeches; gave away liberal sums of money, and was perhaps rather intolerant. We see no use in writing a big volume about such a career, unless it encourages apprentices to read how much money a lucky man can make. For our part we do not consider the wealthy trader class one that it is necessary or desirable to increase or to imitate. There is not a thought or phrase of Mr. Moore's that is worth perpetuating; and, excellent man as he was, we regret that he has occupied so much of Mr. Smiles' useful time.

In Ellice Hopkins' *Life of the eminent Aural Surgeon, James Hinton*,³⁰ we have a most admirable record of the life and thoughts of a deep and cultivated thinker. James Hinton's life extended from 1822 to 1875, and was only too short. He did not amass a large fortune, nor did he wish to do so. A scientific man, in full work as a practising surgeon, he yet gave the best strength of his mind to philosophy, and true religion was the main subject of his thought. The editor has, with wisdom and good taste, drawn largely upon his letters, as the best authorities for a picture of the man. As it is a book with which we wish the thoughtful reader to become acquainted, we shall say nothing of it except that it is to be read; and we cannot enforce this advice better than by a few extracts. On the Atonement, in 1851, he writes:—

"I don't pretend to understand the nature, &c., of the atonement, or to wish you to believe one thing or another about it, but I sincerely trust you won't adopt *other people's* opinions on that subject. Hold *your own* opinion on that subject and all others, and don't let any one's logic shake it. Nothing is easier, and, in my opinion, nothing is false than that kind of liberality in which Mr. — appears so to rejoice. . . . I have been as *liberal* as any man, and know what it means. *Examine* the doctrine, if you please, as thoroughly as you like, but I hoped I had convinced you before now that *logic* can prove anything. If Mr. — can raise a thousand insuperable objections to the commonly received views of the atonement, I will be bound I could raise at least as many against any other."

In 1865:—

"The other thing I wanted to say to you was in reference to your expression, 'It is such a terrible thing not to believe.' I don't think it is. To my feeling it is not true—as you mean it. It is often not terrible, but most right

³⁰ "Life and Letters of James Hinton." Edited by Ellice Hopkins. London: C. Kegan Paul & Co.

and good not to believe. . . . Nothing is 'terrible' that is the true and legitimate result of our best trying, and that truly expresses our nature.

"I find the Bible the secret of all truth; all I truly know I derive from it; and yet I would say to every man, 'Don't believe the Bible if you cannot see clearly that it is true. Deal truly, boldly by it.'"

Hinton would have been persecuted by the authorities of almost every sect that has ever existed, if it had had the power; and yet almost any sect of Christians would gladly claim him. He was indeed a man far above sect, and will be respected and admired by many who do not hold his views.

Mr. G. W. Abbott puts forth a volume of "Reminiscences of the Life of an Octogenarian."¹ The words on his title-page, "first series," imply that there is more to come. We would fain cry, "Hold, enough!" The venerable autobiographer's revelations consist almost exclusively of old anecdotes and theatrical memoranda. The book is dull and absolutely valueless, and might have been written by a boy of eighteen, who had a file of a theatrical paper and a Joe Miller.

Dr. Reinhard Mosen sends us a brief sketch of the life of his father, the dramatist, Julius Mosen.² It is an interesting little paper, written with modesty and good taste.

Mr. Hope's book on the "Heroes of Young America,"³ is a book for boys. As far as it attempts to make our rising generation acquainted with the history of that country with which their chief concern will be, we welcome the book. We could, however, have wished that Mr. Hope had spent a little more toil and criticism on his labours, in which case he would have said less about Capt. John Smith and the Princess Pocohontas of Brentford.

BELLES LETTRES.

THE first story of "The Cheveley Novels" has come to an end. We have had to read through much nonsense in the shape of novels, but such nonsense as "The Modern Minister" we have certainly never before encountered. "Ouida's" high-flown nonsense is bad enough by itself, but when, in addition to "Ouida's" nonsense, we have the sentimental nonsense of Bulwer Lytton, the worst comic nonsense of Dickens, and the writer's own original nonsense, we must certainly have arrived at the very worst novel ever written. Once or twice we have suspected that the whole story was a hoax, and that the writer was simply trying how much absurdity the British public would

¹ "Events in the Life of an Octogenarian." By George Washington Abbott. London: Remington & Co.

² "Julius Mosen, eine biographische Skizze." Oldenburg: Schutz.

³ "The Heroes of Young America." By Ascott R. Hope. London: Edward Stanford.

⁴ "The Modern Minister: The Cheveley Novels." Parts X., XI., XII., XIII. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons. 1878.

swallow and the reviewers praise. Of the story we can really give no account. Sometimes the writer reminds us of Wilkie Collins, sometimes of Miss Braddon, but chiefly of "Ouida" and Bulwer Lytton; but always in their very worst style and most extravagant moods. Sometimes we have wondered whether "The Modern Minister" could possibly be meant as an elaborate satire upon the popular novelists of the day. Certainly, if "Ouida," Wilkie Collins, Miss Braddon, and, we may even add, Mr. Anthony Trollope, wish to see their own worst faults and extravagances, they should study the pages of the first of "The Cheveley Novels." This, however, is certainly not the author's intention. He evidently knows what the uneducated middle-class public like, and he gives them plenty of their favourite reading. Comment upon a book like "The Modern Minister" is useless. Whether critics praise it or not, it will be followed by some other story equally pretentious and silly, and that again by another, until the tale of "The Cheveley Novels" is exhausted. We need not, however, be surprised at the success of such a book as "The Modern Minister." Within the last twenty years a new class of readers, composed chiefly of the daughters of successful middle-class people, wealthy tradesmen, merchants, and manufacturers, has sprung up. They are totally uneducated in their tastes, but they are frantic to read anything about so-called high life. They take in "Society" journals, collect the autographs of the nobility, and rush wherever a great person, that is, a titled person, is to be seen. These are the people who delight in such a book as "The Modern Minister." And as long as such people exist "The Cheveley Novels" will continue to be written.

The author of "Culmshire Folk" most decidedly made his mark on the literature of the day by that book. He at one step took rank amongst the leading novelists; and he obtained his place by what may be called fair means. His book possessed no meretricious attractions. Its merits were of an honest kind, truthful descriptions, quiet humour, good sense, and no small power of character drawing. "John Orlebar, Clerk,"³ is, however, a most distinct advance upon "Culmshire Folk." It is a novel which touches—slightly, it is true, but still very plainly—upon the great religious and scientific controversy of the day. This, however, is done in the most guarded manner. The various types of clergymen are fairly, and we must add, most charitably represented. The hero of the story, John Orlebar, the Broad Churchman, is no immaculate being. He fails more than once both to control his temper and even his hand. Canon Grimshawe, the type of all that is narrow-minded and hateful in the modern Evangelical school, is no mere target at which the author may fire his sarcasms, but a living human being, such as we have, unfortunately, too often encountered in the country. Good, conscientious Bishop Friselle, too, is excellently drawn, and might, we think, stand as a very good likeness of a certain well-known Church dignitary. Nor must we forget

³ "John Orlebar, Clerk." By the Author of "Culmshire Folk." London: Smith, Elder & Co. 1878.

amongst the parsons that most terrible of beings, the she-parson, as represented by the Bishop's wife. The laymen, too, are sketched with equal observation. First of all comes Pakenham, the country doctor, with his sterling common sense. But a man like Pakenham is even more rare amongst country doctors than Orlebar amongst country rectors. The country doctor is, as a rule, far below Pakenham's standard. We fear that there are few country doctors who could hold their own against the rector in the way Pakenham does in the second chapter, and who would dare to tell him plainly: "You, the clergy, have bent your backs, and bowed your heads, whilst the great wave of scientific knowledge has swept over you, and left you stranded" (p. 21). Amongst the other characters we must not forget Twinch, the rascally attorney. He is decidedly the most genuine villain whom we have for a long time met in fiction; and we cannot compliment the author too highly for such a thoroughly original study. With him, too, may pair off his old clerk, Snall, a character also evidently taken from life. Then we have a number of delightful minor personages, of whom we only just catch glimpses; but glimpses sufficient to show us the truthfulness of the author's drawing, such as old General Vernon, who, when Bishop Friselle expresses a hope that they may both meet his lodge-keeper in heaven, replies: "On my soul and credit, I'd rather not. I—I—I'd very much prefer being down with the lower orders here in this world" (p. 149). Nor must we forget the chorus of villagers, who utter such wonderfully witty things. The only fault we have to find is that their sayings are a great deal too witty. We have seen many churchwardens, waywardens, parish clerks, and sextons, both sober and drunk, and in every stage between those two states, but we have never heard them utter such brilliant sarcasms as stud the pages of "John Orlebar." In fact, their sarcasms in real life generally take the practical form of flinging some article at one another's heads instead of producing anything out of them, except it be a curse. It was George Eliot who first set the fashion of making rustics speak in epigrams, and of representing their village pothouses as a kind of Socratic symposium. Her example has been followed by Mr. Hardy and other novelists, until the rustic is now represented as a brilliant wit instead of the dull, loutish sot which he really is. For our own part we think that there is much to be said in favour of General Vernon's objection against meeting such people in heaven or anywhere else. In "John Orlebar," however, the village clerk is wittier than the witty rector himself. When the rector turns a donkey out from feeding in the churchyard, he is met with such a knock-me-down sarcasm as this from his clerk: "He is a miserly screw who would not give even Nebuchadnezzar a mouthful of grass when he wanted it" (p. 48). When a subscription was got up to buy a horse and carriage for the rector, the clerk pulls out a halfpenny and declares, "If that coin would purchase for Orlebar the reversionary interest in the fiery chariot that took the prophet up to heaven, he wouldn't give it" (p. 54). As far as our experience goes, ninety-nine village clerks out of a hundred could not spell reversionary, much less give an explanation of its meaning. However,

we shall not quarrel with the author of "John Orlebar" for being too witty. It is, indeed, a rare fault. But we would point out to him that such a really smart dialogue upon the efficacy of prayer as at pages 50 and 51 is to a certain extent lost, from an artistic point of view. A slightly different setting would have given it a higher value and quality. Further, we certainly have never met with any rustics who entertained the slightest doubts about the efficacy of prayer. Scepticism of this sort is really confined to the educated and scientific classes. As knowledge increases, and the fact that the world is governed by law is recognised, the value of prayer for rain or for fine weather, or recovery from sickness, will, we have no doubt, be called in question by even the bucolic mind. But it is "long cry" to such a state of things. The fact, however, that such a question should be raised in a novel like "John Orlebar," shows which way the wind is blowing. Throughout the book there are passages which very clearly indicate that the scientific explanation of nature is fast gaining ground upon the old theological conceptions. A novel like "John Orlebar," in which the writer knows his ground well, and in which there is no animosity displayed against the clergy as clergy, is far more likely to set men's minds thinking than the most elaborate attack upon the Church. How light the writer's touch is may be seen by the following description: "The Bishop said grace, placing his hands lovingly over the covered dish, as though he were about to confirm it" (p. 130). Equally happy is the way in which, on the next page, the Bishop talks of John Bunyan as "a tinsmith," feeling that the word tinker is hardly suitable for episcopal lips. Again, too, how happily, in a moment of irritation, the Bishop says, a few pages further on, of Canon Grimshawe: "If he'd keep out of print I wouldn't so much mind. Like Demosthenes, he carries a dose of poison about with him in his quill; but, unfortunately, he does not, like Demosthenes, kill himself with it" (p. 134). The individualities of all the clergy who come to the palace are all characteristically hit off. We are, however, sorry to see one or two old clerical jokes introduced. The author has no need to borrow from anybody. In conclusion, we would recommend "John Orlebar" to all our readers, not merely as an amusing story, but as a thoughtful study of some of the most important religious questions of the time—questions which are every day growing into greater and greater importance, and which cannot long be evaded by the clergy. John Orlebar himself feels this, and he resigns holy orders because "the old breastworks will not stand the on-coming assault" (p. 288).

Novels seem to be more abundant than ever this quarter. If the quantity has increased, the quality certainly has not improved. "Like Dian's Kiss" is a sentimental story, which however, improves as it proceeds. Far better is Mrs. Hunt's "The Hazard of the Die."

³ "Like Dian's Kiss." A Novel. By "Rita," Author of "Vivienne," &c. &c. London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle, & Rivington. 1878.

⁴ "The Hazard of the Die." By Mrs. Alfred W. Hunt, Author of "Thornicroft's Novel," "Under Seal of Confession," "This Incenture Witnesseth," &c. &c. London: Hurst & Blackett. 1878.

As in all her stories, a vein of delicate humour marks the reflective portions, whilst the characters are clearly marked. Mrs. Hunt has decidedly made a great advance in this respect in her art. The Yorkshire dialect, we may add, is particularly well done, and gives a true local colouring. We can strongly recommend this carefully written story. Mrs. Perkis' is not Mrs. Hunt's equal in literary power nor workmanship, and lacks her humour; but her tale may be recommended to those who love a fair amount of sensation, and like to see the hero duly rewarded at the end.

Amongst other novels, we may particularise Mr. J. Masterman's "Worth Waiting For," which does not belie its title. Mr. Masterman is already well known in literature; but the name of Mrs. Alfred Phillips' is new to us. Her novel, however, does not bear the marks which most first tales carry with them. Her scenes are evidently drawn from life, and Mr. Grimshaw and Mr. Heathcote strike us as being very fairly hit off. "Holme Lee" is always readable, and we can recommend "Straightforward" to all young ladies as a very good specimen of her stories. "Ashford" is a novel in one volume, which forms pleasant enough reading for a single evening. "Proud Maisie"¹⁰ has, as is necessary, both go and dash.

Besides all these novels of home manufacture, we have a quantity of translations from German and other sources. We cannot think that this ordinary German novel will suit English readers. Professor Eber's "Homo Sum,"¹¹ however, must not be classed amongst ordinary novels. It appears to be excellently translated by Mrs. Bell. There is a run just now upon Werner. Two ladies have lately translated "Am Altar," of which Miss Ness's readable version¹² is before us. The "Lawyer's Nose"¹³ is hardly worth translating.

Mr. F. J. Wishaw's "Loves of the Flowers"¹⁴ might be more appropriately entitled Hatred of Science. This is the way in which he addresses Science,—

⁵ "In a World of His Own." By Mrs. Frederick E. Perkis, Author of "Disappeared from Home." London: Remington & Co. 1878.

⁶ "Worth Waiting For." By J. Masterman, Author of "Half-a-Dozen Daughters," &c., &c. London: C. Kegan Paul. 1878.

⁷ "Benedicta." By Mrs. Alfred Phillips. London: Macmillan & Co.

⁸ "Straightforward." By Holme Lee. Author of "Sylvan Holt's Daughter," "This Work-a-Day World," &c. &c. London: Smith, Elder, & Co. 1878.

⁹ "Ashford" A Novel. By Anne Blount. London: Remington & Co. 1878.

¹⁰ "Proud Maisie." By Bertha Thomas. London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle, and Rivington. 1878.

¹¹ "Homo Sum." A Novel. By George Ebers, Author of "The Egyptian Princess," "Hada," &c., &c. From the German, by Clara Bell. London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle, and Rivington. 1878.

¹² "Sacred Vows." By E. Werner, Author of "Success, and How He Won It." Translated by Bertha Ness. London: Remington & Co. 1878.

¹³ "The Lawyer's Nose." By Edmond About. Translated by J. E. Maitland. London: Remington & Co. 1878.

¹⁴ "Loves of the Flowers," &c. By F. J. Wishaw. London: Provoost & Co. 1878.

"Shriek thou on
Thy clamorous lies—for but a cur thou art,
That yelpst at the unattainable moon!
Howl on! thy yelpings shall not reach the sky."—p. 33.

If Science cannot reach the sky, Mr. F. J. Wishaw has apparently done so, for he tells his reviewers,—

"When I sing,
Look up, ye humble critics; never dare
Except look up to me and my carolling."—p. 35.

To all this we can only reply in the language of one, whom Mr. Wishaw has probably never read: "That though the pride of Science may be great, it is nothing when compared to the pride of Ignorance."

It is very unfortunate that so many good and amiable people will mistake mere goodness for poetry. Mere good feeling will no more make poetry than it will bake a quartern loaf. Here, for instance, is the "*Tropic Bird*,"¹⁵ a volume of nearly two hundred pages, evidently written by an amiable and cultivated person, but which does not contain one single original idea. Further, the writer dooms himself to failure when he selects such subjects as "The Dry Season," "The Epidemic," and "During the Epidemic." Nothing short of the highest genius could raise such themes into the region of poetry.

"*Bay Leaves*"¹⁶ is a weak, sentimental book, dedicated to Sir George Nares, who is invoked as the "Noble Nares." Sir George Nares must, we think, feel Miss Hall's flattery more keenly than all the censures which he has received from the press. Not content with publishing her own poems, Miss Hall reprints some gushing extracts from *The Daily Telegraph*. The cover is fit for the dish.

We do not pretend to understand Mr. G. P. Putnam's "*Prometheus*."¹⁷ His own explanation, however, is "In the Evolution of Life, Jove represents the beginning of the power of Free-Will, but Free-Will seeking solely self-aggrandisement. Prometheus symbolises Moral Insight. . . . Man is the power of Free-Will, consecrated in "the long result of Time" to the good of all. For our own part, we should have imagined that such a thorny subject might have been better treated in prose than in verse. We can, however, say that Mr. Putnam writes with a great deal of vigour, has a good command of both metre and rhythm, and a large vocabulary of words upon which to draw.

For many reasons we gladly welcome Mr. Gosse's "*The Unknown Lover*."¹⁸ Before, however, we speak of the play itself, let us call

¹⁵ "*The Tropic Bird: His Flight and his Notes*." London: Smith, Elder, & Co. 1878.

¹⁶ "*Bay Leaves*." A Tribute to England's Heroes. By E. Garnett Hall. London: Provoost & Co. 1878.

¹⁷ "*Prometheus*." A Poem. By S. P. Putnam. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1877.

¹⁸ "*The Unknown Lover*." A Drama for Private Acting. With an Essay on the Chamber Drama in England. London: Chatto & Windus. 1878.

attention to the preface. It deals with a subject which has often been touched upon in these pages, the divorce of literature from the stage. Nobody, we suppose, would imagine that the next century will read the plays that are now acted in our theatres. All Lacy's acting editions will by that time have long since disappeared, and become rarer than a Shakspeare quarto. Mr. Gosse, however, calls attention to this remarkable fact, that although the poet has ceased to write for the stage, he has still not ceased to write dramas. This will always be the case. The drama is the highest form of poetry. By it the poet can best sound and delineate those passions which make life. Mr. Gosse very rightly observes: "So far from possessing no poetic drama, our own age has been very rich in works that range from the reflective and rambling monodramas of Sydney Dobell to the brief, brisk tragedies of Richard Hengist Horne." But these plays are written for a very different class of persons to those who go to see Joan of Arc burnt alive on the stage, or a cascade of real water, or even a real cab. The plays which enjoy the greatest run possess the least real literary power—that is to say, literary power in its highest manifestations. Many of them are undoubtedly very clever. But as Mr. Gosse says, "If we read them next day, we wonder that so slight a structure and so threadbare a talent could have moved us so to laughter." Now what is the remedy for the present state of things? Perhaps we may have read more into Mr. Gosse's words than he intends to say. But if we understand him rightly, he would find an opening for the poetic talent of the day in the chamber drama. He points out how Daniel wrote his tragi-comedies for performance at the mansion of his patron; how Jonson wrote his masques for private representation, and how even Milton wrote that noblest of all masques, "Comus," for the children of the Earl of Bridgewater. Driven away from the stage, Apollo and the Muses may in these days find a second refuge in the houses of the rich. We think very much might be said in favour of Mr. Gosse's suggestion. Far more unlikely things have come to pass. Of Mr. Gosse's own chamber drama we must speak more briefly than we could wish. Mr. Gosse possesses, as we have before stated in the pages of this *Review*, what is so rare, real dramatic power. He understands what is the first requisite of a play. The action with him never lags. All is movement. Further, Mr. Gosse possesses lyrical power and sweetness. If ever the chamber drama comes into fashion, and the masque is revived in a rare form, one of its principal elements will most certainly be song. Mr. Gosse, we need scarcely add, is one of the most charming song-writers of the day. His power has not failed him in "The Unknown Lover." The song at the end of the Second Act is almost worthy of Ben Jonson himself. But Mr. Gosse has not taken Ben Jonson entirely as his model. Some of the other songs, such as that which closes the Third Act, have a more modern air, and proclaim their century. Every one who has at heart the welfare of the drama will welcome Mr. Gosse's play; and if ever private plays and masques should become fashionable, our thanks will

most certainly be due to Mr. Gosse, who has made so successful a beginning with "The Unknown Lover."

We have pleasant recollections of Lady Middleton's former volume of poems.¹⁹ Lady Middleton possesses many of the qualities which make a poet, a deep love for Nature in all her many forms, a lyrical sweetness, and no little fancy and imagination. We should be glad to prove our statement by some quotations from her new volume, but our space is unfortunately too limited. Lady Middleton, like all the poets of the day, has her say against Science. In return, we would ask her to read Mr. J. E. Taylor's work upon flowers, which has just been published, in which Darwin's views are popularised, and we think that the very first page will make her look with still more loving wonder on that very bramble, upon which she has written so beautiful a ballad; and if she will then turn to the last paragraph in Darwin's "Origin of Species," beginning, "It is interesting to contemplate a tangled bank," she will, we think, for the future, look with even still greater reverence on all those flowers and birds and forms of life, which she so evidently loves, and whose beauty she so well interprets.

"A Handful of Honeysuckles"²⁰ is as pretty and as sweet as its title. One or two of the pieces, such as "A Dialogue," and especially "In Apollo's Garden," are very quaint and charming. If this is a first production, and the writer is young, great things may be expected from her. She has, however, much to learn in the way of self-restraint. She is too apt to make mere fancy do the duty of thought.

Of the remaining volumes of poetry we must speak briefly. Mr. Goruch's "Life Thoughts"²¹ is a very fair sample of that kind of poetry which most educated men could produce. They, however, know that such poetry is not wanted. The world is already overstocked with it. "Meta Orred's" poems²² rise somewhat above this level of mediocrity. We can, however, find nothing distinctively original in her poems. "A Blossom of Lilies" shows a love for Nature and an unusual command of language. We would not for one moment say that such poems ought not to be written; but we are doubtful as to the propriety of publishing them. The writer is sure to be disappointed at their want of popularity, and will probably blame the critics. "Meta Orred" should remember that in these days nothing short of real genius can attract notice. To take a place in the second rank in

¹⁹ "Ballads." By the Lady Middleton. Author of "On the North Wind—Thistle-down." London: C. Kegan Paul & Co. 1878.

²⁰ "A Handful of Honeysuckles." By A. Mary F. Robinson. London: C. Kegan Paul & Co. 1878.

²¹ "Life Thoughts and Lays from History." By Benjamin Goruch, B.A. London: Provost & Co. 1878.

²² "Berthold and other Poems." By Meta Orred. London: Smith, Elder, & Co. 1878.

poetry, is virtually to fail. "Sybil"²³ is an ambitious performance. Some of the blank verse is not without strength, and some of the lyrics not without sweetness. "Poems and Transcripts"²⁴ may be looked upon as a special product of the nineteenth century. It is evidently the production of a most refined and cultivated man. We fear, however, that it will not attain the popularity which it deserves. Reviewers will probably pass it by, unnoticed amongst the mass of rubbish which loads their tables. Its fault appears to us to lie in a certain amateurish tone, which is generally fatal to popularity. Some of the translations are particularly good.

Mr. Browning's new volume²⁵ of poetry comes to us rather late in the day, and it seems ungracious to notice it at the fag-end of our reviews. Mr. Browning has never courted favour with the vulgar, and we do not suppose that he will win it either by "La Saisiaz; or, the Two Poets of Croisic." Yet in this volume are to be found some of the sweetest lyrics which Mr. Browning has given the world for many a year, and which ought at once to reach the popular ear. Few songs in English poetry strike a higher note than

" Good, to forgive ;
Best to forget !
Living we fret,
Dying, we live."

Few tales were ever more daintily told than how the grasshopper supplied the missing note, when one of the strings of the minstrel's lyre broke. Few descriptions of Nature are so beautifully interwoven with the story, making a part of it from which it cannot be taken away more than an eye from the human face, than that description of Spring, at the beginning of "La Saisiaz." And yet the volume will, we fancy, be neither popular with learned or unlearned. As to the metaphysical discussion in this piece, the unlearned will not understand it, and the learned will think that poetry is hardly the vehicle for such subtleties.

Mr. Stokes' "An Attempt to Determine the Chronological Order of Shakspeare's Plays,"²⁶ is the Harness Prize Essay for 1877. It differs from most prize essays. We do not feel that the subject has been "got up" for the occasion. The author is a genuine Shakspearian, in the best sense of that much abused term. He has been attracted by a love for the author to his subject, and not by the subject to the author. Further, Mr. Stokes is free from any crotchet. He does not

²³ "Sybil; or, the Last of the Barons." An Historical Drama. In Three Acts. By M. A. Lee. London: Remington & Co. 1878.

²⁴ "Poems and Transcripts." By Eugene Lee-Hamilton. William Blackwood & Sons: London and Edinburgh. 1878.

²⁵ "La Saisiaz: the Two Poets of Croisic." By Robert Browning. London: Smith, Elder, & Co. 1870.

²⁶ "An Attempt to Determine the Chronological Order of Shakspeare's Plays." (The Harness Essay, 1877.) By the Rev. Henry Paine Stokes, B.A.. London: Macmillan & Co. 1878.

set himself to prove any particular point. He very rightly says that few things are so interesting as watching the process of the development of the mind of a great man as seen in his works. This is his general text. In Shakspeare's case we are, however, met with so many difficulties. Poems, and especially dramas, are not written—they grow. We know the exact dates of Milton's poems and Turner's pictures, but we know not how long they were growing and maturing. An artist sketches a design for a picture, and finds it beyond his strength, and lays it aside to take it up again he knows not when. Scott lights upon "Ivanhoe" in an old drawer, put away and forgotten, and finishes it after a long interval. Shakspeare's only son dies, and the poet records his woe, so the commentators say, and most probably rightly, in "King John." A few things like this we may know, but much must forever remain unknown. Probably the poet himself could not tell the dates. The difficulties which Mr. Stokes finds in settling the date of "Troilus and Cressida," meet us more or less in every play. The dates of a few of them may be settled. But about the majority we must use very wide generalities. We should not think of reviewing Mr. Stokes' elaborate work. It has already received the best criticism which it can ever have, the approbation of Mr. Aldis Wright and Mr. Lumby, the two examiners for the Harness Prize.

After Mr. Stokes' work we may fitly notice the two new volumes of Shakspeare's plays, edited by Mr. Aldis Wright.²⁷ ²⁸ We have often expressed an opinion that this edition is simply without a rival. None even comes second to it. Mr. Wright's notes are models of what notes should be. He never, to borrow a phrase of Mr. Matthew Arnold's, beats about the bush so long that the bird is forgotten. He goes direct to the heart of the matter. He uses no vague circumlocutions, as most Shakspearian editors do, simply to hide their ignorance. His words are authoritative, and carry their authority by their convincing logic. It has lately often been asked of what use is the English Dialect Society? To those who have any doubts on the subject we would refer them to Mr. Wright's admirable note on "trash," and "to trash" in "Julius Cæsar," Act 1, scene 3, line 108 (pp. 113, 114). This note will show how much light provincialisms will often throw upon obscure passages in our Elizabethan dramatists. Still, provincialisms must be used with great caution. Only a thoroughly judicial mind, like Mr. Wright's, is fit to deal with them. In our notice of Schmidt's Shakspeare-Lexicon, we observed (*Westminster Review*, July, 1877, p. 285) that Mr. Wright rejected in that most difficult passage "banks with pioned and twilled brims," the reading of "peonied," which had been proposed in the *Edinburgh Review*, on the ground that peony was a Warwickshire provincialism for the marsh-marigold (*Caltha palustris*). Mr. Wright's rejection of the word turns out to be perfectly sound.

²⁷ "Shakspeare's Select Plays: Julius Cæsar." Edited by William Aldis Wright, M.A. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1878.

²⁸ "Shakspeare's Select Plays: A Midsummer Night's Dream." Edited by W. A. Wright, M.A. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1878.

From the inquiries which we have since made no such word as "peony" for marsh-marigold appears to be known in Warwickshire, nor, we should imagine, anywhere else. All doubts, however, on the subject ought to be settled by Mr. Burgess's recent letter in *Notes and Queries* (May 25th, 1878, p. 405). He most emphatically says, "I have never heard the term 'peony' applied to the marsh-marigold, or found any one who had." We may add that no one is more competent to give an opinion on this portion of the subject than Mr. Burgess. With equal good-judgment Mr. Wright refused to accept the explanation that "twilled" in the same passage had anything to do with sedges, which has been advocated on the ground that "twill" was a Warwickshire provincialism for a rush. As far as our own local knowledge goes, and as far as we can learn from others, the word "twill" is unknown in this sense. When a writer comes forward and states (*Notes and Queries*, 5th S. ii. 405) "that a friend of his has heard 'twill' for the 'rush' in Warwickshire and the adjoining counties," we should like to know whereabouts in Warwickshire and whereabouts in the adjoining counties, and finally whether the discoverer is either a botanist or a glossarist. We do not for a moment doubt the writer's good faith. But the question is, whether his friend is a competent judge, and whether he is not mistaken, being like others led away by the use of "twill" for a "reed," which means not a rush or sedge, but a weaver's "reed," or "quill," or "spool." "Twill" is, in fact, excessively common in the northern counties not only for a weaver's "reed," but a pen, having nothing whatever to do with a rush, or sedge, or reed in its usual sense. Provincialisms may be turned to good account in interpreting Shakespeare, but unless the greatest caution be used may produce the utmost confusion and error, as this use of "peony" and "twill" clearly shows. What good provincialisms can effect in clearing up difficult passages may be seen in Mr. Clarke's notes both to "Julius Cæsar" and "The Midsummer Night's Dream." We shall hope to refer again to this most important subject, when we shall have more space at our command to do justice both to Mr. Wright's great industry and his keen insight for unravelling a difficulty.

Amongst new editions we must particularise Mr. Storr's little volume of "L'Allegro, Il Penseroso, and Lycidas."⁹⁹ From any point of view it is admirable. The life of Milton, the analysis of the poems, and the notes are all equally well done. In the life of Milton we have a most interesting comparison drawn out between the learning of Milton and that of John Stuart Mill. Mr. Storr points out the enormous growth of science which has taken place during the period between Milton's death and Mill's birth. After balancing Mill's knowledge of Latin and Greek against Milton's, and setting Mill's acquaintance of French and German against Milton's Italian, Mr. Storr asks, "But against Mill's knowledge of political economy, of jurisprudence, of chemistry, and zoology, and of that wide

⁹⁹ "L'Allegro, Il Penseroso, and Lycidas." With Life of Milton. Introduction and Notes. By Edward Storr, M.A. (English School of Classics). London: Rivingtons. 1878.

but ill-defined science which has hardly yet won for itself the name of Sociology, what have we to set on Milton's side?" Mr. Storr makes an answer, which we think may, with some, raise a sad smile; "knowledge of Hebrew and Rabbinical literature, and a considerable proficiency in the theology and philosophy of the schoolmen" (p. 7). To those who have read "The Miltonic Hypothesis" in Huxley's "American Addresses," we need not say a word as to the enormous difference which the modern theory of evolution and the old theological doctrine of creation must make in a man's views of the world and life. Mr. Storr next proceeds to show, as the Rector of Lincoln College has done in *Macmillan's Magazine* (March, 1875, pp. 386, 387), how Milton's life realised his own words, "He who would not be frustrate of his hope to write well hereafter in laudable things, ought himself to be a true poem." Milton, to quote the words of Mr. Pattison, "knew that any work of literature is only worth what its writer is worth." . . . His ideal was 'to know what is of use to know,' and that his heart should 'contain of good, wise, just, the perfect shape.' Upon Mr. Storr's notes we must say a word or two. They are brief and to the point. Thus, on the well-known lines in "Il Penseroso," "while the bee with honied thigh," he writes, "not strictly true to nature, as the bee does not carry the honey, but the pollen, on its thigh." Such a note as this is worth pages of so-called æsthetic commentary. Again, commenting on that most difficult passage in "L'Allegro," "then to come in spite of sorrow," Mr. Storr leans to the opinion that the lark is meant "to come on its way down from the sky, and bid the poet good-morrow at his window" (page 37). This was the view which we advocated several years ago in this *Review*, pointing out that the lark sings both in his ascent and descent. It is right to say that Mr. Browne, the able editor of the Clarendon edition of Milton's poems, thinks that it is the poet and not the bird, who is meant. With regard to the meaning of the word "eglantine," which occurs immediately afterwards, we would refer Mr. Storr to Dr. Prior's "Popular Names of British Plants" [1870], a most sound work, which is not nearly so well known as it should be. From Dr. Prior's history of the changes of the meaning of the word, and the names of plants, it should be remembered, are constantly changing their meaning, it would appear that "in our own early writers, and in Gerard and the herbalists, it was a shrub with white flowers that was meant" by eglantine. With regard to the meaning of "taint-worm" in "Lycidas" (p. 53), we would suggest that it is a well-known parasitical maggot called by fanciers a "flake," which is found, especially in wet pastures, in the livers of sheep.

Every one will also gladly welcome Messrs. Rivingtons' handy edition of George Herbert.²⁰ Hitherto Herbert has been looked upon as the exclusive possession of the High Church party. Of late years, however, his popularity has very greatly widened. Secularists have been

²⁰ "The English Poems of George Herbert." Together with his Collection of Proverbs, entitled "Jacula Prudentium." London: Rivington. 1878.

even patronising him. Emerson quotes from him oftener, perhaps, than from any other poet. It is noteworthy, too, that though Emerson in his "Parnassus" gives only two pieces, and both of them maimed and mangled, from Shelley, he quotes no less than sixteen from Herbert. We need not now inquire into the causes of Herbert's growing popularity. Two things, however, greatly contribute to it—his wide liberality, and a certain tendency to a vague kind of poetical mysticism. We are glad to see that Messrs. Rivington have republished the "Jacular Prudentium," which has been omitted in some recent editions. The collection is a curious one, and in many ways reflects the collector's mind. Of course, we must be prepared to find many proverbs from which we utterly disagree. Here, for instance, is one, which, taken in its literal sense, can only do more harm than good,—"Every day brings its bread with it" (p. 221). Unfortunately the mass of people will take sayings of this kind in their most literal sense. Our language is full of such proverbs, such as that most immoral one, "God never sends mouths without sending bread to fill them." Here is another of the same type from George Herbert—"God sends cold according to clothes" (p. 222), which is better known in its more modern form of "God tempers the wind to the shorn lamb," which is popularly supposed to occur somewhere in the Bible, but which Sterne stole from the French, translating "brabis" by "lamb" to give a more sentimental air, but only rendering the proverb doubly untrue, as nobody ever yet saw a shorn lamb. Herbert's collection, however, as we have said, reflects his mind. There is a quaintness about many of the proverbs which is as delightful as some of the poet's own turns of thought; as, for instance, in the following, "truth and oil are ever above," which, for its pithiness, can only be equalled by the Latin adage, "love and a cough cannot be hid." Many of Herbert's proverbs, however, are often only translations from well-known Greek and Latin apophthegms. Thus, for instance, his proverb at page 248, "None is offended but by himself," is a seventeenth century version of the Stoic doctrine—*nemolæditur nisi à se ipso*, so often quoted by St Chrysostom, and to which Bartley gave a new turn when he said, "no man is written down except by himself." "To offend," in the sense of to hurt, we need not say, is an Elizabethan phrase, employed more than once by Shakspeare. One or two of the proverbs, we may add, are somewhat differently quoted from the usual versions, and one or two slight misprints occur. For instance, we do not feel quite sure about the following at page 257, "A man of great memory without learning hath a rock and a spindle, and no staff to spin." For "staff," we should probably read stuff, and then the sense is somewhat the same as in Joubert's reflection: "Les jeunes écrivains bonnet à leur esprit beaucoup d'exercice et peu d'aliments."

Amongst translations we must notice one more new translation of "Faust"²¹. The translator gives the same honourable reasons for publishing it that Lawes did for "producing Comus to the public view,"

²¹ "Faust." A Tragedy. By T. W. von Goethe. Translated into English verse. By Charles Hartpole Bower. London. Longmans, Green, & Co. 1878.

that he was tired of showing it in manuscript. Still better is an American translation of Göthe's poems.²² It will be found useful to all those who cannot read the original.

And here we may call attention to a new volume of French poems by M. Schuré.²³ In spite of all that Mr. James has said in favour of De Musset and Gautier, and Mr. Saintsbury of Baudelaire, modern French poetry has not found very great favour in England. The most puritanical readers, however, need not be afraid of discovering any "Fleurs du Mal" in M. Schuré's volume. We should imagine that he is an admirer of English poetry, and has sat at the feet of Wordsworth. Simplicity is the keynote of his poems. He loves the country, and sings of it with a spirit of freshness and unaffected joy. He has evidently felt what our own great poet has called "the mighty ravishment of the spring." It is a happy augury for the French Republic that a new poet has arisen who goes direct to nature for his inspiration. Wherever you open M. Schuré's book you are sure to find some happy lines, some quiet thoughts, some graceful image, reflecting his love for the mountains and the valleys, the plains and the fields, the birds and the flowers.

Amongst miscellaneous books we must notice two excellent volumes of Messrs. Blackwood's "Foreign Classics,"^{24 25} a series which, we think, will prove of far greater use to the general public than even their classical series did. "A Week at the Lakes"²⁶ is one of those would-be witty books, something after the fashion of "The Adventures of Brown, Jones, and Robinson," and the "Voyage en Zigzag," but far inferior to either.

²² "Göthe's Poems." Translated in the Original Metres. By Paul Dyser. London: Asher & Co. 1878.

²³ "Les Chants de la Montagne." Par Edouard Schuré. Paris: Libraire Sandoz et Fischbacher. 1877.

²⁴ "Petrarch." By Henry Reeve. [Foreign Classics Series.] London and Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Sons. 1878.

²⁵ "Göthe." By A. Hayward. [Foreign Classics Series.] London and Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Sons. 1878.

²⁶ "A Week at the Lakes; or, The Adventures of Mr. Dobbs and his friend Mr. Potts." By J. Priestman Atkinson. London: Macmillan & Co. 1878.

MISCELLANEA.

THE phases of criticism are as marked in their way as the changes in literature, and are quite as well deserving of study. With different epochs in the prose and especially in the poetical productions of an age, new schools of critical thought arise, or at least new methods of critical expression. The ruling spirit of the hour influences the appointed judges often in as direct a ratio as it receives influence, and as a result it is not always easy, in certain cases, to define whether criticism has made a change in literature, or literature given a new course to criticism. The marked difference between the turn of critical thought forty years ago and the current criticism, is well exemplified in the concluding volume of Sir Henry Taylor's works containing his "Critical Essays on Poetry."¹ There is something almost melancholy in the point of view from which Sir Henry Taylor regards poetry, when it is contrasted with the spirit of critical consideration at the present time. We have got somewhat accustomed of late years to a rather noisy and vociferous company of critics, who loudly proclaim it upon their authority that art must be considered only for art's sake—that art is compassed by no laws, has no limits, no duties, and a variety of other like Shibboleths, with more of sound than sense about them. To these censors the idea that art of any kind, but especially poetry, should be coupled with an ennobling lesson, any suggestion of moral teaching, arouses at once their most withering scorn, their deepest contempt and ridicule. One declares that true art may teach nothing, a doctrine which has been fairly enough translated to mean that true art shall teach nothing good. Another denounces one of his own high priests for having once indulged in the pestilent heresy of attempting to point a moral. To turn from critics such as we have now, who hold it part of art's mission to depict the meanest details of life, and the basest passions, to descend to descriptions of disease and decay, which are the triumph of certain modern French authors, and to dally with the dusty crimes of dead ages; and to take up Sir Henry Taylor's essays upon the poems and the purpose of Wordsworth, is to at once encounter a most surprising contrast, to touch the poles of æsthetical polemics. Sir Henry Taylor believed, and doubtless still believes, since he has republished these papers, that the purpose of a poet's work is an integral portion of his labour, to be taken into consideration in a general estimate of the whole. In his review of Wordsworth's sonnets he never pauses to inquire whether they are formed upon the strict model made sacred by the usage of Dante or Petrarch, but goes on to consider their inspiration, their object, their general beauty of thought as well as expression, with as much composure as if these

¹ "Critical Essays on Poetry, &c." By Sir Henry Taylor. London: C. Hegau Paul & Co. 1878.

were really as important as a scheme of rhymes, and was not aware that Shakspeare himself has been condemned by many a modern Aristarchus for taking unwarrantable license with an Italian verse-form. Sir Henry Taylor's phrase about the "twin-births of poetry and political wisdom" would be in itself enough to send a shudder to the heart of many of the writers who have for the last few years directed the fashion in criticism after a somewhat faded French *mode*. But indeed Sir Henry Taylor's whole theory of poetry and criticism is so completely opposed to the intolerant tastes of the moment, and his action in reproducing these opinions so calmly indifferent to what is, or perhaps more correctly was, the prevailing tone of opinion, that we can well imagine one of the "art before all" arbitrators abandoning so hopeless a volume in helpless disgust at a writer who could really believe that a healthy moral or political purpose was not an injury to art, and believing, was not ashamed to say so. Sir Henry Taylor is, however, inclined to be as extreme from his side as the *l'art pour l'art* people on theirs, and those who flock round either standard should try to recollect Aristotle's golden mean. The compromise between the rival factions would not be difficult if the hostile parties were not so dogmatic. Art is not bound to teach, on the one hand; it is not less worthy if it teaches, on the other. A good moral lesson, an earnest and noble purpose will not excuse a bad poem; but, on the other hand, the fairest form, the most exquisite language will not palliate some of the offences in modern poetry. But Sir Henry Taylor's extremeness of opinion, if it does not claim our entire sympathy, is at least a pleasing, a healthy change from the meretricious feebleness to which we have been for some time accustomed. Its masculine vigour and honesty is refreshing as pure air; and even when it is wrong, which it frequently is, it errs on the side of straightforward simplicity and honour that commands respect in its very defects. Sir Henry Taylor's great poetic power is not more remarkable for strength and felicity of expression than his prose, where his force and mastery of language gives additional weight to his clear, calm, critical judgment. Whether in discussing Wordsworth or the poetry of Mr. Aubrey de Vere, to the beauty and grace of which he pays deserved tribute, or in debating important questions of social and political life with John Stuart Mill or Mr. Gladstone, the prose of the author of "The Statesman" is always worthy of the poet who wrote "Philip van Artevelde," and "St. Clement's Eve."

Burckhardt's "Renaissance" is so well known that any new criticism of the work would be uncalled for. It is sufficient to say that Mr. Middlemore's translation is most admirably executed, the highest praise that can be given to his labours being that they make Burckhardt's book read like an original English work. Mr. Middlemore's achievement savours nowhere of the laborious consultation of dictionary and grammar which is painfully evident in so many translations.

* "The Civilization of the Period of the Renaissance in Italy," By Jacob Burckhardt. Translated by S. G. C. Middlemore. C. Kegan Paul & Co. 1878.

If Sir Henry Taylor is a poet who writes fine prose, Mr. Symonds is a prose-writer who would fain be poet also. The exquisite sweetness of diction and fortunate choice of words which render Mr. Symonds' writings so attractive, do not desert him in verse.³ But if, as has been truly said, the serious practice of poetry tends to the improvement of a prose-style, it does not follow that an admirable prose-writer must be able to find full expression for his thoughts in verse. A modern French poet has said that all great poets become of necessity critical, but that it would be a marvel if a critic became a poet. However much the truth of the first axiom may be questioned, there seems good reason to accept the second. The number of critics, from Aristotle to Sainte-Beuve, who have essayed in verse are numerous; of those who have succeeded, one may say, with Thackeray, "Get a little piece of paper, and write them all down." Mr. Symonds certainly belongs to the first class. He is essentially a critic, and a critic of a high order. Gifted with a vivid and poetic style, he might well be content with his possession, and let the bays go by. The man who has given us so delightful a book as "The Greek Poets," who could picture for us so skilfully Perugia and the Baglioni feuds—who could write of the *Renaissance* as he has written, need desire no other vehicle for his ideas than his own eloquent prose, which can better portray its writer's moods than the careful and melodious, but undoubtedly cultivated, verse, which has stood him in such good stead for translations.

If Milton had done for all Horace what he did for the fifth ode of the first book, our literature might boast a translation worthy of comparison with its original, and the quaint phrase, "made English," with which Elizabethan translators prefaced their labours, have told a fuller truth than it has yet been fated to do. As it is, this one perfect poem of Milton's seems only to exist in order to put to shame all later efforts, which appear made but to record fresh failures. Mr. Thornton is the latest adventurer, and he claims for his version a greater fidelity than is to be found in the attempts of his predecessors. As far as rendering the words goes,⁴ this is in a certain sense true, but Mr. Thornton, in common with many other translators, forgets that no translation can be considered literal, which, no matter how verbally accurate, gives us harshness, stiffness, and painful inversions for the ease of language and gracious music of the original. A clear and nervous prose translation, such as Mr. Munro's "Lucretius," and Leconte de Lisle's version of so many of the Greek poets, is far preferable to stretching the metre of an antique song upon the rack of untuneful verses. Mr. Thornton considers that, "in order to be completely satisfactory, a translation of Horace should reproduce Horace's metres as well as his language." This, however, he confesses himself unable to do in all cases. And as a result, his translation presents a curious combination of English and of alien metres

³ "Many Moods." By John Addington Symonds. London: Smith, Elder, & Co. 1878.

⁴ "Word for Word from Horace. The Odes Literally Versified." By W. T. Thornton. London: Macmillan & Co.

that give it an unfinished and amorphous appearance. It is a very doubtful question how far it is necessary to reproduce the form of foreign poetry, especially where, as in the case of Latin lyrics, the forms are so unfamiliar to our language. The transplantation of difficult numbers from foreign tongues into our own can be and has been accomplished. Mr. Robinson Ellis has given us a "Catullus" in the original metres, which is a marvel of versification, and is frequently both faithful and musical. But any fidelity to Horace's form which entails sacrifice of his beauty or music is more untrue to him than those eighteenth century versions which made the poet discourse like a town gallant of the *mode*. The first aim and business of translators is to produce, not a "harsh and crabbed" imitation, but a beautiful poem, such as the poet might have made had he been writing in the language of his adaptor. Mr. Thornton's renderings into English metres are as a rule better than his imitations of classic models. The ode to Sextius may be taken as a fair specimen:—

"At Spring and Zephyr's glad return keen winter melts away;
 On sledges, barks are launched, that dry upon the shingle lay;
 And neither does the flock its stall, nor ploughman love the fire;
 Nor longer does the hoary rime the whitened fields attire:
 But Cytherean Venus now leads forth her choral band,
 And (the moon hanging o'er them) Nymphs and Graces, hand in hand
 In comely union, strike the carth, with alternating feet,
 While the Cyclopes' smithy huge doth sweltering Vulcan heat.
 Meet is it now that glistening brow should be with myrtle bound,
 Or with the flower by vernal power raised from the loosened ground.
 To Faunus, now, to sacrifice, is meet in shady grove,
 Whether a ewe-lamb he demand, or ram-kid more approve.
 With foot impartial pallid Death beats at the pauper's cot
 And monarch's tower; the sum, so brief, of life permits thee not.
 O favoured Sextius, to begin a far extending hope,
 The storied Manes are at hand, and night's funeral cope,
 And Pluto's narrow domicile, where, after entering,
 No more it shall be thine to throw the dice for festal king,
 Or gaze on tender Lycidas, whom, now, all youths admire,
 And for whom maidens, too, ere long, shall warm with kindling fire."

This is a fair type of the whole volume, and as fair an example of how far the term "word for word" is fittingly applicable to it. To convert the *nox* of the original into "night's funeral cope" is too flagrant a license however. We should have preferred to render lines thirteen to sixteen thus, following Mr. Thornton's metre, which, however, seems to us too heavy and lengthy for the poem:—

"Pale Death with equal foot-blow beats against the poor man's gate
 And at the citadels of kings. O, Sextius, fortunate,
 Short sum of life forbids thee any long hope to caress,
 Already night around thee and the fabled Manes press."

As Mr. Thornton's version, like the Italian rendering by Domenico Perrero, published in Milan a couple of years ago, is accompanied by the Latin text face to face with the translation, the volume is very agreeable for those who are beginning or would revive their studies in

Latin poetry. As a translation, Mr. Thornton's "Horace" is better than Lord Lytton's, but it is not so good as Mr. Conington's, and is scarcely equal to Mr. Theodore Martin's, which, if by no means satisfactory, has certainly the advantage in pleasant and melodious rhythm.

If Horace is difficult to translate, Aristophanes is far more difficult. But Mr. Rogers has already successfully encountered several of the plays of the great Greek poet, and given them in very happy English renderings. To these he now adds perhaps the most difficult of all, the *Lysistrata*,⁵ this time without the Greek text which accompanied the previous plays. The rendering of such a specimen of Greek comedy as the *Lysistrata* into English verse is by no means an easy task, and the manner in which Mr. Rogers has produced a version suitable for general reading, and yet retaining sufficiency of Attic humour to make it amusing, is deserving of high commendation. The uncompromising lovers of Aristophanes will perhaps regret the scene between Cinesias and Myrrhina altered here in the most unrecognisable manner; but, on the other hand, it is agreeable to find that this mad Hellenic merriment, which Mr. Browning's Balaustion characterises as a plague-memory, and by yet more opprobrious terms, can be given in a decent English dress to those to whom any further acquaintance with the real Aristophanes were little desirable.

Even better than translations from classic authors, for those who are not Greek and Latin scholars, are the condensations given in the series of "Ancient Classics for English Readers."⁶ The volumes that go to compose that series are of the most varying degrees of merit, but Mr. Collins's are always good, for they thoroughly follow out the lines prescribed by the scheme of the work, being invariably well-executed, and presenting exceedingly accurate and exhaustive accounts of their subject to the reader. The latest volume, the "Thucydides," is a very good example of Mr. Collins's workmanship. It is not a brilliant essay, nor indeed a valuable specimen of historical criticism, but it is, what is far better suited to its purpose, a thoughtfully prepared and clearly written account of the great historian and his work.

Mr. Fergusson's name stands high among the architects of the present day, and any new work by him claims almost as much attention and interest as if it came from the pen of M. Viollet le Duc himself. His volume on the temples of the Jews⁷ should be read therefore by all students of architecture who care for something more than the research which goes to the confirmation of established views. Many of Mr. Fergusson's theories will probably meet with strong opposition, more especially the renewal and reinforcement of the arguments supporting the Christian origin of the so-called mosque of Omar, arguments which he first brought forward more than thirty years ago in his essay on the ancient topography of Jerusalem, published in 1847.

⁵ "The *Lysistrata* of Aristophanes." Translated by B. B. Rogers. George Bell & Sons.

⁶ "Ancient Classics for English Readers: Thucydides." By the Rev. W. Lucas Collins. W. Blackwood & Sons. 1878.

⁷ "The Temples of the Jews." By James Fergusson. John Murray. 1878.

As the second part of Mr. Grove's "Dictionary of Music" only comes down to half of an article on Boieldieu, it is not easy to see how the work can be kept within the limits at first prescribed for it, unless the treatment of the latter part of the alphabet be far more meagre than the earlier has been. The most important articles in the new part are that on Beethoven, by Mr. Grove, which occupies nearly forty pages, and is a most admirable specimen of biography, and Mr. Dannreuther's on Berlioz. The well-known interpreter of Wagner describes the French musician as "a Colossus with few friends, no direct followers; a marked individuality, original, puissant, bizarre, violently one-sided; whose influence has been and will again be felt far and wide, for good and for bad, but cannot rear disciples or form a school." Mr. H. Sutherland Edwards contributes a comprehensive article on the ballet, and Mr. Statham an account of Sterndale Bennett. Among mistakes and omissions we are curious to know why in the article on the *Beggars' Opera* it is not mentioned that Gay wrote a sequel to his famous work, which, like the generality of sequels, was but a poor thing. This conclusion, which was called "Polly," transported Macheath, Polly, and other characters from the first play, to America. For some not now apparent reason it was prohibited from being acted, but was published and met with a considerable sale.

It is a doubtful question how far it is wise to attempt the resuscitation of a half-forgotten tongue, but there is undoubtedly as much to be said for the study of Irish⁹ as for many another out-of-the-way tongue with which so many of to-day delight to dally. Apart from the political reasons urged for its revival, which cannot here be taken into consideration, the Irish language possesses a literature well deserving of investigation, and there can be little doubt that at one period Ireland occupied no unimportant place in early Christian Europe. The absolute decay and disappearance of a language is always matter for regret, and it would be a pity that the Irish tongue should go the way of Cornish and Coptic. But in the present day, when there is so much to do and so little time to do it in, the study of a new language is a serious matter to all who are not philological students. All, however, who are anxious to acquire a knowledge of the language of the four masters will find it scarcely so costly an undertaking as the study of Oriental languages, for the well-written and well-printed first and second books now before us, containing a carefully graduated course of grammar and exercises, cost but twopence and threepence each.

Those who are most strenuously opposed to the study of foreign tongues, and who hold that it is sufficient for the native of any country to know his own language properly, should be always ready to welcome any attempts to improve their language. Mr. William Barnes, who is better known as a Dorset poet than as a grammarian, proposes to

⁸ "A Dictionary of Music and Musicians." Edited by George Grove. Part II. Macmillan & Co. 1878.

⁹ "First and Second Irish Books." Published by the Society for the Preservation of the Irish Language. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Co. 1878.

"improve our English language by the upholding of our strong old Anglo-Saxon speech."¹⁰ The cause is a good one, and those who take the trouble to pierce through the veil of somewhat fantastic words, in which Mr. Barnes clothes his utterances, will find that they have a very clever and useful work to deal with. But while we thoroughly agree with Mr. Barnes as to the advantage our speech would gain by using such terms as kindle for ignite, and yearly for annual, we cannot agree with him in considering it any improvement to call an index a "clue to matters handled."

As Mr. Barnes proposes to reform our words, Mr. J. H. Gladstone proposes to improve their spelling. The great question of spelling reform¹¹ is rapidly creating for itself a very considerable literature, to which Mr. Gladstone's little volume is a very valuable addition. Mr. Gladstone puts his case well and clearly, without being either dogmatic or denunciatory, and brings his arguments forward with a quiet earnestness that will serve the cause by showing the sobriety and reasonableness of its adherents. His estimates of the time and money that an alteration of our spelling system would save is exceedingly interesting; and the account of the twenty-seven different ways of pronouncing the word "Cothele," on account of the unmeaning nature of our spelling symbols, scores several points in his favour.

M. Justin Amero has written a little pamphlet, which should be taken as a supplement to most courses of French study. Not merely those who discourse in a French similar to that of Chaucer's heroine; but fairly good French scholars may make many foolish errors in speech and writing, which "French Gibberish" will teach them to avoid.¹² We fancy there are few Englishmen, even among those who are rather proud of their French, who would not learn, and also unlearn, something by reading M. Amero's thirty-six pages; while the fantastic English French, which adorns the columns of so many among our journals, would disappear if M. Amero's *brochure* were as well known as it deserves to be. It is to be hoped, however, that in a future edition M. Amero will omit the foolish and unnecessary efforts of wit against the German nation, efforts that come with a bad grace, and worse taste from a Frenchman.

The recent revival of interest in the industrial arts, and in all connected with decoration, has naturally given birth to a literature specially devoted to such subjects.¹³ Both here and abroad, unfortunately, the contributions made to this literature, on our side of the Channel, have been remarkable up to the present time, chiefly for their curious lack of merit. Such a periodical as *Industrial Art* is no exception to the rule.

The two most interesting articles in Herr Rosenkranz's new volume

¹⁰ "An Outline of English Speech-craft." By William Barnes. C. Kegan Paul.

¹¹ "Spelling Reform." By J. H. Gladstone, F.R.S. Macmillan & Co. 1876.

¹² "French Gibberish." By Justin Amero. Paris: 37, Rue Brochart. 1878.

¹³ "Industrial Art." Vo. I. July to December, 1877.

of literary studies are those on Voltaire and Rousseau, whom he describes as covering between them the whole ground of the genius of France.¹⁴ They are both thoroughly appreciative and careful studies, written without prejudice and without Philistinism, regarding each author fairly from his own point of view, and estimating him by his best rather than by his worst. It seems to us that, curiously enough, Herr Rosenkranz has been a little over lenient to Voltaire's "Pucelle," and a little unjust to Rousseau's "Emile." We certainly do not understand Rousseau to defend or excuse the conduct of Sophie in "Emile."

Herr Carl Abel gives a thoroughly characteristic illustration of the thoroughness of German methods of investigation.¹⁵ He makes a complete study of what he describes as the English words of command—namely, command, order, enjoin, bid, ordain, decree, dictate, prescribe, direct, charge, and appoint; examines the precise difference and shades of difference between the meanings of each word, and works out the natural history and application of each, with all the care and precision of an anatomist.

The first part of Herr Karl Körner's "Introduction to the Study of Anglo-Saxon,"¹⁶ or as it is now more generally termed, Old English, contains a compact and concise presentation of the grammatical formation of the language, of about the same length as the grammatical introduction to Mr. Henry Sweet's "Anglo-Saxon Reader."

Dr. Oscar Meyer publishes a study on the kinetic theory of gases, which is well worthy the attention of students in physics.¹⁷ It is treated with the careful investigation that is characteristic of German scientific works.

Mr. Shuckburgh has prepared a very useful school edition of Terence's adaptation from Menander.¹⁸ The introduction and notes contain a large amount of information, and the translation of the play, which is printed at the end of the notes, and not facing the text, is clearly done.

Mr. Hailstone brings out, in a similar form, the first and second books of Xenophon's Hellenics,¹⁹ without, however, the English translation of the classic text, given by Mr. Shuckburgh. For the sake of uniformity, in a series of school-texts, this is to be regretted. We should have preferred, in both cases, no translation, but a full vocabulary; as adding greatly to the convenience of such school-texts. In speaking of the criticisms on Xenophon by modern writers, Mr. Hailstone might

¹⁴ "Neue Studien." Von Karl Rosenkranz. Dritter Band. Leipzig: Erich Khonscy. 1878.

¹⁵ "Die Englischen Verba Des Befehls." Von Carl Abel. Berlin: Leo Liepmannsohn. 1878.

¹⁶ "Einleitung in das Studium des Angelsächsischen." Erster Theil. Von Karl Körner. Heilbronn. Gebr. Henniger: 1878.

¹⁷ "Die Kinetische Theorie der Gase." Von Dr. O. E. Meyer. Berlin: Maruschke & Berendt. 1877.

¹⁸ "Theaenata Timorumenos of Terence," With Introductory Notes. By E. B. S. Shuckburgh. Macmillan & Co.

¹⁹ "Hellenica of Xenophon." Edited, with Notes, by Herbert Hailstone. Macmillan & Co.

have included Mr. Jebb's tribute to him, as a most fascinating writer, as a set-off to the onslaughts of Niebuhr and Grote.

The present taste for handbooks of all kinds, made to contain as much as possible in the smallest possible space, has called forth a series of Musical Primers from Messrs. Novello, of which several are published.²⁰ The latest are—"Harmony," by Dr. Stainer; "The Scientific Basis of Music," by Dr. Stone; "Speech in Song," by Alexander J. Ellis; and "Counterpoint," by Dr. Bridge; all of which deserve the most cordial recommendation for their clearness and completeness. The same firm also publishes editions of Handel's "Semele," and his "Triumph of Time and Truth," remarkable for belonging, like Göthe's "Faust," at once to the earliest and latest work of its author.

To the lengthy list of Greek readers, Mr. Rushbrooke adds an initiatory Greek Reading Book,²¹ which does much more than increase the numbers of books of the kind; for it has sterling merit, and will prove of great use to beginners anxious to make a start in Hellenic reading. The authors of the Latin "Aditus Faciliores"²² have given it a Greek companion, which promises to be of as good service as its predecessor.

Sir W. Martin shows, in the second part of his studies on the Semetic Languages,²³ that the principles before laid down, as to the forms of the Hebrew verb, apply also to the forms of Arabic verbs, and considers a variety of similar subjects of interest to Hebrew scholars.

Messrs. Macmillan add to their series of Literature Primers a useful little volume of English Grammar Exercises,²⁴ by Dr. Morris and Mr. H. C. Bowen.

²⁰ Music Primers. Handel's "Time and Truth," and "Semele." Novello, Ewer, & Co.

²¹ "A First Greek Reader." By G. W. Rushbrooke. Clarendon Press. 1878.

²² "Aditus Faciliores Græci." By W. A. Potts and the Rev. C. Darnell. W. Blackwood & Sons.

²³ "Inquiries Concerning the Structure of the Semetic Languages." Part I. By Sir W. Martin. Williams & Norgate. 1878.

²⁴ "English Grammar Exercises." By Dr. R. Morris and H. C. Bowen. Macmillan & Co.

INDIA AND OUR COLONIAL EMPIRE.

INDIA.—The financial history of Lord Lytton's Administration is not less full of interest than the political history. The Bengal Famine had left its burdens; the depreciation of silver added to them; the famine in Madras and the lingering distress in other provinces have taxed so severely the resources of the Exchequer, that the Government of India has found it necessary to widen the basis of its financial system; and public opinion both in this country and in India has been so deeply stirred, that a Committee of the House of Commons and an Imperial Commission are simultaneously inquiring (practically) into the question, "What class of public works are most useful for the prevention of famine?" "To what extent, under what circumstances, and by what means, ought Government to undertake them?" Finance and Public Works policy are indeed subjects so intimately connected that they cannot be discussed apart. We have already described the main features of Sir William Muir's Budget for 1876-77. The Budget for 1877-78 was submitted to the Legislative Council by Sir John Strachey. The revenue was estimated at 52,192,700*l.*, and the expenditure at 56,442,400*l.*, including 3,628,000*l.* for public works extraordinary—a term we shall hereafter explain—and 2,150,000*l.* for famine expenditure. No fresh Imperial taxation was proposed. 6,500,000*l.* was to be raised by loan. Of this the Government of India was to borrow 2,750,000*l.* in India, and recommended the Secretary of State to ask Parliament for powers to borrow 3,750,000*l.* in England. Sir John Strachey reviewed the accounts of the seven years ending with 1875-6, and showed that the true financial result, including the cost of unremunerative public works and excluding the cost of famine relief, was a surplus of 4,971,500*l.* But during this period the Income Tax, which has since been abolished, yielded 4,365,000*l.* Not only was no addition made to the debt of the country except for reproductive works, but a considerable part of the cost of these was paid from current revenue. The revenue had steadily increased, while the net expenditure (excluding famine relief) had shown no tendency to increase. And the net charge for interest had but slightly increased. Taxation had been reduced. Nevertheless

the Finance Minister went on to show that as long as charges, such as those for famine and unremunerative public works, could not be provided for out of the ordinary revenues, the state of our finances must be unsound. Famines could not be regarded as extraordinary occurrences. In the ten years before 1874 there had been three serious ones, and now a still more serious one was impending. Lord Northbrook, in the Financial Statement for 1874-5, had announced his determination to maintain for the future a considerable surplus of income over ordinary expenditure, and thus make provision beforehand for famine expenditure. But the conditions laid down had not, in the judgment of Sir John Strachey, been fulfilled, as the charges for unremunerative public works had wrongly been excluded. He adverted to the practice which had hitherto prevailed of classing works necessary for the service of the Empire, but not directly remunerative (such as railways constructed mainly for military or political reasons), as extraordinary, and said that it had been resolved that in future no work should be classed as extraordinary unless Government was satisfied that it would yield a net income sufficient to cover the interest on its capital cost. The experience of seven years had shown that the ordinary revenues were sufficient to meet all ordinary charges, except those of famine relief. It remained, therefore, to establish a sufficient surplus in ordinary years to meet charges for extraordinary public works, for famine relief, for other unforeseen demands, and for effecting necessary reforms and improvements in administration. The time was inopportune for new schemes of taxation, or even of financial administration. Reduction of expenditure was possible only in the army charges, and these, though they were a cause of grave anxiety, were hardly at all under the control of the Government of India. Government was therefore content for the present to lay down the principles by which it would be guided, and to explain the measures by which it hoped to increase the productiveness of existing sources of income. These measures were measures of decentralisation—not decentralisation in Mr. Bright's sense, the weakening or abolition of the Central Government, but decentralisation which strengthened the Central Government by removing from its control and influence details with which the Local Governments were more competent to deal. Before Earl Mayo's measures in 1870, the Central Government provided, and claimed to supervise, the expenditure in every branch of administration. Local Governments had hardly any powers of control, and no responsibility. Each got all it could, and wasted a good deal of what it got. The result was chronic deficit, and perpetual conflicts as to matters of local administration between the Local Government, which was conversant

with them, and the Supreme Government, which knew but little of the real wants of the provinces. From 1871-2, Lord Mayo transferred to the Provincial Governments, under a few general conditions, the administration of the following services—Jails, Police, Education, Registration, Medical Services, Printing, Roads, and Civil Buildings. These were selected because they had shown the greatest tendency to increase. For their maintenance a fixed amount was assigned from the Imperial Revenues, but the disposal and allotment of this was left to the Provincial Governments. The results were most satisfactory: the increase of expenditure was arrested, the irritating friction of authorities ceased, and the efficiency of the services increased. The defect of the system was that the income at the disposal of the Local Governments did not admit of development. The revenue from sources such as stamps and excise depends entirely on the greater or less care and vigilance of the Local Governments. Yet they had no direct interest in increasing it. Sir J. Strachey proposed as a remedy to recognise facts of human nature, and give Local Governments a direct and personal interest in successful management. The arrangements made with the Government of the North-West Provinces are, in principle, the same as those made, or about to be made, with other Governments. To the Local Government were transferred the revenue derived from excise, stamps, law, and justice, and the collections from certain estates the management of which required peculiar care. As regards expenditure, besides the services transferred by Lord Mayo, the Local Government was required to provide for land revenue, stamps and excise, law and justice, and stationery. The total charges for which the Provincial Government became responsible amounted to 1,887,400*l.* But it accepted a consolidated grant five per cent. below this; and in this grant was included the amount estimated to have been actually received in 1876-7 from the sources of revenue transferred—plus a sum representing the normal growth of income. By this arrangement the Imperial Government saved in its dealings with the North-West Provinces Bengal and Oudh, 145,700*l.* The discretion of the Local Governments as regards the expenditure of the funds placed at their disposal was fettered only by some necessary conditions. They were never to exhaust their Provincial balances; they were to impose no fresh taxation, and make no change in the system of revenue management, without the sanction of the Government of India; no new general service was to be undertaken, and no standing rule of the supreme Government was to be changed. Returns and accounts were to be submitted in prescribed forms.

Public Works policy was next dealt with. Admitting the mistakes

that had been made in the system of construction adopted, Sir J. Strachey said the benefits railways and irrigation works had conferred on the country were so obvious and so great that the assertion sometimes made that they ought not to have been constructed with borrowed money, did not deserve serious consideration. If they had not been constructed with borrowed money, they would not have been constructed at all. In 1873 the Government of India decided that it might, without fear of financial embarrassment, continue to borrow annually a sum of 4,500,000*l.* sterling, for the extension of railways and canals. In 1875 the sum was reduced to 4,000,000*l.*, but the forecast of 1873 was found to be correct. The principle was that there should be no increase of annual charge on the revenue for interest. The interest on the money borrowed for new works was met by the increasing returns of the works already constructed. But the depreciation of silver was not a factor in these calculations, and, as we have already stated, Sir William Muir announced, in 1876, that in the presence of this danger the Government was compelled to contract the sphere of its operations.

Sir J. Strachey divides extraordinary public works (*i.e.*, works likely to yield, within a moderate space of time, a direct income at least equal to the interest of the capital expended on them) into two classes: 1. Works—such as great trunk lines of railways—undertaken for objects of such general utility that they may fairly be called Imperial. 2. Works which are primarily of provincial or local utility. Of these the Soane Canals are a suggestive example. Up to the end of 1875-6, 1,521,366*l.* had been expended on them. In that year the income was 5,090*l.*, and the working expenses were 11,543*l.* Yet the value of the crops saved by this unfinished system in 1873-4 was nearly 500,000*l.* sterling.

The case of the Soane Canals represents in an exaggerated form the case of all the Bengal Canals. They are of the highest utility to the people of Bengal, but they will probably never prove remunerative to the Imperial Government, at whose expense they were constructed. In 1871 it was proposed to impose compulsory rates for meeting the charges for works of irrigation, but the sections of the Panjab Canal Act, in which this principle was enforced, were vetoed by the Secretary of State. Now why, asks Sir J. Strachey, should irrigation works which have the greatest possible local utility, be the only works for which the people immediately benefited are to pay nothing? As a first step towards enforcing local responsibility, the Government, he said, had decided to enforce the principle of provincial responsibility. The Local Governments would subsequently

endeavour to distribute the charges imposed on them, so that the burden on any district or class should be proportionate to the benefit received. We need hardly review in detail the terms on which Government had made over to the North-West Provinces the existing systems of canals and local railways. To meet the charges, the Local Government was authorised to make assignments from the local rates already levied on land for local requirements. A light License Tax on trades and dealers was also to be imposed. How far this principle of provincial responsibility could be enforced with regard to Famine Relief, Sir J. Strachey could not say. He believed that Government could undertake to do all that a Government ought to do without fear of ultimate financial ruin, and that a way would be found to protect the Imperial Revenues and yet impose no unjust or excessive burdens on local or provincial interests. He had next to deplore that the calamities of the time prevented his bringing forward several fiscal reforms of great importance. But to prepare the way for their execution he proceeded to detail the policy which the Government was firmly resolved to carry out. And first, as to the Salt Duties. He defended them in principle as being the least objectionable, and indeed only effectual, means of reaching the mass of the population. Whether they were legitimate or not, we could not at present do without them, but it was of vital concern to prevent their pressing heavily and unjustly on the poor. The salt of Cheshire goes from England to India virtually as ballast, and is almost the only salt used in Bengal and Assam. In Madras and Bombay the manufacture of salt from the sea is easy and cheap, and accordingly in these provinces, in Southern India generally, and great part of Central India, sea salt is used. Northern India consumes as a rule the salt of the native States of Rajputana. The rate of duty and the system of collection vary from province to province. In Madras and Bombay salt is manufactured on behalf of Government, and sold at a price which gives a profit of one rupee thirteen annas per maund (82 lbs.). In Bombay a duty to the same amount is levied as an excise. In Lower Bengal there is a Sea Customs Import duty of three rupees four annas. In the upper provinces the rate is three rupees. In the Panjab this is included in the selling price of salt from the Government mines. Elsewhere the duty is levied when the salt is imported from Rajputana. This variety of duty and system necessitates an Inland Customs Line. An impenetrable hedge of thorny trees and bushes, supplemented by stone walls and ditches, stretches more than 1500 miles, from Attock to the borders of Berar. It is guarded by 8000 men. As no merchandise can pass the barrier without being searched, the obstruc-

tion and annoyance it causes can be easily understood. Experience shows incontestably that the consumption of salt varies inversely as its price. Human health perhaps does not suffer, but the supply in Northern India for cattle and for manufactures is inadequate. The dearness is not, however, due altogether to the duty. The difficulty of buying the salt from the mines restricted importation; and the price might at any time be raised at the pleasure of the native state in whose territory the mines were. A mere reduction of duty would therefore afford little relief, unless provision were made for these two difficulties. Provision has been made. A railway has been constructed from the Agra and Delhi to the Sambhar lake. We have obtained from the states of Jaipur and Jodhpur a lease of the lake, and acquired complete control over the local manufacture; as a result salt fell from five rupees twelve annas to four rupees a maund. In 1874 about 800 miles of the Customs line, in the central provinces, were abolished, and the difference between the duty on salt levied in Bengal and Madras was shaded off by a sliding scale down the coast. Further negotiations were pending with the native states of Rajputana to enable us to substitute for a great part of the Customs line a system of local management at the places of production. Sir J. Strachey then spoke of the duty levied on native sugar carried across the Inland Customs line. Though it was "one of the very worst taxes ever levied by a civilised Government," yet it yielded 160,000*l.* a year, and could not be surrendered now.

We have already described the agitation in England for the repeal of the import duty on cotton goods and shown how, in 1876, the Secretary of State, while leaving to the Government of India to decide the mode in which the "timely removal" of the tax should be effected, declared his opinion that measures for its abolition should have priority over every other form of fiscal relief. The depreciation of silver had prevented Government from taking steps in this direction the year before, and this year, too, Sir J. Strachey said, with almost indignant regret, the financial difficulties caused by famine were so serious that they could not sacrifice any source of income. The net Sea Customs revenue was in 1875-76, 2,475,530*l.*; of this the cotton duty yielded 850,000*l.* Many of the remaining duties were so objectionable that they must be removed. Would it be worth while, suggested the Finance Minister, to maintain large establishments to levy the small amount that would remain. Nearly all the speakers who followed Sir J. Strachey in the debate expressed their disapproval of his views regarding the abolition of the Cotton Duties and Import Duties generally. The commercial members could not agree with him that

the interests of Manchester and of India were identical, or at any rate ought to be matter of equal regard. The native members seemed to think the protective character of the duty was a merit, while the official members (excepting the Viceroy) considered it economically unobjectionable. By the public in general a budget which, contrary to expectation, proposed no new taxation—which above all did not revive the hated Income Tax—was received, as was natural, with approbation. Though the gloom of famine prospects continued to deepen, the state of the finances caused no anxiety till in the September following rumours of loans secretly contracted with native capitalists through local officials were prevalent. It was soon explained that these were to relieve the temporary embarrassment created by the necessity of providing promptly for the unexpected need of Madras, but the secrecy of the transactions, coupled with the anticipation of war, seriously affected for a time the prestige of Government. In December it was found necessary to bring forward a more complete scheme for improving the financial position. The original estimate of famine expenditure was five and a quarter millions; but after the failure of the summer rains in Southern India this was raised to nine and a quarter millions. In addition to the scarcity in Madras, Mysore, and Bombay; there had been an almost entire failure of the crops in the North-Western Provinces, and a scanty rainfall nearly everywhere else. It is true that after October hopes, not even now (July, 1878) fulfilled, were entertained that the distress was virtually over; but the financial difficulties remained. It is always difficult to ascertain, with even approximate correctness, what a famine really costs the State. Sir John Strachey estimated the yearly average cost in loss of revenue and actual expenditure at 1,500,000*l.* Five hundred thousand pounds would also be necessary every year for administrative improvements. Hitherto the ordinary revenues had been barely adequate to defray the ordinary charges, and now it was proposed to add to the ordinary charges that of Famine Relief and Administrative Improvements. How was this surplus of two millions to be provided? Hardly by retrenchments, as Sir John Strachey had already shown. The decentralisation arrangements would indeed increase the Imperial Revenues; but the recent famine had added nearly 400,000*l.* to the charges for the ordinary debt, while the necessity of extending the system of preventive public works forbade the hope of any relief from the increasing returns of those which had been constructed. Sir John Strachey, while suggesting that the existing arrangements as to army charges were hardly just, much less generous, to India, objected to anything like a grant in aid from the revenues of England. The principle

Government meant to enforce was this. Local Governments were in future to construct and maintain from their own resources works intended for the *prevention* of famine. For the *relief* of famine each Government was to be primarily responsible for supplying the wants of its own territory; but as it would be impossible to enforce this rule rigidly, a system of mutual assurance was to be established. The additional yearly taxation of 1,500,000*l.* was intended to constitute this mutual insurance fund. The way in which it was to be used has been so persistently—we had almost said, so perversely—misappreciated by the critics of Government, that a clear explanation seems necessary. We have seen that it had been found financially safe to borrow every year a certain amount for directly remunerative public works. Government proposed to substitute the money raised for famine insurance for an equivalent amount, which would otherwise have been borrowed. Supposing then, at the end of ten years, a famine occurred, Government would be able to borrow the sum necessary for relief, without raising the total debt above the amount it would have stood at had there been no famine taxation. In other words, the famine taxation was to be applied directly not to the reduction of debt, or to famine relief, but to the prevention of debt. It would go to provide the preventive works for which otherwise debt would have been contracted. These works would be selected by the Local Governments, and would be managed by them. The money for their construction would of course be borrowed by the Imperial Government, but the Local Government would be responsible for the interest. We have now to consider the way in which the additional 2,000,000*l.* was to be raised. The Decentralisation Scheme virtually added 400,000*l.* to the Imperial Revenue, while a tax on land in Lower Bengal levied by the Bengal Government as a sequel to the Budget arrangements of March yielded 300,000*l.* Of the 1,500,000*l.* required for famine purposes, there remained only 800,000*l.* to be raised by fresh taxation. We need not here attempt to show that in a country administered as India is, the Income Tax, however just in theory, is in practice vexatious and oppressive. Sir John Strachey admitted that public opinion would not admit of its being proposed. Other taxes suggested on tobacco, succession, marriages, &c., would not be productive enough and would be mere experiments.

The classes which in distressed provinces depend most on Government relief, and in prosperous provinces benefit most by the presence of famine elsewhere, are the agricultural and trading. On the other hand, persons with fixed incomes—especially officials—suffer from the ~~high prices~~ that then prevail. It seemed, therefore, just to provide for

relief by taxes on the agricultural and trading population—the more so as the trading classes nearly everywhere contribute least to the coffers of Government, while they have benefited most by the protection it has given. What is called Land Revenue is really rent, and the justice of requiring the landholders to pay taxes as well as rent to the State can now hardly be seriously disputed. They can rightly complain only if they are asked to bear more than their fair share of the burden. The principle of taxing traders for imperial requirements had been enforced by the License Tax in the North-Western Provinces, and that of taxing landholders by the Bengal cess on land. It was now proposed to supplement and amend these measures by others. The License Tax was extended to Oudh, the Panjab, and (by local legislation) to Bengal. In the central provinces an addition was made to the Pandhri tax which had existed from time immemorial. The general principle of these Licensing Acts was as follows:—Trades were divided into grades, the highest grade paying two hundred rupees a year, and the lowest one rupee. Any one who could prove that the demand on him fell at a rate exceeding two per cent. of his annual income was entitled to exemption. Incomes of less than one hundred rupees were also exempt. Similar measures were passed by the local Legislatures of Bombay and Madras. But in consideration of the loss they had incurred by famine, no tax was imposed in those presidencies on the agricultural classes.

The new taxes were estimated to yield 800,000*l.* Thus the whole 1,500,000*l.* for famine relief was provided. The 800,000*l.* for other purposes was provided by a step towards the equalisation of the Salt Duties. The ultimate object was to give the people the means of obtaining, “with the least possible inconvenience and at the cheapest rate consistent with financial necessities, a supply of salt, the quantity of which shall be limited only by the capacity of the people for consumption.” But for the present it was impossible to sacrifice revenue. Government proposed to level upwards, and to increase the rate in Madras and Bombay to two rupees eight annas per maund. This was the rate, which, if general throughout India, would have produced the same amount as the existing rates, and Government was able to prove that the enhancement was due to a desire for equalisation—not for immediate profit—by showing that it was in lieu of the agricultural cess levied elsewhere, and by reducing the Bengal rate by two annas, and that of the Upper Provinces by four annas. The cost was enhanced to forty-seven millions of people and cheapened to one hundred and thirty millions. We cannot discuss at length the propriety of the Salt Duties. They reach the mass of the people who otherwise

could not be reached. Their incidence is not felt, and if felt would not be objected to, for we have inherited them from the native systems that preceded ours. Where we have introduced or enhanced them, it has been as a substitute for far more oppressive imposts. The system under which they have been collected is in itself wasteful and vexatious, but when we have obtained control of the places where the native salt is produced, and by equalising the duties, put ourselves in a position to abolish the Customs line, this reproach will be removed.

The necessity of providing a surplus can hardly be denied, and we believe that the measures proposed for providing it were judicious. They had been framed after consultation with the Local Governments, and in accordance with their wishes. But even the proposer admitted that the License Tax would press disproportionately on the poorer classes of traders; while the agricultural cess, though it amounted only to one per cent. on the rental, was viewed with suspicion and dislike by the landholders. The distinction between rent and taxation and between the payment and the incidence of rates, are distinctions which nearly every native and a good many distinguished officers of Government are unable to appreciate. * At first the Finance Minister was able to congratulate himself that his proposals were received with universal approval; but soon the criticism developed into virulent opposition. For once the English and native commercial classes made common cause against a Government which exempted from taxation officials and professional men. Enthusiastic meetings were held at Bombay and other large cities, to petition against the arbitrary act of the Calcutta bureaucracy, and to ask for the grant of representative institutions in order to prevent such neglect of popular opinion in future. Some of the provisions added in the passage of the Taxation Bills through the local Legislative Councils were, it must be confessed, injudicious. While in Bombay the maximum rate was Rs. 200, the maximum in Bengal was raised to Rs. 500, and in Madras to Rs. 800. In Madras the Senior Member of Council protested against the exemption of the professional and official classes. In Surat the attempt to collect the tax led to a riot which was suppressed, with loss of life, by military force. In other towns of Western India, too, opposition was shown. The demand for retrenchment in expenditure only served to strengthen the hands of the Government of India in protesting against the arbitrary and unjust treatment of India as regards army charges; but the main objections to the taxes imposed were virtually arguments for an Income Tax. And against that there would have been still more vehement opposition. The petitioners argued with some truth that a time of high prices did not mean a time of high profits, and it is

admitted that, whether owing to the precedence given to grain traffic on the railways, or to strictly commercial causes, the trade of Bombay was then depressed. But speaking generally, the doctrine laid down by Sir J. Strachey seems to us to be sound. Government might easily, as regards its own servants, have escaped criticism by rendering them liable to the tax and increasing their salaries by the amounts they would have to pay.

The Budget for 1878-9 was published on the 19th of March last. The official summary gives its main features:—

“The Revenue for 1876-77 was 56,022,277*l.*; ordinary expenditure, 58,205,955*l.*; loss by famine, 3,450,000*l.*; deficit, 2,182,778*l.*, exclusive of 3,809,288*l.* for productive works.

“Regular estimates, 1877-78—Revenue, 56,310,900*l.*; ordinary expenditure, 62,113,000*l.*; loss by famine, 6,500,000*l.*; deficit, 3,431,000*l.*, excluding 4,877,000*l.* for productive works. Surplus on ordinary account, excluding famine, 3,069,000*l.* Net amount borrowed in 1877-78, 8,620,000*l.*; half a million lent to Mysore and half a million to Gwalior for famine expenditure. Closing balances in India, 14½ millions.

“The Budget estimates for 1878-79 include 2½ millions for provincial rates and taxes, hitherto shown separately, thus giving the whole public revenue and expenditure—Revenue as 63,250,000*l.*; new famine taxation, gross, 1,200,000*l.*; arrears of land revenue, 67,000*l.*; ordinary expenditure, 61,094,000*l.*, of which 500,000*l.* is on the famine in Madras; surplus, 2,156,000*l.*, excluding 4,555,000*l.* for productive works. 600,000*l.* required for loans for the native States and elsewhere; 1,000,000*l.* for the guaranteed railway capital withdrawn.

“Balances will be reduced to 1½ million, closing at 13 millions in India. Probably 2½ millions will be borrowed. Loss by exchange, 3,000,000*l.* on remittance of 17 millions. Opium is estimated at 6 millions net; Malwa crop short. There will be no fresh taxation beyond the January arrangements, which are calculated to yield the Imperial Treasury in 1878-79 net 1,160,000*l.* Inland sugar duties are abolished, 155,000*l.*, in anticipation of early removal of Customs line. Import duties on raw cotton, coarse yarns, and coarse goods abolished, 23,000*l.*; also under twenty-seven other tariff heads, 54,000*l.* Great improvement in the guaranteed railways. Net earnings for 1877-78 will cover all interest. The surplus provides full amount of famine insurance to 1½ million. According to recent pledges the policy of extending provincial responsibility is reaffirmed, and the results continue highly satisfactory.”

After the ample explanations we have already given of Government policy, these figures need little comment. The propriety of continuing to borrow for productive public works—the new name for what had hitherto been known as extraordinary works and grants—was shown by the fact that the total charge for interest on debt of all kinds is 2,000,000*l.* less this year than in 1871. The estimates of home military charges showed a satisfactory diminution of 600,000*l.*; 555,000*l.* was provided from ordinary revenues for the relief of famine, and 1,000,000*l.* was to be devoted to famine insurance. Thus the pledge Government gave when imposing the additional taxation was fulfilled. The negotiations with native States for the abolition of the Customs

line were rapidly approaching to a successful termination. The abolition of the import duties on the coarser kind of cotton goods and yarn was decreed rather as an advantage to India and a recognition of the force of Free Trade principles, backed by the House of Commons resolution of August, 1877, than as a concession to Manchester. Indeed, the Government declarations on the subject seemed to assume that Manchester had no other motive than zeal for free trade. An excise duty on Indian cottons was shown to be impracticable. In summarising the new policy of extending the powers and responsibilities of the Provincial Governments, the necessity of selecting works that would be strictly remunerative was insisted on. The Protective Public Works Government desired to promote were mainly cheap railroads and extensive irrigation works. The Central Government, let us once again explain, was to provide the funds for the construction of these partly from loans, and partly from the additional taxation. The total amount was not to exceed the limit experience had proved safe. The Provincial Government was from the first to provide from its own revenues for the interest. When famine relief became necessary, loans would be contracted, but these would not in the average of years exceed the amount which had been devoted from the additional taxation to protective works.

South Africa.—The English nation is justly proud and tenacious of Empire. Popular sentiment does not stop to inquire with economists whether the cost is not greater than the gain, or with philosophers whether one race may rightly undertake to control the destiny of other races. Dominion is a heritage burdensome perhaps, but glorious, and we will not abandon it. The very sacrifices we have made to maintain it, the very dangers it involves, make it precious. We are ready to defend Peshawar on the Bosphorus, and in our own hour of need to protect King William's Town from Kafir raids. Popular sentiment moves blindly in the right direction. We admit with the philosophers that it is not desirable to stifle developments merely because they are not on the precise lines of our own civilisation. But if we are to interest ourselves in human affairs at all, we must have some ideal to aim at, and the ideal we call civilisation seems to us a nobler ideal than that which we call barbarism. We consider that to realise it is a good thing, worth struggling for. Races now uncivilised must be dealt with gently, and be allowed a fair chance in the struggle. But if they cannot maintain themselves in the presence of civilisation we cannot affect to deplore their extinction—we cannot propose to check the natural growth of progressive races because their overflow sweeps

away the masses of stagnant barbarism. The forms of English civilisation are, we believe, less rigid, English institutions are more liberal, and English policy and aims are more humane than those of any other country; and therefore the popular sentiment which enables England to play so great a part in shaping the future of the world is, we believe, a healthy sentiment. Other nations have conquered, other nations have colonised—England alone maintains in one great system its conquests and its colonies—eager to confer on any community which is fit to exercise them powers of self-government—conferring, where it is forced to rule despotically, on its meanest subject the same personal rights as an English citizen enjoys, and willing to employ the whole resources of the empire for the defence of any part attacked. But if our national willingness to undertake the vast duties of dominion is gratifying, it must be confessed that the want of general interest as to the way in which we discharge them is humiliating. English ignorance of India is proverbial. Our indifference to the affairs of our colonies is even less intelligible and excusable. The untravelled and unimaginative Englishman can easily, if he wishes it, realise the conditions with which Colonial Governments have to deal. Even where relations with native races are an element in colonial affairs they are an element easily appreciated. The problem of the colonial administrator is to adjust the relations between a dominant community of civilised men, whose sentiments and ways of thought are like our own, and an inferior race, till lately quite uncivilised; while that of the Indian administrator is to rule from without in the spirit of English institutions a vast population split into communities, unsympathetic, often hostile, and fanatically attached to ancestral forms of civilisation alien to ours, obscure in their origin, and intelligible only after long study and experience. It is clear that the colonial problem, though it may be less susceptible of a practical solution, is far more readily understood than the Indian problem. The indifference, we believe, would be less general if colonial events were recorded in a more intelligible and less fragmentary form than that in which they find record in the ordinary newspapers, and we venture to hope that we are supplying a real want by attempting in this section of the *Review* a systematic survey of events in the colonies and dependencies. Such a survey, if it is to be of any interest and value, must be prefaced in the case of each colony by a short sketch of its condition and history. Limits of space compel us to approach gradually to the realisation of our full design, by introducing in each successive number an account of affairs in a fresh group of colonies. In this number we have to deal with the South African group.

We must ask the reader to ascertain for himself, by reference to a recent map, the position of the various territories included under the general designation of South African Colonies. He will notice that mountain ranges at some distance from the coast-line run roughly parallel to it. The country, in fact, ascends from the coast by a series of terraces to the high table-land of the Transvaal. The high mountains near the sea are, it is probable, isolated remains of this primitive plateau. The aspect of the plateaus is tame and bleak. Trees and vegetation, owing to the slight rainfall, are rare. But in the mountainous tracts, between the coast and the table-land, are many scenes of exquisite and almost unrivalled beauty. In every new country the most picturesque tracts generally offer least temptation to the settler, and afford a safe asylum to the savage and the outlaw, and so, by a seeming caprice of destiny the loveliest examples of South African scenery are to be found in Independent Kafria and in the Amatola Range, where the rebel Gaikas are now making their last stand. From the mountains, rivers swollen by sudden rain rush through deep ravines to the sea. The sides are clothed with dense forest. Along the coast, broken lines of cliffs overhang, or bright green pastures slope into, a sea of the purest blue, while a cloudless sky bathes the scene in clear light. The hill country of Natal has been compared to that of Devonshire.

What agricultural resources the country possess may be said to be as yet undeveloped. In Cape Colony the soil is well adapted for the growth of wheat, and there is abundance of water. But the rivers rush in torrents and destructive floods to the sea. Years of peace and development in other directions must probably elapse before the colony will be able to devote its resources to the execution of great schemes of irrigation. Already engineering enterprise busies itself with plans. The valley reservoir system of Western India will probably be found more suitable for the needs of the country than the canal system of Northern India. But at present the colony does not grow wheat enough for its own consumption. In Natal the sugar-cane yields remunerative crops, and the wines of the Cape are well known, if not highly appreciated. Wool is the great staple, and its export is rapidly increasing. In 1815, 9600 pounds were exported from the Cape; in 1852, 7,773,000; in 1872, 48,000,000. Ostrich farming is becoming a popular and profitable industry. Great Nanaqua Land to the north of Cape Colony, but as yet unannexed, is rich in mineral wealth. Some of the copper mines are, we believe, the richest in the world. The discovery of diamonds in Griqualand West has attracted great numbers of adventurers, and by thus creating

a nucleus of population will, it is to be hoped, facilitate the development of more real sources of prosperity.

The Peninsula of Table Mountain was occupied by the Dutch East India Company as a trading depôt in 1652, and was held by them for many years solely for the purposes of their Indian trade, as Aden is held by us now. The natives with whom they came in contact were Hottentots and Bushmen—races far inferior in energy and *morale* to the Kafirs and Zulus with whom more recent acquisitions have brought Europeans in contact. The little settlement had to struggle for existence with its savage neighbours, and with the wild beasts which then infested the neighbourhood of Cape Town. Fresh emigrants flowed in—chiefly Germans—though all after awhile became known as Dutch, and Portuguese and Flemish traders were allowed to settle. The system of government was of the harshest Dutch type. Vanquished natives were ruthlessly exterminated or reduced to a condition hardly distinguishable from slavery. At the close of the century, the area of the Dutch territory was 120,000 square miles, and the population was 22,000 whites, 26,000 slaves (descendants of Malays or negroes), and 15,000 Hottentots. Mr. Froude, who has come forward as an apologist for the Dutch, describes the Hottentots as being under a law of settlement, receiving wages, but confined to special localities and obliged to work. In 1795 the English occupied the Cape temporarily. In 1805 we again took possession by force. In 1815, when it was finally ceded to us, an attempted resistance by some of the Dutch inhabitants was easily crushed. The eastern boundary was then the Great Fish River, beyond which the Kafirs had been driven after great slaughter in 1811. In 1818 there was another Kafir war. In 1820 our Government sent out and settled in the neighbourhood of Graham's Town 6000 Scotch, Irish, and English colonists. The Kafirs were forced to retire beyond the KeisKamma, and the tract between that river and the Great Fish River was constituted a neutral zone. We may here remark that though after the Crimean war we planted on the Kafir frontier several thousand soldiers of the German legion and subsequently other German emigrants, the population of the Western Province of Cape Colony is mainly English, while that of the Eastern Province is mainly Dutch. This difference of race intensifies the jealousy between the two provinces resulting from incompatibility of interests. After the annexation, the Dutch were allowed to live according to their own laws, to practise their own religion and speak their own language, and for many years their relations with the English settlers were friendly. But in 1828 occurred the first of a series of instances in which, according to Mr. Froude, we have

wantonly affronted the susceptibilities and seriously injured the material interests of the Dutch population. We shall endeavour in each instance to state clearly the facts relied on by the apologists on each side, and enable our readers to see them in contrasted lights.

Between 1820 and 1830 English became the language of public transactions. This was a sentimental grievance; but the intrusion of English ideas was soon to give rise to a material one. Liberal sentiment at home was approaching its first great triumph, and with the enthusiasm of youth, lent a ready ear to tales of hardship abroad. Missionary enterprise had been active at the Cape, and by means of its agents the thralldom of the Hottentots, and the cruelties of their Dutch masters, became known. In 1828 the law of settlement was repealed. The most ardent advocate of native rights must admit that the result was deplorable. Released from the necessity of work, the Hottentots lived by thieving, and amused themselves by drunkenness. To protect the industrious settlers, rigid vagrant laws had to be passed. On the eastern border a Hottentot police-force was formed. The missionaries collected others of the race in a settlement on the Kat river. At the hour of trial both proved faithless to their English protectors, and now the race of pure Hottentots at the Cape is said to be extinct.

A few years after this first experiment came the Act for the Abolition of the Foreign Slave Trade. It must be remembered that the South African slaves were kept for domestic purposes, and were not, as in the West Indies, employed in gangs in agricultural labour. The evils of the system were therefore less flagrant, and though emancipation caused less loss, it caused greater irritation. While the West Indian proprietors were chiefly resident in England, and suffered a pecuniary loss only, the Dutch farmers felt each a loss of personal dignity and comfort in his own house by the altered relations, and his resentment was kept alive by the sympathy of neighbours, who suffered as he did. The process of emancipation, too, was necessarily inquisitorial. The Dutch officials had too much fellow-feeling with the slave-owners to be trusted with the work of carrying out the Act; it was therefore done by officers sent from England. Lastly, owing to official rigidity, the certificates of indemnity were made payable only in London, where the Dutch farmers had neither friends nor agents. The original estimate of indemnity was 3,000,000*l.* This was reduced to 1,200,000*l.*; but in most cases the Dutch had to sell their certificates at 20 to 30 per cent. discount. They felt themselves cheated by their English neighbours, as well as ill-used by the English Government.

Soon after broke out a fresh Kafir war. But as the history of the colonies since then is almost wholly a history of struggles with native neighbours, and as the disagreements between English and Dutch—perhaps it would be more correct to say, between the English Government and the colonists of the frontier and outlying states—have been connected with native policy, we must here break the thread of our narrative, to give some account of the Kafirs and their institutions.

The Zulus dwelling in Natal and to the north of Natal, are sometimes called Kafirs, but the term is more correctly limited to certain tribes which live now, and have lived since our rule commenced, in the eastern part of Cape Colony, and the tract called Independent Kafraria. We need hardly describe their physique: they are brave, hardy, and energetic; their religion is of the usual savage type—a mixture of fetish rites, belief in spirits, and indications of a belief in one great pervading Spirit, the soul of all things. They are superstitious even beyond the ordinary measure of savages, and the superstitions to which they are prone are often of the most cruel and ghastly kind. The professions held in highest reverence are those of witch-finders and rain-makers—terms which hardly need explanation. Prophets of both sexes receive honour, and have often led whole tribes to acts of daring cruelty, and even suicidal madness. The chief is paramount head of his tribe; in theory his power is absolute, but custom, as in more civilised countries, limits his authority. He fears the rebellion of his subjects, and the presence of the other warriors of the royal house who surround him, and form his council. Polygamy is practised—the eldest son of the great wife of the chief succeeding to the leadership of the tribe. The feudal code is simple and mild; treason alone is punished with death, all other offences being punished, or rather atoned for, by fine proportionate to the injury done. Families are responsible collectively for the offences of each member. The student of primitive institutions can see the process of tribe formation go on almost under his very eyes, and if he has no preconceptions, will probably come to the conclusions, that no unvarying law of social growth can be laid down, that communities grow both by fusion and expansion, and that the nature of the environments—not the genius of the race—must be looked to to explain the course of development.

Kafirs live in huts, collected in villages. Those who are unaffected by European influence have a small garden for vegetables or grain, the care of which is left to women. The men, in time of peace, hunt and look after the cattle. As in other primitive societies, oxen are the chief wealth and sole measure of wealth. The young man who

wants to marry, must purchase a girl from her parents or guardians with a present of oxen. As the old men have the wealth, they naturally monopolise the wives, and the young men are forced to procure cattle if they can by plundering raids. They are singularly prolific: epidemics are unknown, and disease is rare: population therefore rapidly increases, and as they are a purely pastoral people, there is constant need of fresh land. Fighting is dear to them for its own sake, and the younger chiefs are ever anxious to "wash their spears." The history of the Kafirs and of the tribes to which they have succeeded—could it be written—would probably be a history of rapid tribal development, and of almost sudden tribal extinction. A victorious chief sweeps away to his own country the cattle of the conquered tribe. The broken remnants of the tribe disperse, and are absorbed in other tribes, and the country but lately over-populated becomes a waste. We admit that native races have a tendency to perish in presence of the white race; but we must not forget that contact with more powerful native races is still more fatal. It is not true humanity to abstain from interference with them. Their normal activity is warfare. Compel them to keep the peace, and they perish by mere decay of disused energy. If they are to be saved, they must be first subjected. The early settlers on the frontier, however, were neither philosophers nor philanthropists, but simply farmers who wished to breed their stock and bring up their families in peace. The Kafirs on the other side of the neutral zone had views quite as simple, but unfortunately incompatible with those of the farmers. They crossed the frontier in bands, and carried off the cattle of the thrifty whites. The relations of the *Dasyus* to the Aryans four thousand years ago, as they are revealed to us in the early Vedas, have a precise parallel in the relations of the Kafirs to the European settlers. There was no regular police force, and the Government at the Cape was powerless to give efficient protection. The settlers therefore were forced to take measures of their own. In armed bands—called *commandos*—they followed the Kafirs, and as a reprisal, plundered and ravaged their villages, and occupied their lands. Arbitrary punishment naturally becomes excessive and wantonly cruel. It was so in this case. The British Government attempted to substitute a system of military patrols, but these failed to satisfy the farmers, while they often inflicted undeserved punishment on the natives. The missionaries, who laboured with little fruit among the Kafirs, and saw, no doubt, the nobler features of their character, warmly espoused the cause of the Kafirs. In 1834, the exclusion of the Kafirs from lands they had occupied, provoked them to prepare for a general rising. Armed with guns, which they

procured through the missionaries, they invaded the lands of the colony. "They swarmed along four hundred miles of frontier, burning, killing, and driving cattle." The Dutch farmers suffered most, as they clung to their homes. Sir Benjamin D'Urban, who was then Governor, hastened with troops to the frontier. After a short struggle the Kafirs were repulsed—the neutral territory between the Great Fish River and the KeisKamma was annexed, and the native tribes between the KeisKamma and the Kai were declared British subjects, and placed under the control of British magistrates. Lord Glenelg was then Colonial Secretary. Influenced by the reports of the missionaries, he declared that the Kafirs were amply justified in attempting measures of retaliation for the cruelties of the commandos, and trying to recover what they had been wrongly deprived of. He conceived the Kafirs to be "feeble, unwarlike, inclined to peaceful pursuits, and well disposed to Christianity." The injured colonists were to receive no compensation and expect no assistance, and the territory newly annexed was to be at once abandoned. The sense of a common wrong made the Dutch and English one. Strong representations were made at home of the injustice and impolicy of Lord Glenelg's decision. A Committee of the House of Commons, however, reported that the allegations of cruelty made against the commandos were well-founded. It laid down as a general principle, that in all colonies aborigines ought not to be subjected to the control of the local Legislature. Thus the policy of concession triumphed. The Dutch were indignant. Strong with the wild fervour of exasperation, by thousands they placed their wives and little ones and household goods on the stout bullock carts which were to serve them as a means of transit, and as a home in their wanderings, and "trekked" northwards, beyond the mountains and the Orange River, to a land where "in their own way they could establish more wholesome relations with the native tribes" than those which the English rule permitted. They reached what is now known as the Orange River Free State—a plateau of grazing land inclosed by mountains. The plain was unoccupied, but with the natives who dwelt in the hills and beyond—Bechuanas, Basutos, and Griquas—a race of mixed Hottentot and Dutch descent—they established friendly relations. Here they founded a state which—except for a short period—has been, and still is, independent of British rule.

The Dutch farmers of South Africa—or, to use the shorter term generally used to designate them, the Boers—exhibit a uniformity of striking characteristics, which renders a general description safe and easy. They are intensely conservative; religious after the severest Calvinistic model; hard, unimaginative, unenthusiastic, unpitying, even to the verge of

cruelty; doggedly pertinacious, hardworking, and enduring. Family affection is strong. They are hospitable, but unsocial. While the English family shuns isolation, the Dutch courts it. In forming new settlements, the head of each household forms an inclosure for his cattle, plants a little garden near his home, and encloses some score of acres for growing crops. As the sons marry, new houses are built for the new families. Mr. Trollope declares that the Boer is every inch a gentleman. But the house in which he lives is rude and almost squalid, and his habits and manners seem to the more fastidious and romantic Englishman to want refinement.

Leaving the Boers in their new home, we must, in our effort to render intelligible the elements of South African politics, attempt to sketch the history of the Zulus. At the beginning of this century they were an unimportant tribe, tributary to the Umtetwas, who then dwelt to the north of the Tugela river, the present northern boundary of Natal. A prince of the Umtetwas had spent ten years of exile among the white folk of the South, and on his return to his own people introduced among them European principles of military organisation. An illegitimate son of the chief of the Zulus, fearing the jealousy of his kinsfolk, fled to the Umtetwas and served amongst them as a soldier. Five years after, he was recalled to the headship of his tribe. His name was Chaka, a name of terror in the annals of native warfare. While Chaka ruled the Zulus, the Umtetwas were defeated and "eaten up" in the usual way by a neighbouring tribe. The survivors joined Chaka, who soon extended his conquests from Delagoa Bay to the borders of Cape Colony. Some of the "broken men" of the tribes he destroyed took refuge on the eastern frontier of Cape Colony, where they became the Fingoes, or "dogs" of the Kafirs. We shall see hereafter how the extension of our rule raised them from the position of slavery they occupied, and how the protection we afforded them has involved us in the war which still smoulders in the eastern province. Chaka was assassinated in 1828. His brother Dingana succeeded, but under his feeble and treacherous rule the Zulu power declined.

In 1824, a small English settlement had been formed at Port Natal. In 1836, two years after the great Kafir war, the feeble results of which had driven the disgusted Dutch from English soil, some of the emigrants "trekked" onwards from the Orange River territory by the easy passes of the Drakenberg to the plains of Natal. The old inhabitants had perished or been expelled in the wars of Chaka. Negotiations for a settlement were opened with Dingana, in the midst of which he treacherously attacked and murdered a band of Boers with

their leader. The surviving bands had a hard struggle for life, but at last they succeeded in defeating Dingana and became masters of Natal. It is important to observe the light in which the Cape Government regarded these independent conquests of the discontented Boers. In 1838, the Governor sent a military force to take possession of Port Natal, avowedly not for purposes of colonisation or annexation, but "to secure the power of effectual interference in maintaining the peace of South Africa." The force was finally withdrawn, but the incident illustrates the process by which English authority has been extended. The Boers find the English methods of dealing with natives "will not suit," they accordingly trek onwards to regions where they can establish "more wholesome relations, in their own way." There they become embroiled with natives. Either they solicit the intervention of the Cape Government, or the Cape Government is compelled to secure the peace of its own frontier by intervention. Intervention generally ends in annexation. Thus, in 1842, the continued harshness of Dutch treatment of natives compelled the Governor to reclaim the Boers as British subjects. They made a brave resistance, but Natal was finally annexed. Again, the majority of the Boers showed their intolerance of English rule by retiring to the Orange River territory.

The lenient treatment they met with in 1834 had only encouraged the Kafirs in the commission of wanton outrages. These culminated in 1846 in an unprovoked war. They were defeated, and their country up to the Kai River annexed. The policy of 1834 was reversed. Lord Grey was then Colonial Minister. His instructions to the Governor were that representative institutions were to be introduced as soon as possible, that the colony was to manage its own affairs, *native* as well as local. The motive was not increased confidence in the benevolent wisdom of the colonists, but a desire to relieve the Crown of a burden of responsibility and expense it found too heavy. There was to be no further extension of the Queen's dominion. Meanwhile, Sir Harry Smith, the commander of the victorious troops, had visited the Orange River territory on the invitation of the Boers. He found them prosperous and contented. Three powerful native chiefs, and a large section of the Boers, desired to be annexed. Accordingly, in 1848, he proclaimed the sovereignty of the Queen over the country between the Vaal and Orange Rivers and the Drakenberg mountains. The chiefs who were made subject were mentioned by name, but as to the degree of authority left to them the terms of the proclamation were vague. Amongst them was Moshesh, chief of the Basutos, who had claimed to be an old ally of the English. The Boers, as a community, were not favourable to annexation, and Sir H. Smith had hardly left the territories when

the settlers who had retired from Natal rose and declared their independence. After a sharp struggle, English authority triumphed, but again a large body of disaffected Boers trekked beyond the Vaal, and established there the South African Republic, a territory now better known as the Transvaal. The country, before their arrival, had been depopulated by the ravages of a Zulu tribe, the Amatelebe, as they passed northwards.

We shall have to recount so many instances of vacillation, inconsistency, and folly, in the management of affairs by the Colonial Office that we may, to make the list complete, briefly refer here to the attempt made in 1849 by Lord Grey to compel the colony to accept as settlers a cargo of persons convicted of political offences—offences which the vigorous but inelegant language of the loyal Boers described as “exceeding in selfishness and meanness, in atrociousness and deliberate cruelty, any class of felons.” The ship lay in harbour, but no one was allowed to land, and after eight months the Government was starved into submission to the will of the colonists. Soon after it sailed there was a revolt of the Hottentots of the frontier police and Kat River Settlement—followed by an outbreak of Kafirs and of Basutos. The hostility of the latter is ascribed by the Boers, and by the Basutos themselves, to the meddlesome policy of the British Commissioner in the Orange River territory. The Boers had been employed in British commandos to chastise the Basutos. The Basutos replied by plundering the cattle of the Boers, and the Boers were again forced to retaliate on the Basutos. Lord Grey, in consenting to despatch reinforcements, repeats, with even greater emphasis than before, that British authority must be contracted, and the ultimate abandonment of the Orange River sovereignty must be a settled point of British policy. No war, however sanguinary, occurring between the independent tribes beyond the frontier, was to afford ground for interference. It was acknowledged that colonists, if unprotected, must also be unrestrained, and that the probable result would be indiscriminate vengeance, and gradual extermination of the natives. The failure of commerce and missionary enterprise to establish security was deplored, and it was suggested that it would be necessary to restrict the exercise of British power within even narrower limits than before. Missionary enterprise, we may remark, had fallen into much disrepute since Lord Glenelg’s time, and the highest officials ascribed to it much of the difficulties that had arisen. The Kafirs at length submitted, and, in 1852, Mosheah, attacked in his stronghold, desired “to be no longer considered an enemy of the Queen.”

The Cape Government, recognising the independence of the Transvaal,

in 1852 entered into an engagement with it, known as the Sand River Convention. The Boers were guaranteed "in the fullest manner the right to manage their own affairs without interference." The Cape Government disclaimed "all alliances whatever, and with whomsoever, of the coloured races north of the Vaal." This stipulation was expressly said to have the effect of depriving "the native chiefs of a support on which they had long relied;" and subsequently—avowedly in accordance with it—the Governor declined to renew, with the son of a deceased chief, the treaty that had been in force for many years with his father. The Boers on their part agreed that no slavery should be permitted or practised. We shall see hereafter that this stipulation was systematically disregarded.

During the year the Orange River State had been under English administration, Englishmen, relying on British protection, had settled there—English capital had been invested, and a brisk trade in wool had sprung up. The English settlers were therefore opposed to the proposed grant of independence. So were the Dutch farmers of the Cape, who profited by the wars which naturally followed the extension of frontier. So were the officials and land-jobbers. But the sentiment of the Boers themselves seems to have been adverse to English rule. Although the Dutch of the western province petitioned against "severing a people whom a wise policy would unite," and pointed out that "the recovery of the territory would soon become a solemn duty," the Colonial Office was obdurate. It was hoped that the new state would form a barrier between the English colonies and the native tribes of the interior; but the apologists of the Boers point out that to make it efficient as such, the grant of independence should have been accompanied by the cession of Natal, which would have given them a seaboard, and thus provided them with means of independent development. The assembly of delegates summoned to undertake the Government refused to do so, and the question was again referred to the Colonial Office. Sir J. Clerk in his despatch points out that "the British occupation had produced bad blood—the avarice of English land-jobbers could not be restrained, and the country would become a prey to nefarious speculators." A passage quoted with approval by Mr. Froude, seems fatal to his contention that to impose independence was in effect "to fling away, against their will, many thousand deserting British subjects." "The measures," says Sir G. Clerk, "the British Government has taken with regard to the Dutch (with few exceptions), and the neglect or disdain with which it has habitually regarded them, have engendered a spirit which leaves them by no means desirous of remaining anywhere under British dominion."

Much, indeed, was to be said in favour of the policy of the Colonial Office. There was the incompatibility of Dutch and English notions as to the treatment of natives, and the fatal facility with which the Boers trekked on and involved us in fresh responsibilities. "The attempt to provide adequate protection alike," says Sir G. Cathcart, "for settlers and for aborigines, would involve the employment of 2000 soldiers, and would end," he adds, "in our having to exterminate our native neighbours." From the point of view of its supporters, the policy was justified by its success. During the twenty-four years that followed its adoption there were no native wars.

In 1854 the delegates were again convened. A treaty was framed by which the Boers were constituted a free and independent people. The English Colonial Office had directed that the native chiefs should resume their independence, but left it to Sir J. Clerk to determine their relations to the new state. Clerk proposed to leave the question open, but the delegates declined to become parties to the treaty unless the British Government agreed not to interfere between them and the natives, and not to enter into treaties with natives *injuriously* affecting their interests. Mr. Froude asserts that Sir J. Clerk assented to this. If he did so, it is strange that the language of the treaty should not be explicit on a point that was so firmly contested. The 2nd Article declares that "The British Government has no alliance whatever with any native chiefs or tribes (except one Griqua chief), and her Majesty's Government has no wish or intention to enter hereafter into any treaties which may be injurious or prejudicial to the interests of the Orange River Government." The very wording of the article shows it was meant as a declaration—not as a stipulation. To have foregone absolutely the right of interference in any case would have been an act of suicidal abnegation. At least one despatch from the Colonial Office to the Governor of the Cape, sent soon after the treaty was ratified, shows that the right of interference, "when clearly indispensable for the protection of British subjects," was then believed to exist. We shall hereafter have to discuss how far our interference in the case of the Diamond Fields and of Basuto land was justifiable; but to assert, as Mr. Froude does, that to interfere at all was contrary to an honest and honourable construction of this treaty, seems to us to presume that it was entered into by rogues on one side and fools on the other. By another article the Boers distinctly undertook to prevent slavery. Let us hear what their apologist says as to their compliance with this stipulation. They are, he says, at least a hundred years behind us in civilisation. Their system of compulsory apprenticeship, and forced labour as a penalty

for vagrancy—a system which resembles that of the Commonwealth rather than that of England to-day—bears a strong likeness to slavery. In the troubles with the natives which were caused by the British occupation, the men were killed, and the women and children (who would otherwise have starved) were distributed as servants to the farmers. On the frontier of the Transvaal grew up an infamous trade in native children, who were carried into the Dutch Settlement and disposed of there as apprentices. The Orange River State soon put a stop to this; but every instance was made the most by those who for unworthy purposes wished to provoke British interference. If this be the plea for the defence, we shall not be surprised if the evidence for the prosecution be damning. Livingston complains that the Boers attacked a native chief—destroyed his town—killed sixty of his men, and carried off two hundred women and children, because he had allowed an Englishman to pass through his country. One of the leaders of the Boers (in the Transvaal) expressed the feeling of the whole community when he said, that the Divine law which was given to Joshua was given to them too—to offer peace, and if peace were not accepted to destroy all before them. On this he acted with a good conscience. In 1866, in the Orange Free State a clergyman and one official were found bold enough to protest against the sale of fifty-six Kafir children who had been torn from their mothers. Another subject of the state was threatened with a prosecution for high treason for reporting a similar outrage to the Governor of Cape Colony. These are isolated instances, but the prevalence of the practice in the Transvaal was notorious, as was the connivance of the Government. In 1868 the Legislative Council of Natal declared, that since 1848 the South African Republic had carried on a system of slavery disguised as apprenticeships—being the result of raids, in which the men were slaughtered, and the children and property seized. Native chiefs brought stories to Natal of whole countries depopulated through fear of the Boers. The Government of the country professed to forbid slavery, but was too weak to enforce its prohibition. The system was still general in 1877, but the Government, if appealed to by the English, would deny that it existed, and render inquiry impossible. Our readers must bear these facts in mind when we come to speak of the annexation of the Transvaal.

After the abandonment of the Orange River State by the British, boundary disputes arose between the Boers and Moseshah—the chief of the Basutos. In the war that followed the Boers were worsted, and in 1858 they appealed again in vain to be taken back under the British flag. The Governor, however, intervened in their favour, and a boundary favourable to the Dutch was defined. War with the Basutos broke out

again in 1861. Another followed in 1864. It was conducted on both sides with obstinate ferocity. One in five of the able-bodied Boers perished by the sword, and the native population of whole districts by starvation. The ranks of the Boers were recruited from the neighbouring provinces, and they were at last victorious. Basuto fugitives filled the Zulus of Natal with apprehension, while the warriors tried to avenge the misfortunes of their race by attacking the Boers settled there. In all these wars we had prevented the Basutos from getting ammunition, while it passed freely to the Dutch. Moshesh had in vain pleaded his helplessness, his frequent concessions, his long friendship with the British; they were compelled to purchase peace by the cession of their best land—perhaps the best land in South Africa. Peace was hardly made when war broke out again. At last we intervened effectively. The annexations of the Boers were restricted to more reasonable limits; the Basutos were declared British subjects, and the Free State guaranteed against further aggression. Before speaking of the annexation of the Diamond Fields—the second instance in which the Boers allege that we have infringed the convention of 1854—we must attempt to sketch the course of discussion regarding changes in the constitution of the British South African Colonies. The two great types of British colonies are Crown colonies, and colonies endowed with responsible government. In the Crown colonies the entire administration is conducted by officials nominated by, and responsible to, the British Government. Where responsible government exists legislation and the control of the administration is entrusted to bodies representative of the colony. Between these two are, of course, many intermediate types. An elected council may, for instance, assist a Crown governor in making laws. Certain colonies obviously can only be ruled as Crown colonies; such are infant colonies, and colonies where but a small minority of the population is affected by the ideas of civilised life. But the question, at what stage of its development a Crown colony may safely become self-governing, is one of great delicacy. A practical answer is, when it is able to defend itself, and is fit to manage native affairs; and it can manage native affairs well only when there is a large settled community, remote from contact with independent native tribes, the sober judgment of which will restrain the excesses of the border settlers. Wars with natives will be rashly entered on if the decision rests with those who feel directly the provocation, and benefit directly by the triumph, and native policy will be irritating if it be directed by those who will not have to bear the expense of war. A constitution had been granted to Cape Colony in 1854. It is, it must be remembered in strictness,

rather a conquered province than a colony. The only part of the colony the Imperial Government was directly interested in defending was the important naval station, Simon's Bay. Though absolutely essential, and barely adequate for Imperial purposes, it was subject to the control of the colony, which might at any time purpose to convert it into a commercial port. On the other hand, while the colonists felt that in case of danger the troops employed for the defence of Simon's Bay and the Crown colony of Natal would come to their aid, the financial check to which we have alluded did not operate to deter them from rash management of relations with natives. It had long been seen that the proper force for border defence was a police-force. Trained troops could not easily adapt themselves to bush warfare, and the settlers, if employed, could not be retained under proper discipline. It was the policy of the Home Government to confer increased political power on the colony and to withdraw gradually the military assistance it had hitherto afforded. The first step to this end was taken in 1867. The British troops were to be reduced to three battalions, and the colony was to pay to the Home Government a military contribution fixed high enough to make the employment of police instead of soldiers economical. The Assembly declined to pay this, and Sir Philip Wodehouse, who was then Governor, contended that only two courses were reasonable—to withdraw the troops altogether and recognise the independence of the colony, or to keep it dependent and support it with an adequate force. Responsible government was in fact a step towards independence, and its concession would be premature. The doctrine that colonies should be made to pay their own expenses was at this time in great favour in England. The Colonial Office insisted that the troops should be withdrawn except those required for the defence of Simon's Bay—except on one condition. The constitution, it had been found, did not work. If the Assembly would assent to such changes in it as would, by increasing the power of the executive, enable them to govern efficiently, the Home Government would allow the troops to remain. If the colony would not enable the Crown to govern it, it must govern itself and defend itself. The Assembly declined to sanction the proposed changes. Sir Philip Wodehouse returned to Europe, and Sir Henry Barkly, who was appointed to succeed him, received instructions to procure the acceptance by the colony of responsible government, and to prepare it for the final withdrawal of the troops. The colonial community, which now numbered 200,000, and was increasing, was—only in cases of extreme danger—to receive military help from home, and even then they were to bear a deterrent proportion of the cost.

The question of responsible government soon became involved with that of the annexation of the Diamond Fields, which Mr. Froude pronounces "the most discreditable incident in British colonial history." But meanwhile the Home Government, while adhering to its determination to provide permanently only for the defence of Simon's Bay, consented to allow four regiments to remain temporarily to give time for the organisation of a colonial force.

The tract now known as Griqualand West is situated at the confluence of the Vaal and Orange Rivers. Three Griqua chiefs had occupied it in the loose, precarious way in which native tribes generally occupy. Of these three it seems to be admitted that two, Adam and Cornelius Kok, were subject to the jurisdiction of the third, Waterboer. The Koks were willing to sell their land to the Dutch farmers. Waterboer was unwilling. The farmers who had purchased lands from one of the Koks readily obtained registration of the transfer from the English Commissioner of the Orange River territory. Subsequently Kok's heir sold all his rights to the Orange River Free State. Waterboer, however, claimed the land as his. The dispute was referred for arbitration to Sir Philip Wodehouse, and while the arbitration was still pending, diamonds were found in a portion of the land. The class of adventurers who collect at such places is not a class which any Government would desire to have as subjects. The diamonds, of course, enriched the finders—not the state. But the population of the Fields was rapidly growing; in the absence of settled government serious disorders would probably arise. Conflicting rights would be acquired, usages spring up in a haphazard way, and it would be difficult afterwards to adjust the complications that would ensue. On these grounds the Cape Government, acting on the provisional assumption that Waterboer's claim was just, sent a British magistrate to exercise jurisdiction over British subjects, and such authority over natives as Waterboer might delegate to him. Waterboer was glad of the assistance thus given, and petitioned to be received as a British subject. Meanwhile the Free State, claiming sovereignty over the land by a double title—as successors of the British and as purchasers from the Koks—sent forward troops to enforce its jurisdiction. The diggers—those at least who were favourable to the English connexion—prepared to resist, while the Cape Governor announced his intention of supporting the authority of the British magistrate, but offered to submit the matter to arbitration if the British authority were allowed to remain in force. The Free State would not consent to this. The Governor was authorised by the Home Government to accept the cession from Waterboer. Negotiations followed with the Free State, and finally, after a personal interview between the Presi-

dent and Lord Carnarvon—the dispute was settled by the payment to the Dutch of 90,000*l.* These are the facts briefly stated from the English point of view. In support of Mr. Froude's indictment it is alleged that the magistrates of the Orange Free State had uniformly exercised jurisdiction, and that when the diggings commenced it established a regular government there. There is no evidence that the Free State would have been too weak to maintain order. The annexation is ascribed to a foolish unwillingness to see rich diamond mines fall to the lot of the Boers, and is said to have been justified by a revival of the old stories of Dutch slave-dealing, hypocritical expressions of sympathy with "an ancient and faithful ally who was being plundered of his property," and assertions as to the opportunities for trade which would arise, and the necessity of keeping a road open to the interior. The charge of slave-dealing made against the Free State was subsequently withdrawn. Their claim was alleged to be founded on forged documents, but these came from British archives, and were pronounced in 1876 by a competent court to be genuine. When we finally annexed the territory, we took nine-tenths ourselves, and left only one-tenth to the Griquas.

The Colonial Office at first hesitated. Sir Henry Barkly was told that until responsible government had been established at the Cape, no extension of dominion could be sanctioned, and he was not to pledge the Government to annex the Diamond Fields. Three months later he "was cautioned "not to be a party to the annexation of any territory which the Cape Government would be unable to govern and defend by its own individual resources." Subsequently, however, Lord Kimberley "sanctioned the sending of magistrates to take the government from the Free State in Waterboer's name;" and in May, 1870, he decided, "after full consideration, to accept the cession offered by Waterboer if the Cape Parliament will formally bind itself to undertake the responsibility of governing the country." The Governor represented that there was no hope of procuring its consent, and that to wait till the Responsible Government Bill had passed would cause needless delay. Finally, by a majority of one, the Governor got a vote that the Fields should be made British territory under Imperial responsibility, and that the colony would assist in maintaining order. Acting on this authority, Sir H. Barkly, on the 27th of October, 1871, formally annexed Waterboer's territory under the title of Griqualand West.

Meanwhile, the discussion on the Responsible Government Bill had been progressing. We have already pointed out that the Eastern Province is mainly English: the Western mainly Dutch. The Eastern

is commercial—the Western agricultural. More than half the revenue is raised in the East, but the West has the preponderance in Parliamentary representation, and more than half the expenditure is for its benefit. The Eastern Province, therefore, were opposed to the introduction of responsible government, unless it were accompanied by federation, and the grant to it of a local administration. In 1872, against the unanimous vote of the representatives of the English party—the Bill was passed by a majority of *one*. The Governor expressed a hope that the acceptance of self-government would be followed by a confederation of all the South African States. But by this time the sympathy of the Boers of the West with their brethren of the Orange Free State, and their unwillingness to relieve the British Government from its responsibility for defence, had developed into angry opposition to the Bill for the Incorporation of Griqualand West. The ministers advised the Governor that there was no hope of its becoming law. The Colonial Office was therefore compelled to establish a separate government for the new territory. This succeeded so badly, that after three years British troops were sent to prevent rebellion. The boundaries of Waterboer's claim had never been rigidly defined, and the line Waterboer himself laid down would exclude the most valuable part of the Fields. The boundaries finally established were to a great extent arbitrary. Conflicts of jurisdiction with the Orange Free State arose, in the settlement of which the English authorities assumed a tone very irritating to Dutch susceptibilities.

After the passing of the Responsible Government Bill, a petition, signed by 14,000 inhabitants of the Eastern province, praying for the grant of a separate provincial administration, was forwarded to the Home Government. Lord Kimberley, admitting the genuineness of the feeling exhibited, concluded that before deciding on dismemberment it would be well to try the disposition of the new legislature. If it refused to remove grievances, a separate government might be constituted for each province, subject to a General Legislature.

We must leave the affairs of Cape Colony for a little, to describe one of the most tragic occurrences in the annals of colonial administration. Among the many offences laid to the charge of the Government of the Diamond Fields, is that of attracting native labour by supplying fire-arms. The restriction of the supply to native tribes had long been recognised by the other states as an almost vital point of policy. The Natal Government, on whose borders the large army of the Zulu king, *Katshwayo*, hangs like a threatening cloud, is especially watchful in this respect. A tribe, called the *Hlubi*, had entered Natal in 1848 as refugees, and had been placed in a location at the foot of

Drakenberg Mountains, as a barrier against the inroads of the Bushmen. The Natal Government had reason, in 1873, to suspect that the chief Langalibalele had connived at the illicit possession of arms by his tribe. Messengers were sent in vain to summon him to Natal. A reported insult to one seems really to have been a reasonable measure of precaution against treachery; while Langalibalele knew that, in the only two instances in which such messages had been sent before, the destruction of the tribe had followed. He had himself sent messengers to offer to pay a fine. Information reached the Government through the Cape that the neighbouring Basutos believed that Langalibalele intended to resist the order to deliver up the guns. Acting on these grounds only, the Lieutenant-Governor, on the 30th of October, sent a message to the Legislative Council that Langalibalele and his tribe had set the authority of Government at defiance, and were charged with committing acts amounting to public violence and treason. That day, a force of soldiers, volunteers, and natives was sent to surround the tribe and prevent their escape. Langalibalele's messengers brought back news of this. He ordered the men of his tribe to cross the mountains into Basuto Land, while the women and children were to remain in caves on the Natal side of the range. He expressly directed that if the men were pursued, they were not to fire, but to leave the cattle and escape. According to recognised Kafir custom, a chief is not permitted to leave the territories of his superior without the superior's permission. But once he escapes to the territory of another chief, the right of asylum is recognised. If caught during the flight, the fugitive tribe may be "eaten up"—*i.e.*, despoiled of all their goods—and if they attempt resistance may be killed. Now Langalibalele did not know that Basuto Land had become British territory, and therefore was justified in supposing that once he had crossed the old boundary, the right of pursuit had ceased. In the pass, he was overtaken by the force from Natal. A parley ensued, during which a panic struck the volunteers. The force retreated, and as they fled the Hlubi fired, killing five men. But, before this, the Minister for Native Affairs had recommended that the whole tribe should be removed, and dispersed among the farmers. Two days after the pass affair the location was attacked. Only women and children, and a few men who had returned to be with their families, not to defend them, were found. Acts of savage cruelty were perpetrated by Europeans and natives alike. It was a massacre, not a fight. Two hundred of the Hlubi were killed. In December, the chief and the survivors surrendered. The tribe was broken up. It was declared that no member of it should be allowed to remain in the colony, unless he

could prove that he had not been engaged in the revolt. As the mere act of flight was construed as treason, this was in fact a sentence that 15,000 persons should be deprived of all they had, and driven from their homes. A neighbouring tribe, which had sheltered some fugitives, was also broken up. Lungalibalele, and other leaders, were tried by a tribunal, in which the Lieutenant-Governor professed to administer native law, with the help of native chiefs and English magistrates. The very decencies of legal procedure were outraged—there was little attempt to investigate the merits of the case, and the trial became a mere mode of recording the foregone conclusions of the Lieutenant-Governor. The efforts made by the Bishop of Natal to attain a fair hearing, and subsequently a renewal of the sentence, were fruitless, but form not the least of his claims to the reverence of those who honour truth and right. Lungalibalele was sentenced to be confined for life at Robbin Island, near Cape Town. Two hundred others were sentenced to transportation.

The discussion which followed brought into prominence the native question. But recent events have given it even greater importance, and we can treat it more appropriately in connexion with them.

When Lord Carnarvon succeeded Lord Kimberley at the Colonial Office, in 1874, the dispute with the Orange Free State was still unsettled. The English at the Diamond Fields desired annexation, and the Dutch of the Western Province were not unwilling to see Federation forced on the Free State. While the British Government would have to bear the odium of the act, Dutch influence would be increased in the General Legislature, and perhaps, at no distant time, the colonies would become an independent Dutch republic. Lord Carnarvon proposed a conference of representatives from the three British colonies and from the two republics to settle the future of Griqualand, and to revise and render uniform the methods of native management. To the exasperated Parliament at the Cape, the real motive of this conciliatory proposal appeared to be the wish of the British Government to avoid responsibility in the native war, which was then apprehended in Natal, to destroy the independence of the Free States, and to facilitate the entire withdrawal of the troops. The proposal was angrily rejected after one day's debate. But, according to Mr. Froude, the temper of the Parliament did not reflect the temper of the people. They appreciated the honest purpose of the proposal, and desired further explanations. Accordingly, Mr. Froude, who had been sent out to represent the Home Government at the projected conference, took on himself to give them. The proposal of the Colonial Office received, he says, a general welcome—the Dutch of the Western Province ex-

pressing their thanks in crowded meetings. To Mr. Froude's Liberal critic the matter wears another aspect. When Government concedes to a colony representative institutions, it is indecent to appeal from the Parliament to the people. Mr. Froude stumped the country as the accredited exponent of the views of the Home Government in opposition to the views of the Local Government. Far from pacifying, he stirred up sectional animosities between the Dutch and the English. Lord Carnarvon ought to have disavowed his proceedings, instead of approving of them.

Whatever may have been the abstract propriety of the course followed, the result was satisfactory. The Free State agreed, as we have said, to accept 90,000*l.* as compensation for the loss of its rights in the Diamond Fields, and was willing to enter into a close alliance with the colony. In the colony itself there was no longer opposition to the incorporation of Griqualand West, or even of Natal, if the Home Government would consent to keep troops there to maintain peace.

In the Transvaal alone were these difficulties in the way of confederation. In the Orange Free State was a considerable English element. The population of the Transvaal was purely Dutch. When Natal was annexed by the English in 1842, a treaty was made with Panda, who had succeeded Dingana as king of the Zulus, by which the Tugela river to its confluence with the Buffalo, and thence the Buffalo to the Drakenberg Mountains, was made the boundary between Zululand and Natal. In this treaty the extravagant claims made in a proclamation of the Natal Boers, in 1840, were ignored. Nevertheless, the Transvaal Government have made successive claims to tracts eastward of the Buffalo. The Zulu king has always denied that concessions of land have been made to the Dutch—except for grazing purposes—east of that river. In 1876, an English magistrate described the way in which these Boer claims arise. The Dutch farmers first get permission to graze stock, in a given district; then individual graziers procure from the local headmen (who have really no authority from the chief to make such concessions) an informal permission to squat. But this authorisation is given not to protect them against Zulu claims, but from the intrusion of other Boers. After a time, he construes it as a title, and levies damages for trespass from the neighbouring Zulus. The prestige which hedges the Englishman in India, hedges the Boer in Africa. The local headman dares not to appeal to his chief for redress, for he knows that his chief will punish him for doing anything to cause difficulties with the Dutch. At last a crisis comes. The Boer compels the chief, by threats, to grant the land—he sum-

mons a few neighbours and an official to be witnesses—a few cattle are presented to the chief—his signature is obtained to a document, and thus concludes a transaction, which the Boer will declare to be a sale of the proprietary right, and the chief a friendly concession of the right to graze. During twenty years past, Panda and his son Katswayo have made complaints to the Natal Government of these encroachments. Katswayo has earnestly pleaded to be allowed to repel them by force, and satisfy the wishes of his chiefs to “wash their spears;” but the Natal Government, while apparently admitting the justice of the protests, have given guarded replies, and restrained him from using force to procure redress. Meanwhile the Dutch taxed the tract in dispute.

The habits and institutions of the Zulus are similar to those of the Kafirs of the South, but the character of the race is more manly and chivalrous. Katswayo’s “cloud of 40,000 warriors,” well armed and disciplined, has long been, and at this moment is, one of the most formidable elements of uncertainty in South African politics. In August, 1875, the President of the Transvaal peremptorily called on Katswayo to give assurances not to threaten or molest the Swazis, a tribe over whom the Republic claimed sovereignty, and to comply with demands for extradition. The Republic had no adequate force to enable it to carry out the threats with which this demand was accompanied. The Swazi as a soldier is far inferior to the Zulu, and the army of the Transvaal consisted of only 5000 men. Lord Carnarvon declared that any appropriation of Katswayo’s land by the South African Republic would tend to produce a native war on the frontier, and that the English Government could not be a party to it. The Transvaal had been at first willing to send delegates to the conference, but the French award by which Delagoa Bay was given to the Portuguese had fired the ambition of Mr. Burgers, the President. He dreamt of a time when the states of South Africa should be united into a South African Republic, in which the Transvaal should be dominant. The resources of the territory were vast and undeveloped. To develop them he proposed to construct a railway to Delagoa Bay and bring in Belgian colonists. He visited Europe, and received encouragement in Holland, Belgium, and Portugal. He was able to assure Lord Carnarvon that his policy was a policy of peace, and that there would be no attack on Katswayo. But on his return to Pretoria he found the treasury empty. War, especially if victory seems easy, is an obvious resource at such a time. A commando was levied against Sakakuni—a Zulu chief, vassal to Katswayo. But the Transvaal force of Boers and Swazis was defeated, after a struggle, in which the Boers behaved

with such cowardice that their native allies marched away disgusted. To save their state from ruin the Boers hastily raised a mercenary force. Composed as it was of the worst elements of the population of the native colonies, and depending for pay on the booty it could acquire, it soon became a source of greater political danger to the state which employed it than to the enemies against whom it was to act. While the Zulu nation, elated with the victory of Sakakuni, prepared to attack the Swazis, and were with difficulty restrained by the Government of Natal, the English at the Diamond Fields feared an attack from the marauding levies of the Boers. The English communities everywhere called loudly for interference, and there was little reason to fear that even the Boers at the Cape would condemn it. Sir Theophilus Shepstone, the Natal Minister of Native Affairs, was deputed to Pretoria. The commission he took with him from the Crown authorised him to annex any non-British territory implicated or likely to be involved in a native war, (a) provisionally, pending the further orders of Government; (b) provided he were satisfied that a sufficient number of the inhabitants of the Legislature desired to be subjects of the Queen.

He found the Government utterly disorganised and the treasury empty. Taxes were unpaid; peace had indeed been made with the natives, but there was no hope that it would endure, and the approaching elections were looked forward to as an occasion for the outbreak of civil war. He wanted the Volksraad to enter the proposed Confederation, but a majority refused to discuss any proposition which involved a surrender of independence. It then adjourned, and the war with Sakakuni was renewed. On the 12th of April, 1877, Sir T. Shepstone—exceeding apparently the powers given him by his commission, declared the Transvaal a part of the British dominions. To procure some semblance of popular approval, strenuous efforts had been made to collect signatures to a petition for annexation, but the total number was only half that which declared against Confederation. The President, the Government, and the Volksraad maintained their protest to the last. But as an internal force had been organised under the name of a Defence Committee, as two half regiments had been ordered up from Natal to the frontier, and the Zulu host still maintained its threatening attitude, there was no possibility of successful resistance. Nor perhaps was there much real will to resist. In a dignified address to his people, Mr. Burgers counselled submission. The English, he said, had the same concern with the Dutch as the Dutch had with the Kafirs. If they appealed to justice, justice would convict them. Why should they draw the sword? For an idea—which was in their heads—not in their hearts. It was better for them

to make the best terms they could. Union with the great peoples of the South was a nobler future than the realisation of their cherished dream of a Republic. The turbulent and unscrupulous might regret the change, but there would be welfare and prosperity for the men of order and law.

Hardly any one is found to deny that interference, to some extent, was necessary for the security of the English provinces. The immediate danger might have been averted, by annexing or taking under British protection the strip in dispute between the Zulus and the Dutch. But the whole course of Transvaal relations with natives rendered it impossible to hope for continued tranquillity—and the annexation is perhaps even now recognised by the people themselves as a blessing. It was no doubt opposed to the letter of the Convention of 1852. But no treaty can survive the change of the conditions under which it was made. We recognise the independence of the Dutch, because we expected them to govern well. They have never tried to govern well. They may indeed retort on us the case of Langalibalele. But that was an isolated misfortune, not part of a settled policy. We are, however, charged with an inconsiderate and even perfidious use of the power we have assumed. The scheme of a railway to Delagoa Bay has been abandoned. We have not fulfilled our promises to the volunteers. The popular local courts have been almost entirely suppressed. Only the supreme and circuit courts remain, while the legislative function has been assumed by the Administration. We are not in a position to examine these charges, but we may say generally that a benevolent tyranny is often more irritating and does more harm than a purely selfish one.

Sir Henry Barkly having effected the two objects of the policy of the Liberal Administration which had appointed him—the acceptance of responsible government and the incorporation of the Diamond Fields—returned to England. Sir Bartle Frere, who had owed much of his success as an Indian administrator to his tact and courtesy, was selected to carry out the more conciliatory policy of Lord Carnarvon. Confederation was to be the corollary of self-government. But before he could address himself to this task he had to cope with the dangers and difficulties of a new Kafir war. The tract marked on the map, “Independent Kafria,” is the home of various tribes, who have been placed there at various times, and allowed for various reasons to dwell free, in varying degrees, from British interference. The Griquas are bastard Hottentots; the Pondos and Basutos are submissive to British influence. English magistrates have since 1875 dwelt and preserved order among the Tembus. The Tembus, the Gaikas, and the Galekas

are branches of one great tribe, the Amaxosa, or tribe of Xosa. The *rationale* of the Kafir tribe formation is illustrated by the fact that the present chiefs of these tribes are descendants of Xosa—the founder of the original tribe. In 1857 a prophetess of the Amaxosa foretold that if only they had faith to leave their land untilled, destroy their cattle, and sally forth against the white men, they could sweep them to the sea. They did sally forth, and after causing consternation throughout the colony, were conquered rather by famine than by force. In the arrangements which followed, the Galekas were located in the tract they now occupy, on the littoral between the Kei and Bashi rivers. To the north of the Galekas dwell the Fingoes, whose origin we have already described. We had rescued them from the slavery to which they had sunk, and settled them in semi-independence in lands west of the Kei, of which we had dispossessed the Kafirs. But their numbers increased so rapidly that we subsequently transferred them to their present home east of the Kei. Here they prospered. Less warlike than their former masters, they adopted more readily the arts of peace. Their herds multiplied, they grew corn and earned money. Thrifty, they became the creditors of the thriftless Kafirs, and have earned for themselves the title of the Jews of Kafraria. The Kafirs, of course, resented the position of patronage their former slaves could now assume, but the protection of the British shielded them from outrage. In August, 1877, a Fingo had a wedding and invited some Galekas to the feast. The latter, on their arrival, found that the Fingo guests had drunk up all the beer. This breach of etiquette led to words, and words to blows, and soon the whole tribe of Galekas was in a state of open hostility to the Fingoes. The usual causes were at work to tempt the Kafirs to attack the British. Kreli the chief was an old man, and was perhaps himself desirous of peace, but he was surrounded by younger chiefs eager to win cattle with their spears, and wives with the cattle. Before long they came into collision with a body of the frontier (military) police. Henceforth the colony was at war. But no other native tribe rose against us. The Fingoes, numbering 7000 fighting men, were of course our allies. The Tembus, too, assisted us. Thus, of the 80,000 warriors of Kafraria, only 11,000 were against us. In the first engagement our only gun burst, and our force retreated. The result was a disastrous loss of prestige, and but for the brave defence of Ibika the results would probably have been a general rising of natives throughout South Africa. We had at the time only the following British troops:—1 battalion in the Transvaal, 1½ in Natal, 2 in Cape Colony, and 1 at King Williamstown (west of

the Kei). The Imperial troops were kept on the frontier for three reasons: to repel invasion, to control the Gaikas, whose attitude we shall hereafter describe, and prevent the impression becoming general that we attached serious importance to the rising. The police and volunteers acted in the Galeka country. The volunteers were English and Germans, only one Dutchman feeling called on by interest or patriotism to protect the common weal. After the repulse at Ibika, Kreli was driven to the western part of his territory between the Kei and the Qora. The country is one of the most difficult in the world for military operations, being intersected by rivers flowing in deep bush-covered ravines, and fordable only at their source or mouth. The enemy was driven beyond the Qora, but by this time the prolonged drought broke up with violent downpour of rain. At last Kreli retreated beyond the Bashi to the country of the Bomvanas, a tribe tributary to him. When Commandant Griffiths followed him there, his army in Kafir fashion dispersed. Many thousand cattle were captured and the war was for the time believed to be at an end.

The Gaikas, as we have said, are, like the Galekas, a branch of the Amaxosa tribe. But, unlike the Galekas, they are British subjects. They dwell to the west of the Kei in the neighbourhood of King Williamstown. Many of them are employed as labourers by the colonists; many live, like their fathers, by the pasture of sheep and cattle. They are, of course, controlled by English magistrates, but the tribal system is recognised, and a nominal authority is allowed to the chiefs. The head of the tribe is Sandilli—an effete drunkard—formidable only by the influence the name of chief still gives him. Disaffection seems to come on Kafirs as a kind of madness; it seldom arises from any distinct grievance. All through 1876 there were rumours in the colony that the Gaikas were about to arise. While the operations were being conducted against the Galekas, the Gaikas exhibited the usual symptoms of intended outbreak. They sold the stock they could not easily drive away, and with the proceeds purchased necessaries for life in the bush. They harassed the peaceful homesteads of the settlers with perpetual thefts of cattle. But the presence of the troops, and the judicious management of the Special Commissioner to the Gaika location for the time, averted an outbreak. We have seen that at the close of the year the war in Galeka land was believed to be at an end. The commandant, however, had hardly dismissed the volunteers and the Fingo auxiliaries, when the Galeka bands reappeared. Imperial troops and others raised for temporary service under Queen's officers were sent to his succour.

On the 26th of December, Sir Bartle Frere, who was at King Wil-

Williamstown, sent to the Cabinet a minute on the requirements of the situation. He considered that for the ordinary defence of the Eastern frontier one regiment of Imperial troops, a good European militia, 200 mounted carbineers, and a small detail of artillery, with an auxiliary force of well-disciplined, well-officered natives, would be necessary. This would form in time of trouble a backbone to the force of police, burghers, militia, and volunteers. It was absolutely necessary, he said, to create a new ministry of military affairs and police. Mr. Merriman, the Commissioner of Crown Lands and Works, who was then in attendance on the Governor, concurred generally in His Excellency's conclusions.

Soon after, Sandilli and his Gaikas rose in rebellion, attacked the troops and the police, burnt farmhouses, and murdered a magistrate and others. Martial law was proclaimed, and an urgent appeal was made to the whole colony for volunteers. The premier, Mr. Moltano, proceeded to King Williamstown, in order to lay before the Governor the views of the ministry. They were, in brief, that the colony was dissatisfied with the way in which the Imperial commander had conducted the operations of the war, and was unwilling on this account to furnish volunteers: that henceforth the Cabinet would direct the employment of all the colonial forces without reference to the military authorities, and would exclude the military from all participation; that as colonial forces were already forthcoming, His Excellency should countermand the request he had forwarded to the Home Government to send out two regiments in anticipation of the annual reliefs, and should prepare it for the final withdrawal of all the Imperial troops. Thus Mr. Moltano, who had always declared that a Kafir rising was impossible, and had made no preparation to meet it, proposed at the hour when it was most needed to dispense with the military aid, against the withdrawal of which the colony had so long and so angrily protested. At the request of the Governor, Mr. Moltano embodied his proposals in minutes. These (19th and 22nd January) proposed to separate the commands of the Imperial and Colonial forces, and assign the command of the latter to Commandant Griffiths, who was to act under the sole control and direction of the Cabinet. The constitutional contention of the Cabinet was that the Governor, as Commander-in-Chief, had no special powers over colonial forces, but as Governor acted in regard to them exactly as he did with regard to other matters—*i. e.*, by the advice of ministers. To this the Governor replied by a minute, in which he showed, on unanswerable grounds of analogy and precedent, that the design of the constitution was that there should be one person only—the Governor and

Commander-in-Chief—who could command and delegate powers of command over the forces, both Imperial and Colonial—that bodies of volunteers not embodied under the authority of any existing law could act legally only under the orders of the Governor and Commander-in-Chief, or of the officers to whom he delegated executive functions. Finally, he declined to abdicate the powers entrusted to him by his commission, or to delegate them without the sanction of Her Majesty's Government and of the Imperial Parliament. On the 31st January Sir Bartle Frere, referring to the fact that the power of command over the colonial forces now engaged in military operations on a large scale in the colony and neighbourhood, was exercised by the Commissioner for Crown Lands, declared that these proceedings were irregular and illegal, and were "assuming proportions which threatened to involve large districts of the colony in confusion, lawlessness, and ruin." Ministers replied, that the rebellion could best be suppressed by colonial forces, led by colonists, and not encumbered by military impediments; that to place such a force under the military authorities would impair its usefulness, and protract operations; that from the time the Lieutenant-General (Sir A. Cunynghame) took command in the Galeka campaign the colonial forces had been kept in the background. They stated, with audacious frankness, their views as to the relations of ministers to the Governor. By the constitution, their collective responsibility was established. The Governor was to act solely by their advice. Should an emergency fraught with danger arise for which the law makes no provision, they were to act on their own responsibility. Like His Excellency they deprecated dual Government, but to hand over command of the forces to an officer not responsible to Government, would be dual government of the worst kind. Military operations were conducted in the name and at the expense of the colony. To free the ministry from responsibility, and consequent authority, would be to reverse the policy of the last few years. They had indicated the positions where the Imperial troops might usefully be employed; but if the arrangements they purposed proved embarrassing, they suggested that the Imperial troops should withdraw from the theatre of war.

Ministers proving thus impracticable and declining to resign, His Excellency was compelled, on the 2nd of February, to dismiss them. He remarked, in doing so, that the Governor who could believe that the advice of the Cabinet—to trust for the suppression of the rebellion and the occupation of Galeka Land to volunteers bound by no law, and serving where and as long as they please, was in accordance with the wishes of Parliament, or would ever be approved of by the Parliament

of the colony—would be fitter for a lunatic asylum than for the office he had the honour to hold. Mr. Sprigg accepted the duty of forming a new ministry, and found no difficulty in doing so. As we write, we have news that a motion, declaring the act of the Governor unconstitutional, is being fiercely debated in the Cape Parliament; but it seems certain that there will be a majority in favour of the Governor and ministry.

The Imperial and Colonial troops acting under the command of General Thesiger (who succeeded Sir A. Cunynghame), drove the rebel Gaikas, in the early part of March, from the rugged country near the Kei and Thomas River, but did not succeed in preventing their escape to the slopes of the Amatola and Buffalo ranges. There, in a country of rock and mountain and well-watered valleys, studded with the farms of the settlers, and the pasture-land and villages of the natives—is the historic battle-ground of the English and the Kafira. After two months of tedious warfare the Gaikas at last show signs of exhaustion. One chief has been captured. More than a thousand women, who acted as spies and agents of the rebels, have been deported to the Cape. Sandilli has sent messengers to ask for peace, but—contrary to all previous experience—he has been told that he can have peace on only one condition—unconditional surrender. The meaning of this he professes not to know. In former wars the Kafirs had only to say let there be peace, and there was peace. But it is now the settled purpose of the colonists to have an end of Kafir wars—and not of this war only; to make the natives powerless—not merely to defeat them. The Pondos, a tribe of Independent Kafria who have been in revolt, also show symptoms of submission. Disturbances which broke out on the northern frontier, near the Diamond Fields, have been repressed. But the troops which are thus set free in the south are urgently needed to meet the danger apprehended in Natal and the Transvaal.

To the affairs of these territories we must now return. Sir T. Shepstone, as administrator of the Transvaal, seems to have abandoned the views which he held as Secretary of Natal Affairs in Natal, regarding the justice of the Boer claims. Treaties which have not been produced, and which, in the case of Sakakuni, were pronounced worthless, are now said to substantiate them. Katswayo is said to be faithless to agreements into which he entered with the English deputies at the time of his coronation. Sir T. Shepstone's familiarity and influence with natives have for many years placed negotiations almost entirely in his hands. In October last he had an interview with Zulu envoys which ended angrily, but, as a result, each party in

the dispute has somewhat reduced its demands. Subsequently the Zulu king appointed two English barristers, practising at Natal, to be his diplomatic agents. As the Governments of the Natal and Transvaal refused to recognise these appointments, the same gentlemen have been authorised by him to prepare a statement to be laid before the Lieutenant-Governor, who has consented to arbitrate between the Transvaal Government and the Zulu king. Meanwhile public opinion everywhere throughout the South African Colonies is hostile to further parleying. "The cloud of 40,000 warriors," which was said to be a fanciful creation of Sir T. Shepstone's, is now discerned with eyes of watchful apprehension. We are urged to break down once and for ever "the bloody fabric of military tyranny" which Katshwayo has constructed. Even the missionaries are against him, for they allege that he has murdered their converts and expelled themselves. That the system of government is violent, capricious, and bloody, is only to say that it is like all unrestrained native governments. But if the account given by one of Dr. Colenso's Zulu employés, of a visit to Katshwayo, be true—the stories of outrages on converts are founded only on a few instances in which some of his subjects, without his knowledge, have attacked them for witchcraft or other fancied wrong. The missionaries, in leaving his territories without his permission, committed the very offence which we punished so severely in the case of Langalibalele.

An act which his apologists interpret merely as a formal claim to sovereignty is regarded by others as one of wanton aggression. We have intelligence that he has sent messages to the residents in the disputed tracts warning them to pay taxes to him only. Reports, unconfirmed by information in the hands of Government, have even come that war has broken out. We know that the troops relieved from further service against the Gaikas have been despatched to Natal. Thus the native question is once again to be advanced a step towards final solution, and with it the question of Confederation. The population of the British colonies and dependencies of South Africa is 1,350,000; of these only 300,000 are of European birth or descent. The population of the Dutch States may roughly be assumed to be 750,000; of these only 60,000 are whites. The Malays and Negroes of Cape Town, and the Indian Coolies of Natal, are too few to render the non-European element appreciably less composite. On our borders are teeming native tribes; these, as well as those within our territories, are singularly prolific and hardy, and the natural increase of population is aided by constant influx from the central unexplored regions of Africa. Three systems of native

policy have been tried. The Dutch pursued that of extermination and enslavement; fortunately they had Hottentots, not Kafirs, to deal with, and the system must be allowed to have one merit—it worked as it was intended to work. Then followed the cry of the first English settlers, that the Kafir should be “pushed back;” and now the cry is, that he must be made to work within our territories, and made powerless for mischief beyond them. Within our territories regular wages have proved a great solvent of old Kafir usages. We have given him the rights, and claimed from him the duties of citizenship. He has learned to labour and appreciate the results of labour. They do all the work of the colony. Many of them farm their own lands. Soon they may direct the industries of which they are now but the instruments. But this work of civilisation is liable to interruption by violent outbursts of uncivilised force without or within. In Natal, where the whites are a mere handful in the midst of natives, the latter have not been absorbed into the body politic, as they have been in many parts of Cape Colony where whites preponderate. The Kafirs are incapable of organised union, but their various sections are liable to a simultaneous frenzy of disaffection.

In Natal we have allowed each tribe or sub-tribe to remain in its own location under the rule of its own chief. But as we could not intrust to the chief the administration of criminal justice or the maintenance of order, the real authority passed into the hands of the magistrate. The chief had no means of imposing his will on his tribesmen, yet he was held responsible for their good behaviour. He had influence, but it was more powerful when used for evil than when used for good. The deplorable results were seen in the case of Langalibalele. In a less degree the same thing is true of the Eastern Province, and the result is seen in the revolt of Sandilli. It would be presumptuous to condemn the conciliatory native policy of Natal. It has hitherto saved us from collision with the Zulus. But there seems little reason to hope that Katswayo can any longer restrain the warlike ardour of his people. In Kafiraria we may safely predict that the result of the war will be the destruction of the tribal system and the allotment of the land to English settlers. Natives will henceforth dwell under the British flag as individuals, not as members of a tribe having, as a tribe, relations with the Government. The supply of arms to independent native tribes must be prevented. At present we learn with painful surprise that 5000 arms yearly reach the hands of the Zulus through the Government emigration agent. But the difficulty of devising a native policy which shall be suitable for every province alike, and acceptable alike to the Englishman and the Boer, is the great obstacle

to Confederation. We have given the Cape constitutional freedom, and it will not surrender it. We have called on it to defend itself. But we have had to take the half-relinquished burden on ourselves. There can be no efficient system of defence except by concert between Natal and the Cape. Are we ready to cede Natal to the young Government of the Cape? If not, is agreement possible? If we are, must we not remember that in the self-governing State we have created is a powerful element weary and impatient of English rule, and that by the absorption of the Dutch territories it may become a powerful independent State unfriendly to Great Britain? Possession of Simon's Bay is as important to us for the command of the Cape route to India as possession of Aden for the command of the Red Sea route. Can we see with indifference the creation round it of a State which, if powerful, will claim it for itself—if weak and intriguing will become the tool of more ambitious powers? These are questions which must be answered before a scheme of Confederation is considered, and ought to have been answered before responsible government was thrust on the people of the colony. As we confront them, we feel that Confederation is a question less of colonial than of imperial concern.

Postscript.—Sandilli has been killed, and the Gaika outbreak finally suppressed. In the Cape Parliament the Government has had a large majority on the motion condemning the dismissal of the Molteno Cabinet.



WESTMINSTER

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FOREIGN QUARTERLY REVIEW.

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ART. I.—THE AUSTRALIAN COLONIES.

1. *The Dominion of Australia: An Account of its Foundations.* By W. H. L. RANKEN. London: 1874.
2. *Australia and New Zealand* By ANTHONY TROLLOPE. London: 1873.
3. *The Early History of Victoria.* By FRANCIS PETER LABILLIERE. London: 1878

REGARD for the security of our colonies and dependencies is now so preponderant an element in the foreign policy of England, that we are apt to forget how recent is the growth of the system we are anxious to maintain, and how much more accident has contributed to its development than settled policy. Hardly a century has elapsed since the servants of a commercial company, acting without the leave, and often contrary to the express orders of their employers, overthrew the French power in India, and laid the foundations of our Empire there. We took the Cape from the Dutch, not because we wanted a field for colonisation, but because we wanted a naval station. In Canada, we succeeded the French. The earlier colonies in America were the result of private enterprise—not of Government action. And if the foundation of the different Australian Colonies is due to the policy of the Government of Mr. Pitt, that policy was suggested, not by any desire to find a new field for the honest energy of England, but by the need of providing a place of exile for the felons it was no longer possible to send to America. We purpose, in the present article, to show how, from this sinister origin,

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have grown communities prosperous in the present, and destined at no distant time to rival in every element of power the country from which they have sprung. Victor Hugo says somewhere that man has to sustain a threefold struggle—against the falsehoods of religion, against the injustice of human laws, and against the inexorability of Nature. From the tyranny of superstition, and from the burden of depraved custom which weighs down old societies, the Australian settlers have from the first been free. They have constructed their own political systems. They have, it is true, wisely adopted the general features of the constitution of the mother country, but in legislation they have attempted to prevent the growth of those abuses and inequalities which they thought rendered society in the mother country unhealthy. They have allowed to each individual full religious liberty, and have tried to prevent any sect or religious tendency from having an unfair advantage. But with Nature in all her moods they have had to maintain a long and unremitting struggle. The physical conditions of every country limits and directs the activities of the people, and, perhaps, in the case of no country so much as in that of Australia is it necessary to commence an account of social and industrial development by a description of the soil and climate.

Lord Palmerston, it is said, once found a difficulty in filling the office of Secretary for the Colonies. In his despair he proposed to take the department himself. "Come upstairs," he said to a friend; "let us get a map and see where these places are." Had physical geography formed in his time a part of the training of public schools, he might have learnt much of the problems of Australian administration by the slight process of initiation he jestingly proposed. Australia is not an island, but a continent. And it is a continent destitute of all those features which give variety to the climates of Europe and Asia. The vast, uniform desert plain of the interior impresses on the fringe of littoral its own character of uniformity. The Northern part of the continent is within the tropics. The rest is for the most part semi-tropical, though the highlands of the South-Eastern corner may fairly be called temperate. The total area is nearly three million square miles, but the greater part of this is occupied by the barren plateau of the interior. This is an almost level waste of sandstone sloping slightly to the centre. Its margin, on the South, descends into the sea in abrupt cliffs. On the North and East and West it dips into the fringing coastland by declivities more or less gradual, which, seen from below, present the appearance of a mountain chain. The elevation of this margin varies from 1500 to 3000 feet above the sea. The lowland between the edge of the plateau and the sea varies in breadth, as a rule,

from 100 to 200 miles, but in places the highlands, or the projecting spurs, overlook the sea. The general contour of the country thus resembles that of the Deccan, but the absence of heights within the central plateau, and its vast size, forbid the existence of the rivers which render Southern India so fertile. In many places volcanic agency has raised the level of the edge, and covered the surrounding country with rich volcanic deposits.

On the West, at a distance of 200 miles from the coast a steep ascent of granite and syenite leads like steps from the lowland to the plateau. The range is continued along the North, diminishing in elevation as it approaches the East. The Northern portion of the Eastern edge is about 1200 feet in height. Between Rockhampton and Brisbane in Queensland it is broken by volcanic irruptions which run from East to West. South of this it approaches the sea, and has been raised by volcanic agency to heights of 3000 feet. From Queensland to Victoria the breadth of coast-land varies from 100 to 50 miles. In Victoria—the South-Eastern corner of the continent—the range rises to the height of 7000 feet, and is dignified with the title of the Australian Alps. Thus the centre of the continent is a sandy waste, parched by a tropical sun. Periodic winds from the North-West and the South do indeed bring moisture from the surrounding seas. But except on the Eastern and the South-Eastern coasts there are no great mountain-heights to front the winds and condense the moisture in fertilising rain. The perpetual radiation from the surface of the interior makes the air so dry that it absorbs whatever moisture the heights near the coast fail to condense. From this result not only droughts but floods. For when year after year no rain has fallen in the interior, the intense heat of the surface so rarefies the atmosphere that an excess of air is drawn from the sea and sweeps with greater force to greater distances inland. When the cold Southern current meets the warm moist North-West monsoon, the vapour is condensed and covers the desert with floods. We have said that the interior slopes in an almost imperceptible decline to its centre. There is, therefore, no drainage. The water lies in wide stagnant sheets. Under the fierce rays of the sun it rises in vapour, but when it reaches the higher and cooler strata of the atmosphere it is again precipitated in rain. There is no mode of escape for the imprisoned water except by evaporation, and thus the excessive rainfall of one year is followed by excessive rainfall in succeeding years. It is thus that the desert centre impresses, as we have said, its own character on the surrounding country, except where bold and varied local features give parts of the country a character of its own. "In the depressions of the great plain," says Mr.

Rauken, "there is most probably only one long drought or one long wet season; no seasons of a year but years of a season."

Volcanic agency, by rearing mountain-barriers and opening up drainage lines, has conferred such a special character on the South-Eastern corner, and in a less degree on the East coast generally. From Queensland to Victoria the Eastern edge of the tableland forms a watershed from which rivers flow sluggishly to the South-West. They would have hardly energy to force their way to the sea, but that they meet the Murray, fed by the copious rainfall of the Australian Alps. These rivers, the Darling and the Murray and their tributaries, form the only great river system of Australia. No other rivers flowing from the inner slope of the edge of the plateau reach the sea. The rain that falls elsewhere spreads out in sudden floods or creeps listlessly along in vague and manifold channels till it is lost in the sands or absorbed by evaporation in the dry air. The soil of the interior is, as a rule, disintegrated sandstone, saliferous or ferruginous, and often is covered with marshes of salt or gypsum. The volcanic upheavals on the South-East, East and North-East margins have not only improved the climate, by diversifying the surface of the country, but have in many parts covered it with rich deposits of volcanic soil.

The botanical features which are characteristic of Australian scenery are the same everywhere, and are in many cases peculiar to the continent. But there are exceptions to this uniformity which have led botanists to divide it into four provinces, the vegetation of each of which resembles respectively Indian, Polynesian, African, and South American types. As the centre is approached these distinctions disappear. The exceptional vegetation of the North is distinctly tropical. In sheltered situations on the Eastern slopes, reached by the rainfall from the sea, are found shady forests of rich foliage, which contrast with the dark, shadeless trees and grassy scrub characteristic of Australia. Near Rockingham Bay, in Queensland, the base of the high hills is clothed with jungle, in which cedars and palms and bamboos are festooned with vines and lianas, and shadow a rich undergrowth of orchids and ferns. Farther South, in New South Wales, the wild wood-crowned valleys and flowery glens of the Blue Mountains form a striking contrast to the thickets of shrubs which conceal the sandy soil of the neighbouring tracts. But in Sydney Harbour the bare crumbling cliffs and thickets, descending abruptly to the clear blue water, form a scene of surpassing loveliness. Farther South still, in the deep valleys and glens of the Australian Alps, giant eucalypti shelter thickets of ferns and mimosa. The trees clothe the mountain side even to the snow-line. For here (perhaps owing to the dryness of the atmosphere

of the interior) though the highest summit is only 7142 feet above the sea, eternal snow lies on the mountain-tops. Such is the scenery on the seaward side of the elevated edge of the table-land. Westward of the Cordilleras the land slopes gently inwards in park-like undulations and grassy downs. Patches of shady thicket and forest belts relieve the landscape, and quaint volcanic peaks enclose it. But where the watershed is not broken, and as the interior is approached, there is only a waste of stones, or sand, or marsh, or struggling water, or wide flood. There is no vegetation, but a poor variety of meagre grasses and low shrubs. The ordinary forest scenery of Australia is characterised by want of shade. The trees, which are mostly ever-greens, stand in isolated clumps. The branches shoot upwards, and the scant, dull, leathery leaves hang vertically. Frequent bush fires destroy the grass and undergrowth, and leave the giant eucalypti standing gaunt and bare. Monotony and absence of interest is the rule. Nearly everywhere the want of water robs the landscape of one great charm. Good scenery, it must be confessed, is exceptional.

The climate is everywhere dry, and singularly healthy. Exposure which in other climates would be fatal, is easily borne. Though the heat, especially in the North, is at times excessive, it has not the same enervating effect on persons of European blood as heat has in ordinary tropical regions. Towards the South, at any rate, it never interferes with outdoor work. The hot winds which sometimes blow from the interior produce great discomfort, but do not last long enough to be really formidable. The seasons, we need hardly say, are the reverse of ours—Christinas falling in the middle of the Australian summer. Droughts and floods are the two great obstacles to industrial enterprise. Mr. Ranken's description of the end of a long drought is so vivid and picturesque, and illustrates so many features of Australian life and scenery, that we cannot forbear to quote it—

“For days and months the earth has been hot, parched, and cracked: for months the waters have ceased to flow, the trees have lived but not grown, and the sky has been cloudless. The never-green forest is browner, sadder, and still in the oppressive air: the plains are bare and dusty; the watering-places (for the sheep) filled with dead, and the whole scene quivers before the eye by the great radiation of its heat. Daily the sun rises in a hazy sky, sails in a white heat through a cloudless course, and sets a round ball of fire on the edge of a copper dome. A sullen dewless night follows the dreaded day. The leaves of the forest and the surviving grass of the field glisten like blades of steel in the glare of the mighty sun: there is no green thing, nor sound of life from bird or beast or tree in the great noonday heat. At length clouds mysteriously gather—daily they gather and disappear at night

—at last they form dense, low masses, thunder breaks, and violent storms of wind sweep the plain: no rain. Again and again these storms break before the longed-for rain comes, and with it comes flood. Perhaps the rain, filling the northern streams, first floods the southern water-channels before a cloud is in their sky. But with the floods destruction to lingering life no less than hope to withering vegetation is brought down. Many a settler has been ruined by droughts; but many a flock which survived that ordeal has been silently, hopelessly swallowed by the flood."

We cannot wonder then, that though the desert yields a scant herbage for sheep, settlers do not venture to push far into the interior. Nor can we fail to appreciate the dangers and difficulties which the long series of heroic explorers have had to encounter, and to which so many have succumbed. The Eastern half of the continent has been fairly explored. A line of telegraph has been carried from Adelaide, on the South, to Port Darwin, on the North, but the Western half may still be said to bid defiance to the zeal of discoverers. On the South it ends in a long line of cliffs. The rivers which reach the sea on the West and North have been found to have their source in the granite declivity of the tableland. The waters that lay beyond were found to lose themselves as they flowed towards the centre. Instability as well as barrenness is the character of the interior. The sheets of water by which the camps are pitched will suddenly dry up, or when pitched on what seems safe ground, they may be swept away by unforeseen floods. Water is generally obtained only by sinking wells. In South Australia alone are there permanent collections of water worthy of being called lakes. Such are the physical features of the country.

The condition of the inhabitants, whom because we know of no earlier race dwelling there we call aborigines, is the same now as it was when the first European landed on the shores of Australia, and as it probably has been during ages of unprogressive and uneventful existence. This is not the place to inquire as to their affinities and their history. Whether they are an isolated remnant of the people who once peopled and, to some extent, people now the Asiatic continent and the islands of Polynesia, we cannot say; but this at least may be affirmed, that no other race anywhere has sunk to or continued in so low a state of barbarism, or shows so little susceptibility to civilising influences. No savage race presents more repulsive features. The type of face is Negro, but the hair hangs lank and long. They wear no clothes, and provide no shelter for themselves except temporary structures of boughs and grasses. On the coast and by the rivers they live well on fish, opossums, kangaroos, and bandicort; but in the interior they as often as not

live on rats or frogs. They are found in greatest numbers on the seaboard, but far away in the interior they occur in sparsely distributed tribes and families. As they have nothing to possess, they have no ideas of individual or tribal property. But each tribe has territory peculiarly its own, and the rule that no tribe must trespass within the limits of another tribe is rigidly adhered to. The principle is so well understood that fidelity to it leads to the only acts of cannibalism they are known to commit. A tree called the bunya-bunya bears once in three years a large crop of fruit which the natives consider a great delicacy. Neighbouring tribes are allowed to enter the district in which it grows to feast upon the bountiful provision. After some time the visitors, who had previously been accustomed to an almost exclusively animal diet, grow weary of the rich farinaceous food. The game and fish of their hosts is sacred from their touch. But the desire for flesh is uncontrollable, and one of their own number becomes a victim to it. The tribes have chiefs, and in matters such as marriage obey customs of the most complex kind. But they are totally destitute of religious sentiment. They have no mythology—hardly, indeed, a superstition. In some districts there survive traditions of some animal now extinct, the return of which they fear. They have identified in some cases the conception of a devil which the white men have imparted to them with this object of horror. But of a god, or a great spirit, or spiritual existences of any kind, they appear not only not to have no idea, but to be incapable of forming a conception. In the interior and on the north there is but one widespread dialect; but each river of the great river system which flows from the western downs of the Cordilleras, and each separate tribal district along the coast, has a distinct language.

In sketching the history of the early European settlements, we shall have to speak of the fatal effects of their presence in the native races. Even now the hostility of the tribes of the interior is one of the great dangers in the way of discovery. Bands of explorers, whose aims and methods were humane and conciliatory, have had to fight their way from day to day through successive districts of attacking savages. Settlers in the bush—as all the country remote from the great towns is called—have to protect themselves against their thieving raids, and are not always nice in the measures they take in self-defence. The aboriginal—if he ever ponders questions of right—no doubt thinks he is justified in plundering from the intruder who has shut him out from the rivers and the coast, and driven away the game on which he used to live. And the settler, of course, has European notions as to the sacred rights of property. In such a struggle barbarism must in the end be

worsted. But the temper of government is just and even benevolent to the black men. There are laws to preserve them, not only from aggression, but from the temptations to which the presence of civilisation exposes them. Christian philanthropy has established institutions where an attempt is made to atone for the wrongs done to the race by training a few individuals to industrial pursuits, and giving them secular and religious instruction. But the attempt seems hitherto to have produced little fruit. Aborigines labour—especially in the jails where they are compelled to do so—but they have hardly as yet learned to feel the needs which are the incentives to civilised life. Mr. Trollope says he has never heard of an aboriginal living in a house of his own. They read and write: they sing hymns and recite portions of Scripture. But they acquire no ideas from what they read, and no real religious sentiment seems to have been developed. As is the case with most savage races, freedom from toil and the wild ardour of the chase have given lighthness and agility, and even an air of dignity, to their frame. They are employed in large numbers as horse-keepers, and in other callings of that kind. In Queensland and Western Australia they are employed as policemen. Their endurance, and the keenness of observation which often enables savages to follow up tracks which a man accustomed to civilised life would lose, fit them admirably for police duties in a country where theft of cattle is one of the commonest forms of crime. In the towns some work (irregularly) as masons or carpenters, while many lead a lazy, loafing life on the outskirts of civilisation. There are certain spots reserved for their residence where they may be studied in all the observances of pristine barbarism.

The distribution of animals is similar to that of men. Everywhere the varieties are few and the individuals of each variety few. But near the coast and rivers they are more numerous than in the arid plains of the interior, and the animals, like the men of the temperate South, are of stronger and finer type than those of the hotter North. There are no quadrumana, pachydermata, or ruminantia. There are but few mammalia, and of these, most are marsupials. The opossum "up a gum tree," and the kangaroo are, perhaps, the most familiar types. The melancholy valediction of the disappointed free selector quoted by Mr. Trollope, sums up what are regarded as the salient features of life on the downs of the western slope of the Cordilleras. "Farewell to the kangaroo, farewell to the wild emu, farewell to the squatter of the plain. I hope I shall never see that d—d rascal again." The scantiness of food and the uncertainty of the seasons prevent the formation of large herds and the adoption of migratory habits. It is a land of lonely, not gregarious life.

The only beast of prey is the dingo, or wild dog—which is nearly everywhere a constant scourge to the sheep farmers. Reptiles and insects abound. There are many birds of prey and birds of brilliant plumage, but few melodious birds of song. We are speaking here, of course, only of indigenous varieties, for as we shall hereafter see many foreign kinds have been acclimatised.

Australia was discovered by Manuel Godenho, a Portuguese, in 1601. During the rest of the 17th century various Dutch adventurers landed on points of the continent and adjacent islands. Names such as Carpentaria, Arnheimland, and Van Diemen's Land, are memorials of their enterprise. Dampier, the buccaneer, was the first Englishman to effect a landing. After him came a series of English, Dutch, and French mariners. But none of these succeeded in laying the foundation of a permanent settlement. In 1770, the celebrated Captain Cook landed at Botany Bay, and proclaimed the country part of the territories of the English Crown. He surveyed a portion of the Eastern coast (which from its resemblance to his native country he called New South Wales), and proposed that convicts should be sent hither from England. Accordingly, in 1788, Governor Phillip landed with 757 convicts (of whom 192 were women), 208 marines and their families, and a chaplain. He attempted to found a convict establishment at Botany Bay. Defeated in his effort by the unfavourable nature of the site selected, he at length succeeded in founding one at Port Jackson, a little to the north. This grew and prospered, and became the centre from which Eastern Australia was colonised. It is now the city of Sydney, a place of calm prosperity, long since purged of all felon taint, a city of fair streets and gardens on the shores of the fairest haven of the earth. After the foundation of the settlement at Port Jackson, the French made several attempts to establish themselves in Southern Australia; but, like all their vast and shadowy schemes of colonisation and conquest, these efforts failed.

Around the convict settlement at Port Jackson grew the first English colony—New South Wales. It is the classic land of Australia. If the spirit of Greek romance survived, the soft glories of Sydney Harbour, the bold picturesqueness of the Hawkesbury River, and the wild defiles of the Blue Mountains would be peopled in the imagination of the settlers with nymphs and genii. Australian mythology would not lack heroes. The Greeks built temples to the founders of their states. In their grateful devotion, the dim traditions, of the greatness of their mortal chiefs grew into myths which identified them with the mighty ones of heaven. To the first governors of New South Wales glory such as this has been denied. But they have such immortality as the unpoetic intelligence of modern times allows.

Athens had its Theseum, and Phillip Street in Sydney and Port Phillip in Victoria commemorate the first Governor at Port Jackson. The struggle which he and his successors had to maintain was indeed one that called for the highest efforts of heroism. They were dependent for food and necessaries on precarious supplies from England, or India, or the Dutch settlements in the East. They had to struggle with drought and floods. They had not only to preserve discipline among the convicts, but to control the mutinous and imperious spirit of the force which was sent from England to enable them to maintain order. And there were constant troubles with the aborigines, who were too barbarous to be conciliated or even effectively coerced. The civilisation of the white men made scarcer and scarcer every day the fish and game on which they lived. Their own unwritten law prevented them from withdrawing to the territory of other tribes. As was natural, they attempted to retaliate for their wrongs by killing stray whites and destroying their property. And, as was natural too, the white men often treated them as beasts of prey, to be hunted down and exterminated if they could not be driven away. Writing in the July number of this *REVIEW* we described the inevitable results of the relations between civilised colonists and uncivilised natives. The whites can always plead provocation, but in Australia as in Kafirland the measure of retribution has far exceeded the measure of provocation. Governor Phillip estimated the number of the tribe which dwelt around Port Jackson at 1500 individuals. The last survivor of the tribe died in 1849. European disease and European stimulants proved hardly less fatal elements in the process of extermination than mere violence and pressure.

More than once absolute starvation seemed likely to put an end to the infant settlement. The governor shared the hardships of the governed, and his highest state hardly rose above rough plenty. In 1791 the first non-criminal immigrant arrived. He was a German and married one of the female convicts. In 1798 a wooden church was erected, and this in 1806 was succeeded by one of brick. In that year, too, a ship was built and a newspaper published. In 1825 one-third of the population were convicts. In 1839 the last batch of convicts were put ashore. Altogether 70,000 criminals were brought to New South Wales, many of whom at the expiration of their term of punishment were absorbed into the general community. Thus in the total population of not much more than half a million, the taint of convict blood is sufficiently appreciable to engender in the minds of ardent colonists much sensitiveness of sentiment on the subject. Meanwhile enterprise and exploration penetrated inland. Attempts at cultivation were at first unsuccessful, but it was discovered that the

natural pasture of the country was admirably fitted for sheep. Between 1810 and 1821 the growing hopes of an export trade in wool attracted settlers. The Merino breed was introduced, and soon runs of thousands of acres in various parts of the strip of coast-land were occupied by sheep. All the land of the colony belonged to the Crown, and the rights conceded to individuals—at least in later times—were generally rights of grazing only. The persons to whom concessions of this kind have been made are called, throughout Australia, “squatters.” Since the Crown has made over its right in the land to the colony, the interest of these pastoral leaseholders has come into conflict with the interest of a new class of agricultural freeholders which the colonial legislatures in their anxiety to avoid the evils they discern in the old world model of society have striven to create. The struggle still continues and is, as we shall hereafter see, the great question of Australian politics. Distress at home has been in all ages the great incentive to migration. Many attempts has been made in vain to cross the Blue Mountains and penetrate into the unknown interior; but in 1813, when a general drought had rendered the wide pasturages of the seaboard barren, a band of sheep farmers succeeded in getting through and finding grass for their flocks on the other side. In 1808 a convict settlement dependent on New South Wales was formed in Van Diemen’s Land. In 1835 settlers from Van Diemen’s Land founded, near the harbour of Port Phillip, a town which is now known as Melbourne, the capital of Victoria. In 1825 Van Diemen’s Land was made a penal settlement, independent of New South Wales, and in 1851 the dependency of Port Phillip was made a separate colony under the name of Victoria. We shall have hereafter to speak of the causes which make disruption a corollary to the growth of these vast but little organised and imperfectly developed territories which we call colonies. Victoria asserted its independence, as we have seen, in 1851, and in 1859 the Northern portion of New South Wales, which had previously been known as the Moreton Bay District, was constituted a separate colony under the name of Queensland. The seat of Government for Victoria was fixed at Melbourne, and for Queensland at Brisbane. In the article on South Africa, already referred to, we have spoken of the difference between the constitution of a colony as a Crown colony, and the system known as responsible Government. Hitherto New South Wales had been a Crown colony. The governor appointed by the English Ministry did, in fact, govern subject only to the control of Downing Street. The lands of the colony which had not become the property of individuals or corporations were held to be at the disposal of the Crown. But in 1856 responsible Government was introduced. Though the Crown

retained a power of veto, the duty of legislation was left to two houses of parliament, representative, in different degrees, of the people of the colony. The executive administration devolved upon ministers responsible to Parliament and the Crown lands were surrendered to the colony, and were, of course, at the disposal of its parliament. The social and material progress of the various territories of Australia hardly admit of being sketched in detail, and will, perhaps, be most easily made clear when we have to speak of their present condition. The subjects of keen political discussion, and the general tendency of legislation in all are so similar that one general account will suffice. Here we shall only attempt to sketch in rough outline the main incidents in the history of the other settlements.

Port Phillip was discovered in 1802 during a voyage of exploration along the Southern coast. An attempt to plant a penal settlement there in 1803 failed. We have seen how great are the dangers which attend attempts at exploration by land in the interior. But from the earliest years of our settlement at Port Jackson to the present day bands of explorers have followed in rapid succession. In 1824 an expedition from New South Wales succeeded, after incredible hardships, in crossing the Murray River and penetrating overland to Port Phillip. In 1826 another unsuccessful effort was made to locate convicts at Western Port (West of Port Phillip), chiefly as it appears as a protest against French claims. In 1827 Mr. John Batman, a native of Paramatta, near Sydney, and Mr. T. J. Gellibrand, both settlers in Van Diemen's Land, informed the Governor of New South Wales that they were "in possession of some flocks of sheep highly improved, some of the Merino breed and some of the pure South Devon; of some pure South Devon cattle, and also of a fine breed of horses. They proposed to ship to Western Port 1500 to 2000 sheep; 30 head of cows, oxen, horses, &c., the whole to be under the personal direction of Mr. Batman, who would constantly reside there; and they asked his Excellency to grant them a tract of land proportionable to the sum of money they proposed to expend, and also to afford them every encouragement in carrying the proposed project into effect." The governor curtly declined to comply with their request.

In 1834 Mr. Henty, another Van Diemen's Land settler, established himself without leave or license from the Crown at Portland Bay (in Victoria), and had soon the happiness of seeing the stock he brought with him increase to 7000 sheep, 247 cattle, and 23 horses. Incited, perhaps, by Henty's success, Batman crossed to Port Phillip and concluded a treaty with the chiefs of the native tribes, by which they declared that they do "give, grant, enfeoff, and confirm" unto him, "his heirs and assigns, all

that tract of country situate and being in Port Phillip" (here follows the description) "containing about 500,000 acres, more or less." Mr. Labilliere preserves the inventory of the articles given as the price. The value of course was ludicrously small compared with that of the concession. But Batman further agreed to protect the chiefs and pay them annual tribute. On a part of the tract thus ceded, which Batman devoted to pastoral purposes, stands at present the city of Melbourne, with its population of more than 200,000 souls. The Governor of Van Diemen's Land naturally refused to sanction the arrangement that had been made, as it would be "a departure from the principle upon which a parliamentary sanction, *without reference to the aborigines*, has been given to the settlement of South Australia as part of the possessions of the Crown." But finally a sum of 7000*l.* was allowed to Batman and his associates "in consideration of expenses incurred by them in the first formation of the settlement." But Mr. Batman is not the only person entitled to the credit of this first formation. In 1835 Mr. Faulkner came from Van Diemen's Land and settled on the site of Melbourne, in rivalry, but not at variance, with Batman's party. In 1836 Captain Lonsdale arrived as official head; and from this time the settlement of Port Phillip grew rapidly in numbers and prosperity. Its soil and area made it less successful in the growth of wool than New South Wales, and in the cultivation of wheat than South Australia. But it combined these two industries as neither of its neighbours could, and thus approached more closely to the colonial idea of well-being. It was the creation of private enterprise, and from its earliest years was impatient of subordination to spiritless, benighted, official New South Wales. In 1851 its aspirations were satisfied by its establishment as a separate colony, under the name of Victoria. It is the youngest of the Australian group, and the most powerful. But its greatness is due not to its fields, nor its pastures, nor its ports, nor to the radical constitution it has established for itself. In 1851—the year it became an independent colony—gold was found at Ballaarat. Not from Europe only, but from the struggling colonies around, adventurers flowed in—often at the rate of 500 every day. The pasture lands of the Riverina and the wheatfields of South Australia were drained of cultivators and shepherds. The growing towns were deserted by the workmen—by all, indeed, who had trust in their nerve and lucky star. The contagion of adventure was ever spreading. Convicts came from Van Diemen's Land and New South Wales and added to the difficulties with which the young government had to deal. A vast multitude of men was soon collected, for whom there was no

shelter, no system of supplies, no settled mode of rule. Where all had dreams of finding a fortune by one lucky stroke, none were content to earn the slow wages of labour or the profits of trade. Policemen could only be provided by offering extravagant rates of pay. Shopkeepers would only sell at exorbitant prices. The luxuries of life were more common than the comforts—even than what, according to Western notions, are the necessities of life. Men drank champagne at three guineas a bottle who could not afford to eat a well-cooked mutton chop. At first, society was saved by the rough methods known as lynch law. By degrees more settled methods were established. The charges imposed by Government for permission to dig, gave rise to discontent, which in one instance ended in open revolt, suppressed only with great loss of life. The average earnings of the miners were no doubt less than those which could have been realised in regular industries. Some made large fortunes; many were ruined; and the profits of the goldfields went in larger proportions to the traders than to those who found the gold. The fascination of the fields paralysed for a time the development of production and commerce in the neighbouring colonies, but in the end the result was happy. The want of the country was labour, and gold attracted it. There was need of concentration, and at the goldfields sprang up organised societies with wants and the means of satisfying them. The growth of Melbourne is connected with the growth of Ballaarat, and is hardly so wonderful. Ballaarat was founded in 1852. In 1871 its population was nearly 10,000; it had fifty-six churches and three townhalls. Its municipal revenue was 50,000*l.* It had sixty miles of water mains and fifty miles of gas mains. There were in it eleven banks, eight iron foundries, thirteen breweries, and three flour mills. Gold has since been found and regularly worked in New South Wales, Queensland, and to some extent in Tasmania. West Australia—the most melancholy of Australian colonies—still cherishes dreams of finding in gold a solace for all the struggles and disappointments of the past, and there is every reason to believe that it exists in large quantities in South Australia. But its fascination has ceased. It is obtained now, as a rule, by quartz-crushing—a system which requires capital, or at least association and co-operation. Thus the returns are less speculative than those of the old system of alluvial washings, in which each man trusted to his own luck and his own energy. Miners' wages are high—higher, perhaps, than the average earnings of those who work on their own account at their own risk. Gold mining, like copper mining in South Australia and coal mining in New South Wales, is likely to be a permanent industry. In its beginning it has

enriched Australia with much-needed labour, and the English language with such words as "clum" and "duffer."

Of the early history of the other colonies we must speak but briefly. Van Diemen's Land was occupied as a convict settlement in 1803. Convict labour soon covered it with well-made roads and other public works. Convict labour gave the free settlers many of the conveniences of slavery, from which institution it differed in no important respect. The bushrangers, or escaped convicts, here as in New South Wales, are the dreaded personages in the romance of early settlement. And the presence of so large a criminal element in the population was a perpetual subject of reproach and chagrin to the free colonists. Their complaints and protests were at last heard, and since 1853 no convicts have been sent to the island. So many painful associations linked themselves to the name Van Diemen's Land, that it was henceforth called Tasmania, after Tasman, its Dutch discoverer. In 1856 the colony was endowed with responsible government; but when it escaped from the control of the mother country, it also lost its claim to protection. The Tasmanians of to-day ascribe the decline of their prosperity, not only to the loss of convict labour and the abolition of the large penal establishments, but to the withdrawal of the British troops. Throughout Australia, generally, the sentiment of loyalty is strong, and they feel a regret, which is all the stronger because it is sentimental, that British soldiers should no longer be among them to represent the protecting energy of Great Britain. This is hardly the place to discuss the possibility or the desirability of making the connexion between England and its colonies permanent. But assuming that the object is one worth striving for, it must be admitted that the social relations existing between British officers and the upper classes of colonial society are an important element in securing their goodwill.

South Australia, like Victoria, originated as a settlement of free colonists—not, like all the other territories, as a convict dépôt. In 1830 Sturt, one of the early explorers, starting from New South Wales, followed the Murrumbidgee to its confluence with the Murray, and thence followed the course of the Murray to the sea. His discoveries were followed by a survey of the country from that river to the Spencer Gulf, and by the formation of a company in London to "plant" a colony there. By this time the evils resulting from the want of system in previous attempts at colonisation had been recognised. It was seen that society in the old world depended for its prosperity on the due distribution of functions to each individual, and that in new countries hitherto the universal desire for the possession of land,

and the ease with which it was gratified, had prevented the formation of a healthy industrial framework. Large grants of land had been made to individuals, but they remained for the most part unoccupied and untilled. Mr. Wakefield's scheme of colonisation was devised as a remedy for these evils, and it was to some extent adopted in the English Act of 1834 for the formation of the colony of South Australia. The land was to be sold in small blocks, and the proceeds of the sales were to be devoted to the encouragement of immigration. Mr. Wakefield had strongly insisted that the land should only be disposed of for a "sufficient" price, but he had made no suggestion as to the application of the purchase-money. The price in South Australia has never been less than twenty shillings an acre. Where attempts have been made to discover the sufficient price by auction, the result has been only to create a class of land agents who, with no honest intention of acquiring land themselves, contrive to levy tribute from those who wish to do so. The Board of Control for India had been established by Government as a check upon the exercise of authority by the East India Company. By the Act of 1834, a Board of South Australian Commissioners in London was created to be a check upon the exercise of authority by Government. In practice, however, the power of control was little exercised. The Act had further provided that as soon as the population of the new colony should have reached 50,000, a constitution with representative government should be granted to it. After some intermediate changes of system—the population, in 1850, having attained this limit—the colonists were allowed to elect sixteen out of the twenty four members of the Legislative Council. Representative Government was thus granted, not, as in the other colonies, as the result of popular pressure, but in accordance with the scheme for the creation of South Australia. But the people desired a still more popular constitution. New South Wales, the only colony to which a constitution had been granted, had been satisfied to leave the nomination of members of the Upper House to the Crown; but the more democratic instincts of South Australia were impatient of official control, and in 1866 the constitution now in force was proclaimed. Under it there are two Houses: an Upper House, elected by the country at large, and a Lower House of seventy-two members, elected—two for each district—by manhood suffrage. The large expenditure on public works, in the first years of the colony's existence, involved it in debt. The proceeds of the land sales, instead of being devoted entirely to immigration, were devoted—one-third to immigration, one-third to public works, and a third to the repayment of the public debt. The financial equilibrium has long since been restored, and the price of land now forms part of

the ordinary revenue of the colony. Copper was to South Australia what gold was to Victoria, and though, like other industries, it suffered by the rush for gold in 1851, it seems likely to be a more permanent source of prosperity. The wool trade has fluctuated, as elsewhere, the squatters gaining experience and devising modes of cheapening production after each fresh disaster. But the production of wool, which is the great industry of New South Wales, is, in South Australia, of importance second to that of wheat. She not only grows for her own consumption, but exports to the other colonies—to the Cape, to India and China, and to Great Britain. In 1866-7 the area under wheat was 457,628 acres; in 1870-1 it was 604,761 acres: but the uncertainty of the climate is shown by the fact that between those years the average crop per acre varied as follows:—1866-67, 14 bushels 20 lbs.; 1867-68, 4 bushels 40 lbs.; 1868-69, 9 bushels 42 lbs.; 1869-70, 5 bushels 45 lbs.; 1870-71, 11 bushels 30 lbs.

Wine is produced in South Australia as well as in Victoria and West Australia. It is well adapted for local consumption, though in little favour. The poorer classes prefer abominable concoctions simulating spirit: the richer prefer brandy or the light wines of France. The art of wine-making is acquired empirically and only by long local experience. Australian growers seem as yet to have failed in their attempts to please the English palate. But it is to be hoped that the efforts they made to make their wines known at the Paris Exhibition and the acknowledged excellence of some of the brands will overcome the inveterate prejudices of home consumers.

South Australia is more than a geographical expression, but as a geographical expression it has long ceased to be appropriate. The territory of the colony extends northward to the Northern coast of the Continent. While other colonies were discussing schemes for united action to secure telegraphic communication with Europe, South Australia, with characteristic enterprise, determined to secure to itself all the advantages of exclusive possession. The difficulties of pushing a line of telegraph through 1800 miles of desert interior were at length successfully surmounted, and now the wire connects Adelaide on the South with Port Darwin on the North. Round Port Darwin a settlement has been formed which will soon, no doubt, become a colony and claim separation from the mother colony, as Queensland and Tasmania and Victoria did from New South Wales, and as sections of Queensland and New South Wales are now claiming from the rest of the territory to which they belong. As we write, the news comes that a new expedition for discovery and survey is projected from Queensland to Port Darwin. The

settlement of the North-East coast will follow, and soon the hot Northern coast-lands will be as well known, and perhaps as well peopled as the more temperate lands of the West and East and South.

Of West Australia we have still to speak. It was founded by a band of English emigrants under the direction of Captain (afterwards Sir James) Stirling. The nucleus of the settlement was the town of Perth on the Swan River, founded in 1829. Immigrants continued to arrive, but from the beginning the colony had difficulties and misfortunes to encounter such as fell to the lot of none of the other colonies. It had neither the cheap labour, nor the grants of imperial funds, nor the centralised system which fostered the growth of New South Wales and Tasmania. Nor was it the result of organised effort, like South Australia. The aboriginal inhabitants were of an especially savage and irreconcilable type, and the relations of the colonists with them, in spite of the humane and conciliatory disposition of the governors, were bitter and bloody. The patches of cultivable land occurred at long intervals in the waste of sand and scrub-covered rock. Before the foundation of Perth there had been a convict depôt at St. George's Sound. In 1832, it was proposed to succour the distressed condition of the colonists and relieve the embarrassment of Great Britain which could find no home for its felons, by reviving the depot there. But the colony, as a whole, repudiated the scheme, and struggled on. Though cultivation slowly increased it failed to retain the labour necessary for its development, and in 1849, the broken-spirited settlement accepted the sad alternative of receiving convicts. In 1850, a penal settlement was established on the Swan River. The advantages hoped for were to some extent realised, but Victoria and South Australia, with natural horror of the convict taint, complained that the time-expired prisoners came and settled in their midst. Owing to their remonstrances convicts ceased, after 1860, to be sent to Swan River. The population of Western Australia is only 25,000, and during 10 years 10,000 felons had been landed on its shores. In 1872, there were 2000 convicts still in confinement, or at large on ticket of leave, or under a conditional pardon. Of the remaining 8000 those who have not died or gone to other colonies formed with their families part of the ordinary population. The result is, as Mr. Trollope says, that "the whole labour market of the colony savours of the convict element. Many of the most thriving shopkeepers came out as convicts. There are convict editors of newspapers. The convict flavour is over everything." Of course this social taint, added to the physical disadvantages of the country, discourages

immigration, but the men themselves however vicious in disposition or unprepossessing in feature, and however dissipated their habits may be, are at least restrained from crime. Life and property are as safe as elsewhere. The colony has always hoped and still hopes that gold will at last be discovered to attract labour, but hitherto the money spent in search and experiments has been spent in vain. Pearls have been found on the coast, but the class the fisheries enrich can hardly be regarded as inhabitants. Wool is the principle staple, but the production is small compared with that of other colonies. Of the patches of land suitable for pastoral runs much is covered with poisonous herbage. Both soil and climate are in many places fit for wheat. But, the system of farming is thoroughly bad, and hitherto there have been many failures from moth and rust.

Western Australia is the only Australian colony which has not a responsible representative Government of its own. Yet it can hardly be called a Crown Colony in the strict sense of that term. The Governor is in theory absolute and responsible. But besides his executive council of permanent officials there is a legislative council of eighteen members—six of whom are nominated by the Government and twelve elected by the colony. And as the legislative council has the power of stopping supplies, it can of course contest the action of the Governor. Such an arrangement as this, it is evident, is only tolerable as the precursor of regular representative institutions.

We have thus attempted to review the early history of each of the Colonies. We have still to describe the general features of the process by which occupation spread inwards and laterally from the first centres of settlement. New South Wales, we have seen, commenced with a convict settlement. The free settlers who followed came to be cultivators, not stock farmers. The frequent droughts and floods soon taught them the climate was unfavourable to agriculture. But pasture, they found, was abundant, and the mildness of the winter and absence of beasts of prey made stock-keeping easier than in better-watered regions. The merino sheep was introduced, and soon superseded the previous breeds. About the same time a herd of cattle, kept at the settlement for meat, escaped, and showed graziers the way to finer pastures. In 1873 there were in Australia 4,340,638 horned cattle and 41,866,263 sheep. The first graziers, it must be remembered, were cultivators first and graziers after. Wheat had to be grown for the support of the convicts. Government was glad to give grants of land and convict labour and military protection from the outrages of the labourers thus given, to those who would establish out-settlements to grow the needed wheat. The best

land was devoted to agriculture, but the poorer lands adjoining were stocked with sheep and cattle. As these increased fresh pastures were sought inland. Cattle were found to be the best pioneers of settlement—requiring little labour and none of that painful preparation that agriculture involves. Government conceded for a nominal fee unrestricted rights of grazing in the apparently limitless interior, and thus the class of squatters arose. The dry air of the interior made the sheep healthy. Their wool was always marketable. Cattle, on the other hand, though they fattened even on the meagre herbage of the desert-like plains, yielded no return as soon as they increased beyond the number necessary to supply the population with meat. Sheep-runs therefore unconnected either with cultivation or the employment of convicts multiplied inwards. The droughts, which proved so mischievous to agriculture, and fluctuations in the external demand have from time to time depressed squatting enterprise. But from each disaster the sheep farmers learned some mode of improving the staple or economising their resources. Sheep, it is known, thrive best in a dry climate and by frequent change of pasture. The damp clay-lands of the coast (where the rainfall is greater than inland) were therefore left for the most part to cattle—while the sheep were driven to the western slopes of Cordilleras, or eastern margin of the great inland plateau. The agriculturist followed the squatter, for land which is found to be good for sheep is favourable for the growth of food. But distance from ports and markets of course prescribed limits to the advance of settlement, and rich lands near the coast, like those of West Australia, were most readily occupied. Cattle were the most hardy stock, and were often sent to new land to prepare it for sheep. Riverina is the great plain country in the angle of New South Wales and Victoria, north of the Murray River, and intersected by the tributary streams of that great system. It was easily accessible from New South Wales and Victoria, and was already being stocked when the gold discoveries of 1857 gave an impetus to grazing by creating a demand for meat. Soon, not only the land near the rivers was taken up, but the land between, far from water-courses, was provided with water by dams and wells and fully occupied. The success of stock-farming here tempted men northwards. From South Australia and New South Wales flocks were driven hundreds of miles to the interior. The accounts of explorers had led the new settlers to expect fair seasons. Much capital was sunk in constructing wells and dams. The herbage, though scanty, was rich in salt and fattening. But after a few years came a drought. The sheets of water dried up and wells failed. In the droughts or in the floods which followed nearly all the sheep perished, and hardly a station of all those

that had been established was maintained. The result of the simultaneous advance in Queensland was hardly less discouraging to the pioneers. Unlike the settlers of the Riverina they were men of little experience in stock-raising, and they secured lands rather as speculative investments than with the intention of occupying them themselves. Pastoral runs they saw were everywhere increasing in value, and they believed that the rich downs of Queensland would soon be at a premium. Much time and effort was, in the first place, wasted in the search of suitable lands as yet unallotted. Then the conditions imposed by Government required that the land should be actually occupied. To occupy it stock and labour were necessary. Prices and wages were at the time very high, and the speculators had to borrow capital at excessive rates of interest. The returns from such outlay are very slow, and year after year they had to borrow fresh capital, to part with a portion of their land, or to mortgage the whole. Every one clung to his land, while no one prospered on it. At last the crisis came. In 1868 the price of wool fell to one-half of what it had been. The lands so long prized became almost unsaleable. The speculators were ruined, and their creditors lost heavily. And when the trade in wool revived the benefit was reaped by new men, who had purchased the stations for nominal sums. The early squatters thought more of increasing the production of wool than of improving the breed of sheep. They depended upon imported rams, but year by year it became more apparent that careful attention to processes of natural selection, results in the creation, for each district, of breeds giving a better and more abundant staple.

At first the flocks of sheep—or “mobs” as they are called in Australia—were under the charge of shepherds, and were driven each morning to pasture, and at night confined to narrow folds. The dingoes, or wild dogs, and the hurtful spear-grass were the great dangers to be feared. As the pasturages began to show symptoms of exhaustion the mobs were driven to the virgin lands that lay beyond. But as settlement increased and the cost of labour rose, and the decreased value of wool compelled the squatter to fresh economy, it was found that it was better to fence in the runs and leave the sheep to seek their own pasture night and day within the limits of huge paddocks. In place of many shepherds and messengers was one boundary rider. The result of this system was of course to impoverish the soil of the confined area. Thus in the more settled districts it has become the practice to sow imported grasses and trefoil in order to enrich the natural pasture. Under this more careful system of grazing it is profitable to keep sheep upon freehold. At first it would only pay to keep them on leasehold land, for which but small

fees were paid, but the tendency of industrial development as well as of legislation, is to substitute for a system of huge squatters leasehold lands a system of freehold sheep-farms. There have even been instances of cultivated lands reverting to pasture.

The largest number of sheep which a run can safely carry under one management is said on excellent authority to be 10,000. But the number is often much greater than that. Yet so wide is the area over which they feed, that Mr. Trollope says the most striking feature in the aspect of the pastoral regions is the absence of sheep. Many of the squatters, especially in the older districts, are men of great wealth. But the provinces are, as a rule, working on capital borrowed from banks or merchants in the towns. The wool is shipped to England through the merchants, and for years its value goes only to reduce the debt. The rate of interest in the colonies is about double what it is in England, and on every fresh advance which the fluctuations of trade or the need of increased productive expenditure compels the squatter to solicit, a heavy commission is charged. The result is that often the pioneer is ruined, while his merchant, or his overseer, or even his shepherd, succeeds to the valuable property he has created.

Drought, we have said, is the great foe of the squatter. This is especially the case in South Australia, where flocks have sometimes been driven hundreds of miles from the interior to the coast in search of water. The dingoes are formidable, but their number is kept down by systematic poisoning. (On old pastures disease attacks the sheep; their constitution deteriorates, and salt and tonics have to be supplied to them. But in the settled districts the squatters complain that they are victims, not to the "inexorability of Nature," but to the tyranny of human law. The free selector is dreaded more than the dingo. The benevolent intentions of the legislature have designed him to be a yeoman cultivator, but in practice he is, say the squatters, a cattle stealer. He establishes himself as a thorn in the side of the squatter, taking land from pasture which is never likely to produce wheat. He may be bribed into withdrawal, but while he remains he lives on the squatter's meat. The imputation seems to be hardly resented by the class on whom it is made. "I was once standing by," says Mr. Trollope, "over a kangaroo which we had hunted, and which a free selector who had made one in the hunt was skinning. 'You have heard of the cattle stealers, sir,' he said, looking up at me; 'this is the way they do it by moonlight, I'm told.' He was owning himself to be a cattle stealer, but he was not a bit ashamed of it." Vagrants, too, are a serious tax on the resources of the squatter. Want of hospitality to wayfarers would, in most cases, be want of

humanity. Many an honest man in search of work depends for shelter and sustenance on the dwellers in the wilderness through which he passes. Anglo-Indian notions everywhere prevail, and the result is the existence of a class similar to the Anglo-Indian loafer. The fear of mischievous reprisal prevents individuals from doing anything to check the evil. In India a special act was passed to prevent European vagrancy, and either legislation or associated action must effect the same end in Australia.

But in spite of all these drawbacks to human felicity, the life of a squatter and his assistants must be pronounced in the main a happy life. Horses are plentiful, and the work to be done involves regular habits and constant exercise in the open air. Lambing, washing, and shearing times are full of excitement. Rough plenty prevails. Mutton is, of course, a too familiar fare, but there is abundance of other meat and vegetables. Tea is the ordinary beverage of all classes, but brandy-and-water seems popular as a stimulant with the upper. The shearers and other labourers who assemble in large numbers during shearing time drink tea only. But Sir Wilfrid Lawson, and others who think with him that the drunkenness of England is due to the daily temptations of the public-house, ought to note that these Australian teetotalers look forward to one long drinking-bout at the end of their labours as the reward of their abstinence, and the best investment for their large earnings. The practice, whether it be due to inherited instinct or the survival of depraved tastes, is in every way to be deplored. A man can spend but little in Australia except in food. But rations are, as a rule, supplied in addition to regular wages; and if the latter were saved and invested in freehold, Australia would soon have its longed-for yeomanry. Distances are so great that there is little of settled social intercourse between the scattered squatters. But when they travel on business they receive, and may almost demand, unbounded hospitality. Visits of this kind are frequent and welcome. The houses of the squatters are more like Indian bungalows than English residences. They are generally of one story only, and have the verandah as a principal feature. The store-rooms, the offices and quarters for the servants and assistants, adjoin. The whole has an air rather of patriarchal plenty than of elegance and comfort. The richer squatter sometimes attempts to reproduce in his house and its surroundings the aspect of an English mansion and its grounds. But finished picturesqueness is wanting. The Australian settler takes pride and pleasure in the possession of books, but their life is too active to allow much leisure for reading; and culture, far removed from all that ministers to it, languishes. The surrounding scenery of course varies. Some of the runs are in forest-covered tracts, amid rocks

and hills; others in what seems a flat, treeless waste. Elsewhere they occupy bare grassy downs. Where there is forest it contains little life or variety of charm. The limits of squatting are defined by climate. As the North is approached, sheep thrive less and yield less wool. But the influences which are hostile to sheep are favourable, or at least not injurious, to horned stock. In the hot, damp climate of the North, and in the low coastland, cattle thrive. They are hardier than sheep, and require far less expenditure both for labour and cartage. Being better able to travel to find food, they can be maintained on pastures too poor for sheep. For this reason they have been pioneers in land subsequently occupied by sheep or brought under cultivation. The care of stock suits better the wild, undisciplined habits of the aborigines than any other form of labour. Their services can be cheaply secured, and they have therefore been largely employed as assistants to the stockmen. Though fencing has of late years been resorted to, cattle are easily herded, and can, in the dry climate, be driven long distances without loss of condition. Cattle stealing long harassed the cattle, but laws providing for the registration of brands have done much to check it. The only other special difficulty is the danger that the cattle will get wild and break away into the scrub. Recovering these runaways is perhaps the most exciting of Australian sports.

It was at one time hoped that the trade in preserved meat would enrich Australia and benefit the English consumer. The preparation was conducted in the most economical way. In one establishment, "the meat was preserved, the essence extracted, the tallow made into soap and candles, hides made into leather, the hoofs boiled for oil, the bones crushed, and the refuse dried and compressed into manure." But the advantage in price has not been sufficient to make the consumption considerable in England, and the profits of the Australian producer were very small. The success of the effort to bring fresh meat in freezing-chambers to England, promises better for the future of both wool-growing and stock-keeping in Australia. The fashion in wool changes and converts the profits of the squatter to a loss, but the demand for good mutton is constant, and tolerably uniform; and, of course, the increased value of the meat would enable the wool-grower to compete on more favourable terms with the wool-growers of other countries. The Australian horses are hardy and strong: they are bred in large numbers for home use and for export. Most of the weight-carrying horses of Anglo-India are "Walers." Pasture is abundant, and the horses require absolutely no care. Sometimes they break away into the bush, and thus large herds of wild horses are formed, which occupy pastures coveted by the squatters. The work of expelling

them is excellent sport. Few of those captured are worth breaking in, and in many places they are ruthlessly shot down. The wild horse rapidly degenerates. The emblem of Australia is the kangaroo, but the figure of a centaur would be more appropriate. Every one rides, and horse-racing is even more than in England a national sport.

But the great ambition of protectionist and democratic Australia is to grow its own food supplies—that is to say, its own wheat, for no other breadstuff is generally used—and to substitute the small farmer for the squatter. The Eastern seaward slopes are, as a rule, fitted neither by climate nor soil for the growth of wheat. Few river valleys of any breadth traverse them, and the crops they yield are chiefly maize and sugar-cane and grass and vines and oranges. But the inland slopes of the mountain-chain spread out in downs, which, though for the most part devoted to wool, are admirably fitted for wheat. Such are the Darling downs in Queensland, and, south of these, the highlands of New England; and again, south of Sydney, the high cold country of Manera.

North of the Murray River stretch the plains of Riverina. They include all the country watered by the Darling and its tributary streams, and have no definite limit northwards. Admirable for pasture, they would also be admirable for wheat, if only the rainfall were sufficient. To the South-East, and on the margin of the rivers, the free selector has made good his hold, and wheat is grown. To grow it profitably, the rainfall must be not only large on an average of years, but fairly uniform. The chance of ample and steady rainfall diminishes as the distance from the coast increases; and so spasmodic is the action of the river system, that no practicable scheme of irrigation has been devised. But the area of land fit for wheat, and, as yet, unsold, is very large compared with that under cultivation. Much depends on the character of the settler. In South Australia, where many thrifty Germans have made a home for themselves, wheat is grown in large quantities on lands with a lower rainfall than lands elsewhere, which other settlers find unprofitable. The need of thrift and dogged industry during the first years of cultivation is obvious. The land has to be cleared of trees before even preparations for sowing can be made; and the country offers absolutely no wild produce which can be used for food. Then droughts and floods must be regarded as normal phenomena. It can hardly be matter of surprise that deserted freeholds are so common in New South Wales. Many of the free selectors eke out the produce of their farms by the wages they earn as carters, or as labourers for the neighbouring squatters; and the squatters who complain of their presence are too apt to forget the advan-

tages they reap from it in this respect. The system of cultivation is unscientific. Labour is dear, and therefore the great object is to economise it. The corn is reaped by a machine which thrashes as it reaps. There is no attempt at rotation of crops: manure is not given, and even the stubble is often burnt in the ground. By such superficial methods the farmer has earned for himself the name of cockatoo—for he does not till, but scratch. He has but one defence—the system pays, and perhaps no other would. Posterity will suffer—not he. And if he were not a cockatoo, the land would lie uncultivated. Wasteful use is better than useless waste.

The Australian farmer's homestead has nothing of the picturesque comfort of the English farmhouse. It is a mere hut in the midst of fields. The fields, indeed, are fenced to keep off the cattle of the neighbouring grazing grounds, and to satisfy the requirements of the land laws, but there is no garden nor old trees, nor anything round which the associations of home can grow. The farmer comes not to find a home but to make money by growing wheat. When the soil is impoverished he migrates to fresh land. As settlement has been extended in the South African colonies by Dutch farmers "trekking" inland to escape from British rule; so it has been extended inward in Australia by cultivators in search of "fresh fields" and graziers in quest of "pastures new." The object of democratic legislation in Australia has been to attract immigrants, and to create a class of peasant proprietors. Land has not the same sentimental value in new countries as in old, but the Australian elector has not been able to divest himself of the feelings with which the state of society in England inspired him. He carries to the new country antipathies engendered in the old. He does not ask himself how the land of his adoption may be best developed, but how it may be saved from the power of capitalists and large landed proprietors. The risks which attend the enterprise of the squatter and the large scale on which his operations are conducted, render the possession or the command of capital absolutely necessary. The immense extent of land required render it impossible for him to purchase it. He has it on lease—and for grazing only. This monopoly of land—possibly of land suited for wheat—by capitalists, is an abomination to the democratic elector. He forgets that the class which supplies immigrants are attracted not by the prospect of the possession of land, but by the prospect of earnings. If wages are higher than the profits of cultivation they prefer to be workmen—not farmers. And wages, as a rule, are higher than the profits of a poor inexperienced farmer. But to the fascination of a abstract theory was added the class rancour of the ignorant and demagogue-driven workman against the better educated, prosperous, and perhaps selfish, squatter. In the electoral struggle

the squatters have been defeated. In Victoria and New South Wales the rule of free selection before survey prevails. By this rule any one can select anywhere a prescribed area of land not as yet alienated by the State, and by complying with certain conditions as to personal residence and improvements, and by paying a small amount of purchase-money, spread in easy instalments over a term of years, can obtain a title to its possession as freehold. The area is limited in order to prevent the growth of large estates. The purchase-money is fixed, not with a view to increasing the general revenue of the colony so much as to enable it to execute the works necessary to bring the land within reach of markets. The price fixed is, we believe, nowhere less than twenty shillings an acre. There are no limits to this power of choice. The free selector may oust the squatter from the best portions of his leasehold run, or he may take a part which seriously diminishes the utility of the rest. It is notorious that land is often chosen not for its value to the selector but on account of the injury with which the selection threatens the squatter. He naturally complains that while the term of his lease is unexpired his lands should be thus invaded. He claims to have discovered its capabilities and to have, by his capital, by his energy, by his daring even, to have developed them and converted the wilderness into a place of men. To protect himself from the wanton wrong which, as the squatter believes, the law does him, he is content to evade it. When a run is threatened by free selectors too numerous or too respectable to be bought off, the squatter himself becomes a free selector of the threatened parts or of parts which command the rest. He buys in the name of his relatives, his servants, his friends—often in names which are wholly imaginary. By this system of dummying, considerable portions of squatters' leaseholds have become his freehold, and legislation has thus precipitated the evil against which it was directed. But the wrong done to the squatter is as nothing compared to the wrong done to the class of free selectors and the common weal. Much of the land now devoted to pasture is fit for tillage, and no one can reasonably complain if on these the squatter should give place to the farmer. But the lands chosen are often entirely unsuited to tillage. In South Australia the system of selection *after* survey prevails. In Western Australia an attempt is made to confine the selections to areas on which a compact community can grow. But elsewhere the inexperienced immigrant is allowed to wander where he pleases and select whatever he takes a fancy to. The result is that the country is covered with straggling homesteads, and that while good wheat-land lies unused labour is wasted on land which never will be fit for wheat. The disadvantages

under which the children of these scattered settlers labour as regards education is a grave evil in a country which depends for its future as much on the character of its people as on its own natural capabilities. Already the ignorance of these children of the wilderness is a reproach to Australia. The free selectors themselves are often cattle stealers; are often ruined and driven to bushranging. Of 800,000 acres alienated in New South Wales only 147,000 were sown with wheat in 1871. If the lands were compact within a smaller area, education and markets would be within reach, government would be easy, and, instead of struggling isolated families, there would be a community strong for mutual support. The large freeholders—the true aristocracy of Australia—have even a graver grievance than the leasehold squatter. In the early days of colonisation large tracts were given to them or to their fathers as an inducement to them to devote energy and capital to the development of the country. It was then a wilderness, and nothing was known as to its capabilities. After a thousand struggles and failures they succeeded in introducing breeds of animals which flourish there now—and the crops which their experience and their outlay have shown to be most suitable. They have made roads, built bridges, and laid-out towns. Now that the landowner has shown what the lands are fit for he wants tenants for those he cannot occupy himself. But the very tenants he would wish to get—the men with a little capital—the system of free selection has tempted to scatter themselves all over the country. They prefer unprofitable freeholds to profitable leaseholds. The tenants who offer themselves are men whom one bad season ruins. Hence this arable land is generally devoted to grazing; for “sheep are the only tenants whose crops do not fail.”

The remedy for these evils is not to make the leasehold squatter secure in his domain, but to allow selection to be made only in districts which survey by experienced persons has shown to be suitable both as regards soil and access to markets. Where free selections thrive their prosperity is generally due to the fact that they are allowed to graze cattle in the waste land round their holdings. If the price of land were reduced—if lands fit for grazing, though not for agriculture, were sold in sufficiently large plots to render grazing profitable at a few shillings an acre, instead of at twenty shillings, a class of grazing farmers would be created that would confer on the country all the blessings hoped for from the class of tillage-farmers.

Queensland, the most tropical of the colonies, is the seat of sugar cultivation. Unlike other crops, the cane requires two seasons to ripen, and therefore one year of drought or excessive rain or cold, will imperil the produce of two. The cultivation

is encouraged by a heavy protective duty, and in favourable parts of the coast-lands, near to markets, has proved singularly remunerative. The climate is such that white men cannot do field-work and even if they could, the high pay that would be necessary would prevent Queensland growers from competing with the growers of other climates who depend altogether on cheap tropical labour. Up to 1871 the work of the sugar plantations was chiefly done by labourers imported from various islands of Polynesia. The traffic seems to have been conducted under stringent regulations for securing the Polynesian from coercion, ill-usage, forcible detention, or bad faith. Of 4300 imported up to 1871, 2700 had returned to their homes, possessors of fortunes such as avarice never dreamt of in their own country, and endowed with habits of industry, such as it might well be hoped, would render them missionaries of civilisation to their fellows. But the coolie traffic for other regions than Queensland was not so rigidly controlled—was not, indeed, controlled at all, and true stories of kidnapping and outrage stirred English philanthropists to action. Unfortunately their zeal was not according to knowledge, and was shown in undeserved denunciations of what was called Queensland slavery. Within the colony itself white labour, shrinking from the competition of blacks, clamoured for protection and prohibitions, and their selfish outcry was mistaken for an echo of the philanthropic sentiment of England. The traffic declined, and the Queensland planters have now to look to India and China for coolie labour. Cotton, which it was once attempted to encourage by a bounty on exportation, is still grown in large quantities near Brisbane, but elsewhere it has given place to sugar.

Mining industries, though at present secondary to agriculture and grazing, are likely in no distant future to be the chief element in Australian prosperity. We have spoken already of the discoveries of gold and copper. Tin was found in New South Wales in 1872, and a tin fever followed, which resembled in all its stages the gold fever. Coalfields of immense extent exist in many parts of the East coast and far away into the interior. But many years must elapse before the population is dense enough to allow the inland fields to be worked. At present those only are utilised which are within reach of the sea, or close to rivers. The Hunter River is the Tyne of Australia. At its mouth is the important town of Newcastle, whence coal is exported in large quantities to India, China, and other centres of Eastern Asia. Iron is brought there to be smelted. Elsewhere in Queensland and New South Wales the iron ores (which exist in rich deposits on the surface, in the neighbourhood of freestone) are smelted at the mines—the dense forests of large timber supplying ample

fuel. But the time will come when forest timber will be no longer available, and then the coal seams will be worked. It is to be hoped that the Australian Governments, which in so many respects show wise prevision, will save the country from the disastrous consequences which have elsewhere ensued on the destruction of forests. With coal and iron Queensland and New South Wales will become a new England in the East. They will first manufacture their own implements and then their own ships and cotton goods. Victoria has no coal, and despite the vigour of her citizens, ambitious Melbourne will not rival the greatness of apathetic Sydney.

The great obstacle to industrial development is everywhere the difficulty of transit. The squatter 200 miles inland has to draw all his supplies from the coast and send all his wool there for shipment to England. The roads, except in the most settled districts, are mere improvised tracks, while the rivers generally have bar mouths, and are navigable only for a short distance from the sea. The only navigable system is that of the Darling, and even it is not navigable to its mouth. Traffic, too, is possible only at certain seasons, and is liable to frequent interruption. Yet so great is the difficulty and expense of land carriage, that the produce of Riverina finds its way by the tortuous windings of the rivers to a point on the Murray, and thence by rail to distant Melbourne, rather than by a comparatively short route overland to the much nearer port of Sydney.

Railways run straight inland from several of the chief ports; but, with the exception of the line destined to connect Melbourne and Sydney, none go from one centre of population to another. The reason is, of course, that population is densest on the coast, and that here communication by sea is easy. South Australia, elated by its success in constructing the telegraph line across the continent, thought of making a railway as well, and thus peopling the interior. But the physical conditions on which we have so often dwelt ordain that as the centre of the continent is approached, population and production must diminish in relation to area. Railways inland, therefore, can never give rise to settlement as they have done in America. The traffic can never require great speed or frequent trains. The first lines constructed were of the most costly type, but the advantages of cheap light lines are now recognised. Railways, we may remark, have been constructed by the Government. Private enterprise would certainly not have ventured on the necessary outlay, and the benefits they have conferred are undoubted. But the corrupting influence which the construction and maintenance of the lines has had, both on the Government and the constituencies, justifies to a great extent the often expressed objections to entrusting such

functions to the State. The scramble for public works grants of all kinds is next to the democratic instinct the great depraving influence in Australian politics. The candidates who succeed are not the men who are fitted by character and ability for the duties of legislation, but the men who have the knack of pleasing and amusing the electors; who can promise most glibly roads and railways and bridges; who attack most rancorously men of property and position, and denounce them as oppressors of the honest labourer. Ministers must use the same arts to secure parliamentary support as the members do to secure suffrages. Members and districts alike are bribed with grants from public funds for local works. The needs of the district are not considered, but its claims on the ministry. In such an atmosphere personal integrity cannot long exist. Many of the projects are mere jobs intended to benefit not a locality even, but a few individuals. The management of the State property is extravagant and corrupt. Personal and political considerations—often even coarser forms of inducement—determine the way in which lands are assigned and contracts given. Loan after loan is contracted with a light heart. The public debt grows, and only the substitution of local administrative governments for the system of centralised authority can save colonial finance from permanent disorder. The income from the sales of land being reckoned as ordinary revenue for a time conceals the danger, and the vigour of a young community will, in any case, repair the waste of unthrifty government.

Hardly anywhere in Australia is there any class, except the mercantile and trading classes of the towns, intermediate between the large capitalist and the labourer. At first the squatters were supreme in legislation, and selfishly used their power to save the lands they leased from agricultural occupation. But the various forms of mining industry led to the introduction of a large class of workmen, to whom, under the new constitutions, political power passed. They hated the squatters and the principles which squatting represented. Already the large freeholders desired the creation of a farming class to take their land on lease. The democracy created instead the class of free selectors. Production they endeavoured to develop or to maintain where it languished by protective duties. Everything was protected—what the colony could not produce as well as what it could produce—everything except the produce of the squatter. The mercantile classes, who of course were mainly importers, opposed this. The press opposed it. The intelligence of the country opposes it, but the doggedness of the ignorant masses maintains it. The Home Government of course preferred free-trade, but could not force it on an unwilling colony. It insisted only, in justice to

foreign nations with whom it had treaty relations, and perhaps in the hope that practical inconvenience would be more convincing than abstract argument, that the goods of one colony should not be admitted on more favourable terms into another than the goods of foreign countries. The Australian colonies pay for their economic hobby not only by the misdirection of their industry, but by the expense and inconvenience of having to maintain against each other a customs barrier. The Riverina is politically connected with New South Wales, but all its imports and exports are by way of Melbourne. Commercially it is part of Victoria, but the New South Wales Government levies duty on all the goods which pass the Murray river. To obviate this inconvenience it was arranged that the Victoria Government should collect and appropriate to its own use all the duties at Melbourne, and pay a lump sum annually as compensation to New South Wales. But a dispute arose as to the amount, and a barrier as discreditable as that of the Indian Inland Customs line is still maintained. Confederation of the Australian colonies is a consummation that can hardly be hoped for very soon. But a customs union—such as that which existed between the German States—is the only remedy for the present intolerable obstacles to inter-colonial trade. To the Council appointed to superintend the working of such a union other common functions—defence, for instance, and foreign relations—will by degrees be assigned, and thus the object of confederation will be slowly attained.

We have seen that Victoria and Queensland successfully claimed independence of New South Wales. Further separations are the great questions of local politics. Riverina—a district of squatters—though it finds the inconvenience of being politically connected with New South Wales—having its trade in Melbourne and its courts of justice in Sydney—is yet unwilling to be absorbed in democratic Victoria. It therefore claims to be made an independent colony. Rockhampton, in Queensland, is indignant that Brisbane should be enriched by the establishment of public offices there, and that the district round Brisbane, having a preponderance of votes, should have an unfair proportion of the public funds spent in works for its benefit. It, too, claims independence, but the claim is met by the protests of Bowen—a centre of population still further north. Bowen objects to the supremacy of Rockhampton on the very grounds on which Rockhampton objects to the supremacy of Brisbane. Thus every district—especially those which are most remote from the seat of Government—desires separation. Parties too weak in the legislature often unite to support each other's schemes. But the more remote and less developed regions have not representation enough to make themselves heard, even by

this process of "log-rolling." Confederation and decentralisation will alone prevent the indefinite multiplication of these claims—by diminishing the prerogatives, and therefore the charms, of independence, and by removing the grievances which at present make subordination irksome.

We have said that the Australian States are democratic, but they are so in varying degrees. In Queensland the franchise is higher than elsewhere. The squatting interest is still powerful, and, as a result, salutary restraints are imposed on the power of selecting land for agriculture. The area has been surveyed and classified, and only the cultivation appropriate to each soil is permitted. Like New South Wales, it has attempted to create a yeoman class, but it has done so by recognising the fact that the inland soil is suited for grazing, rather than for agriculture. Land is given at low rates as freehold for grazing; and the prosperous grazing farms of Queensland are a happy contrast to the scattered patches of the free-selecting cultivators of New South Wales. South Australia, too, has adopted the system of selection *after* survey, and New South Wales, though it permits free selection before survey, is less protectionist than Victoria. Victoria, the most prosperous of all, is the most democratic. It is indeed, perhaps, the most democratic state that exists, or has ever existed. The attempt of the squatters to save their leasehold lands from invasion has long since been defeated. The battle is now being fought over the lands they have acquired in freehold. That the form of acquisition was legal hardly any one denies. That the acquisition was in most cases opposed to the common interests of the colony, and that the squatters, as a class, have shown selfish indifference to those interests, not many will deny. The democracy wishes to open out fields for industry: the squatters prefer to reserve their lands for grazing, and thus exclude industry. Confiscation has been proposed; resumption at equitable rates has been proposed; but the favourite remedy is a tax on large landed estates, the rate being enhanced according to the degree in which the estate exceeds the untaxed minimum. The disputes as to the payment of members and the mode of making the will of the Lower House override that of the Upper House are mere incidents or phases of this controversy. Financial distress gives the question urgency. The proceeds of the land sales have long been treated as revenue, when they ought in truth to have been regarded as capital. Now that they begin to fail and that the customs—under the fatal influence of Protection—languish, Democracy looks round for some means of escape from the consequences of its own extravagance.

In all the colonies (except Western Australia) the English model of Government by Queen (*i.e.* Governor), Lords (*i.e.* Legis-
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lative Council), and Commons (*i.e.* Legislative Assembly), has been followed. In Queensland and New South Wales the Council is nominated by the Governor on the advice of his Ministers. In South Australia and Victoria it is elective. We need not give details as to the qualifications of electors and candidates. In Victoria, a member of Council must own property worth 2500*l.*, and the elector must pay rent or rates to the value of 50*l.* Thus the Upper Chamber represents property generally and not, as is often assumed in our newspapers, merely the squatting interests. For elections to the Assembly there is Manhood Suffrage, and no property qualification. Members of the Assembly receive a yearly salary. The elections excite little interest or excitement, and are hardly ever attended with disorder. This is due in part to the system of voting by ballot, but chiefly to popular indifference. Minorities have been hopelessly crushed. Political life has no venerable associations, and little of present dignity to attract the cultured classes. The history of the country is one of slow development, and presents none of those crises in which great men can stand forth and win fame. The character of the career, and the character of those who choose it, act and react on each other. As a rule, men of wealth and education enter Parliament only to procure the passing of some measure in which they are personally interested; and, as a rule, elections turn not on broad questions of political principle, but on considerations of local or personal advantage. Such political capacity as exists in the Assemblies is due to the existence of the much abused class of professional politicians. If most men go to Parliament only for the sake of business, it is well that a few should make a business of going there. In that, as in other professions, professional skill ought to lead to professional feelings of honour.

The affectionate loyalty of Australians to the mother country is shown in their adherence to English parliamentary forms. The custom of our House of Commons is the code of colonial assemblies. There is generally an absence of dignity and too often of decorum in the conduct of debates—and discussions are too often more wrangling over local jobs or interchange of coarse personalities. There are endless disputes on points of order, and the Speaker is perpetually on his legs. Did we not remember the session of 1877 in our own House of Commons we should add that tactics of obstruction are resorted to such as no assembly of reasonable men ought to tolerate. Notwithstanding this endless flow of talk few speakers acquire even decent fluency of correct expression. It is to Oxford—not to Sydney that we owe the incisive rhetoric of Mr. Lowe. Society in Australia is still young and small, and the delegates but represent the faults of their constituencies. The 80 members of the Victoria Assembly repre-

sent a population of only 629,776. The population of South Australia is 225,677, and of Western Australia 27,321. We ought to compare the Australian houses rather with London vestries or rural boards than with our own legislature. A free society in a healthy and productive climate must progress, whatever be the faults of its representative institutions. Melbourne, with its population of 247,000, and Sydney with its population of 167,000 would be considered large cities, even in England. In all that makes the life of their present inhabitants happy—in all that tends to the well-being of posterity—they are as rich as the most fortunate of English cities. Happily for their country, there is as yet no need for a system of State relief of distress. But grants of public money assist benevolent associations in succouring the helpless. The system of popular instruction is excellent, and a university provides for the need—not at present, it would seem, very acutely felt—of higher education. Churches, chapels, and conventicles of every creed and hue, attest the religious instincts of the people. The public offices are stately—the streets wide and well cared for. The gardens are so extensive that the country may be said to saturate the town. Beyond the great cities life assumes a less polished form. Nothing can be more primitive than the ordinary features of bush life. The towns, where they occur, are very small. A sanguine prudence has, in nearly every case, laid out the plans with geometrical precision and wild prodigality of space. The skeleton thus framed is but slightly clothed with flesh, and the comfort and picturesqueness of the present is sacrificed to the needs of the future. The great features of the towns seem to be street alignments, churches, hotels, and banks—the latter following the example of Lombard Street in architectural pretension. Education in the bush has till recently been much neglected, but is now regarded as a matter of pressing importance. The character of the working class is drawn in favourable colours. They are in better circumstances than their English brethren. They are less self-conscious in their assertion of independence, and therefore more polite. As a class they are not so sharply distinguished from the other classes of the country by difference of education as the mass of English workmen are, but the continued inflow of uneducated emigrants is one of the chief causes which have depraved politics. Prosperity fits a man for political functions, but the sudden change from poverty to affluence upsets his intelligence and self-control. Tippling is uncommon—but occasional bouts of drunkenness form, as we have had occasion to say before, the dear delights of life. Next to the workman's antipathy to capital and squatting—perhaps, indeed, even above it—must be reckoned his dislike of coloured labour. He may possibly feel the objections

to it which, in the minds of dispassionate judges, seem to justify his hostility, but his immediate reason for hating it is that it is cheap. We cannot, of course, condemn it on this ground. The Chinaman or Polynesian is cheap because the food he eats is easily grown and he has no habits which require much outlay. He and his habits are, perhaps, better suited to the climate than the European and European habits, and give more promise of permanency. We see no reason to believe that the man with simpler wants is less capable of improvement and development than the man with wants acquired under other conditions than those he has to work under. We see that in the Northern colonies cheap labour—coloured labour—is necessary for utilising the productive resources of the country. But we also see that the population which gives the labour is transitory and incapable of becoming an element in a healthy State. The profligacy and indecency of the Chinese communities is so gross and open that we sympathise with the feeling of indignation and almost shame which self-respecting workmen must feel at their proximity. But this question of setting a limit to the growth and spread of depraved yet industrious races, is one we cannot discuss within the limits we assign to ourselves. Probably in Australia the political solution will be a recognition of the fact that there are two zones of country—one for white labour and one for coloured. In the former we shall have countries organised on the Western model; in the latter we shall have an oligarchy of white directors of labour, and under it a mass of toiling unprivileged coloured men.

It is pleasant to dream of a Greater Britain at the Antipodes, where the English language will be spoken, English literature had in loving honour, and English traditions be treasured long after the inevitable doom of decadence has befallen our island Kingdom. But the future of the white population is not yet so well assured that we can say with confidence that the dream will be realised. The experiment of acclimatisation has not been tried long enough to determine whether our race can adapt itself to the new conditions without loss of vigour and persistence. In India, we believe, pure European blood is sterile in the third generation. In America the physical degeneracy of persons of pure American extraction is acknowledged. The race would languish and become either extinct or effete, but for the ever fresh infusion of European blood. While the Australian cricketers are still among us, it seems rash to say that the "native" Australian is physically inferior to the Englishman. But he is certainly of lighter build—more agile, perhaps, and as enduring, but not so strong. Mentally they are, as contrasted with Englishmen, precocious and quick rather than sound. Manners, of course, are due rather to

temporary environments than to inherent qualities. The rich men—the aristocrats—are often men of the humblest origin; and there is no aristocracy of birth, or even of education, to give tone to society and establish a standard of manners. This is delicate ground, and the general estimate we give must be understood to be subject to many exceptions. If the upper classes are often uncultured, it must be remembered that in the ranks of the strugglers are many men of gentle English birth. Society is not as in England distinguished by sharp contrasts. The gentles are rougher, the simples are more polished than at home. Here in England statesmen talk without hesitation or regret of the possibility of colonial independence and separation. But in Australia it is treason to do so. The Colonial Office may be abused, but the English connexion is very dear, and every symbol of it is valued. A Victorian is proud of Melbourne, and a New South Wales man of Sydney, but there is no sentiment of pride or loyalty regarding Australia as a whole. We are of those who hold that the affection of the colonists should be prized and cherished by our country, and that in our policy we should not encourage the idea nor even anticipate the possibility of separation. There may perhaps never be a self-sustaining Anglo-Saxon population in Australia, but the decline of England must be rapid indeed if for centuries to come we shall not be able to send the overflow of a healthy people to maintain the vigour of our distant settlements.

Of the works, the titles of which we have prefixed to this article, those of Mr. Ranken and Mr. Trollope are well known. Mr. Ranken's is at once philosophic and practical—scientific and business-like. He treats adequately of all the conditions—social, physical, and political, which govern the development of nations, while his style, Tacitean almost in brevity and suggestiveness, admits of several passages of finished picturesqueness of expression. Mr. Trollope is perhaps more readable. Full of genial common sense, he speaks rather as an intelligent and practised observer than as an expert. To both our acknowledgments are due, but especially to Mr. Ranken. Mr. Labilliere's work seems to have been written rather for Victorians than for Englishmen. It contains many details of interest but, on the whole, rather materials for history than history—rather archives than annals.

ART. II.—LATER NOVELS OF BERTHOLD AUERBACH.

1. *Auf der Höhe*. Stuttgart: 1866.
2. *Das Landhaus am Rhein*. 1869.
3. *Waldfried. Vaterländische Familiengeschichte*. 1874.
4. *Nach Dreissig Jahren*. 1876. Vol. I. *Des Lorlé's Reinhard*. Vol. II. *Der Tolpatsch aus Amerika*. Vol. III. *Das Nest an der Bahn*.

THE point that perhaps most forcibly strikes the English reader in comparing the romantic literature of other countries with that of his own, is the different dates of thought and feeling which they represent; as if the foreign novel carried him back to an epoch of sentiment long exploded in the rapid changes of fashion undergone by the same class of production here. This is not due to any superiority in general culture on our part—a superiority which it would be arrogant to claim, and impossible to prove—but to the peculiar history of the novel in this country, where forced to precocious and splendid maturity by the genius who may be said to have created it in its present form, it ran through its successive phases of development with far greater rapidity than elsewhere. The prophetic intuition of Scott, piloting the taste of coming generations, fitted the old-fashioned romance for the exigencies of modern culture, and for the great part it was destined to play in the literature of the future, by stripping it of its rigid conventionalities and cumbersome affectations. He was the first to tear aside the disguise of stilted sentiment, which in the works of his contemporaries had smothered all individuality of expression as effectually as the mask of the Greek actor; and thus effected on behalf of his art what the great Renaissance painters did for theirs, making it the perfect exponent of human emotion, and raising it to the level of the highest artistic truth, which is natural truth presented through the medium of the artist's imagination. That his successors have gone too far in the direction in which he led, and exaggerated the style which he created, is no more than the natural consequence of a great reformation in any sphere of thought; and, still following the analogy of painting, we might easily have been prepared to see the homely vulgarities of the Dutch school, or the anatomical fidelity of the pre-Raphaelite paralleled in literature as a necessary consequence of its return to the standard of natural truth. If this be so—if the literary reaction against conventional idealism have led, like the artistic, to crude realism, and our novels give us but harsh and unlovely

transcripts of every-day life, we can no longer claim for them superiority over those of other countries on the ground of their representing a more advanced stage of development; and must rather fear that our present school of fiction has already crossed the narrow line dividing maturity from decrepitude, and left behind the radiant meridian of fulfilment, where the soaring curve of promise passes insensibly into the rapid stoop of declining splendour.

Among the ominous symptoms of artistic decadence, there is one traceable in greater or lesser degree in contemporary English novels of all schools—the cynical and sensational—the fashionable and philosophical alike. It is this—the author never forgets himself in his creations, but is impelled by an obtrusive self-consciousness to bring his own personality constantly into the foreground, in the character of moralist or humourist, of censor or sage. The showman is never off the stage, and like the exhibitor of a set of waxworks seems filled with an uneasy sense that his puppets cannot be trusted to interest the audience on their own merits, without his cleverness to supplement their performance. Not satisfied with winding them up, and leaving them to play their parts unaided, he finds it necessary to fix public attention on their peculiarities by a running commentary, explanatory or apologetic, to stimulate public curiosity by laying bare the hidden springs that set them in motion, or to divert criticism from their occasional shortcomings, by witty sallies or confidential asides. Yet all the time we feel that he is himself an actor, as artificial as one of his own automatons, and that the hollow mask of wisdom or of folly assumed for the occasion, will be cast aside the moment he is behind the scenes, in the supreme interest of counting his receipts.

The truth is we are a generation of egotists, and our self-concentrated mental attitude is faithfully reflected in all our intellectual productions. Art must flatter our self-love before it can win our attention, and dares present no higher ideal than its own image, to an age that languishes Narcissus-like in a morbid ecstasy of self-approbation. Its Palace of Art is not a picture gallery hung with symbolic groups or historic scenes, but a hall lined with mirrors, presenting its own reflection from every point of view. Our novels then may be shallow in feeling and false in tone, may violate every rule of art, and outrage every semblance of probability, so they be true to the latest fashion in feeling or in frivolity, and careful to respect the unities of modern existence. Let them in short be “written up to date,” and all other faults will be forgiven them. Above all, however, let the author beware of asking us to breathe a moral atmosphere more rarefied than that we are accustomed to, or of presenting a standard of virtue

humiliating to our self-love; let him give us no greater heroism than that of the Alpine Club, no sterner self-denial than that of a loungeur in Piccadilly, and no more exalted ideal of womanhood than may be found on every country croquet-lawn or in any Mayfair drawing-room. We are quite ready to accompany him on a trip to the Continent, provided he spare us the trouble of associating with other nations, and entering into strange modes of thought, comfortably depositing us in a Pension on the Rigi or a hotel on the Arno, where we may be at home with all the company in five minutes. And when he has given the finishing touch to a work manufactured on these principles, by discreetly hinting at a fashionable scandal, or covertly caricaturing a living celebrity, he will have written a novel that may run through six editions in as many months, and be as obsolete in six more as last year's *Journal des Modes*.

It is not our present purpose to inquire whether authors or public are responsible in the first instance, for this lowering of the literary standard, any more than it is to speculate whether the change be irrevocable, or whether there be still a retrieving power capable of producing a reaction. Enough has been said to show that it is no disparagement to our German contemporary to say that we can find no prototype for his genius among our own living writers, and must look backwards for even a remote analogy to it in our literary history. Yet this is not easy, for true art never repeats itself, and the great wave of modern culture has, in all countries alike, submerged for ever cast-off phases of thought, and for ever obliterated past forms of expression.

It is then rather to draw a contrast than a parallel between them, that we take Scott as a standard of comparison for Auerbach, for it would be difficult to find two minds, both endowed with the highest imaginative faculty, more profoundly unlike in temper and tone than those of the Scotch and German novelists. That of the former may be compared to a prismatic medium presenting all objects tinged with its own rainbow hues—that of the latter to a crystalline lens transmitting images without colouring or altering them. Scott's enthusiastic temper suffuses his subject with a glow of tenderness or passion, while Auerbach's colder genius remains unmoved while it creates, and lends nothing of itself to what it puts before us. Scott was a worshipper of the past, and seemed to find in the mystery of remoteness and in the dim twilight of half-knowledge the atmosphere required to stimulate his imagination to its highest flights—Auerbach's mind is at its best when concentrated on the present, and never travels beyond the definite circle illuminated by personal experience without loss of power. No magic mirror like the *Waverley Novels*, whence all the pomp and pageantry

of the past are reflected to us with the force of a living reality, the simple chronicles of Black Forest village life owe their charm to the vigour and intensity with which they depict a rude and primitive society, familiarly known to the author. Scott's ardent temperament colours all his writings with his personal feelings and prepossessions, we trace in them the tastes of an antiquary, the spirit of a soldier, the prejudices of an aristocrat; they clothe anew the skeleton outlines of history with living fulness of detail, narrate heroic deeds in language as stirring as the blast of a trumpet, and glorify length of pedigree and illustrious ancestry with the devout admiration of a Highland clansman. They are not devoid of a tone of partisanship in politics as well as in religion, and have caught a tinge of the Scottish superstitions which their author clung to in love if not in faith. Auerbach on the contrary, in his best works, with which we are now concerned, never asserts a principle or betrays a prejudice, but narrates with the unimpassioned calm of a philosopher and describes character with the impartial sobriety of a judge; sees no halo of glory round the head of a soldier, or of dignity round that of a prince, makes his pages no vehicle for the expression of personal political sentiment, and neither records in them individual religious conviction, or open hostility to any recognised form of belief unless a dislike to priests of all denominations can be so construed. Obsequious veneration and democratic enmity to hereditary nobility are equally absent from them, and while the complete isolation of the privileged caste in Germany is conspicuously shown in his works, he evidently agrees with the English bard in thinking that:—

“A country maiden in her flower
Is worth a hundred coats of arms.”

and with the Scottish one, that,

“The rank is but the guinea stamp,
The man's the gowd for a' that.”

Both Scott and Auerbach are set equally above all lesser forms of egotism and self-consciousness by that entire possession with their subject—that full measure of inspiration—granted alike to all genius of the highest order. The chief point in common, however, which unites them in spite of so many dissimilarities, is their power of delineating the rustic life and peasant peculiarities of their respective countries, giving their works a national as well as a literary significance. We know more of the Scottish character from the *Waverley Novels*, than from all the mere descriptions of Scotland that have ever been written; and the “*Dorfgeschichten*” give us an insight into the habits and

customs of rural Germany, that we should vainly try to obtain from dry records of facts or tables of statistics. The same charm of poetic association with which Scott has invested the lochs and rivers, the savage sea-girt isles, and heathy glens and mountains of his native land, Auerbach has thrown round the solemn pine glooms of Württemberg, and mighty Alpine ranges of Bavaria; so interweaving them with the human dramas laid among them, that they seem familiar to the reader as scenes visited by himself. Both artists have, perhaps, achieved their masterpieces of rustic portraiture in a female character, for if Scott's fame in this line be most intimately associated with the homely figure of Jeanie Deans, that of Auerbach may well survive longest in the robust individuality of Walpurga. And the conception of the devoted Scottish maiden and of the Bavarian peasant woman, so opposite in other respects, are alike in this, that they are made to preserve their rustic peculiarities, and remain true to their original natures, amid scenes and surroundings into which it required the highest imaginative effort to transplant them unchanged. The Scotch and German novelists offer the same difficulty to the translator in their happy use of local vernacular to develop unsophisticated natures; and the racy touches of pithy humour, the keen strokes of native shrewdness conveyed in the broad Scotch idiom of the one, and in the rude mountain dialect of the other, can never be reproduced in a foreign tongue.

It is, perhaps, no unfair test of an author's power, to compare the interest excited by his works with the simplicity of the subject treated, and judged by this standard. Auerbach's place in literature is a high one. Nothing is too commonplace or too insignificant to furnish him with a motive, and no motive seems trivial, when dignified by the pathos and earnestness of his style. The uneventful domestic life in the signalman's little cottage by the railway, the artistic yearnings of the poor handicraftsmen of the Black Forest, struggling for imperfect utterance in the painting of dial plates and the manufacture of musical clocks, the most ordinary phases of rural courtship, the monotonous tenor of village life, such are the themes with which he surprises our interest, and rivets our attention. Like the great violinists who show their independence of mechanical assistance by rendering the most elaborate passages on a single string, he rejects all artificial contrivances for producing effect, and on the simplest chord of human emotion will play a whole symphony of soul-searching harmonies.

No writer has more successfully interwoven into his drama the changing aspects of Nature, and the humbler incidents of animal life, because he strictly subordinates them to the human interest, instead of producing, like some modern authors, what

corresponds in literature to a landscape with figures. He does not interrupt his narrative with prolix and irrelevant descriptive passages, in which sunsets and storms are turned on for the sake of effect, like Bengal lights in a Christmas pantomime, but conveys the local colouring with a few artistic touches, and in a sentence suggests a panorama.

The brute actors again, are doubly interesting, because kept rigorously in their places, and never allowed to monopolise the centre of the scene. So many powerful touches, which heighten and emphasise, instead of competing with, the predominant human interest, are the incident of the raven carried down by the avalanche and buried with the other inmates of the cottage, while its companion hovers over the party of rescuers, shovelling away the snow outside; the lark, whose song, never heard before, gives the son of the German emigrant his first welcome to his father's native village; the cow lowing disconsolately after her calf when brought into the strange stable, where she is to remain as a substitute for the young mother, fetched away from her own child to be foster-mother to a prince; and the very parrot, whose grotesque cry, appropriate and diverting in Irma's hours of gaiety and triumph, comes in like a mocking refrain in the midst of her despair.

The preface to the first series of the "Dorfgeschichten," published in 1842, throws some light on Auerbach's artistic principles, and is interesting for that reason, as well as for the strange difference between its political views, and those prevailing in Germany at the present day.

"These sketches," he says, "have been read and circulated far from the scenes where their action is laid, and it is for the reader to judge whether they are taken from the right point of view, and have struck the proper chord. My aim was to set before the public a series of studies from Nature, not too literally reproducing peasant life on the one hand, nor restricted, on the other, by the straitened circle of a mere citizen's mental horizon, so that they might afford interest to the inhabitants of country and town alike. Peculiarities of dialect and modes of speech are therefore only so far retained, as to convey the characteristic impress they stamp on thought. As I have always tried to imagine myself narrating *vis à voce*, and sought to conceive the incidents recounted as historical facts, it follows that general observations and axioms for the conduct of life occur here and there. Although past times would have furnished a wider field of action for the characters introduced, and a certain basis of interest in great historical events, I have purposely avoided recurring to them for my subject, and preferred to develop contemporary peasant life, as far as possible, under all its aspects. I have not started, however, with the definite aim of reforming abuses, or correcting errors and false judgments in any section of society; although, I should regard, with no

small degree of satisfaction, such a result, were it to ensue from my labours. If I have touched upon shortcomings among the Catholic clergy, it is due altogether to the scene where I have laid my subject, and not from any desire on my part to charge them, as a body, with failings special to themselves, from which the clergy of other denominations in other countries are exempt. Religion, here synonymous with ecclesiasticism, is a fundamental element in the German character; the record of man's consciousness of the Infinite, subsisting in visible and unbroken continuity, it fills and elevates the popular mind. And though even here, independent thought begins already to assert itself, and an individual is occasionally found to reject established formulas, they yet give the prevailing stamp of character; and it would be morally weak, as well as artistically false, to ignore the religious side of rustic life.

"In the lands of political centralisation and historical unity, the poet and novelist can more easily personify natural characteristics. The inhabitants of great countries, such as France and England, have all grown up under uniform laws, and exposed to the same influences personal and traditional, so that in addition to the broader features of national character, they have something in common, even in trifling peculiarities, in habits and views of life. We Germans, on the other hand, historically and politically separate, represent rather the development of provincial life. Poetry and fiction derived from the people, must therefore take the same direction as modern historical research, and seek still further to localise themselves in circumscribed areas. To decentralise, is in literature, as in politics, our present task; the desire of unity and combination must be sacrificed, in order that the local vital forces may be allowed to develop separate organisations. Modifications of state boundaries, and changes of frontier have, it is true, inflicted severe wounds on provincial autonomy, but its life principle remains intact at the core.

"I have undisguisedly named my native village, and now I learn that one of my earlier tales has been reprinted in the supplement of the local paper, exciting, it seems, considerable indignation among the peasants, who say it is a falsehood from beginning to end, and that I desire to hold them up to public ridicule. This fact shows the prevalence of the idea, not only among the higher, but among the lower classes as well, that an imaginary scene should be chosen for sketches of contemporary manners. I, on the contrary, hold it the duty of those who attempt accurate delineations of life, to choose an existing locality for their background, and to call it unhesitatingly by its proper name. The historical romance, dealing with the past, was free to choose a real spot for its scene, and thus obtained a groundwork of actuality, but a similar substantial foundation is equally desirable for an artist's picture of his own times, which ought, in future years, to become historical. Modern fiction should thus set itself to adopt, of deliberate purpose, the plan followed instinctively in the old sagas, and assign a real locality to its imaginary dramas. I have tried to describe an entire village from the first to the last house, the

manners and customs depicted are taken from real life, and the songs introduced have, as far as I know, never been printed before.

"Nineteen years have now elapsed, since I left thee, peaceful home of my childhood! to travel on strange iron roads, far beyond thy tranquil boundaries. The secret attraction of early love has drawn my spirit back to thee, and with unspeakable emotion I bid fancy conjure up the half-forgotten memories of the past. Before my window rolls the mighty Rhine, the great artery of Germany, bridged by a glittering ray, as with a silver ribbon, while the ripples quiver and flash in the moonlight. The waters of the Neckar, which goes whispering past my birthplace far in the hills, are lost in the great Teutonic stream, and borne with it to the sea. So may these contributions to German thought be merged in its great current, like the waters of a modest rivulet from my native mountains."

Auerbach's genius is essentially progressive, and, unlike that of most novelists, only reached its climax at a comparatively late period of his career. Born in 1812, at Nordstetten, in Wurtemberg, he had written many works—"Spinoza," an historical romance, "Poet and Merchant," and several others—before he took the world by storm with the "Dorfgeschichten," published in 1842.

Yet these earlier tales, though wonderfully forcible pictures of village life, deal only with the more superficial aspects of human nature, leaving unsounded the depths of passion and pathos drawn upon in "Edelweiss," nineteen years later. And it was with judgment and powers matured by more than half a century's experience of existence, that Auerbach produced his masterpiece, "Auf der Höhe," displaying in it a power of combining incident, and conceiving and contrasting character, which entitles him to rank with the great masters of fiction. We take, then, this remarkable work, in which his genius touched its meridian, as a landmark in his career, defining the point where he entered on his latest phase of development, although it must be remarked that nothing he has since produced attains the same level of power, and that it remains as yet unrivalled and alone "on the heights" which all his subsequent efforts have fallen short of.

Venturing on a theme more enlarged and complicated than any previously attempted, his powers seemed to expand with the difficulties of the task assigned them, and the elaborate plot is worked out with the same consummate art as the simple motives of his Black Forest tales.

The design, conceived with a happy audacity, of following the fortunes of a peasant woman, transported from her native mountains to a royal palace, in the capacity of nurse to the Crown Prince, enables the author to throw out the homely rustic figures, in whose portraiture he excels, against the background of artificial

splendour and restless intrigue, supplied by the exalted sphere of a Court. From the complicated group of characters and motives thus introduced, two figures stand out in prominent relief and strong mutual contrast—that of the peasant Walpurga, with her untutored, but rich and vigorous nature, and that of Irma, the highborn maid-of-honour—the friend of the queen—the envy and ornament of the Court—rich in personal gifts and intellectual culture—but without moral training or guiding principle, and therefore unable to keep her footing on those giddy heights where the rude countrywoman stands secure in her unswerving rectitude of purpose. As the book is accessible to all readers in the English translation, it is unnecessary to follow out the intricacies of the plot, and, indeed, to do so would require an article to itself; but some of the earlier scenes afford striking illustrations of the author's power of developing character without effort or affectation.

The story opens with the Court physician's mission to the mountains, and his arrival at Walpurga's humble dwelling, "the shore cottage by the lake," on the day of her own child's christening, a fortnight after its birth. The tender-hearted young queen has insisted that the woman selected must be so circumstanced as to leave her own infant exposed to no neglect in her absence; and in Walpurga's case all danger is obviated by the presence of her mother, the wise old peasant-woman, whose strong stamp of character is so skilfully shown worked out, yet varied in that of her daughter. There is no obstacle to the scheme except the natural reluctance of the young woman herself, who, as she says, "has never slept in a strange bed in her life," and clings to her home and all her little surroundings with the passionate fondness of a mountaineer. The courage and spirit with which she conquers her fear of the unknown, as the advantages offered gradually force themselves on her mind, and the self-control with which she puts aside all vain regrets and hesitations, once her course is decided on, are admirably depicted in the following pages, as are also the various emotions excited in the little group—the stupefaction of Hansel the husband, who believes in his simplicity that the king has sent him a special message because he once rowed him across the lake on a shooting expedition; and the cupidity of the village inkeeper, who only sees in the occasion a chance of driving a good bargain in the sale of his cow. The arrival of the animal, however, had nearly upset all his calculations, as its piteous lowing after its calf went to Walpurga's heart.

"'That is but a beast, yet hark how she goes on,' cried Walpurga, and all the persuasive eloquence of mine host of the Chamois, seemed counteracted by this unfortunate episode.

"But Walpurga calmed herself wonderfully. 'A human being can

do more than a brute creature,' she went on quickly, without looking at any one, and as if answering an invisible speaker. She then said, turning to her husband, 'Hansei, give me your hand. Tell me from your heart will you be content whatever I do or say?'

"'You mean if you say no?' said Hansei in a hesitating accent.

"'I mean if I say yes or if I say no.' *"

"Hansei could not speak, though no doubt his thoughts, if he could have expressed them, would have been found very wise and just. He looked into his hat, as if he could have read there in words the ideas floating vaguely through his brain. Then he took out his blue handkerchief, and rolled it into a tight wisp.

"As Hansei continued silent Walpurga resumed, 'I cannot throw the decision upon you, I alone must take it upon myself. I am my baby's mother—I am your wife—and I must be sure of my own strength to go through with it. I must answer for myself, and I feel I can. I must be able to repress everything that I may not injure the child—the other child that is—and—and—(to the doctor) here is my hand, sir, I say yes!'

"All present drew a long breath, the two physicians entered into earnest conversation with the young mother, and Walpurga vowed to keep a brave heart; what she had once taken upon herself she would certainly carry through, Providence would keep and guard her own baby, and what it lay in her power to do for the King's child she would not fail in. 'What I have once undertaken I will faithfully perform, you may rely on it,' she repeated several times.

"She is soon called upon to show her resolution, for while she is still giving her mother directions about the management of her child in her absence, and before the physicians have left the cottage a posthorn is heard on the road, a carriage drives up to the door, and the lackey left behind by the doctor at the nearest telegraph station to bring on the news, holds up a despatch crying to the assembled crowd, 'Cheer your loudest my men! A Crown Prince was born an hour ago!'

"'Now, Walpurga, show your strength,' says the Court physician after reading the telegram, 'we start in an hour.'

"'I am ready,' said Walpurga, in a resolute voice. Yet she felt so weak that she had to sit down again immediately."

She keeps up her spirit, however, cheering those about her with her brave words; vows to her husband to live during her absence only in the thought of him and her child, and bids her mother never again lament being a burthen to them, as her presence in the little household alone made acceptance of the royal offer possible. She starts with the doctor in a carriage and four, and the scenes of the rapid journey—the changes of horses at the stations, the closing-in of night, and, finally, the appearance of the distant city illuminated for the birth of the prince, and seen as though surmounted by a crown of luminous vapour—are all made to pass before us with wonderful vividness, because presented, not by bald description, but through the medium

of the lively impressions produced by them on an untutored mind. There is no minute analysis of Walpurga's feelings, but the intense dramatic force of the author makes us enter into them sympathetically; and we seem to accompany her through the gilded saloons and brilliantly lighted corridors of the palace, feeling all the time how bewildering must have been their effect on the untamed creature, already half-stupefied by unwonted emotion, and by her sudden transference into a world so new and unfamiliar. The artificial basis of civilized life is presented to us in a new light, through its effect on a totally unsophisticated nature, just as we realise again with the vividness of a first impression the character of a familiar scene in showing it to a stranger.

Once Walpurga breaks down when left alone with the old lady to whose special charge she is assigned, and who, driven to despair by her tears, is utterly at a loss how to console her. Court etiquette and royal favour are as nothing to the homesick mountaineer, who wails, like many another of her sex, that she did not know what she was doing when she said the fatal "Yes." She cheers up, however, when the head-physician to their majesties addresses her with ready tact in her native dialect, claims her as a fellow-countrywoman, praises her deceased father, and makes her feel at home with him in a moment. She is then conducted to the queen's bedside, and on her way presented to the king, who addresses a few words to her, and, like every one else, puzzles her very much by a concluding warning not to excite the queen, the only idea she attaches to the word excitement being the exasperation produced by quarrelling. The meeting of the two mothers is most poetically narrated, as the rude peasant-woman is introduced into the mysterious twilight of the sick-room, and a gentle voice asks—

"Are you there?"

"Yes, lady queen (*Frau Königin*); God keep you! and only remain quiet and happy. With the blessing of Providence everything has gone well with you.' With these words Walpurga pressed forward to the bed, and would not be held back either by the physician or by the lady in waiting. She stretched out her hand to the queen, and the two hands—the one hardened by toil, and rough as the bark of a tree, the other delicate as a lily petal—met in a close pressure.

"I thank you for having come. Were you content to do so?"

"Content to come I was, but not content to leave my home."

"No doubt you are heartily attached to your husband and child?"

"I am my husband's wife and my child's mother."

"And your mother will take all loving care of your child?" asked the queen.

"Faith so!" said Walpurga.

“The queen did not seem to understand that the ejaculation meant ‘That is a matter of course.’ She said therefore, ‘Is my meaning clear to you as I speak?’

“‘Quite clear; I understand German,’ replied Walpurga. ‘But now, Queen Majesty, you must not talk so much; we shall be long and happily together here, with the blessing of Providence, and shall have time to settle everything when we look into one another’s eyes in broad daylight, and I will do by you and your child all that I read in your heart. I have got over the trouble of being from home, and now I must do the duty laid on me here. I will be a good foster-mother to your child, never you fear! Now good night. Sleep well, and do not trouble about anything; I will see our child now.’

“‘It is sleeping. Oh, eternal miracle, and eternal goodness of the Almighty! It is breathing beside me, and is my life——’

“Walpurga felt some one pulling at her skirt behind. She therefore said quickly, ‘Good night, dear lady Queen. Cast far away from you all unnecessary thoughts; this is no time for thinking; we shall have plenty of time for that yet. Good night!’

“‘No, stay; you must remain yet a while,’ said the queen.

“‘I must entreat your Majesty,’ quickly interposed the physician.

“‘Ah, leave her to me a little longer!’ said the queen, in a child-like accent of entreaty. ‘Believe me, it does not hurt me to talk to her, but quite the contrary. When she came to my bedside, and I heard her voice, I seemed to inhale all the dewy freshness of Alpine nature, to breathe the aromatic fragrance of the pine forests. I can fancy myself lying on a high mountain, and looking down on the beautiful world.’

“‘But this very excitement is most injurious to your Majesty.’

“‘Very well, I will be quiet. But, pray, a little more light, that I may see as well as hear her.’

“The shade of a lamp on a side-table was removed, and the two mothers looked at each other.

“‘How handsome you are!’ exclaimed the queen.

“‘That doesn’t signify any longer,’ replied Walpurga; ‘you and I, thank goodness, are long past the nonsense by which people’s heads are turned. You are a married woman and a mother, and I am the same.’

“The screen of the lamp was lowered again, and the Queen said, pressing Walpurga’s hand,

“‘Lean down to me, I want to kiss you. I must kiss you.’

“Walpurga bent down and the queen kissed her.

“‘Now go, and remain good as you are now,’ said the queen. A tear fell from Walpurga’s eye on the cheek of the queen, who added,

“‘Do not weep, you are a mother as well as I’

“Walpurga could not utter a word, and turned away. As she was going, the queen called after her—

“‘What is your name?’

“‘Walpurga,’ replied the physician.

“‘Can you sing well too?’ asked the queen again.

“‘So folk say,’ replied Walpurga.

“‘Then sing often to my child—our child, as you said. Good night.’”

This interview, and the Queen’s kiss, form the subject of universal gossip next day, to the great annoyance of the King; and it is one of many instances in which, though honouring and appreciating the high minded virtue of his consort, he finds her impulsiveness derogatory to State dignity, and her romantic enthusiasm exaggerated, and almost oppressive. The slight note of dissonance thus introduced into the relations between the royal couple is an artistic prelude to the serious estrangement forming the main subject of the story; the embittering effect of which, on the Queen’s mind, is represented in the end as correcting her excessive amiability, and giving to her character the slight alloy of harshness it required to perfect it, and fit her for the manifold duties of her high station.

It may be questioned whether it can have been agreeable for a royal lady while still living to have her domestic life made the subject of a romance, with or without foundation in fact; but want of privacy is one of the penalties attached to exalted station, and German authors seem to take liberties in this direction, which would be condemned by public taste in our country. Although the names of the principal personages are altered, the Court of Munich is easily recognisable in the one described in “*Auf der Höhe*,” and Walpurga’s nursing may be safely identified with the present King of Bavaria.

Here is her pretty apostrophe when he opens his eyes in the morning:—

“‘Look, my little one! Now you have seen the sun for the first time, and may you look on that same sun in health and happiness for seventy-seven years, and when they are out, may the Almighty prolong your furlough for a while longer! Last night thousands of millions of lights were kindled in your honour, but what were they in comparison with the sun which the Almighty has lit up for you to-day in the sky? My lad! be always good, so that you may deserve to have the sun shine upon you. Yes, now an angel laughs in your smile! Yes, baby, laugh in your sleep. You have an angel on earth in your mother, but you are mine too—yes, you are mine!’”

It may be easily imagined that the fresh nature and original sallies of Walpurga afford a pleasing change from the decorous monotony of German Court routine. The highland nurse quickly becomes a prominent figure—an object of special interest in the royal circle—and consequently of envy and malice to those not equally favoured. The child’s cradle is thus made the centre of a web of intangible threads, in which intrigue, ambition, and false-

hood cross and counteract each other. Walpurga's native shrewdness and penetration cannot save her ignorance from being taken advantage of, and she is made the unconscious tool of much that she does not understand till long afterwards. She is in danger, too, of being spoiled, from the notice of her superiors, and begins consciously to imitate herself, finding her rustic naïveté admired. The description of the struggle in her mind between vanity and good sense is a wonderful touch of Nature, when, on returning to her family, she misses the accustomed stimulus of admiration.

"'The Queen,' she had said, 'is like an angel taking the bad thoughts out of one's heart and putting good ones in their place.'

"When she stopped and Hansei made no reply, she bit her lips; had she made such a remark to Countess Irma and to Mamsell Kramer, how it would have been applauded, and now it seems to go for nothing. Something seemed to rise within her, struggling and writhing in her heart, but she crushed it down. 'Yes, you must wean yourself too,' she thought again, 'the time is passed when you were so noticed for everything.' She sat a long while silent. She felt that that life was of the past, in which one saw one's own image perpetually in full length mirrors, with others rolled up behind to show the back as well as the face. Words or features would no longer be repeated on all sides, reflecting to one's own consciousness the impressions produced on others. The Queen's advice then came into her head. 'When you get home be very patient with your own people; peace in life is found in mutual forbearance, and in doing good to one another without seeking a reward. Those who look for nothing are repaid seven-fold.' And as her mother, on her leaving home, had given her a piece of bread to take away home sickness on reaching the palace, she has the Queen's words to take with her on her return. A reflected ray of the Queen's sunny nature shone in Walpurga's face. She remained absorbed and recollected for a time, then suddenly catching her husband's hand, she said—

"'So, thank goodness, we hold each other fast once more; and have patience with me, for I have been in strange places, but you will see I shall soon find my place again at home.'

"'Yes, yes; all right,' said Hansei."

The way her character is thus made to develop, selecting the good and rejecting the evil, from the circumstances amid which it is placed, while it retains its pristine stamp under conditions so foreign to its simplicity, make it one of the greatest triumphs of fiction. It is the central interest of the drama, and in its moral steadfastness affords a background of repose to the struggle and passion of the other actors. Irma's unhappy fate—the miserable end of all her lofty aspirations—her brief triumph and long repentance—the horror of the death-bed scene, where her dying father, unable to speak, leans forward and with his clammy finger writes one word of condemnation on her brow—gain added

tragic force by contrast with the idyllic calm of Walpurga's life. The protracted seclusion of the ex-maid-of-honour on the mountain is perhaps overstrained, and the prolonged tension of feeling represented by it scarcely dramatic, but the humble peasant woman's instrumentality in saving her from suicide, and giving her a refuge in her despair, is brought about so skilfully as to redeem the situation from the semblance of violent improbability. We leave Walpurga as happy as she deserves to be, raised to the pinnacle of rural prosperity by the possession of one of those large freeholds, whose proprietor ranks as a sort of rustic prince in the simple society of a German village; while by gentleness and forbearance she regains the influence over her husband which a year's absence had insensibly weakened, wins him from the bad company by which he was in danger of being drawn into habits of dissipation, and finally raises him to a higher level of moral dignity and self-respect than we should have at first thought him capable of attaining.

This mutual action and reaction of human beings on one another is the keynote of Auerbach's view of life, and can be traced as a principal motive through all his works. Thus he shows his characters not as immutable types, cast in an iron mould, and incapable of expansion or development, but as living and elastic forces going through slow processes of evolution, under the varying influences brought to bear on them, and each in turn an agent for good or ill in its relation to others. This main idea is perceptible even in his slighter sketches, in which we can follow the simple thread of the narrative, scarcely conscious of the subtler drama of motive and influence to which it owes its moving force; just as in watching the play of light on running water, we may catch only the superficial reflection, and miss the fretwork of dancing beams below, or pursue through a great symphony a strain of melody simple as a nurse's lullaby, without detecting the deeper chords and more complex harmonies that sustain it. Thus in the "Doifgeschichten," we see in Ivo's story the gradual development of the boy's character under the influence he is exposed to, while his mother's patient heroism triumphs in the end over the rough temper of her husband. Again in the little sketch of the released convicts, he shows how Magdalene's natural bright spirit not only sustains her in her own misfortunes, but charms away the darker gloom which crime and its punishment have cast over Jakob's mind.

The beautiful story of "Edelweis," turns entirely on the mutual action of two strongly contrasted characters in married life; first aggravating each other's faults in the exasperating friction of daily collision, but undergoing, nevertheless, a process of insensible education in each other's society, which prepares

them for final and permanent reconciliation in the emotional crisis of a great catastrophe. He is, however, too true an artist not to have shown us throughout the good qualities which make improvement possible; and too profound a student of human nature to fall into the error of his French fellow-craftsmen, by making a plunge into the depths of vice the prelude to angelic repentance, or heroic self-sacrifice.

We have hitherto judged Auerbach exclusively by the standard of his highest achievements, on whose merits he is entitled to take rank in literature; but it would be a very one-sided view of him which should omit to take into account those more imperfect works, in which his genius falls far short of its own higher level. Few writers are more unequal, and it would almost seem as if his mind, after a great effort of productiveness, entered on a period of relaxation, during which the creative spring gradually regained its impaired elasticity. Thus in the somewhat dreary volumes of "*Das Landhaus am Rhein*" and "*Waldfried*," written during the eight years succeeding the publication of "*Auf der Höhe*," it is difficult to recognise the work of the same pen that threw off its glowing pages. In this falling off we may doubtless also trace the disturbing effect of the great crisis of history and feeling through which Germany was passing at the time; for it would be as impossible for the mind to preserve its sensitive artistic poise in an atmosphere so charged with political excitement, as for the needle to retain its true direction during a great magnetic storm. Unlike Scott, whose pictures seem to gain additional intensity from the glow of personal conviction, Auerbach invariably loses power, in proportion as he admits prejudice; and the crystal medium of his mind, when flawed by undue excitement, transmits images that are not coloured, but confused. Even in his best works, the political or philosophical disquisitions, entertaining perhaps to Germans, may be safely skipped wholesale by the average English reader, and the more pretentious characters, whose views are evidently intended to invite sympathy or adhesion, are always the least life-like and interesting in the work. For foreigners, who have no patriotic interest in the subject, such of his novels as treat of contemporary history are rather heavy reading; and we rejoice that in his latest series of novelettes, "*Nach Dreissig Jahren*," he has abandoned the uncongenial field of politics, and returned with powers expanded and developed by time, to the old idyllic themes of the "*Dorfgeschichten*."

In addition to the great political transformation undergone by his country, another side of modern German life seems to have powerfully affected Auerbach's imagination—its intimate connection with the New World, through the great and growing tide of emigration. There is scarcely one of his works in which

this subject is not touched upon more or less conspicuously, while in "Das Landhaus," although the scene is laid in Germany, and the actors are all Germans, the complications of the plot turn entirely on American questions, and, like the more serious phases of these latter, find their solution in the great transatlantic Civil War. The story begins with the arrival of a stranger of mysterious antecedents and fabulous fortune, in one of the Rhine districts, where he purchases property and settles down in a lovely villa, fitted up and surrounded with every luxury that money can supply. He has a son and daughter growing up, and takes into his employment as tutor, Eric Dournay, one of those highminded abstractions dealt in by German authors, whose exalted views of life do not, however, prevent him from secretly engaging the affections of the daughter of the house, and winning her from the young nobleman, to whom her father has promised her hand, without, it would appear, any original objection on her part. The interest of the story, however, overlaid as it is with much superfluous matter, is in the character of the millionaire adventurer, Sonnenkamp, in whom we realise one of those rude forcible natures without moral restraint, who in lawless ages become the leaders, and in orderly communities the foes, of their fellows. A man of violent passions, yet capable of restraining them when he has an object in doing so, he personifies the strength of utter unscrupulousness combined with a certain amount of calculated self-control. An indulgent father, and anxious to forward the interests of his children, Roland and Manna, as long as they are with him, he can yet abandon them, as it would seem without a regret, as soon as his projects fail: and take up a new scheme of life of which they form no part. Yet despite the mixture of apparent anomalies and contradictions in his character, we never feel that it is unnatural or inconsistent; there is a certain savage unity about it throughout which may indeed repel but cannot fail to impress us. His object in settling in Germany is to obtain a patent of nobility, and as his munificence in charity and expenditure makes him a most desirable inhabitant in a small state, the reigning prince is prevailed upon to accede to his desire. After paying a visit to Villa Eden, where he inspects all the new improvements and partakes of a sumptuous luncheon, he summons the proprietor to an audience in his palace, that he may ennoble him under the title of Baron von Lichtenburg. The moment of the adventurer's anticipated triumph proves in reality that of his downfall. An enemy has been on the track of his previous career, and when in the very act of handing over the parchment conferring the title, the prince is interrupted by an urgent message requesting him to read a paragraph in the paper before proceeding. All is

there disclosed. Sonnenkamp is no other than Banfield, a notorious slave-dealer, outlawed in the United States for having killed one of his black chattels in a personal encounter. The blow of course falls most heavily on his innocent children, who were in utter ignorance of their father's antecedents, and are crushed by the dishonouring revelation. Sonnenkamp himself, after the first outburst of disappointed rage, faces the situation with brazen audacity; calls a court of honour to decide on his course of action, and insults the gentlemen composing it, by the cynical effrontery with which he narrates his career of crime, and exults in his defiance of all law, social or moral. He leaves the country, abandoning his wife and children, and returns to America, where he is killed fighting for the Southern States in the Civil War. His children have likewise gone westward with the purpose of atoning for his crimes, and dedicating their fortunes and personal exertions to the cause of emancipation; so that his son and daughter's husband are combatants in the ranks to which he is opposed. The slavery question is thus the cardinal factor of the story, and the war supplies the *finale* in which all its interests merge. The chief character alone is well drawn; that of the intriguing young Baron von Praucken, Manna's suitor, is perhaps next in dramatic power, but all the others—and their name is legion—fail to inspire any sympathy whatever. The progress of the story is retarded, and the interest dissipated by the over-redundance of material; the situation is always protracted until it loses its effect, and the same emotions repeated in scene after scene without any dramatic result. The discussions on the slave trade, and the social questions it involves, are of course endless, as all the characters introduced are allowed to develop their views on the subject at full length; and the incidents of the story are thus reduced to occupy but a small space in the three ponderous volumes which it fills. Yet with all its faults it is still a remarkable book, and one that would perhaps have been held, if published anonymously, rather as the crude effort of immature genius, than the product of fully ripened powers. Its shortcomings are such as experience generally corrects, and in no degree suggest declining vigour, or impaired mental energy so that, however, disappointing to Auerbach's admirers, there was nothing in it to exclude the hope that he might yet return, as he has since actually done, to his earlier and better manner.

In "Waldfried" we have, as its title-page promises, a romance founded on contemporary history, turning on the great political fusion of Germany, and the wars of '66 and '71. It is narrated in the form of an autobiography, by a veteran leader of the people, who has witnessed and taken part in all the great political movements in his State (apparently the Grand Duchy of Baden)

for at least half a century. The subject, it will be seen, is not lacking in interest or importance, and yet the historical part of the story is that which is least attractive. The author fails to give any general view of the state of public feeling in South Germany, previous to its amalgamation with Prussia, and his tedious account of the doings of the local parliament gives no hint of the coming revolution of thought, which so suddenly transferred the allegiance of the lesser states from the House of Hapsburg to that of Hohenzollern. Although the hero is himself an advocate for the new scheme of confederation, we can nowhere find that he ascribes any general enthusiasm for it to his fellow-countrymen; and antipathy to the North Germans is indeed the most strongly marked public sentiment which rises to the surface in his pages. The only explanation of the unanimous co-operation of the minor German Principalities in the war of '70, would seem to be that while they disliked Prussia, they both feared and hated France—it was not that they loved Bismarck more, but Napoleon less.

This is probably the truth, and the author deserves credit for his impartiality in stating it; but in proportion as the pages of "Waldfried" are true to historical fact, they are wanting in dramatic interest, for in fiction we require some previous note of preparation to herald a great revulsion of feeling in masses of men, as well as in individuals, and we cannot sympathise with passion unless we have in some degree traced its origin and motives.

But while the political scenes in "Waldfried," and in the earlier volumes more especially, are somewhat wanting in life and animation, the sylvan pictures have all Auerbach's arcadian grace, and the figure of the old forest patriarch, with the pine-trees he has planted, and successive generations of children and children's children growing up around him, is full of poetic dignity and repose. He exercises a rural calling unknown in England, and highly romantic in its incidents and surroundings—that of forester, appointed and trained by the state to cultivate the tracts of indigenous pine wood, still remaining like tattered shreds of the shaggy mantle of ancient Germany. The nursery of baby firs, where the grandson, returned from America, plants the seed in the shape of letters, and thus writes his name in his father's native soil,—the saw-mill, whose rasping cadence breaks the silence of the summer woods,—the brawling stream with its weir, which the great rafts must leap on their way to the Rhine,—the multitudinous life and the multitudinous music of the forest are all brought vividly before us in the simple flow of the old man's story. It is, indeed, hard to realise that we are not following the course of a real existence, for many of the chapters have the monotony and want of dramatic conclusiveness that

would make the story of most actual lives but dull reading if narrated in detail. The only tragic interest is that attaching to the fate of Ernst, old Waldfried's younger son, who disgraces his family by deserting from his colours in the war of '66, enters the French service, and redeems his honour in German eyes by a second desertion in '70, when he rejoins the ranks of his country, and dies gloriously on the battle-field, forgiven by his friends, who, of course, happen to be within reach. He had always shown an insubordinate disposition, had been vacillating in his choice of a career, and had had the courage to present to his parents, as his chosen bride, a sort of forest foundling called Martella, a girl of unknown parentage, brought up by a vagrant old woman in the woods. This unpromising daughter-in-law is taken into the house as a probationer in the capacity of a domestic servant, and when she gets rid of some of her uncouth ways, proves a great acquisition to the family circle, develops unlooked-for good qualities, is a dutiful and devoted daughter to Ernst's father and mother, and clings to him with unshaken constancy during his long absence. She disappears during the Franco-Prussian war, to turn up opportunely on the battle-field where her lover is mortally wounded, and to die in melodramatic fashion as soon as she has seen him breathe his last. Waldfried's other children are prosperous and commonplace: his son Richard, a distinguished professor, marries a rich widow after an unromantic courtship. Ludwig, imprisoned for heading a rising in 1848, escapes to America, where he grows rich and marries; and as the daughters are all equally well settled in life, the patriarch is amply provided with descendants. Every scion of his house takes part in some capacity in the war of '70; many of them cover themselves with glory, and all except Ernst escape unhurt, or recover from their wounds.

The elder Waldfried is a recognised tribune of the people, and attends the sittings of the representative chamber with an assiduity his readers would often fain excuse. In the discussion on co-operation with Prussia against France, he of course plays an important part, and is even summoned to the palace, to a secret conference with the prince, on the night preceding the decision. He boldly avows that he is a republican in theory, and quite ready to sacrifice the sovereign rights of the local dynasty to German unity, but the ruler still requests his co-operation, and makes him narrate at length the history of his political career.

“‘And now the prince asked me if I thought the majority of the chamber would vote in the affirmative. I was compelled to express a doubt.’

“‘But I am resolved!’ cried the prince, ‘with or without the consent of the house of representatives. You are a veteran com-

batant. Are you ready to stand by me—or rather by our common country?’

“‘In what way?’”

“‘Call it, if you will, a *coup-d'état*, we must not allow ourselves to be scared by the name. There are times when legal forms have to be disregarded. Will you accept the presidency of the ministry, and sanction my act with your name? It will be a voucher for my patriotic intentions.’”

“‘Your highness, I am willing to devote to my country the remainder of my declining years, but I am not conversant with affairs of State.’”

“‘That is not necessary, that is a separate matter. Your son-in-law, Colonel von Karsten is ready to take the ministry of war.’”

The old plebeian leader requires a promise that the prince will not allow his hereditary rights to stand in the way of German unity, and after some further discussion he gives the pledge demanded in these words:—

“‘Here is my hand on it. Mine is the right, and be it mine to exercise it—to proclaim the victorious Prussian monarch Emperor of Germany.’”

The secret compact is thus concluded, and the proclamation is read and approved, by which the chamber is to be dissolved in case of a vote of neutrality. The lesser German states may, perhaps, have had a standard of political morality different from that which prevails elsewhere, but in other countries a transaction such as this, by which a prince should arbitrarily seek to impose his will on his people, with the co-operation of one of their trusted leaders, would be stigmatised as a treacherous ambush. Of course there are not wanting *soi-disants* patriots in all parts of the world willing to purchase personal power by party treason, but it is a novelty to have them held up as models of public virtue. Auerbach's hero is naturally represented as only influenced by motives of exalted patriotism, but ambition never wants for pretexts to cloak itself in, and all usurpers claim to represent the best interests of their country. It would be unreasonable to expect sound political judgment from writers of fiction; but even fiction, when treating of matters of history, might call facts by fitting names. This imaginary incident proves, like many real ones, how far our Continental neighbours still are from a true conception of the principles of representative government, for if the minority are only bound by the will of the majority as long as it seems to them expedient, force alone can decide the issue between them.

The early part of the war of 1870 is very poetically described, when silence settles over the country whence the last soldiers have marched out, leaving women and old men to reap the

bounteous harvest, and the stillness of the summer woods is broken only by the booming of the cannon beyond the Rhine. The news of the first fighting has reached them, and on the following day a neighbouring forester sends word to Waldfried that from a mountain summit in his district they can see great movements of troops.

"We stood on the topmost turret of the ruined castle, and saw from afar, yonder in Alsace, hosts in battle sway to and fro.

"It was in the country of Weissenberg, of which every feature was familiar to me. The straining gaze into the distance—the fear and anxiety—the excitement of seeing how now the quick flashes broke from the rolling clouds of smoke, and now a village suddenly caught fire—while the intermittent cannon shots were re-echoed to us by the wooded mountains—all combined to oppress the soul, and Martha begged me to take a little wine. It was long ere I could bring myself to do so, for I had first to choke down the thought, how many a one on yonder field would be recalled to life, could one but wet his lips e'en now.

"Martha prayed; I could only think, for now a new epoch in history was being ushered in in thunder. Victory and fortune must be on the side of those who fight for the best interests of their kind. One great point was gained; the war was being fought in the enemy's country.

"We only returned after dark. Joseph drove to the city; we must await the result. Morning dawned bright and peaceful. What had been our fate?

"At mid-day a shot was fired from the sawmill; it was the signal of a victory pre-arranged with Joseph. He came and announced the glorious battle of Wörth.

"'We have beaten the French on their own ground,' he cried, 'their own ground that was; but that must be ours henceforward. Our people were engaged there,' added Joseph, after a pause. 'Father! Sisters! we will be very strong!'

"We had need of this resolution."

The war goes on, the siege-guns that girdle devoted Strasburg shake the very rocks with their thunder, and at night from the hills the red trajectories can be seen, described by the fiery missiles, raining on the city. After its fall old Waldfried is summoned by the Prussian authorities to try if his venerable presence and conciliating address might not have some effect in reconciling the conquered Alsatians to the rule of their new masters. His mission, however, is a failure, and he returns to his home only to start immediately again for the theatre of war, where his daughter's husband, Colonel von Karsten, has been dangerously wounded, and where he consoles with his forgiveness the last moments of his long-lost son Ernst. So with its varying attendant cares and agitations, the campaign rolls on to its glorious termination; and the old forester survives, though with failing

powers, to be elected deputy of his district to the Diet of the Confederation, to receive a special greeting from William the Victorious, and to witness the triumphal entry of the troops into Berlin. Shortly after his return he is found dead in the forest he had planted, with his face buried in the wild thyme, and the pine boughs sighing a dirge over his head; having lived to see the political dream of his youth realised, and to leave descendants to the third generation to reap the fruit of his patriotic struggles.

The interest of the book is weakened in the end by its subdivision among too great a number of characters with equal claims on the attention, and the attempt to give them each a part in the great events of the war makes the situation seem forced and artificial. With all its merits, we cannot help feeling that "Waldfried" is somewhat of a failure, and the public questions introduced only serve to stifle the simpler incidents of the story. It may be objected that it is harsh to criticise as a mere romance what is perhaps rather intended as a series of historical sketches; but what takes the form of fiction, if it do not fulfil its primary function as fiction by interesting the reader, will not sufficiently impress his mind to effect any secondary aim. No one will ever read a dull novel instead of history, and Auerbach's novels will be dull, as long as they turn on political events or great social questions.

"Nach Dreissig Jahren" had the rare distinction of appearing simultaneously in several languages, so that each section of the manuscript must have been transmitted as soon as completed to the different translators in succession. This new series takes up the scenes and characters of the earlier "Dorfgeschichten," after the lapse of time indicated by the title, and we find that they have lost nothing in interest in the interval. The first volume is a sequel to the story of the "Fiau Professorin," the pretty inn-keeper's daughter, whom Reinhard, the young painter, had courted and married, and who, unable to bear his subsequent neglect, and the isolation of her city life had left him in a moment's childish petulance to return to her village home. There the original tale had left poor Lorle, and thither in its continuation we find her husband returning on her death, in a strange reaction of sentiment, to weep at the grave of the wife with whom for thirty years he had sought to hold no communication. This interval is bridged over with consummate skill by the author, who, instead of attempting a dry recapitulation of the incidents, conveys them gradually in the conversation of the different characters. Each of them contributes some little reminiscence towards the retrospect, and thus Lorle's life of unrepining charity and sweetness is made to pass again before us, as it was before her remorseful husband; while her influence, surviving still in the minds of others, seems to guide the course of the story, and work itself out

in the destinies of the living. Reinhard's character is most natural in its apparent inconsistency. His is the true artistic temperament, at once emotional and cold-hearted, sentimental and egotistical. Returned to visit the last resting-place of the wife he had been willing to ignore while living, he has scarcely reached it ere his fickle fancy is caught by a new object; and within five months of Lorle's death he is on the eve of his marriage with the blooming girl she had adopted in her loneliness. He is still a man of stately presence, though his auburn beard has long turned grey, and Malvina, the rustic beauty, who had heard nothing but his praises from her benefactress, clings to him from the first with a vigorous and spontaneous attachment, highly flattering to the self-love of a man at his time of life. There is a living monument of poor Lorle's misfortune in the idiot son of her brother, who, born shortly after her return home, was supposed to owe his deficiency to the shock his mother had sustained. To this imperfect creature Lorle had devoted herself with especial tenderness, keeping him constantly near her, and her name is the only word he can utter, while he conceives at first sight so violent an antipathy to Reinhard that he has to be locked up in another room whenever he is in the house.

The artist had persuaded his bride, much against her will, to sit to him for a Madonna, painted as an altarpiece for the village church, but which had afterwards been removed to the picture gallery of the neighbouring capital, and is now restored by the Prince as a tribute to Reinhard on his return.

Meantime the announcement of his marriage with another causes some disapprobation among the villagers, who had revered Lorle as a martyr and saint. Her brother, the innkeeper, has a violent altercation with him, in the midst of which the crétin, hearing her name repeated, echoes it with a cry, and rushes on the object of his smouldering animosity, in a paroxysm of rage like that of an infuriated animal. The picture just unpacked is overturned, crashing through the decayed rafters of the old garret where the scene was occurring, and Reinhard is precipitated to a considerable depth amid the falling rubbish. He dies within a few days, of the injuries received, and thus, by a catastrophe somewhat artificially brought about, Lorle's wrongs are made to work out a sort of poetical retribution after her death, on the man who had first wooed, and then wearied of her. Husband and wife, so hopelessly separated during life, find a common resting-place in the rustic churchyard, and the unquiet genius, after travelling in so many far countries, is drawn back to die in the little mountain village, where, even on the eve of marriage with another, he was only known as "Lorle's Reinhard."

"Der Tolpatsch aus Amerika," the second in the series, narrates

the arrival of a German emigrant's son in his father's native village, nominally to look after some small inheritance, but really to make acquaintance with his father's friends, and if possible to choose a wife among the girls growing up there. Aloys, the father, a good, simple-hearted youth, had passed with his companions for more simple than he really was, and had received in consequence the derogatory nickname of "Der Tolpatsch," by which he was most familiarly remembered; but had prospered in America, and had attained the rank of colonel during the war. The only restriction he has placed on his son's freedom of choice, is a request that he will avoid the daughter of his own faithless love, Marannele, who had thrown him over for his rival, the dashing postilion Jörgli, and whose perfidy had driven him to leave his country in despair. Of course with the usual perversity of human hearts in those matters, young Marannele is the very girl who catches the fancy of young Aloys; and although he goes to woo, in a sort of half-hearted way, the heiress of a rich farmer in the neighbourhood, he has already committed himself pretty deeply with the postilion's daughter. He is extricated from his dilemma by the refusal of the dignified maiden to whom he pays his second-hand addresses, and by an opportune letter, written as an after-thought by his father, to an old friend of his in the country, empowering him to act as his representative in regard to his son's marriage, and withdrawing any restriction he had placed on the young man's free choice. Thus Aloys is saved all the suspense of waiting for an answer, and enabled to satisfy the claims of honour and affection without delay.

In "*Das Nest an der Bahn*" we learn how our old friends Jakob and Magdalene, have been prospering in the thirty years that have elapsed since they were drawn together by the bond of a common misfortune. They have both alike undergone the penalty of the law, but while the man had been justly convicted, the woman had suffered innocently, and with true poetic intuition, the author represents her as retaining her natural gaiety under all trials, while he, even at the end of years, and in the midst of his happy domestic surroundings, is still liable to fits of gloom, when the dark memories of his crime and punishment seem again to overcloud his soul. His wife's anxious care is to ward off every hint or allusion that may call up the past, which will sometimes rise to haunt them, in the curiosity of a prying neighbour, or in some chance meeting; but despite all her efforts a conversation casually overheard by her eldest son awakens his suspicions and poisons his mind against his parents for life. A time comes also when the retrospect has to be faced, and the parents, as advantageous marriages arise for their children, are obliged, at the risk of blighting their prospects, to confess their own antecedents.

They meet the situation bravely however, tell the truth, and are rewarded by the generous spirit in which it is received on the other side; where in every instance it is overlooked in consideration of the honesty with which it is avowed. So they live it down, and are happy to the end in the humble position which was their earliest refuge in misfortune, and perhaps when next we look from the window of the shrieking express-train, and see in a flash of vision, the signalman drawn up by the side of the line, holding with automatic rigidity the staff with its square of red or white bunting, we may feel drawn to him by a closer bond of human sympathy for having read the story of Auerbach's convict hero. We may, perhaps, better realise how he will feel when the train has passed, and he can return to his wife and children, and to the cares and interests of his pretty rose-bowered home, from the peep which our author has given us into the inner life of such another "Nest by the Railway."

This power of investing the lowliest lives with a high poetic charm, and the most common-place characters with a strong human interest, irrespective of all accessories of sensational incidents or pretentious elaboration of style, is what constitutes Auerbach's claim to rank with geniuses of the first order, and has gained for his works their merited and world-wide celebrity. The impression produced by them cannot be better summed up than in the pretty apostrophe addressed to their author by Ferdinand Freiligrath, and which is as applicable to these later "Dorfgeschichten," as to the earlier series which called it forth:—

“ From the pine shadow of Black Forest glades,
Thou ledest forth the village youths and maids,
And dost to their poetic rights of yore
The homespun vest and hanging braids restore.

“ A wondrous book † I can but tell in part
The feelings roused by every page in turn;
How this stirred high my loudly beating heart,
And that made breath come short and temples burn;
How here I bit my lips for sheer delight,
And there again was forced to laugh outright.

“ The magic of its pages lies in this—
That thought has there matured what life made known;
Fresh from the spring of truth they cannot miss
The charm conferred on art by truth alone;
And griefs and joys with human passion warm,
Must far and near take human hearts by storm.”

ART. III.—BULGARIAN LITERATURE.

1. *Bulgarski Narodni Sbornik (Bulgarian National Miscellany)*. By V. CHOLAKOV. Belgrad: 1878.
2. *Dejiny Bulgarského Národa (History of the Bulgarians)*. By K. J. JIRECEK. Prague: 1874.
3. *Chansons Populaires Bulgares (Bulgarian National Songs)*. By A. DOZON. Paris: 1876.
4. *Bulgarski Narodni Pěsní (Bulgarian National Songs)*. Collected by the Brothers MILADINOV. Agram: 1861.

NOW that it is an ascertained fact that one of the results of the Congress of Berlin will be the establishment of a quasi-independent Bulgarian nationality, although somewhat mutilated, a few remarks on Bulgarian history, literature, and manners may not appear unseasonable. And the more so because little or nothing has as yet been written in English upon the subject. While a great deal of calumny has been heaped upon this unfortunate people by ignorant scribblers and superficial tourists, unacquainted with their language, there has been but little inclination among us to study soberly their history. And yet they have done much for self-culture, in spite of very great impediments. Even under Turkish rule, before the terrible orgies of Batak and the blood-bath of Philippopolis, schools were abundant in the country, and travellers have borne witness to the intelligence and spirit of the pupils. Among the boys of the Robert College at Constantinople, conducted by American missionaries, none are pointed out as showing so much ability as the Bulgarians. Ample testimony in this direction is given by the interesting little work of Mr. Jasper More, entitled "Under the Balkans." We will not write further on this subject, being anxious to escape from the heated atmosphere of politics, and will give our readers some slight sketch of the past condition of the Bulgarians, before proceeding to what is the chief business of our article—their literature, oral and written.

In the short notice which Gibbon has devoted to the Bulgarians in the fifteenth chapter of his great work, he has spoken with philosophic contempt of the swarms of savages who between the seventh and twelfth centuries descended from the plains of Scythia, either making occasional inroads, or definitely establishing themselves in more southern regions. "Their names," he adds, "are uncouth, their origins doubtful, their actions obscure, their superstition was blind, their valour brutal, and the uniformity of their public and private lives was neither softened by

innocence nor refined by policy." In spite of the severe language of the eminent historian, we shall hope that some account of the Bulgarians, who must be included among these invaders, will not be found wholly devoid of interest.

M. Jirecek, in his new "History of the Bulgarians," cited at the commencement of our article, and which, let us say once for all, is at present the most complete account of this people, incorporating the most recent ethnological and philosophical researches, begins his investigations with the earliest settlements of the Slavs south of the Danube. In the second chapter he completely overthrows the wild theory that the Thrako-Illyrians were Slava. We have seen this opinion set forth in some English publications, but it must be added that the few Thracian words which have come down to us cannot be traced to any Slavonic roots. This subject has been fully handled by Professor Drinov, a born Bulgarian, but now a professor in Russia, in his work, "Settlement of the Balkan Peninsula by the Slavs,"* and let us hope that with his exhaustive treatment the windbag will have collapsed.

Already at the commencement of the third century A.D. we find Slavs settled between the Danube and the Balkan. A constant immigration was going on till the middle of the seventh century, as these hordes were more and more pushed southwards by new invaders from the East. In 681 these Slavonic settlers fell under the power of a tribe of Bulgarians, a Ugro-finnish race, if we follow the opinion of Schafarik, Drinov, and the best authorities. The origin of these Bulgarians is one of the *veratissima* *questiones* of ethnology. Some have made them Tatars: Raic held them to have been Slavs, and this view has lately been resuscitated by Professor Ilovaiski, the Russian historian, who seems never to take so much delight as in breaking a lance against all the orthodox and well-grounded decisions of Slavistic. Kerstovich, a native Bulgarian writer, of whom more anon, makes them also to have been Slavonians, but he puts the Huns under the same classification, and thus produces a veritable *olla podrida* of ethnology, for which we must confess we have no relish.

History tells us that Kubrat, a Bulgarian prince, shook off the yoke of the Avars, and that on his death his possessions were divided among his five sons. The eldest remained in the ancient settlement on the Volga, where the ruins of their former capital, Bolgari, are still pointed out to travellers. The third son, named Asparukh, crossed the Dniester and the Dnieper, and first settled in a place called Onklos, a word in which Scha-

* "Zaselenie balkanskago poluoostrova Slavyanami." Moscow, 1873.
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farik sees the old Slavonic, ongl, angulus, between the Transylvanian Alps and the Danube. From this place the Bulgarians pushed further south, as previously mentioned, till they reached the localities which they have ever since occupied, where they became mixed with the original Slavonic settlers. Drinov compares this fusion and importation of a new nomenclature to the mixture of the German Franks and the Gauls, and the adoption of a branch of the Slavonians of the Finnish name of their conquerors, whence the appellation Russian.*

Our sketches of the history of this people must be very brief: we shall simply take the most salient periods, and send our readers to the pages of M. Jirecek, of whose work an excellent German translation exists. They received Christianity in the time of Boris, called by the Byzantines Bogoris, who was baptised under the name of Michael, A.D. 864. A great instrument in his conversion is said to have been his sister, who had been thirty-eight years a captive at Constantinople. He extirpated idolatry among his subjects with much cruelty, and as soon as he had accepted Christianity, seems to have been anxious to enter into relations with the Latin Church, led probably to do so by the hereditary antipathies existing between the Bulgarians and Greeks. He accordingly sent his brother to Rome, and submitted one hundred and six points to the pope, embracing every question of discipline, ceremony, and morals.†

It was about this time that Cyril and Methodius are said to have invented the Cyrillic alphabet, and to have translated the Bible into the old Slavonic tongue, but the whole question as to the nationality of these excellent men, whether they were born Slavonians or Greeks, who had learned Slavonic, what claims they have to be considered the inventors of the alphabet, and what country was the sphere of their labours, is beset with perplexities. We certainly should not think of fatiguing our readers with discussing these points in our present article. They had better be left to the specialist. We must make, however, a short allusion to Simeon, the son of Boris, who ruled from 892 to 927, because his was the golden age of the old Bulgarian literature. Many theological and historical works were then produced, but it must be confessed that in most instances they were of but little merit. The Greek writers of the period, who served

* See this subject fully discussed in Professor Thomsen's work, "Origin of the Ancient Russ." Oxford, 1877. The absurd derivation of the name Russian from a word in the Septuagint, which is found in some respectable English works, must be at once dismissed.

† See Milman's "Latin Christianity," vol. v. p. 250. The answers of Nicholas (who occupied the papal chair from 853 to 867) are exceedingly curious.

as models, were themselves engaged in making epitomes and anthologies: it was not an age of great original production. We must therefore look amongst the Bulgarian copyists for translations chiefly, and such works as these will be found, composed in the turgid and bombastic style which then characterised Byzantine literature. It is a pity that when the young and rising nation looked to a type upon which to mould its culture, it could find nothing nearer at hand than the farragos of ecclesiastical rubbish which the effete society of Constantinople could furnish.

The Byzantine emperors were constantly coming into collision with the Bulgarian sovereigns, and on many occasions suffered severe defeats. Their losses, however, were destined to be avenged by Basil II., who earned the epithet of slayer of the Bulgarians, *Βουλγαροκτόνος*. This ferocious tyrant, who concealed the most detestable vices under the mask of a rigid pietism, succeeded in completely destroying the Slavonic kingdom, owing to its internal dissensions. He is reported to have found a treasure of four hundred thousand pounds in the palace of Lychnidus, or Ochrida, a fact which makes one less inclined to pay attention to the sneers of Gibbon about the paltry splendours of Bulgarian royalty. The story is well known of Basil sending back to their Tzar, Simeon, fifteen thousand Bulgarian prisoners blinded, every hundredth captive being suffered to retain one eye, so as to act as a guide to his unfortunate companions. The Bulgarian prince is said to have died of grief, on account of this detestable act of barbarity.

With the year 1019 the existence of the Bulgarian monarchy ceased: for upwards of 170 years their nationality was crushed by the Greeks, but reasserted itself in the reign of the weak Isaac Angelus (1185—1195). Two brothers, Asen and Peter,* became the leaders of their nation: the feeble emperor attempted in vain to resist their efforts, and was ultimately compelled to acknowledge their independence with the best grace he could. A modern Bulgarian writer, Rakovski,† has dwelt with pleasure upon the terror inspired in the effeminate Byzantine Court by the vigorous measures of these two patriots, and quotes the words of Nicetas Choniatas, who querulously exclaims—“*Ὅσα δὲ κατὰ Ῥωμαίων οἱ ἀνοσιουργοὶ οὗτοι καὶ μαρὸν διεπράξαντο, τίς ἂν ἐφίκοιτο λόγος, ἢ ποια διήγησις τοσαύτας κακῶν Ἰλιάδας συμπεριλήψεται;*”

The reign of Asen the First only lasted nine years, from 1186 to 1195; he was succeeded by his brother John. We may con-

* They were grandsons of Gabriel, the son of Samuel, the last Tzar.

† See his work entitled “A few words concerning Asen the First, the great Bulgarian Tzar, and his son, Asen the Second.” Published at Belgrade in 1860.

clude this brief sketch by stating that the Turkish Sultan Amurath, or Murad, during his reign (1360—1389) entirely subjugated the Bulgarians, together with the other Slavonian tribes south of the Danube; since which time, till the recent changes, they formed a portion of the Ottoman empire.

A few words may be necessary to mark out clearly the extent of territory over which the Bulgarian language is spoken. Its area lies almost entirely within the (original) Turkish dominions; there is a small part, however, under Russian sway, and it is here that we find a very active centre of Bulgarian literary effort. Up to the present time nearly all books in the Bulgarian language have been printed in foreign countries, either at Braila, Bolgrad (in Bessarabia), or Belgrad, or, as in many instances, by Leopold Sommer, at Vienna. Here and there an enterprising native bookseller, as Danov at Philippopolis, did what was possible under such a government to stimulate a taste for reading, but an active Bulgarian press cannot be said to have existed in the Sultan's dominions. *Speramus meliora.*

The present distribution of the Bulgarian language is as follows: it covers the ground originally occupied by the ancient Mæsia, Thrace, and Macedonia: it is bounded on the north by Roumanian, from which it is separated by the Danube, on the west by Servian, south-west by Albanian, and south by Greek, which begins to prevail southward from a line drawn from Saloniki (the ancient Thessalonica), to Adrianople. Of course its area is dotted by small Turkish colonies, and here and there a considerable admixture of Greeks. The Balkans separate the territory of Bulgaria into two portions, which, as a result of the Congress, are to constitute the Principality of Bulgaria and the autonomous territory of East Roumelia, soon, let us hope, to be fused, like Moldavia and Roumania, formerly so absurdly separated in consequence of a timid and ungenerous policy.

The Bulgarian-speaking territory has also been divided into the five following sections, each with certain special characteristics:—

1. The Dobrudja, which has a mixed population in consequence of the settlement of a number of Tatars in the district. It is against such savage immigrants as these—especially the Circassians in later times—that the quiet and inoffensive Bulgarian has had to strive.

2. Danubian Bulgaria, with the towns of Vidin, Rustchuk, Silitria, and Nicopoli, places which have made their historical celebrity in many a famous campaign.

3. Central Bulgaria, a mountainous country, of which Sophia is the capital. It is gratifying to be able to add that this territory will form part of the new Bulgarian principality.

4. Transbalkan Bulgaria, which is to be the new autonomous province of Eastern Roumelia, where Mussulmans preponderate, the chief town of which is Philippopolis (Bulgarian "Plovdiv," Turkish "Pilibeh,") on the Maritza, the classical Hebrus. And lastly—

5. Macedonian Bulgaria, which abuts on the bay of Contessa and Mount Athos, the chief town of which is Seres.

On the whole the Bulgarian towns present a squalid appearance, especially in those parts in which the Turkish element predominates. Here and there we come upon a good house, which speaks of the wealth and taste of the occupant, but squalor and unsavouriness are their leading characteristics. At a distance the eye is sometimes captivated by the minarets and domes, and the rich foliage of the ample gardens, which enliven the sombre aspect of the houses; but the charm is rapidly dispelled as we thread our way through the steep and narrow streets, and have ample proof offered to more than one of our senses that the simplest sanitary laws are neglected. Sophia is probably one of the dirtiest towns in the world, and Philippopolis disappoints us on a closer inspection, if we have allowed ourselves to be too much deceived by its magnificent situation. Turkish rule has been a *regime* of slow decay.

The statistics of Bulgarian population we take from a native source:—*

In European Turkey	6,900,000
In Russia	120,000
In Servia	100,000
In Roumania	160,000
In Austria	29,844
	<hr/>
	7,309,844

As regards the scientific classification of the Bulgarian language we cannot enter into the matter fully in the present article. Thus much must suffice to map out its position accurately. It belongs to the Eastern branch of the Slavonic family, but has undergone more mutilations and modifications than any other Slavonic tongue. The highly synthetic state characteristic of these languages is here only partially seen, and we have almost an analytic stage. The cases have disappeared and an article has been thrust in, which is alien to the genius of the Slavonic tongues. Many of the dialects exhibit special forms of great interest for the scholar, and some of the ballads show traces of

* See "The Falcon" (Sokol), a Bulgarian Magazine. Printed at Bucharest and published at Philippopolis, 1876. Part I. p. 41.

the inflexion of the nouns, proving undoubtedly their antiquity. The vocabulary is largely influenced by Turkish and modern Greek, as a very slight glimpse at those published by Morse and Dozon will show.* And now having fairly cleared our ground let us find what this unhappy people has been able during the centuries of slavery under which it has groaned to accomplish by way of literature. Our readers will meet us perhaps with the frank cry of prosperous Philistinism—who ever heard of a Bulgarian literature?—and yet we shall find one, a very rich oral and traditional literature, and even a written one which is not contemptible. Of course we have here nothing to do with the old Slavonic or old Bulgarian writings, which are tolerably copious. Nor can we enter into the question of the origin of this language, which has been glanced at in previous articles in this REVIEW. We have here to discuss the modern Bulgarian literature in the strict sense of the word, and this cannot be said to have existed (at least in its written form) much more than thirty years.

As the oral literature is very much the oldest—for it is difficult to fix a date to many compositions of this kind—we shall be only following the chronological order in taking it first.

We know of no earlier collection than that of Bogoev,† published at Pesth in 1842, a work which we have never seen, but have found mentioned in the *Chansons Populaires Bulgares inédites* of Dozon. Its publication was probably owing to the great interest aroused throughout Europe by the Servian ballads collected and published by Vuk Stephanovich. The age, tired of the over-cultivated exotics of French ornamental gardening, was now looking everywhere for the wild flowers of national poetry.

2. Bulgarian National Songs, collected by the Brothers Miladinov, Demetrius and Constantine, and published by Constantine at Agram in 1861. This is the work issued under the auspices of Bishop Strossmayer, who has done so much for Slavonic literature. In his preface Constantine Miladinov speaks of the great wealth of national song among his countrymen. He tells us that from one young girl alone at Struga he collected 150 beautiful songs. The fate of these brothers was most melancholy, and we confess as helping us to form an idea of the system of despotism of the Government. After the publication of

* In 1872, the late Professor Yovanoff published the most complete Bulgarian Dictionary which has yet appeared.

† "Bulgarian National Songs and Proverbs." See *the Slavonic Review* for 1847, when we find that this Bogoev published other works at Odessa.

the ballads at Agram in 1861, Constantine Miladinov returned to Bulgaria. He joined his brother Demetrius at Struga, in Macedonia, on the Albanian frontier, where the latter was exercising the profession of a tutor. Soon afterwards an order came from the Turkish Government that they were to be sent to Saloniki (Thessalonica) and from thence to Constantinople. Here they were accused of treason, information having been laid against them by some of the Greek priests who are in perpetual collision with the Bulgarians on theological grounds, because some of the poems in their collection contained satirical allusions and attacks upon the Turks and Greeks. One of the pieces which especially gave offence is to be found on page 113 of the book, entitled, "Stoyan and Patrik," it recites the achievements of a certain Bulgarian hero named Stoyan against the Turks and Greeks.* In consequence of these charges, the brothers were condemned to close imprisonment for life. When the news of their detention reached foreign countries the patriotic Bishop Strossmayer exerted himself for their liberation by means of the Austrian Consul at Constantinople, and the Russian Government also assisted in the demand. The Ottoman authorities were at length compelled to send an order for their release, but when the decree sanctioning their liberation reached the prison, they were found dead. They had been secretly murdered. It was in this way that the Turks, with characteristic savagery, evaded the pressure put upon them. Constantine had not reached the age of thirty years, Demetrius was a little older, and left behind him a wife and two children in great poverty. Such was the miserable end of these two scholars and patriots, and such is Ottoman justice!

3. National Songs of the Macedonian Bulgarians, collected by Stephen J. Verkovich. Of this one volume was published at Belgrade in 1860. This book is edited in Serbian, and a Bulgaro-Serbian vocabulary is added. In his preface Verkovich tells us that 270 of the songs were written down from the recitation of a woman named Dafina, at Serai, in Macedonia. This fact must be considered as proving in a very interesting

* For much of our information on the Brothers Miladinovs we have been indebted to some interesting articles which appeared in the *Bulgarian Literary Journal*, "Glasnik Gornogh Blagovog," published by the Bulgarian Literary Society, at the same time, and in which the Greek and Turkish authorities are quoted. The names of the Brothers Miladinovs and their literary labours are mentioned in the *Journal* of the Bulgarian Literary Society, published at Belgrade, in 1860.

way how poems may be orally preserved in a country where printed books generally are very scarce. Our readers should compare the remarks of Mr. Gladstone in his valuable little Homeric primer. Such accounts as this of the memory of the Bulgarian women greatly assist his theory.

The Macedonian dialect of Bulgaria differs considerably from the others, the safest way in which we can treat the language (which at present has not been scientifically mapped out, and we must trust to the suggestions of Bulgarian friends) is to divide it into the Eastern and Western dialects, of the latter of which the Macedonian will form a subdivision. A second part of the collection of Verkovich has not appeared, and he has since tarnished his fame by the publication of the Slavonic Veda (Veda Slovena) at Belgrade in 1874. This book is a mass of fabrications, containing pieces in which allusion is made to the Indian mythology, the object being to exaggerate the antiquity of Slavonic traditions. It is a painful fact to notice in the excessive *cultus* of antiquity which is in vogue in all countries, to what dishonest attempts it has given an impetus. What are we to say of strangely emendated copies of Shakspeare, of Breton ballads elaborately put forth, the originals of which are as mythical as those of Ossian, and of the tampering with manuscripts in public libraries, as shown in the interpolations recently detected in the "Mater Verborum" Codex at Prague? This mischievous book by Verkovich is calculated to discredit for a long time any fresh collections of Slavonic traditional literature.*

In 1875 appeared the very interesting collection of Bulgarian songs published by Auguste Dozon. These were entirely new to the literary world, and had been either collected by the editor himself or communicated to him by his friends. Some valuable notes are added to this interesting volume, and the vocabulary appended is very useful to students, for aids in the way of Bulgarian lexicography are scarce. A great help has, however, been recently given by the Bulgarian-French dictionary of Bogorov previously alluded to. From the volumes of the Brothers Miladinov and M. Dozon, a fair idea may be formed of Bulgarian folk-lore and mythology. To these must be added the collection of Basil Cholakov, which was published a few years ago, and is cited at the commencement of the present article.

As might be expected, the country is well worthy of attention, from the curious traditions and local customs which abound. The chief legendary hero is Marko Kralewich, reminding one, in so many particulars, of the Russian Ilya Murometz, who is also the

* See the severe criticism by Jagie in the "Archiv fur Slavische Philologie." Vol. I. Part III. p. 576.

national chieftain among the Servians. A great number of poems are devoted to him in the Miladinov collection. Dozon finds his a mere vulgarised hero among the Bulgarians, and altogether lacking chivalrous attributes.* The lyrical pieces, which treat of the affections, show considerable tenderness, and are by no means devoid of elegance. In this respect they may be compared with the Cossack songs of Little Russia. The lays relating to the vilas or samovilas are very curious. We have already, in a previous article, alluded to these mysterious beings who figure so much in Slavonic mythologies, among the Russians as rousalki, or water-nymphs, and also among the Servians. Many of the finest pieces in Vuk's collection are consecrated to them. Some of the most graceful ballads of Mickiewicz tell of their magic power among the Poles and Lithuanians. They are represented as of a malignant nature, and feeling great jealousy of female beauty, angry, perhaps, because many of their noblest gifts have been transferred to some of us mortals, the creatures of a day, and must waste away together with us. In the story of Neda and the Samovila,† Neda has gone to the cool fountain (stoudna voda), and has accidentally trodden upon the yellow flowers of the Samovila, who tells her she must surrender her black eyes. In this and the following ballads we have the feeling of the Nemesis and irony of life truly, if crudely, expressed, as we might expect among a semi-barbarous people.

In the ballad of the fair Stana and the Samovila,‡ we are introduced to the comely maiden arranging herself with rustic pride for the church on Easter-Sunday (Veligden, literally, the great day). Her mother enjoins her not to go too early to the church, for fear the young priests (giatzi) should make love to her; at this Stana is offended, takes her white veil—we have here a touch of Orientalism—goes into the garden, and sits down under a rose-tree (Bulgarian, trandaphil, a very curious word, being a corruption from the Greek *τριαντάφυλλον*, thus illustrating the Romaic influences upon the language, of which we have previously spoken). The malignant spirits, which embody in a concrete shape the sense of blight and change which must come against all things human, are at once upon her. She is met by a malicious Samovila, who ends by tearing from her her black eyes, whose scorching splendour had enthralled the neighbouring youth, her white hands and feet, and winds up by telling her—

* "Chansons populaires," p. 37. Bref, au lieu d'un héros épique aux traits fortement accentués il ne reste, pour ainsi dire, qu'un personnage du théâtre des marionnettes.

† "Miladinov," p. 6.

‡ Ibid., p. 5.

“ ‘ This is the way, fair Stana,
For thee to go to the Easter festival.
The Easter festival, the lucky day.’ ”

We have also another lay, showing the malignity of the Vilas connected with the great hero Marko Kralevich*—

“ Marko wandered by the green forest,
He wandered three days and three nights,
He could not find water
Either to drink, or to wash himself,
Neither for himself nor for his swift horse.
Then, says Marko Kralevich—
‘ Ah! forest, Dimna forest,
Thou hast no water that I may drink
And wash myself.
May the wind harass thee,
May the sun burn thee!’
The forest of Dimna replied to Marko—
‘ Ah! Marko, ah, brave hero;
Do not curse the forest of Dimna,
Curse the old Samovila,
Who has taken the seventy springs,
And has carried them to the top of the mountain.
She sells a glass† of water,
One glass for black eyes.’ ”

Hereupon the hero addresses his trusty steed, who in the Servian legends is called Sharatz, and has as much sympathy with his master as the more celebrated horses of Achilles. They go in pursuit of the vila, and the hero becomes master of the seventy springs.

A terrible lay concerning the Samovilas is given by Miladinov as taken down from oral recitation at Panagiouritche (see page 9). Here we have something of the same sort as the legend, which occurs in modern Greek, Roumanian, and Servian, of the master-builder Manole, given in “Stanley’s Rouman Anthology” (page 215)—a very interesting work, now undeservedly neglected amidst the flippant narratives of superficial travellers, which are more recent. A Samovila builds a castle, “not in the sky, not on the earth; she builds it in the dark clouds, and it is built from young warriors, fair-faced girls, and black-eyed wives.” Students of comparative mythology need not be reminded of the wide circulation of this curious Aryan legend.

* “Miladinov,” p. 8.

† In original, *berdak*, a Turkish word. For many interesting notes on the Samovilas, and comparison with the Russian rousalki, see Mr. Ralston’s “Songs of the Russian People,” p. 147.

On another occasion we are told how a girl demands back her brother from a Samovila, who has enchanted him, as Vivien did Merlin. The angry Samovila carries off the youth into the air, and tears him into thousands of little pieces, "of which the greatest might easily be carried by an ant."

It is but rarely that we find any kindly acts assigned to these beings. Their mischievous activities, however, may occasionally be defeated by the energy of man. Thus the mysterious rustic Jovan Popov conquers one of these supernatural beings, and leads her home as a wife; but after having given birth to a son, she succeeds in escaping to the inaccessible retreats which are frequented by creatures like herself. We may remark, by the way, that Jovan Popov reminds us very forcibly of Mikonla Selianinovich, the great rural hero of so many delightful Russian stories. Elements of the same kind have entered into the mythologies of many other countries, and may probably be found influencing the treatment of the well-known classical story of Cincinnatus. The legend of Jovan Popov and the Samovila forms the first in the Miladinov collection.

Of course, dragons and serpents play a very important part in all these stories; monstrous dragons are constantly being subdued, as in the fine Russian *bylina* which tells of Dobryna's battle. The horse also is frequently introduced as an agent, and is represented with wings. All Slavonic countries bear witness to the same traditions. The dragons fall in love with women, and carry them off, coming in the form of winds and clouds. Dozon has a ballad (page 12) of Rada carried off by one. Rada goes to the fountain and meets two dragons; the eldest (*postari*) passes her by, the youngest stops her. Rada entreats him to let her pass—

“ My mother lies ill in bed,
So much she suffers from her malady; ”

but the dragon answers that her mother is an enchantress who is working potent spells, so that Turks and Bulgarians may torture themselves for love of Rada.

“ Scarcely had the dragon done speaking
When he carried away Rada.
He carried her on high to the heavens,
To the lofty heights,
To the deep caverns. ”

On page 10 of Miladinov's book we have a poem, in which Perdan, who had been left an orphan, fights three days and three nights with two dragons, who eventually carry him off. In one poem (Dozon, page 7) a female dragon takes the form of

a bear, a favourite animal in the legendary poetry of so many countries, as shown by Jacob Grimm in his introduction to Reinhart Fuchs. Some of the lines in this piece are very picturesque: it begins as follows:—

“His mother said to Stoyan—
 ‘Stoyan, my son, Stoyan,
 Whilst thou wert, my son, with thy mother,
 Thou wert, my son, fair and ruddy.
 Since thou hast parted from thy mother
 Thou art a pale yellow,
 Like a yellow orange (nerancha).
 And, like the green bush,
 Hast thou, my son, evil companions;
 Or are the shepherds violent to thee?’”

To this the son replies that he has no bad companions, nor is he ill-treated by the shepherds, only at night a she-bear comes to him and calls him her sweetheart.

“To Stoyan his mother said,
 ‘This is not a savage bear,
 It is Elka, the she-dragon.’”

The mother counsels him to ask craftily the she-dragon to tell him of some plants which will create aversion when a person is anointed with them, alleging as a reason that a certain Turk has conceived a passion for his young sister, and he wishes to make him hate her. Elka tells Stoyan the names of the magic plants; they are boiled by the mother at midnight in a pot.

“It was not the sister of Stoyan she anointed,
 But Stoyan himself.
 When even came
 Lo! the she-bear came.
 She came from afar and cried out—
 ‘Stoyan, dear Stoyan,
 How easily you have deceived me,
 And separated me from one whom I loved.’”

In the ninth piece given by Dozon we have a young girl carried away by a dragon in a chariot drawn by horses. The whole legend, the magic cauldron, and the car, remind us very forcibly of the Greek story of Medea:—

“‘You marry me, mother, you betroth me,
 But you do not ask me, mother,
 If I wish to marry or not.
 A dragon loves me, mother,
 This evening will come

Dragons with white horses,*
 Dragons with golden chariots,
 Little dragons with golden cradles.
 The forest, without any wind, will be laid low :
 The village, without fire, will be burnt ;
 And, without dogs there will be barkings.
 Her mother said to Dimitra,
 ' Why did you not tell your mother,
 So that she should pour water upon you,
 On an enchanted fire with an enchanted cauldron.' †
 Hardly had the mother ceased speaking
 When the forest was laid low without any wind,
 The village was burnt without fire,
 A barking was heard, although there were no dogs,
 And then they carried away Dimitra."

Birds, as in all mythologies, play a very important part. Among the Slavs the falcon (*sokol*) is always considered to be the symbol of a young man. This is seen very frequently in Servian and Russian songs. Compare the commencement of the Russian wedding-song—

" ' Mother, a falcon flies to our gates,
 Soudárina, a bright falcon flies to our wooden gates.' "

In the modern Greek songs it is the eagle. Ravens play a very conspicuous part in the old Slavonic poems ; it is they who announce catastrophes ; thus, intelligence of the disastrous battle of Kosovo is brought by two ravens, as mentioned in a preceding article in this REVIEW. In a poem on page 165 of M. Dozon's collection, a young man is turned into an eagle. He is constantly being scolded by his mother on account of his love for a young lady named *Malamka*, whereupon he prays to God to turn him into an eagle, grey and white (*sivo bielo*).

" ' So that I may fly up aloft
 And they may think me lost.
 And then I may descend in the form of an eagle
 Into the garden of *Malamka*.
 And God had pity upon him,
 And changed him into an eagle.
 And he flew aloft,
 And then descended
 Into the garden of *Malamka*.
Malamka was transplanting flowers," &c. &c.

Cholakov gives us many curious incantations used by *baiachki*,

* *Atovi*, a Turkish word.

† *Bakrach*, a Turkish word.

or sorceresses, against diseases and the nine female divinities called *ourechnitzi* (M. Dozon makes them three in number and calls them *narechnitzi*), who at the birth of a child prophesy its fate. While reading of them, we seem to have the marvellous music of *Catullus* in our ears—

“*Currite ducentes subtemina cunite, fusi.*”

Among the spirits of the elements are the *Youdas*, these are also of an evil nature, and probably derive their name from *Judas*, who betrayed Christ, for in Slavonic countries (as elsewhere) we have a curious confusion of Pagan and Christian superstitions. *Perun*, the god of thunder, has been mixed up with *Elijah* or *Elias* (St. *Ilya*).* *Veles*, the god of cattle, has been converted into St. *Basil* and *Sventovit* has probably been metamorphosed into St. *Vitus*, originally a Sicilian saint. These *Youdas* are represented as constantly exercising a malignant influence upon the human race. Their song, like that of the sirens of Greek fable, has an intoxicating effect, listeners lose their reason, and if they wish to preserve themselves, must stop their ears. In such superstitions, we seem to catch a far off echo of the grand old *Odyssey*—*Ulysses* bound to the mast, and *Circe* with her magic song floating through the shadowy halls (*μεγαρα σκίοντρα*). We may well exclaim in the words of *Göthe*—

“*Warum ziehst du mich unwiderstehlich
Ach in jene Pracht?*”

Miladinov identifies these spirits with others called *Stii*. Of a mischievous character also are the *Violitzi* and the *Lamias*, beings borrowed from the ancient and modern Greek mythology, with which the Slavonic has very much in common. Two considerable ballads on St. *George* and the *Lamias* are given by *Miladinov*.

The subject of Bulgarian legendary poetry is so interesting, that we are imperceptibly allowing it to engross too large a space in our article; it necessarily has much in common with the delightful ballad literature of the *Servians*, and among Slavonic writers in the present century several happy attempts have been made to imitate these naïve and fresh productions; as in our own country we feel at the present time the influence of *Chaucer* and the traditional lays of the *Border Minstrelsy*. *Pushkin*, *Zhukovski*, and *Koltzov* among the *Russians*, and *Mickiewicz* and *Slowacki* among the *Poles*, have been very successful in reproducing this bright cycle of song of the early world. Just as

* See in the *Miladinov* collection (p. 43) the ballad of St. *Elias* and the nine *Lamias*. (*Sveti Ilija i devet Lamii*). For much interesting information on Slavonic mythology, we must refer our readers to Mr. *Kalston's* books, “*The Songs of the Russian People*,” and “*Russian Folk-tales*.”

in Russia, so also in Serbia and Bulgaria, we have a whole host of poems sung by wandering minstrels on the feast days of certain saints. Among the Russians these have been collected by Bessonov in his work entitled "Wandering Psalm Singers" (*kalieki perekhoznie*), published at Moscow in six parts in 1860-62. Here we find many a curious mediæval legend worked up into a rhythmical form. Dozon compares the *χελιδόνισμα*, or song of the swallow, among the modern Greeks, and to these we may add the interesting one preserved from ancient times in Athenæus, and published in Bergk's "Anthologia Lyrica."

Here and there we come upon a ballad which expresses forcibly the wretched captivity in which the country has long groaned, and from which it now seems destined to be emancipated. Probably many more might have been collected, but the responsibilities connected with them were too serious. We have seen what a fate was brought upon the Miladinovs by a few satirical lines. The most striking of these is the story of the young Janissary and the Fair Dragana, given in the collection of the latter. The Janissary, who in his early youth had formed one of the victims of the tribute of flesh which the unfortunate Christians were obliged to pay to their conquerors, after having sacked a village and committed great atrocities, carries off a female captive whom he finds out to be his own sister. Just as Greece has a multitude of ballads, written upon her klephts and pallicares, so also the Bulgarians have songs on the *haiduks** or brigands, who are celebrated as our forefathers in old time sang the exploits of Robin Hood and Little John, and the French rustics of last century the knaveries of Maudrin. Slavonic literature is very rich in many of these heroes, as may be imagined: to go back to the earlier days we have Solovei Razboinik, and in later times Stenko Razin, Vanka Kain, and Pougachev, the bold robber of the Yaik, who nearly overturned the empire of Catherine II. For the deeds of these chieftains we must send our readers to the interesting pages of M. Rambaud's "La Russie Epique," of which a notice appeared in a preceding article in this REVIEW. A rich collection of Cossack songs, full of the achievements of Nalivaiko, Khelmnitzki, and others is also now in course of publication by Messrs. Dragomanov and Antonovich, which promises to be the completion which has yet appeared. M. Dozon complains that the Bulgarian brigand is a far more vulgar hero than the Servian. In many instances he is but a cowardly assassin; vices, however, of this sort are just those with which a race becomes inoculated that has long groaned under an iron yoke:

* A Turkish word.

it will never do to allow conquerors to argue the moral incapacity of their slaves by citing against them the vices which they themselves have engrafted.

In the nineteenth poem of M. Dozou's "Collection" (page 29), we have a sister, Draganka, joining her brother Ivancho, who has turned haiduk, in robbing some money in course of transmission from the Sultan's exchequer—

" And Dragana was angry.
She went after the convoy,
She first turned to the right,
Then again to the left,
And she has massacred everyone.
All the fair-haired kosaks,
Three hundred deli bashis,
And she has seized hold of the treasure."

Many of the poems treat of the end of the brigand-chief, who dies with all the dignity of Claude Duval or the Macpherson of Burns' spirited song—

" Sae rantingly, sae wantonly,
Sae dauntingly gaed he ;
He played a spring and danced it round
Below the gallows tree !"

The Scottish poet, by the way, was never more in his element than when describing these Philistines on the outskirts of civilisation : what a fine *picaresque* sketch he has left us in the "Jolly Beggars." He certainly lived either too late or too far West to find a full scope for his genius in these subjects.

Popular sympathy is always with the brigand ; and at the gallows, which is generally his fate, he is very anxious that he should die with dignity. A very curious poem of this sort is included in M. Dozou's "Collection" (page 48), of which the following is a literal translation :—

" Poor, poor Stoyan,
They have watched him on two roads,
On the third they have caught him.
They got ready black cords,
They fastened his white hands
And they brought Stoyan
To the house of Jovan the priest.
The priest had two daughters,
And the third was Gioula, his daughter-in-law.
Gioula was making butter
At the little door of the garden :
The daughters were sweeping the court.

They said to Stoyan—
 ' Oh! Stoyan, poor fellow,*
 To-morrow they will hang you
 At the Sultan's palace,
 So that the Sultana may see the spectacle,
 And the sultan's children.'
 Stoyan says to Gioula—
 ' Gioula, daughter-in-law of the priest,
 Are these girls sisters-in-law
 Or are they only neighbours?'
 Gioula answers Stoyan—
 ' Oh! Stoyan, poor fellow,
 Why do you ask whether they are sisters-in-law or not,
 Or whether they are neighbours?'
 Stoyan says to Gioula—
 ' Gioula, daughter of the priest,
 Tell the youngest,
 Since they will hang me,
 That she wash my shirt,
 That she unfasten my hair,
 For it is pleasing to me, oh Gioula,
 When they hang a fine young fellow,
 That his shirt should be white,
 That his hair should float in the wind.'"

We have preserved the somewhat wearisome iterations usually found in pieces of this sort. Let, however, the English reader take it for once in its integrity—a genuine piece of modern Bulgarian song. With the Servians in battle, as M. Dozon truly remarks, there is a great dread when one is wounded of having one's head cut off, and kept as a trophy by the enemy. We know how these ghastly *débris* of the fray were being brandished about during the last war. A strange anecdote is told of a Western European who, fighting on the Servian side in some engagement with the Turks, lay on the field severely wounded. In his agony he was amazed to hear one of his own party, who ran up with a sword, exclaim, "You are a brave man and must surely wish that I should cut off your head." A terrible story is handed down about Tserni George—that he decapitated his own father to prevent him from falling into the hands of the enemy.

A very curious paper on the Bulgarian haiduks (as concerned in the late rising) was published in the *Slavonic Miscellany* (*Slavianski Sbornik*), printed at St. Petersburg last year, under the title of "Adventures of a Haiduk in the Balkans, with

* Or, more literally, "Oh! Stoyan, poor fool." The words are, *marj! Stoyane gidjo*. The first is the Greek *μάρης*, the last is Turkish.

biographies of some of the old and new leaders." Here we have a brief *résumé* of an account written in Bulgarian by a certain Panagiot Khilov, who details his expeditions during several years. The piece is further enlivened by many songs about the *haiduks*, which are not included in any other collection as far as we have seen.

Occasionally these robber-songs take a higher tone and show something more than the coarse materialism of a life of thieving, which is only to be terminated by the halter. There is a poetry about "these dedicated beggars to the air," with their "looped and windowed raggedness." M. Dozon cites with justifiable approbation the beautiful little song, which may be found on page 87 of his Collection. The following is a strictly literal translation; the original reminds one of some of the best klephtic ballads—

"Liben the young hero cried out
 On the summit of the old mountain.
 Liben bade adieu to the forest,
 To the forest and fountain he spake—
 'Oh, wood! oh, green wood,*
 And oh! cool spring,
 Dost thou know, forest, dost thou remember
 How often I have wandered over thee,
 Have led my young heroes,
 Have carried my red standard?
 I have made many mothers weep,
 Deprived many brides of their homes.
 Even more have I made of little orphans,
 So that they weep, forest, they curse me!
 Farewell, forest, farewell,
 For I shall go home,
 So that my mother may betroth me;
 May betroth and marry me
 To the daughter of the priest,
 The priest Nicholas.'
 The forest never speaks to any one,
 And yet it spake to Liben.
 'Liben, thou hero, Liben!
 Enough hast thou wandered over me.
 Hast led thy chosen youths,
 Hast carried thy red standard
 On the summit, on the old mountain,
 By the cool thick shade of the trees,
 By the dewy green grass.

* Many of these lines are thoroughly Slavonic in tone. This one, for example, reminds us very much of a pretty little poem in the Koniginhof Manuscript.

Thou hast made many mothers weep,
 Thou hast deprived many brides of their homes,
 Thou hast left more little children orphans,
 So that they weep, Liben, they curse
 Me, vojvode, on account of thee.

"Till this time, vojvode Liben,
 The old mountain was thy mother,
 The green forest was thy bride,
 With tufted foliage decorated,
 Refreshed with the sweet breeze.
 The grass gave thee a bed,
 Thou wert covered by the forest leaves,
 The clear waters gave thee drink,
 The forest-birds sang to thee.
 For thee, Liben, they spoke.*
 Rejoice, young hero, with thy companions,
 For with thee the forest rejoices,
 For thee the mountain is glad,
 For thee the cool stream.

But now, Liben, thou biddest adieu to the mountain,
 Thou dost desire to go home,
 That thy mother may betroth thee,
 May betroth thee and marry thee,
 To the daughter of the priest,
 Of the priest Nicholas.'[†]

Surely never were the sympathies between Nature and man more beautifully expressed than in this delightful song, which has all the freshness of its native woods and mountains upon it. If we could only do away with the savage accessories, the cruel stories about widows and orphans, it might be taken as one of Wordsworth's pantheistic pictures. Something of the spirit of the "Excursion" is in it and of that exquisite sonnet of sonnets "The Brook." It reminds us even more forcibly of the fine lines of Emerson, which are not known in this country as much as they ought to be—

* "The falling waters led me,
 The foodful waters fed me,
 And brought me to the lowest land,
 Unerring to the ocean sand.
 The moss upon the forest bark
 Was pole-star when the night was dark.
 The purple berries in the wood
 Supplied me necessary food;
 For Nature ever faithful is

* Stories of persons who could understand the language of birds and wild beasts are very frequent among Slavonic traditions, especially Servian and Bulgarian.

To such as trust her faithfulness,
 When the forest shall mislead me,
 When the night and morning lie,
 When sea and land refuse to feed me,
 'Twill be time enough to die;
 Then will yet my mother yield
 A pillow in her greenest field,
 Nor the June flowers scorn to cover
 The clay of their departed lover.*

The picture of the outlaw's bed of grass and canopy of the blue sky reminds us also of the fine ballad "The Nut-brown Maid," one of the few gems of this species of composition in our language. A variant of the same theme is the modern Greek ballad "The Grave of the Klepht" (ὁ τάφος τοῦ κλέφτη) given in Kind's "Neugriechische Volkslieder," and elsewhere. In one of our selections we have told the story of the fair Draganka murdering the Turka. The share taken by women in these exploits of brigandage does not form a theme for song, as far as we are aware, among the Servian collections of Vuk Stephanovich and others, yet it is frequently introduced into the Bulgarian ballads. M. Dozon mentions only four pieces of a similar nature among the modern Greek songs. One of these is the well-known lay beginning—

Ποῦς εἶδε ψάρι 's τὸ βουνό καὶ θάλασσα σπαρμένη
 Ποῦς εἶδε κόρην εὐμορφῆ 's τὰ κλέφτικα ἔνδυμένη.

Whoever saw fish on a mountain, or the sea sown like a field?
 Whoever saw a lovely girl who had dressed her as a klepht?

A poem entitled "Sirma Voivodka" on a heroine of this kind is given in the collection of Miladinov. Demetrius, one of the brothers, speaks of having known this woman at the age of eighty, at Prilep, and having heard from her own lips the recitals of her adventures.

We now turn somewhat reluctantly from the traditional Bulgarian literature to the few works which have been produced by energetic men, anxious to arouse their country from its degradation. These, it is obvious, must not be subjected to a criticism too searching. For a long time the only books the Bulgarians had were of a religious character. We shall not fatigue our readers with an enumeration of these. M. Jirecek, whose work has been previously mentioned, has published a valuable contribution to the history of Modern Bulgarian written literature, and to this the reader must be sent for exact information. It is entitled "Bibliographie de la Littérature Bulgare Moderne,"

* Woodnotes, p. 74. "Emerson's Poems." Boston, 1860.

1806—1870; Vienna, 1872 (also in the Bulgarian language). One of the first persons to use the modern tongue was Bishop Sofronius (to cite him by his ecclesiastical name) whose lay appellation was *Stoiko Vladislavov*. For a long time there were no more materials for the study of the language than if it had been an obscure Polynesian idiom, which was to be taken down in a phonetic vocabulary. In 1852 a Grammar was published (in Latin letters) by the brothers Tzankov (Cankof) at Vienna, one of whom, unless we are mistaken, was a delegate to England at the time of the massacres of Batak. The book was of value to scholars in the general scarcity, but it is much disfigured by the unscientific nature of the orthography. We must deal leniently, however, with these errors in a matter where all was chaos. Since then Grammars have appeared by Gruyov and Momchilov. An indefatigable writer on Bulgarian history was S. Palautzov, who died a little while ago in Russia. He treated in his historical publications of the reign of John, Asen I, and of Tzar Simeon, whose period is dwelt upon by the Bulgarians as one of the greatest epochs of their national existence. Many of his works were published in Servia. Rakovski, a violent philo-slave, who died a few years ago at Odessa, wrote some monographs on Bulgarian history, but they are of no great value. As no Bulgarian contemporary historians existed, or at all events no works by them have come down to us, we must trust for our knowledge of ancient Bulgaria to the Byzantine chroniclers, who are not likely to err on the side of sympathy and geniality. Some of the etymological views of Rakovski would be absolutely amazing were he not kept in countenance by a goodly number of fanatics of the same type among ourselves. We cannot afford to laugh at the Slavonomaniacs till we have got rid of our Keltomaniacs. Have we not recently seen half the obscure words in Shakspeare explained by Gaelic derivations?

We have already alluded to the historical work of Kerstovich, which is valueless. A more recent history of Bulgaria by Shishkov, published in 1873, we have not seen. It is from Cedrenus and Zouaras that most of what we know about this people in early times is drawn, and however irksome the Byzantine writers may be from their insufferable bombast and still more insufferable barbarisms, they are mines of antiquarian lore during obscure periods. Nor in speaking of these times must we neglect to pay a due tribute of praise to the stupendous labours of Finlay.

A few newspapers and reviews, among which may especially be noticed *The Reading-room* (*Chitalistcha*) and *Liberty* (*Svoboda*) have made their appearance. Many of the articles in these publications are of course translations, but also many original (as far as we have inspected them), and the Bulgarians

show good sense in collecting their rich stores of national songs and legends. With them popular poetry is still in full flower; as they are brought more and more under the influence of Western culture these interesting productions will begin to disappear, and their place will be supplied by songs from the latest French operas. At Braila is published *The Periodical Report of the Bulgarian Literary Society*, many of the contributions to which are of great literary value, especially those of Professor Drinov, previously alluded to. This journal appears to circulate extensively in Bulgaria.

And now we must take our leave of the Bulgarians. We have seen them embarked upon a new career, and let us hope that they may be able to vindicate their position in the eyes of Western Europe. Some vices of the slave will no doubt long remain; what else can be expected? When we find them paraded before us, we are reminded of the eloquent words of Tricoupi, the Greek historian, when apologising for the excesses of his countrymen during the war of liberation:—"We must not expect to find among the slaves of the slaves of the Koran the virtues by which those were rendered glorious who were born, were educated, and died under the laws of Lycurgus and Solon. The excesses (*τὰ ἀσεμνοῦργήματα*) of the Greeks were the lessons they had learned in the Turkish school, and the fruits of slavery."

Let us hope that the miserable half-policy by which we stunted Greece at the outset of her independence will not be carried out by this great nation in a futile effort to galvanise that mass of corruption which goes by the name of the Turkish Government. Let us resist Russian encroachments: agreed; but let us recognise as soon as possible what our most far-seeing statesmen have recognised, that the future of Eastern Europe lies with these young and rising nationalities. It would be the most generous and at the same time the safest policy to stretch out a hand of genial welcome. Let it not be again said with truth, as in the address to the Greeks in Byron's fiery lyric—

"Trust not for freedom to the Franks,
 They have a king who buys and sells;
 In native swords and native ranks,
 The only hope of courage dwells;
 Not Turkish force and Latin fraud
 Shall break your shield, however broad."

ART. LV.—THE TROUBADOURS.

The Troubadours. By FRANCIS HUEFFER. London: Chatto and Windus. 1878.

MR. HUEFFER has met a literary want by the publication of a book on "The Troubadours." In spite of the considerable importance of the subject to all who study literature from an historical point of view, it has remained hitherto practically untouched in the English language. There is indeed in existence an English abridgment of the valueless book which the Abbé Millot, an indefatigable old book maker, marvellously ignorant of his theme, contrived to make of the valuable materials bequeathed to him by defunct St. Palaye. From the marble hewn for a king's dwelling place he built a roadside inn where the ignorant and illiterate might beguile a half-hour in passing. There is also another work in English, which by its title would seem to have some connexion with the Troubadours, but which scarcely calls for serious consideration, since its author, as if under the impression that Provençal is a Teutonic dialect, speaks of the famous war-loving Troubadour as Bertrand Von Born. Finally, our contributions to the sum of Provençal knowledge must include certain translations by a clever book-maker which appeared from time to time some while ago in the pages of a monthly magazine. The list is certainly not brilliant. An abridgment of a garbled French book, a valueless English work, and a few magazine articles, represent all the trouble we cared to bestow upon a literature to which so much is owed—all that we had to offer in exchange for the names of Raynouard, Diez, St. Palaye, and so many others. Mr. Hueffer has done much to remove this discredit to our critical literature, by giving it its first serious effort to appreciate the poets and poetry whose influence has extended to the literatures of nearly every southern country in Europe.

The book, too, comes at a very opportune moment. For many reasons Provence and Provençal literature have been more talked about of late in England than they ever were before. The Troubadours of Haynes Bayly and the L. E. L. school of poetry had no particular connexion with Provence in the minds of their authors. A wandering poet was a troubadour much in the same way that a horse was invariably a steed, and a wine-cup a goblet; that was all. But into the many-coloured woof of our most recent literature a Provençal thread is twisted. Essayists allude familiarly to the Troubadours, and readily discourse upon Provençal feeling and Provençal song. Poets pretend to Pro-

vençal inspiration, make allusions, generally incorrect, to their Provençal brothers, and sometimes baptise their verses with Provençal names, usually inaccurately applied. They talk, some of them, with reckless approval of the courts of love, and have a vague impression that peacock feathers present some subtle symbolisation of the *gai sciens*. In fact the disciples of what is or was the reigning school of letters are assumed to be as much at home as a matter of course among the mulberries of Avignon as in the Lesbos of Sappho or the *Pomme de Pin*, where François Villon "gloried and drank deep." Some one, therefore, to tell us all something about the Provence we were so fond of alluding to was certainly wanting. There were two reasons for this sudden interest in Provence. The school that was pleased to call itself Neo-Pagan, and to consider itself a Renaissance of the Renaissance, was also pleased to consider that there was much Paganism mixed up with the Provençal eroticism, and adopted it at once. But a chief cause of the revival of interest in the Troubadours and their tongue is undoubtedly to be found in the labours of the small band of poets, with Mistral and Theodor Aubanel at their head, whose efforts at the resuscitation of the Provençal language have aroused a good deal of attention of late. The admirers of these latter-day singers occasionally fall into the error of imagining the old and the new Provençal to be closely akin. Modern Provençal is as distinct from the old as Italian from Latin, more so than Romaic from ancient Greek. The language of Jasmin is scarcely closer to that of Vidal or Marcabrun than that of Leopardi to the tongue of Catullus, much less close than the speech of Corai to that of Plato or Aristophanes. But the efforts which the *Felibrige*, as the guild of poets is called, are making, in much the same manner as the modern Greeks, to restore their tongue to somewhat of its pristine dignity, have naturally quickened an interest in that old literature of which the average world knows and cares so little. A work, therefore, on the Troubadours, written, as Mr. Hueffer's is, by one thoroughly possessed of his subject, and well able to impart his knowledge, is a singularly appropriate contribution to the *belles lettres* of the day.

Mr. Hueffer divides his book into three portions—descriptive, biographical, and technical; perhaps the best arrangement that could be adopted for an initiatory book, where to be popular is the first aim, and the science comes later on. Mr. Hueffer has chosen to begin with a general account of Provençal literature. We may as well follow in his lead. The book opens with a scholarly and exhaustive account of the Langue d'Oc, as the language too often and too loosely called Provençal should be termed. The term includes all the tongues of all the romance

countries lying south of a line drawn from the mouth of the Gironde to that of the Saone, says Mr. Hueffer, from the Sèvre Niortaise to the point of the Lake of Geneva according to Diez. The term Provençal is, however, the most convenient to use, and it has its charm, moreover, recalling as it does the Latin *Provincia*, and suggesting thereby the culture and refinement of old Rome which it retained long after the world had fallen to pieces in the feeble fingers of the degenerate successors to the Cæsars. But the term so used includes Aquitaine, Auvergne, Limousin, and many another place as famous for its Troubadours as the country of the Berengers. The Troubadours themselves always called their tongue *Lengua Romana*, and Raimon Vidal, the grammarian, declares the best places for its cultivation to be Limousin, Provence, Auvergne, and Quercy. In his next chapter Mr. Hueffer enters upon the vexed question of Provençal epics. This question has established two distinct schools of criticism. That to which Mr. Hueffer belongs is content to take such epics or epical poems as now exist in Provençal as fairly representing this department of the Provençal literature. The second school, on the other hand, with the late distinguished scholar, M. Fauriel, for chief, contend that these specimens present but a mere fragment of an immense Provençal epic literature. To them Bacon's famous theory of all that is good in letters being lost and only the scum remaining, certainly holds good in this instance. To us the Fauriel theory seems untenable. In Greek literature the works of many authors are entirely lost to us, but we are well aware that they once existed, and in many cases know the exact names of the vanished treasures. Besides, on the other hand, in spite of all that has been lost, no one branch of literary art can be said to have perished; if Arion and Corinna are gone, we still possess abundance of lyrists, while the tragic Trinity console us for the absence of Ion, Cratinus, and the rest. The manner in which M. Fauriel supports his theory is, however, exceedingly ingenious. The wanting epic of Provence he claims to find in foreign literatures, on the improbable assumption that what is dead and gone to its mother tongue still exists for it in the translations of alien languages. Acting on this principle, he claims as Provençal a number of foreign treasures, including *Aucassin et Nicolette*, the love story so dear to all lovers of early French literature, though any Provençal original, if ever one there were, has long since vanished from the face of the earth, and would be as precious a discovery to the Fauriel adherents as the wanting decades of Livy, or that *Tutte l'Opere di Menandro*, chronicled by Vespasiano as having formed a part of the Urbino library.

What, then, are the specimens of Provençal epic that do exist?

They are not very numerous. First, there is the "Ferabras," which has, to our mind, been conclusively proved by M.M. Kroeber and Servois, in their edition of the northern version, to be merely a translation from the old French "Fierabras." Mr. Hueffer abandons the "Ferabras," but he is resolute about the next epic, "Girart de Roussillon," which is in all probability of Provençal origin, as the French versions which exist are later, and allude to errors in the earlier romance. We cannot quite agree with Mr. Hueffer in his enthusiasm for this bulwark of Provençal epic. It is undoubtedly an exceedingly fine poem, but it does not, at least to our mind, compare with many of the French epics of the Carolingian cycle for dignity or dramatic interest, while not a few of its most striking situations are borrowed from its northern rivals. The "Roman de Blandin de Cornouailles et de Guilhot Ardit de Miramar" might perhaps be included in the class epic, though under the head of what Mr. Hueffer calls the artistic epic, which he, however, very happily describes as more akin to the modern novel than to the epic, and which not a little resembles the Fabliau. To this class belong the famous "Flamenca," of which Mr. Hueffer gives a most admirable account, which is a positive triumph of narration for the manner in which it contrives to make the story interesting, without allowing any prominence to its southern passion and licence. The equally famous "Roman de Jaufré" comes under this category, but Mr. Hueffer has, somewhat to our regret, omitted to present his readers with an abstract of it.

Flamenca, the daughter of Count Gui de Nemours, is wooed and won by Archimbaud, Count of Bourbon. Soon after marriage Archimbaud becomes possessed of that malady, which in the eyes of a Provençal poet, as of a Parisian novelist, is always ridiculous on the part of a husband, jealousy. Very ridiculous, however, Count Archimbaud certainly makes himself, going about unwashed and unshaven, and keeping poor Flamenca, who has hitherto given him no cause whatever for his suspicions, locked up in a tower. A young Troubadour, Guillem de Nevers, hears of this strange case, and determines to console the unhappy lady. As she is only allowed to go out to visit church, Guillem becomes priest's clerk, and when Flamenca attends mass he converses with her in an undertone under pretence of going through the sacred ceremony. The story of courtship, or rather ends for us, as the conclusion is lost, according to the approved principles of the Troubadours in the complete triumph and happiness of the lovers, who succeed in deluding the hapless husband in a manner worthy of the *Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles*. Of this story Mr. Hueffer truly says:—

"But few modern novelists would successfully compete with the natural grace and perfect workmanship of the mediæval poet. The

plot, although simple, is well constructed, and the story develops itself rapidly and consistently. The characters also are drawn with consummate skill. They are both types and individuals, one of the chief criteria of high literature. But more than all, there is true passion in the work, in spite of occasional concessions to the allegorical and hyperbolic tendencies of romantic feeling. And the whole is transfused with the splendour of southern sunshine, the joy and life and love of beautiful Provence."

The "*Roman de Jaufré*" belongs to the Arthurian epic cycle, and narrates the adventures and great deeds of Jaufré, the son of Doon, of his victory over Taulat de Rugimont, the insulter of King Arthur, and of his love for and final happy marriage with the beautiful Bruneseut. Diez considers the work one of the most meritorious productions of the Middle Ages. This, with the story of Guillem de la Bar, the narratives of Peire Vidal, the "*Castia Gilos*" of Raimon Vidal, and the "*Lay of the Parrot*," by Arnaut de Carcasse, concludes this branch of the Provençal literature.

An anonymous poem containing an elaborate description of the Abode of Love, "where the god holds forth in a long speech full of useful information and counsel, in accordance with the most approved code of Provençal gallantry," marks the transition from the story to the didactic poem. These are of all kinds, from the pleasantly pedantic "*Essenhamen de la Donzela*" ("Advice to a Young Lady"), of Amanieu des Escas, to the grim and ghastly "*Novas del Heretge*" (tale of the heretic), in which the monk Izarn, the author, carries on a hideous dialogue of theological discussion with an Albigeois traitor, Sicart de Figueiras.

The historic epic, the rhymed chronicle, was not wanting in Provençal literature. The two most important specimens are the "*History of the Navarrese War of 1276-77*," written by Guillem Auclier of Toulouse, in Languedoc, and the "celebrated Song of the Crusade against the Albigeois heretics and their chief protector, Raimon of Toulouse." Of this melancholy, and not a little incoherent, but vivid and sinewy, poem Mr. Hueffer observes, that as an historic source it is absolutely invaluable. ("English students ought to give it every attention, for the struggle which it describes involved questions of the utmost importance to the continental dependencies of the English crown.") A careful study of this form and of much else connected with it would also save the student of history from any too enthusiastic laudation of the opponents of Innocent III., in the south of France. All the objections that may be urged against the Sixteenth Century Reformation, apply with equal strength to that of the Thirteenth. Were it not for the persecution the Albigenses endured, their idle asceticism, their petty points of argument,

their theological crotchets, could serve only to arouse a smile; but the seas of blood which have been spilt over the words Vaudois and Albigensian has so thick that it is scarcely surprising men should have forgotten how vain or how unworthy were the causes of so vast, so fatal an inundation.

Of the remaining non-lyrical poetry of Provençal literature the most important is the "semi-religious didactic poem treating of that favourite hero of the pseudo-historic muse in the Middle Ages, 'Boethius,' and the spiritual comfort he derived in his worldly misfortunes from what Shakspeare, perhaps with a faint reminiscence of this very man, calls, 'adversity's sweet milk, philosophy.'" The remainder is composed of lives of the saints, of monkish books of all kinds, of etiquette books, of books on hunting, on law, on medicine, of shambling storehouses of knowledge such as the "Tezaur" of Master Corbiac and the vast "Breviari d'Amor" which Matfre Ermengaud de Beziers

"Senher en leys e d'amor sers,"

began at dawn on the first day of spring; of philosophical works, as the "Libre de Senequa," and finally of the lives of the Troubadours, written by Uc de St. Cyr, himself a Troubadour, by Michael de la Tor, and others.

Our first knowledge of the Troubadours depends mainly upon these biographies. Here, therefore, we think would have been the place for Mr. Hueffer to have made some allusion, to the chronicles of Jean and Cæsar Nostredamus, themselves assuming chiefly to be compilations from the work of a somewhat shadowy monk of the Golden Islands, so called because, after having lived and loved like any other Troubadour, he embraced religion, and lived a monastic life on the Islands of Hyères. The very existence of this monk, as well as the veracity and importance of the statements of Cæsar and Jean Nostredamus, have been called in question, but there appear to be some strong arguments in their favour. Under any circumstances the whole affair is of quite sufficient interest and importance to have called for some allusion, some comment from Mr. Hueffer. We must confess to some considerable attachment for the picturesque figure of the monk of the Golden Islands, the contemporary of Petrarch, the descendant of the house of Cibo, the lover of Elis des Baux. The melancholy hermit and chronicler of Troubadours is an old friend, and we do not like to see him treated with anything like contumely. From the lives attributed to him and from other sources, we are able to fit together much of the history of the men and manners of the palmy days of Provence, though there is much that is as fragmentary as anything that tantalises us with regard to the poets of ancient Hellas. The few lines that

stand under the name of Ibycus in Bergk's collection, and the strange sad story of the avenging cranes, which are all that the past vouchsafes to us of one of the nine lyric poets of Greece, have but too often their parallel in Provençal story.

Mr. Hueffer initiates his readers into the lyrical literature, which is so essentially the heart and soul of Provence, by introducing them to one of its latest developments, the Pastorela. There is good reason for this arrangement. The popular poetry, the folk-lore of old Provence has gone, like last year's snow, nor it nor no remembrance what it was would be left to us save for the courtly imitations of Guiraut Riquier, the first to introduce the Pastorela, and his followers. We may gather some vague impression of what some of the early Provençal popular songs were like from M. Damase Arbaud's collection of "Chants Populaires de Provence;" but the utter alteration of the language renders any conjectures as to their antiquity extremely doubtful. Guiraut Riquier's six pastorelas tell an exceedingly pretty story of the poet's flirtation with a fair shepherdess, a flirtation that extends over a period of a score of years, and always consists of supplications on the part of the Troubadour, and uncompromising but graceful and witty refusals on the part of the maiden. In the last pastorela, the shepherdess who has been married and become a widow introduces her young and beautiful daughter to the now somewhat elderly poet, whose heart, as inflammable as it was twenty years back, is instantly conquered, and he at once transfers his allegiance to her, thus adding one more to the list of poetic lovers who, like Henry Esmond and George Sand's Nello, have loved both a *matrem pulchrum* and a *filiam pulcherrimam*. Guiraut is, however, unfortunate with shepherdesses, for he again meets with a refusal. There are other pastoral poets, Gui d'Ussel and Marcabrun amongst them, but for absolute mastery of all that a pastoral should be, Guiraut Riquier stands supreme.

The "Alba," and its companion the "Serena," with the "Balada," exhaust what Mr. Hueffer calls the popular forms of Provençal poetry. The "Alba" and "Serena" are not to be confounded with the "Aubade" and "Serenade" which we have derived from them through northern France. The "Aubade" shows or implies the lovers to be divided; in the "Alba" they are united; as regards form, the first is an address, the second a dialogue, or at least the speech of two persons. The "Serena" or Even song "resembles the Morning song with which it shares the refrain, and in it the recurrence of the verbal key-note, which in this case is *ser*, or evening." The verbal key-note for the "Alba" is of course *Aiba*, the dawn. "As regards its poetical relation to the "Alba," it may be said that the same sentiment appears here in a converse significance. For the "Serena" is

sung by a lover to whom a meeting has been promised, who deprecates the day and its brightness that sever him from his heart's desire. In order to give the best idea of what an *alba* was like, we will quote a translation by Mr. Hueffer from an exceedingly beautiful, anonymous *alba*, a translation which shows Mr. Hueffer to have a true sympathy for, and power over the grace of *simple versos*.

- "Beneath a hawthorn on a blooming lawn
A lady to her side her friend had drawn,
Until the watcher saw the early dawn.
Ah God, ah God, the dawn! it comes so soon.
- "Oh, that the sheltering night would never flee!
Oh, that my friend would never part from me!
And never might the watch the dawning see!
Ah God, ah God, the dawn! it comes so soon.
- "Now, sweetest friend, to me with kisses cling,
Down in the meadow where the ouzels sing,
No harm shall hate and jealous envy bring.
Ah God, ah God, the dawn! it comes so soon.
- "There let with new delight our love abound
—The sweet-voiced birds are carolling around—
Until the watcher's warning note resound,
Ah God, ah God, the dawn! it comes so soon.
- "I drink the air that softly blows my way,
From my true friend, so blithe, so fair, so gay,
And with his fragrant breath my thirst allay.
Ah God, ah God, the dawn! it comes so soon.
- "The lady is of fair and gentle kind,
And many a heart her beauty has entwined,
But to one friend is aye her heart inclined.
Ah God, ah God, the dawn! it comes so soon."

It may be mentioned that Mr. Swinburne, in one of the "Poems and Ballads," has made use of this very refrain with striking effect. There is something exquisitely plaintive in the refrain *oy dieus, oy dieus, de l'alba! tan tost ve*, which, as Mr. Hueffer says, "reaches a climax of passion." The overword of French *ballade* or *chant royal*, and the quaint refrains of old Scotch and English ballads, find here a most perfect counterpart.

The *balada* like the *danza* is simply a song serving to accompany the dance. "This designation proves at once its antiquity and its popularity. There is little doubt that in some form or other the *balada* has subsisted from the times of Greek and Roman religious ceremonies down to our own days. In a

country full of Southern beauty and Southern gaiety, its growth was a thing of natural necessity, like that of corn and wine. No political changes or calamities could crush it. It survived the ravages of the crusaders in the thirteenth century, and the influence of "classical literature" in the eighteenth. When Tristram Shandy entered the rich plain of Languedoc, the first thing he perceived was a lame youth whom Apollo had recompensed with a pipe, to which he had added a tambourine of his own accord, running sweeting over the prelude, and the reapers singing:—

"Viva la joya,
Fidon la tristessa."

Unfortunately, there is little or no record of the earlier development of this charming branch of poetry. But traces of its spirit and grace remain in the few specimens transmitted to us through the medium of the Troubadours, and these bear, in the freedom and variety of their metrical treatment, the distinct mark of their affinity with popular models. It ought to be added that the *baladas* remaining to us are mostly by anonymous authors, which would tend to prove that the more celebrated and more dignified poets kept aloof from the unsophisticated species. On the other hand, some of the specimens show all the refinement, and a good deal of the artificiality of Provençal versification."

The artificial forms upon which cultured Provençal lyricism was moulded, naturally call for consideration after the list of popular forms is exhausted. If *alba*, *serena*, *balada*, and *dansa* are comparatively simple, there exist in Provençal verse-forms as peculiar and as arbitrary as ever issued from brain of Persian poet, verse-forms by the side of which the metrical glitter of *ballade*, *chant royal*, *rondeau*, *rondel*, *triolet*, *virelai*, and *villanelle* must pale. Very recently there has been growing up among some of the younger poets of the day an extraordinary reverence and affection for the old French verse-forms. Articles have appeared in magazines and journals loudly advocating their revival, and in obedience to the summons floods of English imitations of these old French forms—good, bad, and indifferent—have issued from the fertile brains of their admirers. The *ballades* of Villon, the *rondels* of Charles d'Orléans, the *rondeaux* and *chants royaux* of Clément Marot, and the *triolet* of the fourteenth century *Jardin de Plaisance*, and the seventeenth century poets of the *ruelle* have each had their special adorers. Much of this sudden mania is attributable to M. Théodore de Banville, who after having revived most of these early French forms in a volume of poems, "*Les Odes Funambulesques*," published first in 1857, more recently wrote a "*Petit Traité de la Poésie Française*," in which the art of compounding these various forms

of song is explained in a manner that ought to gladden the shade of Eustache Deschamps, who did something of the same kind for his generation some five hundred years before. How far it is possible to acclimatise these exotics in our Northern lands we shall not stop to consider here. But as the taste for them depends undoubtedly not a little on their difficulty, a revival of Provençal poetry ought to be infinitely more successful as its verse-forms are more fantastic. The rhymes of a *double ballade* or *chant royal* seem almost insignificant compared with the wealth of rhymes which the Provençal poets are always ready to spend upon their songs, and there is considerable truth in Mr. Hueffer's severe criticism "that compared to the consummate workmanship of the Troubadours the efforts of Northern France appear as mere child's play." It may, of course, be urged by the defenders of the French verse-forms that the smaller rhyming capacity of the language of Northern France gives an additional merit to the poems it produced, but this argument, if pushed home, would go to prove that for the same reason our imitations were best of all as the difficulties in the way were yet greater—a conclusion scarcely likely to be supported.

The *sestina*, which was invented by Arnaut Daniel, whom Petrarch calls *gran maestro d'amor*, is, in its way, a triumph of metrical skill. It is a poem of seven verses of seven lines each, the final words of each line of the first verse being repeated in regularly changing order in the others.

Mr. Hueffer gives an elaborate scheme of the *sestina*, but the shortest method of explaining it will be to quote a perfect example, one imitated from Arnaut Daniel, by Dante, and translated by D. G. Rossetti.

OF THE LADY PIETRA DEGLI SCROVIGNI.

"To the dim light and the large circle of shade
I have clomb, and to the whitening of the hills,
There where we see no colour in the grass.
Nathless my longing loses not its green,
It has so taken root in the hard stone
Which talks and hears as though it were a lady.

"Utterly frozen is this youthful lady,
Even as the snow that lies within the shade;
For she is no more moved than is a stone
By the sweet season which makes warm the hills,
And alters them afresh from white to green,
Covering their sides again with flowers and grass.

"When on her hair she sets a crown of grass,
The thought has no more room for other lady;
Because she weaves the yellow with the green

So well that Love sits down there in the shade,—
 Love who has shut me in among low hills
 Faster than between wall of granite stone.

“ She is more bright than is a precious stone ;
 The wound she gives may not be healed with grass :
 I therefore have fled far o'er plains and hills
 For refuge from so dangerous a lady,
 But from her sunshine nothing can give shade,—
 Not any hill, nor wall, nor summer-green.

“ A while ago I saw her dressed in green,—
 So fair, she might have wakened in a stone
 This love which I do feel even for her shade ;
 And therefore as one woos a graceful lady,
 I wooed her in a field that was all grass
 Girdled about with very lofty hills.

“ Yet shall the streams turn back and climb the hills
 Before love's flame in this damp wood and green
 Burn, as it burns within a youthful lady.
 For my sake, who would sleep away in stone
 My life, or feed like beasts upon the grass,
 Only to see her garments cast a shade.

“ How dark soe'er the hills throw out their shade,
 Under her summer-green the beautiful lady
 Covers it, like a stone covered in grass.”

“ Only in two minor points,” says Mr. Hueffer, in speaking of Dante's *Sestina*, “ has Dante dared to deviate from his models, in points, too, which have no connexion with the position of the rhyme-words. These are the lengths of the opening lines of each stanza, which in the Provençal are shorter by one foot than the other verses, while in Italian they are of equal size, and the arrangement of the rhyme-words of the *tonado*” (the short concluding stanza, or *envoi*, of three lines). M. de Grammont in France, and Mr. Swinburne in England, have made attempts to revive this singularly beautiful verse-form, and both have introduced alterations to the original form. Of Mr. Swinburne's *sestinas*, Mr. Hueffer observes, “ The model he has followed is not derived from the Provençal original, nor yet from the Italian copy, but from a modified French version of the scheme. This modification consists chiefly in the introduction of the rhymes with the single stanzas themselves, wholly against the original meaning of the form.” Mr. Hueffer has probably forgotten that Drummond of Hawthornden, a poet who is, nowadays, scarcely as much read as he deserves, set the example to England of a rhymed *sestina*, probably the first *sestina* of any kind in the

English language. It is quite as likely that Mr. Swinburne found the idea here, as in the occasionally *fude* pages of M. de Grammont. Drummond's *sestina* is worth quoting, first because it is so little known, next because it serves as a good example of a rhymed *sestina*.

- "Sith gone is my delight and only pleasure,
The last of all my hopes, the cheerful sun
That clear'd my life's dark sphere, nature's sweet treasure,
More dear to me than all beneath the moon;
What resteth now, but that upon this mountain
I weep, till heaven transform me to a fountain?"
- "Fresh, fair, delicious, crystal, pearly fountain,
On whose smooth face to look she oft took pleasure,
Tell me (so may thy streams long cheer this mountain—
So serpent ne'er thee stain, nor scorch thee sun—
So may with wat'ry beams thee kiss the moon):
Dost thou not mourn to want so fair a treasure?"
- "While she here gaz'd on thee, rich Tagus' treasure
Thou need'st not envy—nor yet the fountain,
In which that hunter saw the naked moon;
Absence hath robbed thee of thy wealth and pleasure,
And I remain, like marigold of sun
Depriv'd, that dies by shadow of some mountain.
- "Nymphs of the forests, nymphs who on this mountain
Are wont to dance, showing your beauty's treasure
To goat-foot sylvans, and the wond'ring sun,
Whene'er you gather flow'rs about this fountain,
Bid her farewell who placed here her pleasure,
And sing her praises to the stars and moon.
- "Among the lesser lights as is the moon,
Blushing through muffling clouds on Latmos mountain;
Or when she views her silver locks for pleasure
In Thetis' streams, proud of so gay a treasure:
Such was my fair when she sat by this fountain
With other nymphs, to share the amorous sun.
- "As is our earth in absence of the sun,
Or when of sun deprived is the moon:—
As is without a verdant shade a fountain,
Or, wanting grass, a mead, a vale, a mountain;
Such is my state, bereft of my dear treasure,
To know whose only worth was all my pleasure.
- "Ne'er think of pleasure, heart, eyes, shun the sun;
Tears be your treasure, which the wand'ring moon
Shall see you shed by mountain, vale and fountain."

One form of verse the Troubadours never had, and that the verse-form which far beyond all others has taken a lasting hold on European literature since its creation. The sonnet, as we know of it, was unknown to the Provençal singers, for the one example existing in their tongue is the work of an outsider familiar with the Italian form, as much the work of an outsider as the "Parpaïoun Blu" of Mr. Bonaparte Wyse. The word *sonet*, where it occurs in Provençal, is used merely to signify a song and without any idea of the key that unlocked Shakspeare's heart, of the melody that gave ease to Petrarch's wound. It cannot but seem strange to us that the race of singers were unacquainted with this priceless possession of the Muses. It is certainly matter for regret that the form which, since the days of the "Vita Nuova" and the lover of Laura to those of Elizabeth Barrett Browning, we have come to regard as the most perfect vehicle for the expression of love, should have been so absolutely unknown in the land of love's chief worship. Jaufre Rudel might well have expressed his adoration for the lady of Tripoli in a century of sonnets; the many loves of Peire Vidal would have been as fittingly encased in its scanty plot of ground as were those of his northern namesake, the head-star of the *Péilule*, Pierre de Ronsard; while the faint flavour of pedantry in the terms and language of so many of the Troubadours would have been well suited to the favoured form of Elizabethan affectation.

The *Tenso* in its various forms, as defined by the "Leys d'Amors," the elaborate and pedantic authority on Provençal versification, "is a contrast and debate, in which each maintains and reasons some word or fact." The chief rule of the *Tenso* is that whatever form of verse, whatever rhyme-sounds or order of rhymes the beginner of a *Tenso* may adopt, must be unconditionally followed by his opponent. The beginner, however, has his privilege of choosing the form, counterbalanced by a duty. "For, as a rule, the *Tenso* begins with a challenge of one poet to another to choose one side of an argument, the first spokesman undertaking to defend the opposite view, whichever it might turn out to be. Impartiality could not well go further. In the case of two antagonists only, the rhymes are frequently changed after a couple of stanzas, that is, after one argument and counter-argument, but the continuation of the same rhyme throughout the poem is by no means of rare occurrence." This is the case in the famous *Tenso* in which Savaric de Mauleon asks Gaucelm Faidit and Uc de la Bacalaria which of three knights had received the greatest favour from a lady who looked lovingly on one, pressed the hand of another, and touched the foot of the third. Mr. Hueffer translates the first verse of this *Tenso* :—

"Gaucelm Faidit, and good Sir Hugh,
 Three amorous questions I will ask :
 Choose ye what side seems good to ye,
 The third to hold must be my task :—
 One lady's charms three knights inspire ;
 She sore beset by their desire,
 Would fain each lover's wish abet,
 When all the three with her are met.
 At one she looks with loving eye ;
 The other's hand takes tenderly ;
 Gladdens the third with footstep sly.
 To tell me now, I ask of ye,
 Who was most favoured of the three ?"

Had Mr. Hueffer translated the whole he would in propriety have been bound to sustain the same rhyme to the end of the *Tens*, a feat somewhat difficult of accomplishment in English.

The two great classes of poetry to which we now must turn, and which comprise by far the greater portion of Provençal literature, the *Sirventes* and the *Canzo*, have no metrical scheme inherent in either of them as an essential part of their kind." They are distinguished, therefore, not by their form but by their subject. "The *Canzo*, it may be briefly said, is a lyric poem which treats of love, and a *Sirventes* is one that does not." Mr. Hueffer is careful to point out that "the popular idea of a Troubadour as a singer of love, and nothing but love, is as incorrect and one-sided as popular ideas frequently are. There is indeed no important topic of political and literary history of the time which does not find an echo in the poetry of these gay singers. The form of art in which these and kindred questions are treated, is collectively called the *Sirventes*, and the study of this branch of Provençal art is of engrossing interest, both as regards the variety of contemporary topics touched upon, and the display of brilliant wit and trenchant personal satire, with which many of these songs abound ; the latter feature being in strong contrast with the charming but somewhat monotonous sweetness of the *Canzo*, or love-song." It may roughly be said that all lyrical poems not in any of the received artificial forms, and not devoted to love, are *Sirventes*. The difference between *Canzos* and *Sirventes* will be best understood by any one who compares Mr. Swinburne's "Poems and Ballads" with his "Songs Before Sunrise." The first are almost solely love-poems, and are therefore *Canzos*, the second are *Sirventes*.

The question now arises, who were the men who sang these songs? who made this sweet forgotten literature that has preserved their name as the Egyptian mummy case preserves the lute, or as the amber the fly of whom Clément Marot sings? In

number they do not exceed the lyric poets of Greece, whose names have come down to us coupled with any fragment; they would be fairly rivalled, numerically, by such as in the present generation would with show of justice claim for themselves the crown of bay. It would not take long to enumerate them. We are therefore a little inclined to quarrel with Mr. Hueffer about the biographical portion of his book. What he gives us is so very good that we are most emphatically inclined to ask for more, and most distinctly disappointed not to get it. It is not, of course, to be expected that Mr. Hueffer should, in the comparatively limited space of one volume, enter into an exhaustive account of the three hundred and odd Troubadours whom Raynour selects from out of a larger number to represent the class, but he might have done better than he has done. The eight or nine he has chosen are by no means enough, and we should have been well contented with briefer accounts of these, and a division of the space thus gained among a crowd of others. There are men omitted about whom we should like to have heard, and about whom he ought to have told us, even at the expense of the curtailment of some other portion of his work, such as the admirable but lengthy exposition of the difference between the Troubadours and the Jonglars.

First of the Troubadours comes Guillem IX. of Poitiers, (reigned 1087-1127). Though his is the first name that can be claimed by Provençal song, his language is as perfect as the tongue of those who came later by two hundred years. With him the Provençal Muse leaps fully formed and armed into existence; of the *Fortes ante Guilielmum* there is neither name nor trace remaining. William of Poitiers has left us nine poems and the fame of an accomplished cavalier, amorous and brave to the highest degree. At the head of 300,000 men he took part in the luckless crusade of 1101, and came back almost rivaling the one man of the ill-fated army of Cabul, but bearing the loss of his army with a composure equal to that of Sir John Falstaff. Against this leader of Provençal song, as against Carlyle's Mirabeau, moralities not a few would shriek out, but they are not the moralities of his own time, a fact too often forgotten in criticism. Next to him comes Bernard de Ventadour (about 1140-95). The order of succession illustrates admirably what Mr. Hueffer says of the social position of a literary man in old Provence. "It would be absurd," he observes, "to say that differences did not exist in that primitive Republic of letters. . . . But in the art of poetry a common ground was at least established where men of all classes met on equal terms, and where the chance of success was little, if at all, furthered by accidental advantages of birth." Bernard was the son of a servaut of Count Ebles de Ventadour.

Ebles instructed Bernard, taught him poetry. Ebles had a fair wife, Bernard naturally fell in love with her, wrote plentiful love ditties, till Ebles put a stop to the progress of Bernard's passion by shutting up his wife and turning the poet out of doors, to console himself as best he might after the fashion of the page in the German ballad with the reflection that he had once kissed his mistress. Bernard then devoted himself to Eleanor of England, to Jeanne d'Este, and other fair ones, but he was so little favoured by love that he might fitly be called Bernard the unhappy. He withdrew at last, an elderly and somewhat unsuccessful lover, into the bosom of the Church, living to a good old age in saintly odour, and leaving behind many songs and more imitators.

Of Marcabrun (1140-85) we are favoured with two stories, which differ as to the circumstances of his birth, but agree in giving him humble origin. Bitter of tongue, as hostile to the fair sex as Simonides of Amorgos, a master of the *Sirventes*, so obscure as to be often unintelligible; he came, it is said, to his death through the vengeance of the Chatelain de Guian, whom his biting verse had stung. After him comes Jaufre Rudel, with whose name is connected the sweetest and strangest story of old Provence, one which it is the chief defect of Mr. Hueffer's book to have omitted all mention of, for it is one of the most delightful love stories in all literature, and most especially characteristic of the spirit which animated the Troubadours. The story has been treated in a few exquisite lines by Mr. Swinburne in his "Triumph of Time," lines which we cannot do better than quote.

"There lived a singer in France of old
By the tideless, dolorous midland sea.
In a land of sand and ruin and gold
There shone one woman and none but she.
And finding life for her love's sake fail,
Being tain to see her, he bade set sail,
Touched land, and saw her as life grew cold,
And praised God seeing; and so died he.

"Died, praising God for His gift and grace:
For she bowed down to him weeping, and said
'Live;' and her tears were shed on his face
Or ever the life in his face was shed.
The sharp tears fell through her hair, and stung
Once, and her close lips touched him and clung
Once, and grew one with his lips for a space;
And so drew back, and the man was dead."

In other words, Jaufre Rudel, of Blayes, lived and loved like all others till, either through a portrait or the fame of her beauty,

he fell in love with the Countess of Tripoli, made her his lady, served her in his songs with all his heart and soul, till his passion for his unseen love growing too strong to bear he set sail for Tripoli. Stricken ill on the voyage, he arrived at Tripoli dying, but the Countess, to whom his strange love was made known, came to where he lay in time for him to see her, and he died praising God and his lady. The story further tells that the Countess of Tripoli erected a magnificent tomb over her lover, and immediately entered into a convent. It is to this that Petrarch alludes when he says "by the aid of sails and oars Geffroi Rudel obtained the death he desired."

Rambaut of Orange (1150-73) is chiefly remarkable for his love affair with the sweet woman poet, Beatrice de Die. His thirty songs might not have kept his name alive two generations, but the songs she wrote to her ungrateful lover have given him some claim to an unworthy immortality. To Beatrice de Die Mr. Hueffer devotes a whole chapter as representative of the lady troubadours, of whom unfortunately so little is left to us. We must quote one stanza of the poem in which she bewails the loss of her lover :—

" Ah, sadly, sadly do I miss
A knight of valour once mine own !
To all at all times be it known,
My heart was his—was only his.
Foolishly my secret keeping
I hid my love when he was near ;
But in my heart I held him dear,
Day and night, awake and sleeping."

In considering the fair feminine poets of Provence, the question of the Courts of Love not unnaturally arises. Mr. Hueffer belongs to the Iconoclastic School of Diez, in common with most modern scholars, and applies to these fabled tribunals the same test as that which Gibbon applied to the burning of the Alexandrian Library by the Caliph Omar—the fact that they were not spoken of at all until hundreds of years after the time when they were supposed to exist. The amorous pedantries of Andreas Capellanus and Martial D'Auvergne, the great authorities on the subject in later centuries, have no more to do with the early days of Provence than the *Jeux Floroux* with the genuine inspiration of the early Troubadours.

The chief merit of Peire D'Auvergne (1155-1215) lay in his mastery of the *Sirventes*. In one of these he attacks fiercely Bernard de Ventadour, Peire Rogier (1160-1180), the lover of the beautiful Ermengarde of Narbonne, and Guiraut de Borneil (1175-1220), who has been surnamed by biographers the

Master of Troubadours, and styled by Dante the Singer of Rectitude.

To Guillem de Cabestanh, Mr. Hueffer, whose critical edition of this poet's work is a most valuable contribution to the study of Provençal literature, devotes a whole chapter. Guillem de Cabestanh loved the Lady Margarida, the wife of his patron, Sir Raimon of Rossilho. When at last, after much doubt, Sir Raimon is convinced of the fact by hearing Guillem's famous song, "Li dous cossire qu'em doñ amors soven," in which he declared his devotion to Margarida, the angry husband slays Guillem, cuts out his heart, roasts it, and gives it to his wife at dinner. "After she has eaten it he discloses the terrible secret, and simultaneously produces the gory head of her lover, asking her how she liked the savour of the meat. The lady's answer is noble, and of tragic simplicity. 'It was so good and savoury,' she says, 'that never other meat or drink shall take from my mouth the sweetness which the heart of Guillem has left there.' The exasperated husband then rushes at her with his drawn sword, and she, flying from him, throws herself from a balcony and dies." The sequel gives a curious example of Provençal feeling. "All the friends of Guillem and the lady, and all the courteous knights of the neighbourhood, and all those who were lovers, united to make war against Raimon." The King of Aragon capturing him, took all his possessions, and kept him a prisoner till death. The same king had the two lovers buried in one tomb, and erected a monument over them, just outside the door of the Church of Perpignan. "And there was a time," the biographer adds, "when all the knights of Rossilho and of Serdonha, of Confolen, Riuples, Peiralaide and Narbones, kept the day of their death every year; and all the fond lovers, and all the fond lady-loves, prayed for their souls." It is, perhaps, regrettable that the principal features of the whole story are probably mythical.

Between Guillem de Cabestanh and Peire Vidal, the next poet treated of by Mr. Hueffer, we should like to have heard something of the three princely poets, Alphonse II. of Aragon (reigned 1162-96), who delighted to play Mæcenæ to many a Provençal Horace and Catullus; of Richard of England, or of Robert I., Dauphin of Auvergne (reigned 1169-1234), the friend and foe of the lion-hearted, but somewhat wooden-headed, monarch. Peire Ramon de Thoulouse (1170-1200), who had the honour of being copied by Petrarch, and Arnaut de Marueil, whom Petrarch styled the less-famous Arnaut, in contradistinction to Arnaut Daniel, the inventor of the *Sestina*, might have claimed some portion of the very interesting chapter which Mr. Hueffer consecrates to the memory of the maddest of all mad poets, Peire Vidal (1175-1215).

"He was the son of a furrier, but had forgotten, and made others forget, his low origin. He believed himself to be an irresistible breaker of hearts, and had to pay dearly for his vain boasting of favours never granted; for a jealous husband, whose wife the poet counted amongst his victims, had the poet's tongue pierced, which, however, did not prevent the incorrigible braggart from continuing to call himself the dread of husbands, 'who fear me worse than fire or pointed iron, God be thanked.' Afterwards, he took part in a crusade, and married a Greek lady at Cyprus, with whom he returned home. For some reason or other, he imagined his wife to be the niece of the Greek Emperor, and, as her husband, claimed a right to the imperial throne. In the meantime he adopted the arms and title of his father-in-law, and even thought of equipping a fleet to enforce his right to the throne. His follies naturally excited universal merriment."

Of such a man—a man who, being in love with a lady whose nickname was Loba (she-wolf), clad himself in a wolf-skin, and was harried nigh unto death by shepherds and their dogs, all at his own request, and as proof of his passion—it is difficult to speak seriously; yet he was undoubtedly one of the greatest of Provençal poets. "The greatest fool," says Bartolomeo Zorzi, another celebrated poet of the time, "is he who calls Peire Vidal a fool; for without sense it would be impossible to make poems like his."

Bertrams de Born (1180–95) is next dealt with by Mr. Hueffer at, we cannot help thinking, too great length. Sisimondi thus speaks of him:—

"The most violent, the most impetuous of the French cavaliers, breathing nothing but war; exciting, inflaming the passions of his neighbours and his superiors, in order to engage them in hostilities. He troubled the Provinces of Guienne by his arms and his intrigues during all the second half of the twelfth century, and the reigns of the Kings of England, Henry II. and Richard Cœur de Lion. He first stripped his brother Constantine of his paternal inheritance, and made war upon Richard, who protected him. He then attached himself to Henry, the brother of Richard Cœur de Lion, and afterwards made war upon him, after having engaged him in a conspiracy against his father. For this last offence he is put by Dante into his hell."

Some such brief account as this, with some allusion to the amorous side of this turbulent and war loving poet's character, would, to our mind, have been better than the three chapters Mr. Hueffer has given to him. Characteristic and typical poet though he be, we would have been content with a shorter treatment of his loves and battles in exchange for some biographies of Pons de Capdueil, famous for his unwise effort to test his lady's fidelity by assumed insincerity on his own part; of Rambaut de Vaqueiras, who styled his lady *Belhs cavaliers*, from having witnessed her playing with a sword one day; of Peirol, ambitious

to win back the Holy Sepulchre; of Arnaut Daniel, who, for his involved language, might share with Heraclitus the title of *ὁ σκοτεινός* (the obscure); of Gaucelm Faidit; of Savaric de Mauleon, of Uc de St. Cyr, the lover of the beautiful poetess, Clara of Andusa; of Sordel, the Sordello of Mr. Browning's extraordinary poem; and of many another as worthy of treatment as Folquet of Marseilles, the Monk of Montaudon; or Peire Cardinal, to each of whom Mr. Hueffer gives a chapter. Folquet was a thorough Troubadour and lover till the death of his lady, Azalais—the wife of Barral—caused him to renounce the world. He entered the Church, and soon became distinguished as a fanatical persecutor of heretics. If Folquet renounced the world for the Church, the Monk of Montaudon did precisely the contrary, preferring the writing of songs and a pleasant life to his priestly calling, and leaving behind him poems remarkable for beauty and for scurrility. He was, in fact, an extraordinary combination of Friar Tuck and Archilochus. Very different, again, are the two men with whom Mr. Hueffer concludes his notice of the Troubadours, Guillem de Figuera and Peire Cardinal. Both hated priests and priestcraft; but, whereas the former expressed his dislike in the cynical, semi-ruffianly fashion of a "genius akin to Rutebœuf and Villon and Rabelais," Peire Cardinal is a great satirist of the highest type, and, like most great masters of satire and humour, "a confirmed pessimist."

Mr. Hueffer concludes his book with an elaborate essay upon the technical features of Provençal poetry, especially important for its novel and valuable treatment of Dante's great metrical treatise, "De Vulgari Eloquio." Into this portion of his work we have no space to enter, but it is one of exceeding importance to the student in metre, who will find here not only much thoughtful criticism, but valuable information which it would be difficult or impossible to obtain elsewhere, except with the labour of individual research. It may be that some will ask, "What is the use of thus reviving this Provençal literature?" may urge, not without justice, that since the limitations of life are so great it were as well, as a rule, to let sleeping poets lie asleep, to content ourselves with a few and great, instead of abandoning them at every hand's turn for others, much of whose merit lies in the fact that they are buried away out of the reach of ordinary men. These objections are fair to adduce. There is too great a mania at present for digging up precious stones from the mines of out-of-the-way literature, to the abandonment of better things, and it is perfectly true that, as a rule, a man would be far better reading his Shakspeare or his Göthe than in hunting up every fragment of fifteenth-rate Elizabethan poetry that fate has unfortunately suffered to remain in existence, or in poring over

the works of the Corporation of the Twelve Wise Masters, whose stumpfe-reime and klingende-reime and rosemary-weise and flowery-paradise weise and yellow-weise and blue-weise and frog-weise and looking-glass-weise so much amused Paul Fleming in "Hyperion." But the Provençal poets and the Provençal literature are not to be so dealt with.

Apart from the great historical value and the great philological importance of the literature, apart from the fact that we owe much in Italian and other literatures to its inspiration, the poetry that won the enthusiastic praises of Dante and Petrarch, is well worth studying for its own sake. The student in Provençal may probably weary a little of its eternal sameness, but he cannot fail to be delighted with its sweet beauty, full of the amorous languor of the south. The poetry is such as could only be written in a land of blue sky and bluer wave, where Nature itself would compel song by its fervent sunshine and splendour of flowers. We should ourselves advise any one anxious to begin the study of Provençal to adventure first upon the modern tongue, to go through a course of Mistral, of Aubanel, and of Jasmin, before attempting the songs of Rudol or Richard de Barbesieux, just as we should conceive it better to master Italian before Latin, and Romaic before ancient Greek, or the English of Byron before the English of Chaucer and Piers Plowman. He will then be better prepared to encounter the mysteries of Provençal grammar, mysteries perhaps scarcely so formidable as Mr. Hueffer would have us to believe, that is, for those whose aim is not to become critical scholars, but to make out the meaning of that literature whose strange appearance and still stranger disappearance may perhaps be best accounted for by describing it as the Indian summer of Latin literature.

In concluding this summary of Mr. Hueffer's book, we must again express it as our opinion that he has made a most valuable contribution to critical literature. The information is so varied and so complete, the criticism so sound, incisive, and—which is a relief just at present—so healthy, that the book must assume an important position as an authority until Mr. Hueffer supersedes it by a better. "The Troubadours" is not complete, we cannot regard it as anything more than the introductory sketch of what Mr. Hueffer can and will do some day; but it is an admirable beginning, and practically the only book of the kind in existence. Altogether "The Troubadours" deserves very high praise for introducing into this country a knowledge of Provençal poets and poetry, which may possibly establish here a school of Provençal criticism, worthy to hold its own with those of France and Germany, as well as Mr. Hueffer's book does with the labours of Raynouard and Diez.

ART. V.—LORD MELBOURNE.

Memoirs of the Right Honourable William second Viscount Melbourne. By W. M. TORRENS, M.P. 2 vols. London: Macmillan.

IT is a common saying that as "bad wine makes good vinegar, so bad books make good reviews." If this be so, this review of these memoirs ought to be one of unusual excellence. More diffuse and wordy even than the author's former works, these volumes have also another fault. Through them there runs a vein of senile garrulity, which often hides from the reader the person whose life they profess to narrate. For instance, we have many particulars respecting the conflicting claims of Mr. Spring Rice and Mr. Abercromby to the Speakership; in themselves these facts are not uninteresting, but what we complain of is that these details are out of place in a biography of Lord Melbourne. The transaction certainly occurred during Lord Melbourne's Administration, and as Premier he must have had some, if not the chief, part in determining which of the competitors should be put forward as the Ministerial candidate for the Speaker's chair, but the minute particulars here given belong to a memoir of one of the rival candidates. We might point out other instances of this defect, but we refrain from so doing, and will endeavour to give a sketch of the Minister the story of whose life and career is told in these memoirs.

It has been the fortune, and on the whole we think the good fortune, of the Liberal party—from the period of their advent to office in 1830 down to 1868—to be led by men aristocratic by birth and in feeling, and induced only to support popular measures by their reading, their reflection, and their judgment. This is true of Lords Grey, Melbourne, Russell, and Palmerston. The families of Lords Melbourne and Palmerston did not belong to the great Whig connexion. The first Lord Melbourne was a supporter of Lord North; Lord Palmerston was for years a member of a strict Tory Administration; and Lord Melbourne for a short time held office in that of Mr. Canning, who, if not a Tory, was certainly not a Whig, and in that of the Duke of Wellington, who intended to be Tory in his policy, but ended by wrecking his party and giving the Whigs their first long lease of power. In these observations on the official positions held at different times in Ministries of opposite principles by Lords Melbourne and Palmerston we do not intend to insinuate any censure or sarcasm on either of those Ministers. On the contrary, we agree with Lord Beaconsfield that—

“there is no stain upon the character or honour of public men, or inconvenience to the public service, in statesmen, however they may have at one time differed, if they feel themselves justified in doing so, acting together in public life. All that the country require of public men when they do so act together, is that they should *idem sentire de republica*, that upon all great questions they should entertain the same views: that in subjects of policy, whether foreign or domestic, they should be animated by the same convictions and the same sympathies.”*

It was said of Lord Palmerston that he passed through many changes, “from a youth of comparative obscurity to a serene and bright old age.”† The first part of this description is equally true of Lord Melbourne, but here the resemblance between the two connexions and colleagues ends. Lord Palmerston was singularly happy in his private life and home; Lord Melbourne's private life was embittered and his home blasted by alienation and disappointment. Lord Palmerston died in harness, full of years and honours, and surrounded by friends and relatives; Lord Melbourne in his last years was neglected, cheerless, lonely, and desolate.

The forefathers of Lord Melbourne were successful lawyers, who amassed considerable sums of money; and one of them, by the marriage with the female heiress of the Cokes of Melbourne Hall, in the county of Derby, became owner of the old hall from which the title is taken, and of a considerable estate. Matthew Lamb, Lord Melbourne's grandfather, was Counsel to the Board of Trade and a Member of Parliament, and had sufficient influence to procure a baronetcy for himself and descendants. He added Bocket Hall, in Herts, and several adjacent farms to the family estate, and at his death left to his son and successor, Sir Peniston Lamb, realty and personalty estimated to be worth half a million sterling. A brother of Sir Matthew's was for many years Dean, and afterwards Bishop, of Peterborough; and at his death, which followed that of his brother within a year, Sir Peniston was further enriched by succeeding to the very considerable savings of his uncle. He sat in the House of Commons for several years. In politics he was a supporter of Lord North, but he never attained, indeed he never sought, and was incapable of obtaining, distinction in the House. Utterly undistinguished in himself, the accidents of rank and wealth gave him a position in society. He married, in 1770, Elizabeth, only daughter of Sir Ralph Milbanke of Halnaby, Yorkshire, and within a year was raised to the Irish peerage by the title of Lord Melbourne of Kilmore,

* Speech in the House of Commons, January 30, 1855.

† Dean Stanley on Lord Palmerston: “Oratorical Year Book,” 1865, p. 325.

in the county of Cavan. His persistent support of Lord North, not only by his votes in the House, but also by the exercise at elections of the influence he possessed as a great landowner in the counties of Derby and Herts, speedily procured his elevation to the rank of Viscount. After the break-up of Lord North's Government, Lord Melbourne seems gradually to have drifted into the Whig party.

William Lamb (the subject of these Memoirs) was the second son of the first Viscount Melbourne. He was born in London on the 15th of March, 1779.

His mother was beautiful, ambitious, and popular. Melbourne House* was one of the most attractive houses in London. There were to be found "whatever was fascinating and fair in the Whig salons of the day."† There came constantly Francis, Duke of Bedford, Charles Fox, then in "the ripening promise of popularity and power," and to whom, in the memorable contest for Westminster, in 1784,‡ Lady Melbourne gave a support, if less prominent, not less enthusiastic than that given him by Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire, and Mrs. Crewe. There also came Sheridan, Fitzpatrick, Selwyn, and Hare; and no visitor was more welcome, nor sooner learnt to make himself at home, than George, Prince of Wales. On the formation of the Prince's household, Lord Melbourne received the appointment of Gentleman of the Bedchamber. The childhood of William Lamb was mostly spent at Bocket. In 1790 he went to Eton, where, amongst others, he had for his schoolfellows the late Archbishop Sumner, Beau Brummell, Henry Hallam, and Asheton Smith, as renowned in his career as a master of fox-hounds as was the Archbishop or the Historian in theirs. Of William Lamb's school-life his biographer tells us nothing. In October, 1796, he went to Cambridge as a Fellow Commoner of Trinity.

"It was not with him," writes Mr. Torrens, "during the next three years the ordinary course of pleasure and nothing more. Though he would not learn by rote, to read long and hard he was not ashamed. Already it would seem as though he had beckonings|| of ambition. Not a bad classic when he quitted Eton, he acquired during his stay at Trinity a fairly extended acquaintance with the ancient poets and historians, whose works were then among the books of the undergraduate course. But his studies were seldom bounded by the limits defined in lecture notice; for he was not reading for class, but to satisfy his own curiosity and love of information. From mathematics

* It was in Piccadilly, and either is or stood on the site of "The Albany."

† Memoirs of the Right Honourable William, second Viscount Melbourne, vol. i. p. 24.

‡ The election which led to Fox's ever-memorable speech on the Westminster Scrutiny.

|| *Sic* in original, but is not *beckonings* intended. „

he turned away with distaste and aversion somewhat similar to that which Macaulay has confessed. In preference he gave himself to ethical speculation, in which throughout his life he never ceased to take peculiar interest.

"The law was assigned to him as a profession, and political life was pointed to by his mother as within his reach not remotely after a period of probation at the Bar."*

He was entered as a student at Lincoln's Inn on 21st July, 1797.

In 1799 Lamb quitted Cambridge. At that time it was not unusual for young Englishmen to attend the open classes of Philosophy and Jurisprudence at one of the Scottish Universities. Lord Palmerston was the pupil of Dugald Stewart at Edinburgh. Lamb went to Glasgow University, and became the resident pupil of Professor Millar, the Professor being chosen as his tutor through the reputation he had gained by his "Historical View of the English Government." It was dedicated to Fox, and was described by him as "written on the best and surest principles." At Glasgow Lamb spent about two years, and attended his tutor's lectures on Law and History, and those of Professor Mylne on Metaphysics. "In the college debating club he took a constant and brilliant part, being distinguished for aptitude of historic illustration, and for caustic humour in reply."† As is usually the case when the brilliant speaker of the debating club was transferred to the floor of the House of Commons, he failed (as we shall see) to gain in the House the distinction he had won in the club.

Some characteristics of him at the time he left the University are thus described by Mr. Torrens:—

"An air of carelessness of what he wore, and how he looked and what he said, was his earliest affectation, and it stuck by him to the last; for nobody ever happened to have coats that fitted better, books more full of ideas or worthier of being remembered; and in conversation, words more nicely chosen and heavily spotted with meaning. But from the outset some vague and unaccountable wish to be thought indolent and idle appears to have had a witchery for him, which in the midst of the highest responsibilities he never entirely shook off."‡

In Michaelmas Term, 1804, were called to the Bar, in Lincoln's Inn Hall, two men of the most opposite characters and habits, and of whom no one would at that time have ventured to foretell that they would attain, the one the highest political office, the other the highest judicial offices in the country—the one was William Lamb, the other Charles Christopher Pepys, afterwards the first Earl Cottenham. For thirty years the course of their

* Memoirs, vol. i. p. 35.

† Ibid. p. 39.

‡ Ibid. p. 45.

lives ran in separate grooves, "wide as the poles asunder;" but at the end of that time it fell to the lot of Lord Melbourne, as Prime Minister, to introduce his contemporary at Lincoln's Inn into the service of the Crown, first as Solicitor-General, then successively as Master of the Rolls and Lord Chancellor, in which offices he proved himself to be one of the most consummate judges that ever sat in judgment, and was looked on by the Premier as one of his most judicious and trustworthy colleagues.* Lamb took chambers in the Temple, and is described in the Law List of that time "as of the Northern Circuit, Special Pleader." Mr. Torrens seems to doubt if Lamb ever seriously intended to practise at the Bar, yet he says he lost no time after his call in joining the Bar at the Lancashire Sessions, where, "at the instance of Scarlett, who was much taken with him, a solicitor at Salford sent him a guinea brief. Long afterwards he used to say that the moment of greatest pleasure he remembered in his life was that in which he saw his name inscribed above the unexpected retainer. He had, fortunately, little to do in the case; but he got through it without any mistake."†

Two events, which for weal or woe were to change and effect the whole of Lamb's future life, were now at hand. Peniston Lamb, his eldest brother and heir to the family honours and estates, was suddenly seized with illness of a mysterious nature, and such as baffled all the skill of his physicians, from which he died on the 24th January, 1805, William Lamb, then in his twenty-sixth year, of course taking his place in the line of succession. He at once and for ever abandoned the law and determined to enter political and parliamentary life. He was returned for the borough of Leominster, and by the introduction of Mr. Fox became a member of Brooks's, then as now the head-quarters of the Whigs.

The other event which coloured and affected his future was his marriage. All the circumstances connected with it seemed to foretell for the young couple a happy married life, but "*Dis abiter visum*" their marriage proved to be melancholy and disastrous to them both. The lady was the only daughter of the third Earl of Bessborough by his first wife, Henrietta, sister of the Duchess of Devonshire:—

"Brought up," writes Mr. Torrens, "chiefly by her grandmother, Lady Spencer, she possessed many attainments then unusual in one so young (she was in her nineteenth year), and a peculiar charm of

* *Vide* the sketch of Lord Cottesham in Sir Dennis Le Marchant's "Life of Earl Spencer," pp. 58—68, and the notes thereon in our review of that book, WESTMINSTER REVIEW, New Series, No. 6, October, 1876.

† *Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 52.

manner that more than compensated for the want, in some degree, of other attractions. In person she was slight and graceful, but of somewhat less than the ordinary height; her features, small and regular, were not set off by any beauty of complexion; only her dark eyes, which contrasted strongly with her golden hair, vindicated her claim to be reckoned among the distinguished and prepossessing.*

Against these attractions must be set the undoubted facts that her temper was eccentric and that she had been brought up in profound ignorance. In one of her letters to Lady Morgan, quoted by Mr. Torrens, she says of herself—

“At ten years old I could not write. . . . I wrote not, spelt not, but I made verses which they all thought beautiful. For myself, I preferred washing a dog, or polishing a piece of Derbyshire spar, or breaking in a horse if they would let me. . . . All my childhood I was a trouble, not a pleasure; and my temper was so wayward, that Lady Spencer got Dr. Warren to examine me. He said I was neither to learn anything or see any one, for fear the violent passions and strong whims found in me should lead to madness, of which, however, he said there were as yet no symptoms. . . . The severity of my governess and the over-indulgence of my parents spoiled my temper, and the end was that until I was fifteen I learned nothing.”†

If the young lady's education began late it advanced to an extent still more uncommon in those days than in these. She had a great facility in learning languages; a knowledge of French and Italian was not even then common amongst highly educated women, but in addition to them Lady Caroline mastered the Greek and Latin languages, and not only could enjoy a classic play, but was not afraid to undertake the recital of an ode of Sappho; music and painting were also amongst her acquirements. “She dressed as she painted and played, picturesquely; prematurely indifferent to opinion, and never exactly in accordance with the mode; her sparkling talk held in solution an abundance of oddity, quaintness, and humour, if not wit.” Mr. Lamb found her irresistibly fascinating, and an intimate friendship sprang up between them, to which the lady's family paid no heed, thinking of course her marriage to a second son with only an allowance and a profession was one of the impossibilities. The change in William Lamb's position and prospects wrought by his brother's death made that possible which was before impossible, and the couple were married on the 21st June, 1805.

Lamb's first session in Parliament was that memorable one at the opening of which Pitt died, on the twenty fifth anniversary of taking his seat for Appleby. The Whigs then enjoyed that

* Memoirs, Vol. i. p. 49.

† Ibid. p. 50.

brief possession of place and power at the end of which they were driven into the wilderness of opposition, there to abide for four-and-twenty years. The death of Fox in the course of the Session "shook the ministry of all the talents" to its base. Fox had been the Gamaliel at whose feet Lamb had sat, and he regarded him with "sentiments of party loyalty which he could never feel for any other man."

At the opening of his second session Lamb made his *début* as a speaker. His youth, his position, and his connexion pointed him out as a fit mover of the address in reply to the speech from the Throne. There is no record of what impression his first appearance made on the House. His second appearance in debate was on a more important occasion. George III. in the exercise of that kingcraft which he began early and practised late, not only exacted from the surviving colleagues of Fox the withdrawal of the Catholic Officers' Bill, but sought further to exact from them a pledge that under no circumstances should he be again disturbed by such a proposition. Lords Granville and Howick thought their yielding to the King's first exaction was a sufficient submission to the crazy prejudices, and on his pressing his further demand they and their colleagues resigned. Mr. Spencer Perceval formed a ministry on the "No Surrender to Catholics" principle. On its meeting Parliament it was encountered by Mr. Brand who moved this resolution: "That it is contrary to the first duties of the confidential servants of the Crown to restrain themselves by any pledge, expressed or implied, from offering to the King any advice which the course of circumstances may render necessary for the welfare of any part of his Majesty's extensive empire." This motion was seconded by Mr. Lamb; the fragment of his speech which appears in Hansard is described by Mr. Torrens as "like a paragraph or two in a letter from *Verua* to the editor of the *Times* when everybody is out of town."

In the debate which followed, the Whig leaders took part, but Hansard does not record that they referred to the speech of the young member of their party, nor were his arguments noticed by the Tory speakers; we may, therefore, fairly conclude with Mr. Torrens that Lamb, on this occasion, failed to make a favourable impression on the House.

The year which witnessed Lamb's prentice efforts at the most difficult of arts, parliamentary speaking, saw also the birth of his first and only child. A son was born to him on the 11th of August, 1807. The Prince of Wales, still friendly at Melbourne House, and not yet having broken with the Whigs, was one of the godfathers of Lamb's son and heir, who received at his baptism the names of his Royal Sponsor, George Augustus Frederick.

Of this child it might have been said :—

“Fortune came smiling to his youth and woo'd it.”

But, alas! the quotation cannot be continued. It cannot be said of him :—

“And purpled greatness met his ripened years.”

A few months after his birth—the day after that on which, as Miss Berry records in her journal, his mother, with natural pride, had shown him to her—he was seized with fits, his life was despaired of; he recovered, but his life was prolonged at the cost of its being to him a burden and to his father a misery.

Lamb's want of success in parliament led to his attendance becoming desultory and his presence at divisions rare—though he was ready to attend the Whipper-in's summons to a party vote. Fashionable society engrossed his time. The session 1809 first drew Lamb into joint action with one afterwards to be his colleague, Lord Althorp. They acted together in the proceedings which arose as to scandals about the Duke of York and Mrs. Clarke. The love of justice and fearless independence which distinguished these two statesmen throughout their careers were thus early exhibited, and in Lamb's case it was the more remarkable, as he and his wife belonged to the Carlton House set, the whole influence of which, as well as that of the Court, was brought to bear in favour of the duke. He also supported with Althorp a motion equally unpalatable in the same quarters, Lord Folkestone's motion for a committee of general inquiry into the existence of any corrupt practices in the disposal of offices in any department of the State. We find no trace of any speech or vote of Lamb's in the sessions of 1808-9, but in that of 1810 we find him not only voting but speaking for a motion for the abolition of sinecures, supporting Romilly in his attempts to modify the severity of our criminal law, and Mr. Brand's motion for an inquiry into the state of our national representation with a view to its reform. At the end of this year the mental disease to which George III. had been subject from the earliest years of his reign returned, and he became hopelessly and permanently insane. It was, therefore, necessary for Parliament to make provision for the exercise of the Royal authority. Lord Eldon was Chancellor, and had boundless influence in the Cabinet, and he recommended that the plan of a Regency which he, as Attorney-General, had devised in 1788, should again be proposed to Parliament. The Ministry, therefore, proposed to the Houses to declare their right and duty to supply the defect in the personal exercise of the Sovereign authority, and to nominate the Prince of Wales as Regent; but they also proposed resolutions limiting the Regent's power of creating peerages and of conferring offices for life. The

Whigs, acting from motives of that kind of gratitude which has been defined "as a lively sense of favours to come," contended, as they had done in 1788, that the Prince, during his Regency, should be unrestrained in the exercise of the prerogatives of the Crown. Some of them went further. "Sir Francis Burdett and Lord William Russell were for acknowledging the heir apparent as invested *de jure* with supreme executive power without any abstract declaration by Parliament implying their right to give or to withhold." This afforded Lamb an occasion for first winning the attention of the House; he replied, with much animation, "That such doctrine comported not with sound constitutional principle or usage," and was highly complimented by Mr. Stephen and others on the excellence of his argument.*

He had now attained a position in the House which made his party think it safe to entrust him with the moving an amendment on the principal resolution limiting the powers of the Regent. The most striking point in his speech referred to the precedent of 1788, as to which he said:—

"With respect to precedents of 1788, upon which so much had been said, and to which so much authority had been ascribed, he must say, that having never been carried into effect, it wanted the great sanction of all authority, it wanted the sanction which every precedent should have, that of experience. It was in reality no precedent."†

On this occasion he enjoyed the privilege "*laudari a viro laudato,*" for Canning complimented him on the moderation of tone and the fitness of the topics he had relied on; he failed, however, to carry with him the majority of the House, and the amendment was defeated by twenty-four votes.

After the schism which arose among the Whigs in 1809, Lamb inclined to the more aristocratic section of the party, but the time was coming when for a season the place which had known him was to know him no more.

On the murder of Mr Perceval, and the formation of what Lord Beaconsfield calls "the Cabinet of Mediocrities," a dissolution of Parliament followed. A "No Popery" panic spread throughout the country and governed the elections, amongst its victims was William Lamb. Dissatisfied with his own success in Parliament, and despairing of the position of the Whigs, Lamb made no effort to return to Parliament, and remained out of the House of Commons for the next four years. He devoted himself to literature.

"The habit of reading gradually gained upon him, until books became the companions of half his life, he took the same pleasure in them

* Memoirs, Vol. i. p. 82.

† Ibid. sp. 83.

that he did in the society of wise and witty people. He communed with philosophers, theologians, scholars, poets, jurists, novelists, satirists, all in turn; and sometimes mutely, sometimes audibly, combated their notions or damned their spite. The result of reading so varied, preserved as it was in a memory so retentive, showed itself notably in conversation, where, by the suffrage of all who knew him, he was truly delightful. The quaintness and originality of his manner, fitful, abrupt, full of irony, and at times of tenderness almost feminine, gave to his talk a charm specific and peculiar, unlike that of other men with whom he lived. Inevitably it was a continued irritant to the pedantic and impatient, the frigid and fanatical.*

Dr. Newman speaks of himself in words which may well be applied to Lamb:—

"I was not unwilling to draw an opponent on step by step to the brink of some intellectual absurdity, and to leave him to get back as he could. I was not unwilling to play with a man who asked me impertinent questions. I was reckless of the gossip which was circulated about me; and when I might easily have set it right, did not deign to do so. Also I used irony in conversation, when matter-of-fact men would not see what I meant. This kind of behaviour was a sort of habit with me."†

The indulgence in this habit led those men who did not know Dr. Newman to suspect him of a want of candour and truthfulness, and so in the case of Lord Melbourne. Now he was accused of levity; now of cynicism—one blockhead was convinced that he was a mere trifler who had no opinions, another was persuaded that he was a high-born sybarite who "disguised hard and heartless views for the selfish sake of passing popularity. Both were utterly mistaken; from first to last it may be said of him, with truth, that he was a better man than he affected to be."‡ The fault in his character was the utter absence of intellectual earnestness, of which the well-known saying attributed to him is an illustration. "I wish," he said, "I was as cock-sure of any one thing as Tom Macaulay is of everything." He had no exclusive faith in religion, politics, or love. He was fond of playing with the edgetools of argument. He delighted in the theological writers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and spent no little time in the study of patristic divinity. On one occasion his medical attendant asked him for a living for a relation who had recently edited a treatise of one of the Fathers. Lord Melbourne at once identified the person recommended with the editor of the work in question.§ But all this study produced no firm or definite conviction.

* *Memoirs*, pp. 98, 99.

† "*Apologia, pro vita sua*," p. 115.

‡ *Memoirs* p. 99.

§ "*Greville's Journal*," vol. iii. pp. 138-324.

"He could argue eloquently, lucidly, wittily, for Anglicanism, as against the Curia, the Kirk, and the Tabernacle, but nobody could convince him that there was not a great deal of good in all these, and that kindly, honourable, and learned men might not honestly consider their pretensions superior."* The terms in which Walpole's latest Biographer described him, are quite as applicable to Lord Melbourne. "A man whose life reflected a genial paganism, who regarded all creeds with the impartiality of indifference, and who looked upon religion as a local accident, and as the result of hereditary influences."†

Lord Houghton in his valuable sketch of Lord Melbourne,‡ remarks:—

"that in the case of Christianity it seemed to him that the early writers of the Church must have stimulated, and in many cases generated, certain doctrines, and he was happy in a sufficient retention of the original languages as the means of consulting and analysing its most valuable documents;" and further, "his inclination to theological study coloured all his nominations with a distinct personal intention. I suppose he is the only Prime Minister who not only read, but severely judged and criticised the writings of every divine he thought of promoting."

But in his ecclesiastical appointments his want of earnestness plainly appeared.

His choice of Dr. Hampton for the Regius Professorship of Divinity at Oxford was governed solely by his belief that he "was the best metaphysical head among the divines," he despised the senseless cry raised against the appointment; he used to say, "I always had much sympathy with Saul, and think he was a very fine fellow; he was bullied by the prophets just as I have been by the bishops, who would, if they could, have tied me to the horns of the altar and slain me incontinently." But the cry, however senseless, had its effect on him, and he gained by it an experience which he thus narrated:—"The Whigs have always neglected two great powers in their estimate of public opinion, the Church of England and the Pope." Accordingly, when urged by Lord John Russell to appoint Arnold to a bishopric, though he had read his sermons and admired them, and held like views to his as to the property of the Irish Establishment, he yet thought his management of Rugby was crotchety, and disliked his recommending the use of the crucifix, and, therefore would

* Memoirs, p. 98.

† "Sir Robert Walpole: a Political Biography," by Alexander Charles Ewald, F.S.A., p. 40.

‡ *Fortnightly Review*, February, 1878, p. 207.

not make the appointment, saying: "What have Tory churchmen ever done for me that I should make them a present of such a handle against my Government"* When pressed by Lord Lansdowne to appoint Thirlwall to the vacant See of Norwich, he referred to two bishops the question of the orthodoxy of Thirlwall's work on the third Gospel, which was thought to show a neological tendency. The two bishops after the fashion of their kind took "mistiness for wisdom" and sought refuge in "the channel of no meaning between the Scylla of Aye and the Charybdis of Noe."† The stronger-minded of the two thought unfavourably of the degree of confidence in Thirlwall's orthodoxy which was entertained by the mass of the clergy, and Lord Melbourne concurred in his opinion, saying: "I fear it is the judgment which would be pronounced by the impartial and informed. A louder outcry would of course be raised by others." Thirlwall was therefore for the time passed over.

When the See of St. David's became vacant two or three years later, Thirlwall's friends renewed their solicitations on his behalf. The Premier was careful not to repeat the error of want of caution into which he fell in Dr. Hampden's case, he sent Thirlwall's work to the Primate, and asked him "to tell him candidly what he thought of it." Archbishop Howley said he did not concur in all Thirlwall's opinions, but that there was nothing heterodox in the book. Thirlwall was, therefore, offered the See. On calling on the Premier to signify his acceptance the Minister impressed on him that he did not intend, if he knew it, to make a heterodox bishop. "I don't like heterodox bishops," he said. "As men they may be very good anywhere else, but I think they have no business on the bench"‡

The want of intellectual earnestness which Mr. Torrens attributes to Lamb—which we should rather call cynicism and scepticism—was, if not created, aggravated, by the disappointment which his wife's eccentric, if not insane, conduct caused him.

In the earlier years of their married life "she was often coquetting, sometimes quarrelling (she hardly knew about what), with her husband." Later on, in a dark and evil hour for her own happiness and her husband's, Lady Caroline was introduced by Rogers to Byron. Her first impression of him was equally accurate and unfavourable: "mad—bad—and dangerous to know," was the judgment on him recorded in her Journal. Byron became a frequenter of Melbourne House, and the intimate friend of Lady Caroline. It will be remembered that the lady who unfortunately for herself became his wife was of the family of Lady

* *Memoirs*, Vol. ii. p. 181.

† "Apologia," p. 193.

‡ *Memoirs*, Vol. ii. p. 332.

Melbourne, by whose advice and with whose approval the marriage took place, "in spite (we are told), of many petulant warnings of evil to come from Lady Caroline." With true prophetic foresight she said, "Her cousin might be learned, and pious, and philosophical, but she was quite unsuited for a soul that was all sensibility and romance. It would never do, she was quite sure of that. A woman who went to church punctually, understood statistics, and had a bad figure; how could Conrad find any real community of sentiment with such a being."

Unfortunately the prophetess did not confine herself to words. Her acts, whether intentionally or not, had a tendency to bring about a fulfilment of her prophecies, and to affect for evil the lives of Lady Byron, and of Lamb. On her faults and follies which were, to say at least, shared to the full by Byron—there is here no need to dwell. Lamb's family insisted on a separation between him and his wife, the deed for effecting it was prepared, but he, with the silent approval of Lady Melbourne, relented, and when the lawyers came to obtain the execution of the instrument, they found Lady Caroline seated beside him, "feeding him with tiny scraps of transparent bread and butter." The separation was averted, but it is not too much to say that henceforward Lamb had no happiness with his wife, and from that time to her death a very great part, if not the greater part of his life was passed in a state of actual, if not formal, separation from her. He seems, however, to have never ceased to love her. From the mortifications and disappointments of his home, Lamb determined to seek a refuge in public life; and early in 1816 he re-entered parliament, first for the Irish borough of Portarlington, but afterwards for the city of Peterborough. The Session of 1817 opened amidst clouds and darkness. Wheat was 103s. the quarter, and the greatest distress prevailed throughout the country. Parliament met on the 28th January, and Pousonby, the Whig leader, moved an amendment expressive of regret at the distress everywhere prevailing, and that measures of the most rigid economy had not hitherto been pursued. This was supported by Lamb in a speech which drew from Canning the compliment that the honourable gentleman never spoke without making a deep impression by his eloquence and ability. He was chosen one of the Select Committee appointed in the motion of the Government to consider certain secret evidence which, as the Ministers alleged, proved the existence of seditious combinations to an extent dangerous to the safety of the realm. The evidence convinced Lamb that the fact was so; and in the Session of 1818 he voted with the Government and against his friends, in support of the Bill suspending the Habeas Corpus Act. In the same year Lamb sustained a

severe loss by the death of his mother, whose health had been long failing. Lady Melbourne had always been watchful for his interests and versatile in expedients to promote them. She had always been ambitious for her son, and to the last bid him look high. To the end of his life Lamb cherished her memory with affectionate reverence. He used to say—"My mother was a remarkable woman, not only clever and engaging, but the most sagacious woman I ever knew." "She kept me right so long as she lived." Her death was quickly followed by that of Sheridan. Lamb had an unbounded admiration for his genius. Sheridan's son was one of his most intimate friends. Under the combined influences of admiration and friendship Lamb determined to become Sheridan's biographer. To fit him for the task of writing the life of one who was both dramatist and orator, Lamb devoted himself to a course of reading in old English comedy from Beaumont and Fletcher, and of the great orators, not only of Greece and Rome, but of England, France, and Ireland. The effect of these studies was shown by his recital, to the admiration of the literary frequenters of Holland House, of long dialogues from Wycherley, and long speeches from Massinger, and in his preference in public speaking, in himself and others, to the condensed and laconic over the diversified and wordy. He preferred the speeches in Livy, and still more those in Sallust and Tacitus, to those of Cicero himself; but the orations in Thucydides were to him the model of statesman-like eloquence. Fox and Windham were his favourites among English speakers—"the latter was to him a sort of idol. Canning he could listen to for ever; but the man who he always said was the most irresistible in argument he had ever heard was Plunket." He actually commenced his work, but his habitual want of earnestness in any pursuit led him to abandon it to Moore, to whom, after writing the introductory part of the "Life of Sheridan," as we have it now, he handed it, and all the other materials he had collected for the purpose. Early in 1820 the demise of the Crown on the death of George III. put an end to the existing Parliament. At the General Election which followed, Lamb was, without opposition, chosen member for his own county of Herts. He looked with alarm at the mischievous proceedings against Queen Caroline, which convulsed the country during the remainder of that year. George the Fourth had been one of the Melbourne House set. Lord Melbourne had been one of the Prince's household. Lamb knew that the King's life since his marriage had been one of uninterrupted conjugal infidelity. He knew also the real character of the Queen, and he looked, therefore, with equal contempt and disgust on the infatuation of the King, in bringing before Parliament, to be decided by party votes, a charge

certain to be met with recrimination, and on the infatuation of a large class of the people which made a heroine of a worthless woman, an infatuation only surpassed by that which, in our own day, made the Tichborne Claimant into a hero and a martyr.

Lamb was therefore one of Wilberforce's supporters in his most statesman-like, though unfortunately, unsuccessful attempt to bring about a compromise of the dispute, and after the withdrawal of the Bill of Pains and Penalties against the Queen, he supported each of the motions fruitlessly made in favour of the re-insertion of her name in the public prayers of the Church. These votes were regarded with great disfavour by the former intimate of Melbourne House.

Mr. Torrens retells the story of this disgraceful episode in our history at great and needless length. We are glad, however, to learn from him that Lamb, who "understood Brougham well, and saw him daily, always acquitted him of blame in the transaction; and that, though part of his conduct remained unaccounted for, no one ever accused him of misusing his influence to draw the unhappy Princess needlessly or harshly into the struggle."

The presence of Canning in the Ministry, the appointment of Lord Wellesley as Lord-Lieutenant, and of Plunket as Attorney-General, for Ireland, and his great speech of 1821 in favour of Catholic Emancipation, disposed Lamb to incline towards the more moderate Whigs, the *Whigistæ mitiores* of Sydney Smith rather than to Althorp, Lambton, and Lord John Russell, and the more advanced members of the party. The moderates among the Whigs were disposed with Canning to deprecate making Reform a party question until Catholic Emancipation was carried. Lamb's confidence in Wellesley and Plunket led him in that same session to support the coercive policy of the Government towards Ireland. With the close of that session it was supposed also would close the brilliant Parliamentary career of Canning, who had been chosen by the East India Company Governor-General of India. Parliament was prorogued, and Canning had already gone to Liverpool to take leave of his constituents when the political world was startled by the news of the suicide of Lord Londonderry, the Foreign Secretary and leader of the House of Commons. Despite the unceasing opposition, not only of Lord Eldon and the old Tory clique, but of George IV. himself, Canning became, with the sincere approval of moderate men of all parties, Londonderry's successor both at the Foreign Office and in the leadership. This event greatly influenced the subsequent career of Lamb; slowly but steadily he became more and more a sup-

porter of the Government. His leaning towards them was increased by the introduction into the Cabinet, at the close of the session of 1823, of the earliest Free-trade Minister, Huskisson. A minor office was offered to him, but, after consulting his friends, he declined it. The Catholic question, like another Aaron's rod, now swallowed up all others. In 1825 Lamb, in thorough consistency with his previous votes against what he thought unconstitutional methods of agitation, supported the Bill to suppress the Catholic Association. With the more Liberal section of the Ministry he formed one of the majority of twenty-one which carried Sir Francis Burdett's Catholic Relief Bill; but his Conservative tendencies were shown by his zealous support of what, in the Parliamentary language of the day, were called the "Wings." We presume, because they were intended to carry the Relief Bill over the Bar of the House of Lords—viz., Bills for the abolition of the forty shillings' freehold in Ireland, and the endowment of the Romanist clergy—his vote for the Relief Bill alienated the clergy and squirearchy of Hertfordshire; feeling sure of defeat there, he sought refuge in the borough of Hertford. He was assailed with the cry of having deserted the Whigs. The attacks on his political consistency moved him little, but when party spite brought into the contest the troubles of his private life his proud and sensitive spirit was deeply troubled, and he gave up the contest. Of the Parliament elected in 1826 he was not a member.

Early in the session of 1827 the "Arch Mediocrity" died. Catholic Emancipation again brought forward, was only defeated by a majority of four. It was plain that the last days of the old system of exclusion and intolerance drew nigh. After a long period of vain endeavour to deprive Canning of the Premiership, which, *consensu omnium*, was his by right, George IV. commanded him to form a Ministry. The old Tory section of the Liverpool Cabinet—i.e., Lord Eldon, the Duke of Wellington, and Mr. Peel—refused to serve under him. On the other hand, the more austere Whigs, headed by Lords Grey and Althorp, refused to support a Canning Administration, as compromising their honour. The more moderate section of the Whigs, instigated by Brougham, to whom the opportunity afforded a fine field for the exercise of his talents for interference and intrigue, were in favour of a coalition. Lamb was zealous in support of coalition, but his want of a seat deprived his counsels of the weight which they would otherwise have had. Canning, however, was naturally not unmindful of the claims nor indifferent to the influence of a connexion of the four great Whig houses—Cavendish, Spencer, Ponsonby, and Howard—and Lamb was selected for the seat at Newport, made

vacant by Canning's becoming First Lord of the Treasury. A seat obtained, office inevitably and immediately followed; the Premier proposed him to the King as Secretary for Ireland. George IV., influenced by his early associations with Melbourne House, cordially assented. "William Lamb—William Lamb," he exclaimed; "put him anywhere you like!" Lamb's acceptance of office rendered necessary his re-election, or, to speak more correctly, that he should seek another election. In those days a Minister's re-election generally depended not on the will of a popular constituency, but on the will of some borough-monger whom disappointment or intrigue might turn against the new official. At this time parties were rent asunder, and Canning and Lamb changed one nomination-borough for another. Canning, who had had enough of the great constituency of Liverpool, exchanged Newport for Seaford; while Lamb, in his turn, went from Newport to Bletchingley.

Canning instructed Lamb that his Irish policy was to be a transitional one. Mr. Torrens gives us the substance of these instructions:—

"Emancipation was inevitable and even imminent—but until a Government of toleration should be consolidated, it were simple fatuity to attempt its legislative enactment. The way for it must be prepared by administrative changes high and low, so that men's minds might become gradually accustomed to see the friends of toleration, and as far as a bigoted code allowed, the victims of exclusion brought into posts of influence."*

The Premier expressed perfect confidence in the new Secretary, and they parted to meet no more. Lamb's official life began in the last days of Orange ascendancy. His zealous support of Emancipation was known to the governing clique, and he was the object of their suspicion and dislike. He soon verified in his official experience the truth of the saying, "a man's foes shall be they of his own household." Frank and accessible, probably, if not certainly, more than any Irish Secretary ever was before, he presented in that respect the strongest contrast to his predecessors, to the icy reserve of Peel, and to the impenetrable haze that ever surrounded Goulburn.

"The staff of the department viewed his proceedings with surprise at first, and afterwards with sorrow. . . . But the secretary went his own way, and kept to it. . . . When his disposition became known, some very queer people tried how far they could presume on his accessibility; they found it was not very far. When disposed to be saucy or disrespectful, he good-humouredly but firmly pulled them up;

* *Memoirs*, Vol. i. p. 226.

never snapping or bullying, but gravely rebuking or merrily laughing them out of their damned nonsense."*

From the beginning to the end of his Ministerial life his official, like his private, conversation was highly seasoned with oaths. His immediate official superiors were both intimately connected with Ireland. The Home Secretary was Henry, Marquis of Landsdowne, of Irish descent, an Irish peer, and a great Irish landowner. The Under-Secretary of the Home Department was Mr. Spring Rice (afterwards Lord Monteagle), who as a resident landowner, magistrate, and grand juror was intimately acquainted with the country. The Irish Department was probably never better manned than at this time. The correspondence between its members, published by Mr. Torrens,† shows the anxiety of one and all to exercise their power for the benefit of Ireland. Lamb, bent on inquiry into things for himself, determined to make the personal acquaintance of some of the popular leaders.

At that time for a Protestant official to have social intercourse with a Romanist was such a breach of official decorum that some thought it should involve loss of office. Notwithstanding this, Lamb sought and obtained an introduction to Richard Lalor Sheil, whom he afterwards brought into office, and in whose person he made the letter of the Emancipation Act a living power, by introducing him into the Privy Council as one of its first Roman Catholic members. His intercourse with Sheil produced its effects, which were shown in the policy of the Grey and Melbourne administrations. Lamb's first experience of office was short and not untroubled. Place-hunters beyond number plagued him. Ecclesiastical patronage was then, as throughout his life, a trouble to him. The public offices were filled with the dependants and friends of the party of Protestant ascendancy, and the correspondence of Dublin Castle with the Home Office was opened and read for the benefit of the opponents of the Government. The Irish Law officers and the permanent Under-Secretary, if they did not actively oppose, gave a half-hearted support to the remedial measures proposed by their chiefs. Canning was gone, and from his successor, Lord Goderich, Lamb "could get no exposition of an Irish policy, he had none to expound."‡

The appointment of a Chancellor for Ireland was a source of vexation and mortification to Lamb and all concerned. Morally, not legally, speaking, the office was of right Plunket's, but George IV., like his father before him, fancied he must have a

* *Memoirs*, Vol. i. p. 228.

† *Ibid.* p. 233-250.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 267.

"Protestant chancellor." Canning, who could have insisted on Plunket's appointment, failed to do so. Lord Goderich had not the moral courage to press it. Plunket did not conceal his mortification, but unselfishly submitted to be set aside, as in later years, he submitted to be sacrificed to the rapacity of Lord Campbell. He contented himself with a peerage and the Chief Justiceship of the Irish Common Pleas.

After long delay and many intrigues Sir Anthony Hart, whom a few old lawyers may remember as Vice-Chancellor of England, was made Lord Chancellor of Ireland. "The new Chancellor stipulated expressly that he was to have no politics, general, local, or religious; and that of Papists or Orangemen he was to know nothing. When George IV., some months later, asked Lamb, why a person was chosen whose name was unknown in public life, he replied, 'Because he is a man without either religion or politics, and therefore safe for Ireland.'"* We believe Sir Anthony made an excellent Chancellor, but as a Minister "ignorant of men and things and unsympathetic with the views and aspirations of his colleagues in administration, he was unimpressive, unhelpful, useless, and at length almost dumb."†

The question of primary education was even at that time a stumblingblock in the way of successive administrations. Lamb, in one of his letters on this subject to Spring Rice makes an ingenuous confession. It is no doubt the experience of many Irish Secretaries, though probably never before so frankly expressed. "I find myself much puzzled and a good deal of labour imposed upon me, in consequence of my never having paid the least attention to any of the reports or debates upon Irish subjects."‡

Parliament at that time yearly voted large sums to the Kildare-place Society and the Society for Discourtenancing Vice. Both these societies consisted exclusively of members of the then Established Church, and their object was the spread of Protestant education among the children of the poor. As the whole ecclesiastical property of Ireland was in the hands of the Establishment, and its members possessed a monopoly of public office and employment, Lamb thought these votes unjust, and pressed on the Ministers their reduction or abolition. In spite of the passive resistance of the permanent officials of the Irish Government, Lamb, where he could, broke through the rule of exclusion that had hitherto prevailed. It had been assumed if not against yet without the authority of law, that Romanists were ineligible to act as governors of county asylums. An application was made

* *Memoirs*, pp. 272, 273.

† *Ibid.* p. 277.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 280.

to Lamb from Limerick that three gentlemen of the Roman communion might be appointed commissioners of the lunatic asylum of that place, and they were forthwith appointed. This taught, or should have taught, the Irish people the truth which Lord Macaulay thus expressed: "If we have not in our Statute Book all the securities necessary for good government, it is of the more importance that the character of the men who administer the Government should be an additional security."*

While Lamb was bold he was also habitually cautious.

We know on the authority of the late Earl of Derby that in late years when any proposal was made in the Cabinet by any of his colleagues, Lord Melbourne, as he then was, always, met it with the question, "Can't you let it alone?" He acted in the same spirit in Ireland. Great complaints were made of abuses in the execution of the office of Sheriff. Throughout Ireland the under-officials connected with the Shrievalty were notorious not only for partiality but for corruption. Lord Lansdowne was anxious for a thorough reform of the whole system.

"Upon the Sheriff Question," writes Lamb to Spring Rice, "it will never do for us to attack the Corporation of Dublin according to the recommendation of the committee, still less all the other corporations in Ireland, we should have that whole interest in England against us."†

As the Session of 1828 drew near rumours of Lord Goderich (the Premier's) resignation prevailed. Spring Rice assured Lamb things would go on as they were.

"The King," he wrote, "has expressed himself with much determination, and there does not seem to have been one thought of the Tories. Lamb, however," writes his biographer, "knew better than his correspondent with whom they had to deal, and from that time he ceased to feel any reliance on the stability of the Government."‡

On the 15th December Lord Goderich resigned, and by the advice of Lord Lyndhurst the Duke of Wellington formed his Ministry. One of his first acts was to write to Ireland expressing his hope that Lamb would see his way to continue in office. Of Lamb's friends who had joined with him Mr. Canning's administration—his chief, Lord Lansdowne, his most intimate colleague, Spring Rice—Lord Carlisle and Sir James Macintosh, were not asked by the Duke to continue in office, while his other friends, Lords Dudley and Palmerston, with Mr. Tierney, and Mr. Grant had been asked to remain and agreed to do so. His especial friend and connexion, Huskisson, retained the leadership of the Commons. The situation was one of perplexity, and Lamb

* Speech at Edinburgh, May 20, 1839. "Miscellaneous and Writings and Speeches," p. 582. Edin., 1871.

† Memoirs, vol. i. p. 283.

‡ Ibid. p. 294.

hesitated, but after a day or two's consideration decided to remain in office. George IV. personally expressed his satisfaction at the decision, but Lamb was not swayed by the personal liking or flattery of the King. Huskisson in his speech on re-election for Liverpool referred to Lamb's continuance in office in words which gave much offence to the Tories.

"The presence in office," he said, "of such men as Lord Dudley, Lord Palmerston, Mr. Grant, and Mr. Lamb, is the most satisfactory of all guarantees that the general principles of our foreign and commercial system will remain unchanged, and that Ireland would be governed with the strictest impartiality in respect to the Catholic question."*

The year 1828 was a memorable one both in Lamb's private and public life. On the 23rd of January he left Ireland to return no more. He reached London to find his wife on her deathbed, and a few days after his arrival she ended her eccentric and unhappy career. Lamb was gratified by the testimony to his conduct towards her, borne by one of her brothers: "William Lamb behaved throughout as I always knew he would."

During the Session the first successful blow was given in Parliament to the principle of an Established Church. The measure—the jubilee of which was while these pages were in course of writing celebrated by the Nonconformists of the kingdom—the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, was brought forward by the venerable and illustrious statesman whom, we rejoice to think, lived to receive the renewed thanks and congratulations of the friends of civil and religious liberty on the fiftieth anniversary of the first of his many victories in that great cause. The motion was opposed by Huskisson, on the ground that the removal of the disabilities of the Protestant dissenters would make the sense of grievance on the part of the Catholics all the more intolerable. The Government were defeated. "The obligation of official loyalty," compelled Lamb to vote in the minority, nothing else, we feel sure, would have induced him to oppose a measure so agreeable to his liberal and tolerant mind. Soon afterwards the East Retford episode occurred, followed by the resignation of Huskisson; Lamb and the other Canningite members of the Ministry resigned with him. On the 22nd July following, on the death of his father, Lamb passed from the Lower to the Upper House. His state of mind, at this period, is thus sketched by Mr. Torrens:—

"For five-and-twenty years Lamb had been a member of the House of Commons, a favourite there, seldom refused a hearing; the intimate

* Greville's "Journal," vol. i. p. 126, note.

of its greatest men, and for a season the occupant of a difficult post; yet he had not made a speech worth remembering, and the Cabinet, the crown of parliamentary strivings, had never been conceded him. In full possession of faculties the world called excellent, with health and strength unbroken, his time his own, with fortune ample, and a name which, though new and hitherto undistinguished, he might yet ennoble, public life lay open to him as ever; and with his dislike of trouble and exertion, the more tranquil region of the House of Lords was not distasteful. . . . He would have given a great deal to have had a fervent, even a fantastic faith, in anything worth working for. . . . He envied Stauley as he said, the equal pleasure he took in fighting a main of cocks and defending the abuses of the Established Church. He coveted Palmerston's light-heartedness and india-rubber temperament, and Lansdowne's delight in the arts and in the duties of hospitality. Althorp's devotion to his wethers and shorthorns, and Holland's happiness in his great dinners and amusement at my lady's whimsicality, were alike to him marvels of contentedness.*

Public opinion, however, destined him for office before even he took his seat in the House of Lords. In August, 1828, Mr. Greville notes meeting him at Stoke, and adds: "There is a report that the Admiralty has been offered to Lord Melbourne. I asked him, he said he had never heard of it."†

At the opening of the Session of 1829, Lord Melbourne, as we must henceforth call him, took his place among the peers. . . . In thorough consistency with his dislike of popular agitation his first speech was in favour of the Bill to repress the Catholic Association, which preceded the Roman Catholic Emancipation Act of that year; but while giving his cordial support to the Bill he made it clear that his vote for it was given "on the understanding and expectation that it would be followed by a measure which shall have for its object the relief of all classes of His Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects."‡

In the intrigues and struggles which preceded and accompanied the passing of that measure, Lord Melbourne seems to have taken no part. With regard to the result of Emancipation, Mr. Torrens, on the authority of Archbishop Whately, as quoted by Mr. Senior, relates that on Lord Grenville being congratulated on living to see the success of the cause for which he had so long striven, and made such great sacrifices, he replied sadly, He "could feel no exultation at what was called a settlement, but which in reality would certainly settle nothing. 'You are not going to pay the priests,' he said, 'and therefore you will do more harm than good by giving them mouthpieces in Parliament.'" A belief in bribing the Irish priests into good behaviour has always

* *Memoirs*, vol. i. pp. 316, 317.

† Greville's "Journal," vol. i. p. 143.

‡ *Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 323.

been an article of the old Whig creed, though, we believe, except amongst the few survivors of that party, any Minister who in our day should propose it, would speedily be hurled from power.

But calmly looking back to the period of Emancipation, it often occurs to us that sufficient attention was not paid to the warnings of Lord Eldon and others that the Pope is not only the Chief Pastor of the Roman Church "throughout all the world, but the Supreme Judge of the Christian Commonwealth, with an authority extending so far as to pass judgment, even in civil affairs, on the Acts of Princes and Nations."*

Greater care, it seems to us, should have been taken in framing the Act, so that while the Roman Nonconformist should have possessed every right, of freedom of belief and worship, enjoyed by his Protestant Nonconforming brethren, all conflicts between the supremacy of England's law and the claims of Rome should have been precluded, and the old maxim, "the Bishop of Rome hath no jurisdiction in this realm of England" maintained unimpaired. We are strengthened in this opinion by that of Lord Melbourne himself. Lord Houghton says, "The result of the victory [of Roman Catholic Emancipation] was so unsatisfactory, the failure to weld the Catholics into one national unity so palpable, that when some one was reviewing this phase of our history in Lord Melbourne's presence he said, 'The worst of it is the fools were right.'"[†] It may be, however, that in saying this, he was merely indulging in the habit of irony, which so often led to his being misunderstood.

It was said of one of his contemporaries, Lord Lyndhurst, "that the reputation of the man may have suffered from the *abandon* of the pleasant companion; his motives may have been questioned because his manners were free.‡ This is equally true of Lord Melbourne, and it led to his being more than once selected as the object of attack by husbands who were desirous to be rid of their wives. His official connexion with Ireland did not pass over without an attack of this kind. Evidence in support of the husband's case there was none, and the attempt to injure Lord Melbourne was an utter failure.

The Session of 1830 opened with evident signs of the alienation between the Ministers and the old Tory party. The Cabinet was weak in every respect, and in the Commons especially, in debating power.

Brougham mischievously said that the standing orders must be reformed, "so as to allow Sir Robert Peel to speak any number of

* "The Vatican Decrees," by Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, M.P., p. 9.

† *Fortnightly Review*, May, 1878, p. 211.

‡ "Mornings of the Recess." Reprinted from the *Times*. Vol. ii. p. 35.

times (not exceeding thirty) on all questions." It was foreseen that some modification of the Ministry was necessary to its continued existence. Lord Grey openly said to Mr. Edward Ellice, "that if the duke conceived a union of all parties unconnected with the Government impossible he was never more mistaken in his life." What the duke wanted, however, was not a Cabinet of Independent colleagues but a staff of docile aides-de-camp, or rather clerks, what Brougham used to call eleventh-rate men. It was in reference to this desire for personal supremacy, natural in a Commander-in-Chief, that Huskisson said the day before his death, "The duke will find out at last that he cannot govern England only with men who will move at the word of a drill-sergeant."

The death of George IV. occurred in the course of the Session. About this time, however, some of the duke's counsellors at length forced him to comprehend that he must strengthen his Government and attempt the Ministry. Melbourne declined to join unless room were made for Huskisson and Grey. The duke would have forgiven Huskisson and admitted him but would not hear of Lord Grey.

The melancholy death of Huskisson, the first victim of railway accidents in England, occurred in the following September. Offers were made to Lord Palmerston to come in with his friends; being asked who he considered the friends who must accompany him, he said Melbourne and Robert Grant, but that they would insist on being accompanied by Lords Lansdowne and Grey. The duke again demurred. The elections had taken place; Brougham, chosen for the West Riding, had given public, though informal, notice of his intention to bring forward the question of Parliamentary Reform. Public opinion on that question had latterly advanced with startling rapidity. The first meeting of "The Birmingham Political Union" had been held on the 17th of May, and had made its mark on the public mind.

The successful revolutions in Paris and in Brussels, which quickly followed, strengthened the hands of parliamentary reformers at home. J. W. Croker was sent by the duke to Palmerston to re-open negotiations for his joining the Government. The duke's emissary found that eminently sagacious and wary politician determined to support Brougham's motion. Croker departed, knowing that he and Palmerston would never together be in office again.

"Melbourne," writes Mr. Torrens, "always apt to take less sanguine views of public affairs, gravitated somewhat more slowly to the conclusion that parliamentary reform was peaceably attainable; and his mind was imbued with all Burke's horror of violent revolution; but when he found not only Holland House and Woburn, but Lansdowne

House and Broadlands half-inclined to accept Brougham as a standard-bearer on the question, he came to the belief that to help to guide the inevitable was the most Conservative part that he could play."*

The new Parliament met on the 2nd November, 1830. From all parts of the land—town and country alike—came complaints of severe distress. Ministers admitted its existence, but said its pressure was partial. A minority of 105 supported an amendment declaring that the suffering of the people was general and beyond description. The speeches in support of the amendment and its rejection increased the general alarm. Riots were expected in the metropolis, and the Ministry advised the King not to attend the City banquet on the 9th November. In the House of Lords the Prime Minister's inexperience of Parliamentary debate brought about a catastrophe, and verified his own judgment of some months previously, "that he should be mad 'to think of taking the premiership.' It is remarkable," says Lord Beaconsfield of the duke, "that men celebrated for military prudence are often found to be headstrong statesmen. In civil life a great general is frequently and strangely the creature of impulse."†

The events of that evening afforded a signal illustration of this remark, Lord Grey having, in concert with Lord Althorp and other friends, determined to raise the question of Parliamentary Reform on the first night of the Session, did so with admirable judgment, and the most important results. His remarks drew from the duke an eulogy of the then existing state of the representation, worthy of Lord Eldon himself.

"The House of Lords, usually so calm, showed signs of amazement and perturbation. The duke whispered to one of his colleagues, 'What can I have said which seems to make so great a disturbance?' 'You have announced the fall of your Government, that's all,' replied his more clear-sighted colleague.‡ 'He has thrown away the scabbard,' said Dudley as he left the House. 'No,' replied Melbourne, 'the sword, with which he might have parried the attack and maintained the position for a good while.' "§

Within a few days the Government were defeated by upwards of thirty votes on a motion for the appointment of a Committee on the Civil List. Earl Grey was sent for, and undertook to form an Administration. Like another Moses, he had led his people for forty years through the wilderness of opposition, and now, like another Joshua, he led them into the Canaan of place and power. With characteristic obtuseness, the duke protested

* *Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 335.

† "Coningsby," Book I. c. vii.

‡ Earl Russell's "Recollections and Suggestions," p. 62.

§ *Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 339.

against the notion that his declaration against Reform had had anything to do with the fall of his Government. "Reform had nothing to do with it. The old Tory party wanted to pay him off for conceding Roman Catholic Emancipation, and so they voted against him as soon as they hoped that by so doing they could turn him out of office."* On the formation of the Grey Ministry the Seals of the Home Office were offered to and accepted by Melbourne. The state of the country was critical, and the Home Office could be no place of rest. His predecessor had been the ablest of the late Ministry, and Melbourne would have to stand the test of comparison with him. Lord Holland, than whom none was a better judge of character, urged his appointment. The other Canningites who joined the Ministry were delighted to see a former member of their section holding so high office: and the appointment was particularly acceptable to William IV., who used to say of Melbourne, "He was a great gentleman." Spite of his habitual tone of cynicism and banter, his colleagues soon learned not only to like, but to trust him, whether in great affairs or small. His frank unceremonious and business-like manner of receiving deputations and talking over matters with them, contributed much to the popularity of the Government. The manner in which he dealt with the rioting and incendiarism of the Southern Counties gave another illustration of his dislike of mob rule, and his determination, at all hazards, to uphold law and order.†

Spring Rice, now Secretary for the Treasury, who well knew the impetuous and imperious temper of Stauley, the Irish Secretary,‡ was anxious that Melbourne should from the first take a guiding as well as controlling part in Irish legislation. Had that been done, and the rule of no distinction between Protestant and Romanist, as such, in the distribution of patronage adhered to, many of the Irish difficulties and dangers of after years would have been avoided. The Premier and Lord Althorp were for leaving Irish questions to the Viceroy (Lord Anglesey) and his Secretary. "This," wrote Spring Rice to Lord Lansdowne, "will never do. The failure will be complete." It was so. Melbourne, whose brief Irish experience was fresh in his mind, was desirous of remedial legislation on the land question, but the Irish Secretary thought more of upholding the Union and the Church Establishment, and the predial war began, which lasted so many

* Vide Letter of June, 1831, to General Malcolm, "Despatches, Correspondence, and Memoranda of Field-Marshal Duke of Wellington," vol. vii.

† Vide "Correspondence with the Duke of Wellington and others," vol. i. p. 348, et seq.

‡ The late Earl of Derby, whom O'Connell called "The Secretary at War with Ireland."

years. Melbourne was not consulted as to Stanley's Irish Arms Act of 1831, and was wroth on the subject. In framing the great measure, with which the memory of Lord Grey's Ministry is for ever and inseparably associated, Melbourne took no prominent part. On the question of the amount of the franchise, he said: "I am for a low figure. Unless we have a large basis to work upon we shall do nothing." He was one of the majority of the Cabinet who preferred the 10*l.* suffrage, with open voting, to the 20*l.* suffrage, with the ballot, which had been recommended by the Committee appointed to prepare the bill.

Mr. Torrens says of him: "No man would have been more contented to remain without the concession;" but he felt that concession was inevitable, and in the memorable debate on the second reading of the first Bill in the Lords, he made a characteristic and, from his point of view, able speech in its favour.*

In the tumults which followed, when Birmingham was convulsed, Bristol sacked and burned, and Nottingham Castle in flames, Melbourne kept himself accurately informed from day to day of all that was going on, determined that the law should be vindicated and enforced, but not bewildered by vague demands that something decisive must be done.

"When reminded of the many letters calling for some new and peremptory instructions as to the course to be taken in case of emergency, neither chief Clerk nor under-Secretary could point out distinctly what the novel direction ought to be. 'Whenever you are in doubt,' he said, 'what should be done, do nothing.'"[†]

Troubles about the Scotch and Irish Establishments swelled the general discontent and uneasiness which prevailed throughout the country. Bishop Doyle,[‡] believing that the agitation for a repeal of the Union was a delusion, was anxious to divert popular attention to the abolition of tithes as a practical remedy for a felt grievance. He brought the Viceroy to agree in principle with him, and Lord Anglesey wrote to the Home Secretary that the reduction of the Protestant Establishment in Ireland was the only effectual answer to the cry for repeal. Melbourne, who in 1825 had supported concurrent endowment, would gladly have proposed a redistribution of Ecclesiastical Endowments between Anglicans, Protestant Dissenters and Romanists, but the Cabinet was engrossed with the Reform Bill, and he felt—as was soon afterwards proved—that so long as Stanley was in the Ministry it was hopeless to bring forward the Church question without causing a Ministerial schism. He therefore followed his habitual policy of letting things alone.

* See it reprinted verbatim, vol. i. p. 372. † Memoirs, vol. i. p. 391.

‡ Romanist Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin.

With regard to the Reform question, Melbourne was one of the minority in the Cabinet, including, besides himself, the Premier, the Duke of Richmond, and Lords Lansdowne and Palmerston, who would have made concessions in order to secure the peaceful passage of a moderate Reform Bill.

Nevertheless, he agreed in the Cabinet minute of January, 1832, demanding that if necessary the Cabinet should have power to create a sufficient number of peers to carry the Bill as it stood. The well-known moderate tendency of Lord Melbourne made him especially the object of Mr. Charles Greville's attempts to bring about a compromise—he notes in his journal several interviews he had with him. On one occasion he found the Home Secretary at his office in a “lazy, listening, silent humour, disposed to hear everything and to say very little.”* At another visit the Minister seems to have taken refuge in his old shelter of banter and mystification. The Cabinet he told Greville were all conscious

“Of the violence of the measure (the creation of peers) and desirous of avoiding it; that Lord Grey had been so from the beginning, but that Durham was always at him; and made him fall into his violent designs; that it was a reign of terror, but that Durham could do with him what he pleased . . . We then parted. Downstairs was Rothschild, the Jew, waiting for him, and the *valet de chambre* sweeping away a *bonnet* and a *shawl*.”†

On another occasion Melbourne displayed these characteristics even more decidedly. In April, 1832, when the Reform fever was at its highest Greville records that he held

“A very anxious conversation with Melbourne about it all. He said that ‘he really believed there was no strong feeling in the country for the measure.’ We talked of the violence of the Tories and their notion that they could get rid of the whole thing. I said the notion was absurd *now*, but that I fully agreed with him about the general feeling. ‘Why then,’ said he, ‘might it not be thrown out?’ A consummation I really believe he would rejoice at, if it could be done. I said because there was a great party which would not let it, which would agitate again, and that the country wished ardently to have it settled; that if it could be disposed of for good and all, it would be a good thing indeed; but that this was now impossible. I asked him if his colleagues were impressed as he was with this truth and he said, ‘No.’ I told him he ought to do everything to enforce it, and to make them moderate, and induce them to concede; to which he replied, ‘What difficulty can they have in swallowing the rest after they have given up the rotten boroughs? That is in fact the essential part of the Bill, and the truth is *I do not see how the Government is to be carried on without them.* Some means may be found; a remedy may possibly

* Greville's “Journal,” vol. ii. p. 251.

† Ibid. pp. 217, 218.

present itself, and it may work in practice better than we know of, but I am not aware of any; and I do not see how any Government can be carried on when these are swept away.' This was, if not his exact words, the exact sense and a pretty avowal for a man to make at the eleventh hour who has been a party concerned in this Bill during the other ten. I told him I agreed in every respect, but that it was too late to discuss this now, and that the rotten boroughs were past saving, that as to the minor points the waverers thought them of importance, looked upon them as securities, compensations, and moreover as what would save their own honour, and that the less their real importance was, the more easily might they be conceded. We had a great deal more talk, but then it is all talk, and *à quoi bon* with a man who holds these opinions and acts as he does?*"†

We agree with Mr. Torrens' judgment, in a passage apparently referring to this conversation,† that Melbourne, being pressed, resorted to his favourite method of defence, banter, exaggeration, and irony, "at the risk of being set down for a tiffier or registered in confidential note book as a recusant at heart, ready to go over to the enemy."‡

When the Bill reached the Lords for the second time—Melbourne complained much of the conduct of the "waverers," and said "that what was done was done in such an ungracious manner, so niggardly that he hated the man (Lord Harrowby), who did it." When the second reading was carried by the celebrated majority of nine, Melbourne, with a shrewd forecast of the unprincipled nature of Lord Lyndhurst's policy, said, gravely as he left the House, "It is not all over yet"§ He was now convinced of the necessity of creating peers to carry the Bill, and on the temporary success of Lord Lyndhurst's dilatory amendment in Committee cordially concurred in a minute drawn by Palmerston, and signed by all the Cabinet, excepting the Duke of Richmond, recommending that such a creation should immediately be made. He probably saw with pleasure the necessity for that creation avoided by the withdrawal of further opposition to the Bill. If he took a less brilliant and prominent part in carrying the great measure of 1832, he was privately, but not less effectually, stopping any attempts at repressive measures against the press. The newspapers of the day were filled with coarse and angry invectives and lampoons against the enemies of the popular cause, and especially Queen Adelaide, who was supposed to have influenced the King against his Whig advisers. The King was angry, and used to express his feelings in the sharpest and coarsest phrases

* Greville's "Journal," vol. i. pp. 277, 278.

† And see the express reference to this conversation, in *Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 401.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 400.

§ *Ibid.* p. 405.

of disapprobation. He reproached Lord Melbourne with not directing the Attorney-General to take *ex officio* proceedings against the press, as had frequently been done in the late reign. Melbourne equalled the King in his dislike of vulgar scurrility, but he knew that the time for repressive prosecutions against the press was gone, and that they could only be revived at the risk of imperilling the monarchy. In courtly, but decided phrase, he justified his refusal to initiate proceedings fraught with such danger to the real interests of the throne. William IV. still unconvinced, assented to the recommendations of his Minister and believing in "his loyalty and devotion, continued to repose more confidence in his reliability than in that of any other of his advisers with the exception of Lord Grey."

In the policy of war with Ireland which was the characteristic of Mr. Stanley's unfortunate administration of Irish affairs, Lord Melbourne doubtfully acquiesced. The dauntless energy and unwavering self-reliance of the Irish Secretary had persuaded Lord Grey to regard him as virtual Home Secretary for Ireland, and had not been without a fascinating influence on Melbourne himself. Many, also, looked upon Stanley as the coming man of the Liberal party. Melbourne, therefore, acquiesced in the policy recommended by the Secretary, though it was disapproved by the Lord-Lieutenant, and though his own judgment would have led him to make the Emancipation Act a reality, and to readjust the relations between the owners and the occupiers of the land.

During the autumn of this year Mr. Greville had another long conversation with Melbourne, whom he represents as "being uneasy about the state of the country, about the desire for change, and the general restlessness that prevails." He seems, if Mr. Greville be correct, to have been much exercised in his mind by the proceedings of his colleagues.*

"John Russell had acted unwarrantably in making the speech he did the other day at Torquay about the ballot, which though hypothetical, was nothing but an invitation to agitation. This was the speech in which Lord John expressed himself to this effect: 'Great as I apprehend the inconveniences of the ballot would be, yet if it came to this, that I saw the tenantry of England made to vote at the polling booth contrary to their convictions. I would at once renounce my former opinions and come round to the ballot.'"

His more moderate colleagues need not have feared that Lord John would be too rash in his coming round to the ballot. He remained to the last the most determined of opponents to protected voting, and one of his latest speeches in the House of Lords was made against Mr. Forster's Ballot Bill.

* Vide the full account of this conversation, "Journal," vol. ii. pp. 322, 323.

"Melbourne also spoke of Brougham as tossed about in perpetual caprice, that he was fanciful and sensitive, and actuated by all sorts of littlenesses . . . that he is conservative, but under the influence of his old connexions, particularly the saints. . . . He asked me what I thought of Richmond,* and I told him he was ignorant and narrow-minded, but a good sort of fellow, only appearing to me, who had known him all my life, in an odd place as a Cabinet Minister. He said he was sharp, quick; the King liked him, and he stood up to Durham more than any other man in the Cabinet, and that altogether he was not unimportant. It is curious, says Mr. Greville at the conclusion of his notes of this interview, to see the working and counterworking of his (Melbourne's) real opinions and principles with his false position and the mixture of bluntness, facility, and shrewdness, discretion, levity, and seriousness, which, colouring his mind and character by turns, makes up the compound of his thoughts and his actions."

In other words, Melbourne delighted in trying to mystify the somewhat matter-of-fact Mr. Greville, and seemingly always with success.

The preparations for the first Session of the first reformed Parliament were disturbed by the Irish question. Stanley had joined the Cabinet and became absolute ruler of Ireland.

Agrarian crime raged over whole counties. O'Connell, finding that Romanists were as much excluded from place and power as before the Emancipation Act, gave himself to agitation for the repeal of the Union. Melbourne, Althorp, and Grant were for large measures of conciliation. Stanley's reckless policy he thus expressed: "Ireland must be taught to fear before she could be taught to love" Hence the Coercion Act of 1833 with its disastrous effects on popular feeling in Ireland. The Home Secretary was engaged in more beneficial legislation—the first Factory Act was passed under his auspices. As to which Mr. Torrens relates a characteristic anecdote of the man. Mr. Evelyn Denison† stopped him at the door of the Home Office when about to mount his horse, to urge certain amendments, he bade him speak to his brother George.

"'I have been with him,' said his friend, 'for half an hour, but can make no way;' and on being asked why, he said complainingly: 'He damned me, damned the clauses, and damned the Bill.' Melbourne, by this time in the saddle, replied gravely: 'And, damn it, what more could he say? but I'll see about it.'"[‡]

It was at this time that Melbourne made with a lady a friendship which was destined to end unfortunately for them both.

* *i.e.*, the late Duke of Richmond.

† Member for North Notts, afterwards Speaker of the House of Commons, 1857, and subsequently Viscount Ossington.

‡ Memoirs, vol. i. p. 423.

Caroline, the grand-daughter of Richard Brinsley Sheridan, and a near connexion of Melbourne's colleague, Sir James Graham, had married the Hon. George Norton, brother and heir presumptive of Lord Grantley. Her husband was, to use Sydney Smith's memorable words, "That favourite animal of Whig Ministries, a barrister of five years' standing," but he had neither the ability nor the industry necessary for success at the bar. His wife determined to apply to Lord Melbourne for one of the many appointments for which members of the bar are eligible, and pleaded the memory of her father and his services to the Whigs as ground for a favourable consideration of her claim. Lord Melbourne answered the letter in person. Mrs. Norton was youthful and possessed the beauty and wit which are hereditary in the Sheridans. Lord Melbourne soon became an intimate friend of the family and a frequent visitor at their house. A vacancy in one of the metropolitan police courts soon afforded an opportunity of providing for Mr. Norton. At the Nortons' house Lord Melbourne, on one occasion, first met the present Earl of Beaconsfield, then Mr. Disraeli, who had not long since returned from the East, and had just unsuccessfully contested the borough of Wycombe. A remarkable conversation occurred between the Home Secretary and the defeated candidate.

Of this conversation Mr. Torrens* gives a version the accuracy of which is impugned by Mr. Hayward† who was at one time officially connected with Lord Melbourne, and therefore speaks with authority. Lord Houghton believes

"the accurate version to be that, in the course of conversation, Lord Melbourne asked Mr. Disraeli if he would like to be private secretary to a Minister, and that he replied that he would rather be a Minister himself; indeed, he meant to be Prime Minister himself some day. Instead of expressing any ridicule or anger at this audacity, the actual Premier‡ talked over the difficulties of the enterprise and the improbabilities of success. It was afterwards, when the death of Lord George Bentinck left the Opposition without a head, some one coming into Lord Melbourne's room, said: 'The Tories have taken Disraeli as their leader,' and the veteran replied, 'Have they? Then the fellow will do it after all!'"§

In the re-arrangement of offices rendered necessary by Lord Anglesey's resignation of the Irish Viceroyship, Lord Grey proposed that the vacant place should be taken by Lord Mel-

* *Memoirs*, vol. i. pp. 426, 427.

† In the *Quarterly Review*, April, 1878.

‡ We accurately quote Lord Houghton, but the interview would seem to have taken place while Lord Melbourne was Home Secretary, *conf.* "Life," vol. i. pp. 425—427.

§ *Fortnightly Review*, February, 1878, p. 224, note.

bourne. At first he was not disinclined to take it. Three years of the routine of the Home Office had wearied him of it, and in the House of Lords the irrepressible loquacity and restless energy of the Chancellor overshadowed the other Ministers. In the end he determined to remain where he was.

An organised attempt throughout the metropolis to resist the payment of the window-tax was made about this time, but as soon as Lord Melbourne heard of it, with his usual firmness and desire to uphold the authority of the law, he sent for the Sheriffs and directed them to enforce payment; the effect of this resolute action was good, and payment of the tax was made in the regular course.

Mr. Torrens* quotes from Haydon's memoirs a forcible description of Lord Melbourne's parliamentary speaking at this time:—

“In the Irish Church debate the Duke (of Wellington) spoke well, without hesitation, enforcing what he said with a bend of the head, striking his hand forcibly, and as if convinced, on the papers. He finished, and to my utter astonishment up starts Melbourne like an artillery rocket. He began in a fury; his language flowed out like fire; he made such palpable hits that he floored the Duke as if he had shot him. But the moment the stimulus was over his habitual apathy got ahead; he stammered, hummed, and hawed. It was the most pictorial exhibition of the night. He waved his white hand with the natural grace of Talma, expanded his broad chest, looked right at his adversary like a handsome lion, and grappled him with the grace of Paris.”

From the same source we take the following lifelike description of Lord Melbourne and his colleagues at the Lord Mayor's dinner:—

“The scene was exquisite; the mischievous air of over-politeness with which Lord Brougham handed in the Lady Mayoress, the arch looks of Lord Melbourne, the supercilious sneer of Lord Stanley. In the ball-room I said to Lord Stanley, ‘Lord Melbourne enjoys it!’ ‘There is nothing Lord Melbourne does not enjoy,’ said he; ‘can there be a finer epitaph of a man?’ It is true of Lord Melbourne, who is all amiability, good humour, and simplicity of mind.”

It is to be regretted that these fine qualities should sometimes have been hidden under a bushel by their owner. His manner of receiving deputations was variable, and he occasionally indulged in an affectation of ignorance or indifference irritating to those whom he was receiving. As Sydney Smith described him, “he would sit up all night with Tom Young† talking about

* *Memoirs*, vol. i p. 431.

† His private secretary.

smelting and skimming before receiving a deputation of tallow-chandlers in the morning, and then, although he had acquired knowledge enough to work off a whole vat of Leicestershire tallow, he pretends next morning not to know the difference between a dip and a mould."

His sister, Lady Palmerston, than whom no one knew him better, said, that even those who best appreciated her brother failed to do justice to what she called the keynote of his character, "earnestness." Earnest undoubtedly he was, but he affected an utter want of it which naturally misled those who did not really know him. What must have been the impression produced on outsiders when "Lord Melbourne pressed to do something for a journalist, on the ground that he always supported him when in the right," retorted, "that's just when I don't want his help. Give me a fellow who will stick by me when I am in the wrong."* Or when in an interview on the Anti-Slavery question with so matter-of-fact a person as Archbishop Whately, he said, "what nonsense it all is! Don't you think so, Archbishop? There has always been slavery—there always will be slavery." Or again, when, after a Cabinet dinner, at which it had been agreed to deal with the Corn-Law question, he called out, from the head of the staircase, to his departing colleagues, "well, we may as well all say the same thing. Will the repeal of the Corn Laws make the price of bread cheaper, or will it not?" By the less influential members of the Liberal party we have seen it stated that his manner was considered repellant, aristocratic and chilling.

In the House his tact and personal influence accomplished much in facilitating the passage of the Government Bills, in face of a compact majority of opponents, who resented the Chancellor's taunts, jeers, and disposition to fight any number of parliamentary duels, and in revenge were inclined to throw out or mutilate the Government measures of which he had charge.

In 1834, at the Chancellor's desire, he undertook the carriage through the Lords of the New Poor Law, though he had no cordial liking for the Bill, thinking it—as it proved to be—too *doctrinaire* a measure for practical working, and saw the risk his party ran in making themselves "the legislative protectors of the wealthy and well to do, at the apparent cost of those who live by labour." He shrugged his shoulders, as he perfunctorily said, "content," and muttered to himself something which had very much the sound of profane swearing †

The session of 1834 was memorable for the secession of the Duke of Richmond, the Earl of Ripon, Lord Stanley, and Sir

* Hayward's "Essays," vol. i. p. 29.

† Memoirs, vol. i. p. 442.

James Graham, who differed from the expressed views of their colleagues Lords Althorp and Russell, on the question of the secularisation of the surplus property of the Irish Protestant Establishment; and by the intrigues and embroglio as to the Irish Coercion Act, the fault of which must be laid at the doors of Lord Brougham and Mr. Littleton,* and which led to the resignation of Lords Grey and Althorp. William IV., of his own free will, or, as is more likely, instigated by his secret advisers, commanded the immediate attendance of Lord Melbourne and his advice on the existing state of affairs. The King, with his usual ignorance and wrong-headedness, thought practical so impossible a combination of parties as a coalition between Melbourne and the Duke of Wellington. Melbourne declined to take any part in bringing about such an arrangement.† In the end he agreed to take the Premiership on condition that Lord Althorp returned to the Exchequer and to the leadership of the Commons. To this condition Althorp, strongly urged thereto by Lord Grey, assented, and the first Melbourne Ministry was formed. Mr. Greville thought "that the new Premier would be excited by the greatness of his position to display the vigour and decision in which he is not deficient." In one respect the new Premier was at a disadvantage, as compared with his predecessor, Lord Grey, and his colleague, Lord Althorp. The consistent political career of both these statesmen, their private lives of dignified and decorous repute, had won for them general confidence, respect, and esteem; but the popular opinion of Lord Melbourne was unfortunately that, thus described by Mr. Greville: "his reputation is not particularly good; he is considered lax in morals, indifferent in religion, and very loose and pliant in politics."‡ Parliament was prorogued shortly after the completion of the new administration. Before the close of the year both the Ministry and the parliament were dissolved. Ere these important events a pledge was given to the Irish that Emancipation, as administered by the new Ministry, was to be a reality; the Premier had not forgotten his Irish experience. Mr. O'Loghlen§ was made Solicitor-General, "and for the first time since the Revolution, the Roman Catholics saw one of their communion recognised as worthy of public trust and honour as a law adviser of the Crown."

On the 10th November, 1834, occurred an event which materially affected affairs; Earl Spencer died. All remember

* Irish Secretary, and afterwards Lord Hatherton.

† Vide his Letter to the King, "Life," vol. ii. p. 4, et seq.

‡ "Journal," vol. iii. p. 109.

§ Afterwards Sir Colman O'Loghlen, and Master of the Rolls in Ireland.

the account in Coningsby of the sudden announcement of that event at the breakfast-table at Beaumanoir. "A thunderbolt in a summer sky," as Sir William Temple says, "could not have produced a greater sensation. The business of the repast ceased in a moment. The knives and forks were suddenly silent, all was still."*

By Lord Spencer's death, Lord Althorp was removed to the Upper House; the necessary result of his removal was that the Chancellorship of the Exchequer and the Leadership of the House of Commons became vacant. The event had been foreseen by both the Premier and the Court, both were prepared to act, and the King with much of that half-witted duplicity which he inherited from his father. From the fact that a copy of the royal apology for the King's proceedings at this juncture was found among Baron Stockmar's papers after his death, it is more than probable that Stockmar was the secret instigator of them. But Lord Melbourne thought it was only the working of the King's own shallow mind, and not in consequence of any other influence or advice whatever.

Lord Melbourne submitted to the King the Cabinet's plan for a reconstruction of the Ministry, which was met, on his Majesty's part, by every possible objection. The King postponed his decision till the next day, when he handed Lord Melbourne a letter, carefully prepared by some of his secret and irresponsible advisers, in which he was made to state, "that he was informed, that Lord Althorp's removal would speedily leave the Government in a minority in the Lower House, and as they were already in that condition in the Upper, it had become necessary to place the conduct of affairs in other hands." He added, verbally, "that the Ministry had better therefore resign without loss of self-respect."

In the words of Lord Palmerston, "The Government did not resign, but were dismissed."

To compensate the Premier thus unceremoniously and unconstitutionally dismissed, an Earldom and the Garter were offered to him, "which he rejected in the briefest terms which courtly deference would allow;" but with unselfish consideration for the King he advised him to modify in the letter some personal allusions to the Chancellor and Lord John Russell, and an imprudent declaration of hostility to Irish Church Reform. The same consideration was not shown by the King to Lord Melbourne, who was asked to convey a royal summons to the Duke of Wellington, whom the King, or his secret advisers, had determined should be sent for. The dismissed Minister reached London late that

* "Coningsby," Book ii. c. 3.

evening, and informed two of his colleagues, Lord Palmerston and Brougham, of their dismissal. Brougham, wild with rage, sent the news to the *Times*; whether the communication was actually written or only inspired by him is not known, but it ended with words destined to be long remembered and to be productive of evil consequences to himself: "The Queen has done it all." The Duke of Wellington told the King that no Tory Government was possible of which Sir Robert Peel was not the head, and with a Liberal majority in the Commons of two to one, he did not see how any such Government could possibly be carried on, he therefore dissuaded the King from pursuing the course on which he had entered. At this moment Sir Herbert Taylor, the King's private secretary, entered the royal closet and called his master's attention to the ex Chancellor's mischievous communication in the *Times*. Mr. Torrens, on Sir Herbert's authority, tells how the King's anger broke forth in the words:—"There, Duke, you see how I am insulted and betrayed; nobody in London but Melbourne knew last night what had taken place here, nor of my sending for you; will your Grace compel me to take back people who treat me in such a way."*

The Duke yielded, and promised to communicate with Lord Lyndhurst, and with Sir Robert Peel, who was in Italy. Lord Melbourne disclaimed his colleague's communication to the *Times*, and repudiated the imputation against the Queen.

Its author, to quote his own words, wrote to the King "to throw all the consequences on him, and relieve myself." Lord Melbourne retired to the old family seat at Melbourne, and while there received an address from his neighbours expressing their sense of his public services, and their regret at his dismissal. In his reply he said that had he been permitted to remain in office, "he should have been for bringing forward as much as was sufficient, or as much as would have remedied the most pressing evils; as much as could have been digested and matured; as much as, under the circumstances, it could be considered safe, prudent, and practicable, to effect." And after thanking his friends for expressing their confidence in him, he added: "I shall strenuously endeavour to deserve it. I shall persevere in the course which I have hitherto invariably held. I shall support such alterations as appear to me to be well founded and likely to be beneficial."† This was followed by another address to the inhabitants of Derby, in which, speaking more expressly of the reforms necessary in the future, he was thought very wrongly to have changed his tone at the solicitation of his

* Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 44.

† Ibid. p. 57.

colleagues.* He determined to abide the verdict of the country, and would not commit himself to any line of action until, as he wrote Lord Lansdowne, "we see the character and complexion of the new House of Commons, upon which all depends."

Sir Robert Peel returned from Italy, formed a Ministry, and dissolved Parliament. At this time a pamphlet was published by Mr. E. Lytton Bulwer, M.P., who, after many changes of name, and almost as many of political opinion, will be known to posterity as Lord Lytton. This pamphlet produced considerable effect on the elections of 1835. It expresses the opinion of the more decided members of the Liberal party of that day. It was republished by its author after he had been a Conservative Minister, and, we presume, expresses his matured opinion of Lord Melbourne.

"With Lord Melbourne himself (wrote Mr. Bulwer) it was my lot in early youth to be brought into contact, and though our acquaintance has now altogether ceased (for I am not one who seek to refresh the memories of men in proportion as they become great) I still retain a lively impression of his profundity as a scholar, of his enthusiasm at generous sentiments, and of that happy frame of mind he so peculiarly possesses, and of which the stuff of statesmen is best made, at once practical and philosophical, large enough to conceive principles, close enough to bring them to effect.† Could we disentangle and remove ourselves from the present, could we fancy ourselves in a future age, it might possibly be thus that an historian would describe him. Few persons could have been selected by a King as a Prime Minister, in those days of violent party and of constant change, who were more fitted by nature and circumstances to act with the people, but for the King. A politician probably less ardent than sagacious, he was exactly the man to conform to the genius of a particular time; to know how far to go with prudence—where to stop with success; not vehement in temper, nor inordinate in ambition, he was not likely to be hurried away by private objects, affections, or resentments. To the moment of his elevation as Premier it can scarcely be said of his political life that it affords one example of imprudence; 'not to commit himself' was at one time supposed to be his particular distinction. His philosophy was less that which deals with abstract doctrines than that which teaches how to command various and shifting circumstances. He seldom preceded his time, and never stopped short of it. Add to this that with a searching knowledge of mankind, he may have sought to lead, but never to deceive them. His was the high English states-

* Conf. the first Speech, vol. ii. p. 55, et seq., with the second, p. 58, et seq.

† "I imagined him susceptible only to the charge of indolence, and I once imputed to him that fault. On learning from those who can best judge that in office at least the imputation was unjust, I took long since the opportunity of a new edition to efface it from the work in which the imputation was made." (Note to pamphlet.)

manship which had not recourse to wiles or artifice. He was one whom a King might have trusted, for he was not prone to deceive himself, and he would not deceive another. His judgment wary—his honour impregnable. Such was the Minister who, if not altogether that which the people would have selected, seems precisely that which a King should have studied to preserve. He would not have led, as a more bold and vigorous genius, Lord Durham, equally able, equally honest, with perhaps a yet deeper philosophy, the result of a more masculine spirit of the age, might have done; he would not have led the people to good government, but he would have marched with them side by side.

"Such, I believe, will be the outline of the character Lord Melbourne will bequeath to a calmer and more remote time. And this is not my belief alone. I observe that most of those independent members who had been gradually detached from the Cabinet of Lord Grey, looked with hope and friendly dispositions on that of his successor."*

The general election showed that although the Conservatives, as thenceforward they called themselves, had added to their numbers, they were still in a minority.

Upon the whole, the numbers in Great Britain were nearly balanced, while the working majority of thirty was furnished by Ireland. Melbourne, as the leader of the majority, was urged to declare his policy. This he refused to do. His purpose is well described by Mr. Torrens: "A Whig to the core, he was resolved to try whether he could not reassert once for all the old Whig principle, that without the assent of Parliament, Government in England there should not be."† The Peel Ministry were first defeated on the election of Speaker. Mr. Manners Sutton had long held that office in the unreformed Parliament, and had been pressed by the Grey Ministry to retain it in the first reformed Parliament, which he consented to do "on condition that he might ride the new House with a snaffle bridle." But it was thought by the Liberals that he had been mixed up with the intrigue which ended in the unconstitutional dismissal of the late Ministers, and that his complicity in the crime must be punished by exclusion from the chair. Mr. Abercromby was therefore put forward by the Liberal party, and elected by a majority of ten votes.

Lord Russell, the Liberal leader in the Commons, tells us: "It seemed to me, as commander-in-chief of an army so variously composed, that they could not too soon be brought into action, and that motions should be framed on which the whole party could agree."‡

* From "The Present Crisis," a Letter to a late Cabinet Minister, by E. Lytton Bulwer. Reprinted in pamphlets and sketches by Lora Lytton. The Knebworth Edition, 1875.

† Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 68. ‡ "Recollections and Suggestions," p. 133.

The question of secularising the surplus revenues of the Irish Protestant Establishment, known at the time as "the appropriation clause," was selected as marking the frontier line between Liberal and Tory principles. The Ministry were twice defeated on the question before they submitted to the adverse vote of the House of Commons; but on sustaining a third defeat, they resigned. The King, after consulting Lord Grey, sent for Lord Melbourne. After harping on his old idea of a coalition of moderate men of all parties, which he was told was impossible, he gave Melbourne *carte blanche* to form a Government.

The King, though outwardly preserving a calm demeanour, in reality felt not only defeated, but degraded at being forced to take back the Ministers he had so summarily dismissed. To one of his intimates he said, "he felt his crown tottering on his head."*

The second Melbourne Ministry was then formed, consisting mainly of the same members as the first. One eminent man, however, was conspicuous by his absence from it—Lord Brougham. The Premier said "he could not bring himself to force him upon the King," who feared and loathed him. He felt, moreover, to use his own words, that "if left out he would indeed be dangerous, but if taken in he would simply be destructive." Lord Durham desired the Foreign Office, but was forced to be content with the Embassy to St. Petersburg.

Prejudice, even amongst advanced Liberals, prevented office being offered to Mr. O'Connell. Being asked what were the terms of the "compact alliance," as it was called, between the new Government and the Irish leader, the Premier replied: "I am asked how far I coincide in the opinions of Mr. O'Connell about the union with Ireland. I answer, not at all. I am asked whether I am to have the aid of Mr. O'Connell. I reply, that I cannot tell. And lastly, on what terms? I answer, I have made no terms with him."†

The difficulties of the new Ministers were great. They were the objects of the King's personal dislike, distrust, and fear. He refused to hold any private intercourse with them. When urged by one of his sons to give the usual dinner on occasion of Ascot races, he said: "You know I cannot give a dinner. I cannot give any dinners without inviting the Ministers; and I would rather see the devil than any one of them in my house."‡

In Parliament they were exposed in the Lords to the opposition of a large majority led with unblushing profligacy by Lord Lyndhurst.

* "Greville," vol. iii. p. 251.

† Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 134.

‡ "Greville," vol. iii. p. 265.

"They have against them," wrote Macaulay from India, "Brougham, the first speaker of the age; the Duke, with the highest character of any public man of the age; Lyndhurst, Aberdeen, Ellenborough, and others, every one of whom is an over-match for our best orator, and this superiority in debate is backed by a still greater superiority in number."

In the Commons the majority almost depended on the votes of their Irish supporters. The Irish Church Bill passed through the Commons, and was introduced to the Lords by Lord Melbourne in an admirable speech; but it was of no avail; the Lords rejected the Bill; they sowed to the wind and reaped the whirlwind, by having to submit to pass the Act to disestablish and disendow the Irish Establishment.

Next to the first Reform Act, the Municipal Corporations Act is the greatest of the Whig measures. They had little trouble in carrying the Bill through the Commons. Sir R. Peel, really no doubt approving the measure, gave it only a feeble opposition. In the Lords, the state of things was different. Lord Lyndhurst persuaded the Duke of Wellington that the old close corporations were the stronghold of their party, and that any alteration in them must be resisted unto death. His courage failed him, however, and the Bill was read a second time without a division; but its progress was factiously delayed, and mischievous amendments were made in Committee; but the Premier and Lord John Russell probably agreed with Lyndhurst, "that the Bill would do their business, though not so thoroughly as before it was altered." A compromise was come to, and at the conclusion of the Session, which was that year protracted far into September, the Bill received the Royal assent. The duty of carrying the Bill through the Lords fell, of course, on the Premier, who performed it well, having, to aid him against Lyndhurst's specious objections, the able, energetic, and disinterested support of Brougham. Melbourne told Greville "that the Bill was a great *bouleversément*—a great experiment;" and to an intimate friend who spoke to him of its probable effect on the stability of the House of Lords, he said:—

"You may not see all the consequences of this to-morrow, but you have given by law a permanent power in all the centres of industry and intelligence to the Dissenters which they never had before, and which they never could have had otherwise. They are the classes who will really gain by the change, not the mob or the theorists; every year their strength will be felt more and more at elections and their influence in legislation. Depend upon it, it is the Established Church, and not the hereditary peerage, that has need to set its house in order."*

* Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 150.

More than forty years have passed since these words were uttered, and their history abundantly justifies Lord Melbourne's foresight. The statute-books are full of proofs of the influence of Dissent on legislation. No practical politician talks, perhaps even thinks, of abolishing or even reforming the House of Lords. Disestablishment is now only a question of time. It was probably this far-seeing appreciation of the growing power of Dissent which induced Lord Melbourne to appoint a Ministerial Committee, the first, we venture to say, ever appointed for such a purpose—"to undertake the consideration of all the questions relating to the Dissenters, and to frame measures for the consideration of the Cabinet." The fruit of the deliberations of this Committee were ere long apparent. Two charters were granted, one constituting "University College, London," the other creating the "University of London." So rapid has been the growth of this latter body that within little more than thirty years of its creation it vindicated its right to a representative in Parliament, like its elder sisters, Oxford, Cambridge, and the Scotch Universities. The Dissenters' Marriages Act and the Title Commutation Act—both measures violently opposed at the time, and the beneficial effects of which are seen increasingly from year to year—belong to this period of the history of the second Melbourne Administration. The Ministry had now been in office six months; Lord Brougham still dreamt of possessing once again the Great Seal, which had been put in commission; indeed, in the opinion of the late Sir Lancelot Shadwell, himself one of the Commissioners, Lord Melbourne thought a Chancellor was of no use, and that it was more convenient to keep in his own hands the law patronage of the Great Seal, which generally formed the subject of dispute between Premiers and Chancellors.* The inconvenience to suitors, however, was indescribable; the Commissioners could only sit as such by neglecting their own courts; arrears multiplied, delay and expense increased. Less in the interest of the suitors than in hope of embittering the relations between Brougham and his former colleagues, Sir Edward Sugden put forth a pamphlet entitled "What has become of the Great Seal?" It was necessary a Chancellor should be made; and after much discussion, to make the Master of the Rolls (Sir C. C. Pepys) Chancellor, and to raise to the vacant seat at the Rolls Mr. Bickersteth; who had long had the leading practice in that Court. Both the new Judges were raised to the peerage.

It was commonly supposed that Mr. Bickersteth, though he had never been in Parliament, possessed considerable debating powers, and would be able to hold his own in debate with

* *Ex relatione*, Mr. Greville, vol. iii. p. 278.

Brougham and Lyndhurst, and thus supply what was lacking in the Chancellor, who, although a consummate lawyer, was of the nature of Mr. Carlyle's "inarticulate men." Bickersteth himself declared, with an over-confident air, that he did not consider Brougham a very formidable antagonist. "I do," quietly rejoined Melbourne. Brougham himself told C. Sumner that Bickersteth was "a person who had never done anything, and would never do anything, and who was an ordinary man." As a Parliamentary speaker, Lord Langdale, as Mr. Bickersteth became, failed utterly. The new appointments gave general satisfaction. To this satisfaction, however, there were two exceptions—Brougham and the Attorney-General (Sir John Campbell). Brougham was first stunned, and then beside himself with rage; henceforth there was a complete breach between him and the Whigs. Sir John Campbell thought he had been unfairly passed over in favour of Bickersteth, and threatened to resign; but the wary Scot remembered and acted on the old adage, "Cave de resignationibus," and continued in office; his disappointment was consoled by the bestowal of a peerage on his wife. When Plunket asked the Premier how he got on with the new Chancellor, he replied, "Oh, capitally! I am like a man who has broken for good with a termagant mistress, and married the best of cooks."

The Irish Municipal Corporations Bill was the great measure of 1836, but Sir Robert Peel was as opposed to this measure as his fellow leader in the Upper House. Lord Lyndhurst put forth all his powers of sophistry and intrigue, and threw out the Bill. It was four years before Ireland was, in respect of her municipal institutions, put on an equality with England.

In this year occurred an event which made Lord Melbourne suffer more intensely than ever he had before. Mr. Norton, whom we have before mentioned, a sour-tempered, ill-natured man, commenced an action against the Premier for criminal conversation with his wife. He was instigated, it was suspected, by some of the hangers-on of the Tory party who, careless of the suffering they might cause, wished to make political capital for their leaders. The trial caused great excitement. The witnesses for the plaintiff were chiefly discarded servants, nearly all of damaged character. The then state of the law did not allow the defendant to give evidence; but the Attorney-General, on his behalf, said he was authorised to state upon the honour of a peer, that the charge was entirely false. The jury, without leaving the box, gave a verdict for the defendant, and their verdict was completely sanctioned by that of the public; the King, in flattering terms, congratulated his Minister on his success. Towards the close of the Session Melbourne made the happiest

and ablest speech of his life. Lyndhurst, having thrown out many of the Government measures and mutilated others, made the first of those "reviews of the session" for which for several years he was famous. These reviews were a series of taunts, gibes, and jeers at the Ministry for not carrying their measures, the defeat of which was due to Lyndhurst himself.

On this occasion Lyndhurst thus described the Premier:—

"As was said of one of his predecessors in office, his promises were, as he then was, mighty; his performances, as he now is, nothing. . . . The noble viscount stood erect among all his disasters, reverses, and perils; he appeared unmoved. His language was always lofty, swelling in proportion as the pediment on which he stood was reeling and staggering. In former times amid such disasters there would be only one course for a Minister to pursue. These, however, were antiquated notions; a fastidious delicacy formed no part of the character of the noble viscount."

This was severe, but the reply was far more so:—

"I readily admit (said Lord Melbourne) the great power and eloquence of the noble and learned lord. His clearness in argument and dexterity in sarcasm no one can deny, and if he will be satisfied with a compliment confined strictly to ability I am ready to render him that homage. But, my lords, ability is not everything; propriety of conduct, the *vercundia*, should be combined with the *ingenium* to make a great man and a statesman. It is not enough to be *duræ frontis perditæ audaciæ*. The noble and learned lord has referred to several historical characters to whom he has been pleased to say that I bear some resemblance. I beg, in return, to remind him of what once was said by Lord Bristol of a great statesman of former times (the Earl of Strafford), to whom I think the noble and learned lord might not inapplicablely be compared: 'The malignity of his practices was largely aggravated by his vast talents, whereof God hath given the use, but the devil directed the application.'"*

While the Tories were taunting the Ministry with not passing the measures they brought forward, the extremer men among their supporters were taunting them with not bringing forward other measures for which the country was not prepared, and which, if they passed the Commons, would assuredly be thrown out by the Lords. The Ministers thus leset began to lose heart. "Even quiet and courageous Lord Melbourne," writes one of his colleagues, "began to give way. He said that 'a man must have the patience of an ass to stand against such odds.'" Another sorrow darkened the close of 1836: Augustus Lamb, the Premier's only child, who had all his life been a sufferer in body and mind, died suddenly, and his father, who had tended

* Memoirs, vol. ii. pp. 194, 195.

him with woman-like care, was now left alone in the world. He sought refuge from melancholy in stricter attention, if that were possible, to the multifarious duties of his office. No one who reads these *Memoirs* will ever repeat the nonsensical allegation that Melbourne was indolent. Nothing can be more unjust and false than such accusations. Though, as we have before said, he brought them on himself from his affectation of idleness and his love of irony and banter. The common belief is shown in one of a series of letters in the *Times* of 1836, written in imitation of Junius and signed "Runnymede." These letters have always been attributed to Lord Beaconsfield, and his authorship if not admitted has never been denied by him; and from their style we confidently affirm that they are his. The first of the series is addressed to Lord Melbourne.

"It is perhaps hopeless," writes Runnymede, "that your lordship should rouse yourself from the embraces of that siren Desidia, to whose fatal influences you are not less a slave than our second Charles; and that you should cease to saunter over the destinies of a nation, and lounge away the glory of an Empire."

Nothing could be more unfounded.

"All the year 1836 it rained Garters and crosiers. There had been an epidemic among deans and judges, and as for the bishops the Premier positively believed they died to vex him. . . . Prelates and Garters went on dying, and in the midst of weightier affairs he had to balance noble and most noble susceptibilities, and to compare nice shades of theological thought."

And how carefully and conscientiously he performed his task these volumes show. The Session of 1837 gave the Ministry a decided triumph for their Irish Municipal Reform Bill; but various by-elections, especially that for Westminster, showed the decline of their popularity in the country; in mid-Session William IV. died, and by the consequent demise of the Crown the dissolution of the existing Parliament became inevitable.

The early years of the new reign were the period of Lord Melbourne's most active and most useful public service. The Queen told the Duke of Wellington—

"that Lord Melbourne rendered her the greatest possible service, making her acquainted with the mode and policy of the Government of this country, initiating her into the laws and spirit of the Constitution; teaching her, in short, to preside over the destinies of this great country. Years after the Queen records in her diary how truly and sincerely she 'deplored' the loss of one who was a most kind and disinterested friend of mine, and most sincerely attached to me."*

* "Life of Prince Consort," vol. ii. p. 157.

The evil genius of the present reign soon appeared on the scene. It was rumoured that Baron Stockmar was to be private Secretary to the Queen. "There is of course no truth," wrote Melbourne confidentially to a colleague, "in Stockmar's appointment. It should be quietly contradicted." Rather than that important office should be held by a foreigner, ignorant and impatient of parliamentary government, and with strong leanings towards personal government by the Crown, Lord Melbourne patriotically undertook the private secretaryship himself. No one was better fitted than he for the arduous post, but it much increased his work.

Relieved from the necessities of humouring the prejudices and weaknesses of the deceased Sovereign, Lord Melbourne sought to give effect to the principles on which he had learned from Mr. Fox Ireland should be governed, and Lord John Russell, as Home Secretary, addressed to Earl Mulgrave, then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, a letter commending the spirit in which he had theretofore conducted the Government, and by command of the Queen making known her earnest desire "to see her Irish subjects in the full enjoyment of that civil and political equality to which, by a recent statute, they were entitled, and that she was convinced that when invidious distinction were altogether obliterated her throne would be more secure and her people more truly united."* O'Connell addressed a letter to the people of Ireland loudly expressing devotion to the young Queen, and praise of the Administration. The value of this demonstration was shrewdly appreciated by Melbourne. "His (O'Connell's) love is only less injurious than his enmity; such letters from him do us harm in England, I know not whether they do us good in Ireland."†

The soundness of this judgment was shown by the result of the general election of 1837. In England the Conservatives gained a majority, but the scale was turned by the votes of the Scotch and Irish constituencies, who gave the Ministers a fair working majority. Then began that "invaluable series of investigations, by Royal Commissions, into all that concerned the moral, social, and religious welfare of the people, which was conducted under Lord Melbourne's auspices,"‡ and which were destined in after years to bear much and good fruit. In their legislation the Government were not successful. In the Commons their majority decreased by defeat of their candidates at nearly every by-election which occurred. In the Lords, Lyndhurst joined forces with Brougham to harass and annoy them. Canadian politics gave trouble. Trade and finance were dis-

* *Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 236.

† *Ibid.* p. 240.

‡ Trevelyan, "*Life of Macaulay*," vol. ii. p. 59.

turbed. The Irish Tithe Bill could only be carried by the sacrifice of the appropriation clauses, "with a disastrous effect upon the Ministers' influence and reputation, from which they never recovered." The Session of 1839 was at first disastrous to Government. A vote of censure on their Irish policy was carried in the Lords by five votes, but obtained the approval of the Commons by a majority of twenty-two.

On the 7th May, in a full House of Commons they found themselves in a majority of only five on a Bill which proposed to suspend the Legislative Assembly of Jamaica.

Lord Melbourne and his colleagues resigned. Sir R. Peel was sent for, but he was not anxious to take office at that time. It was said, "he was anxious to be brought in by the great interests." A difficulty about removing the Ladies of the Queen's Household gave him the pretext he required, and he abandoned the task he had at first undertaken. The Melbourne Ministry resumed office with the result thus well described: "The leaders of the great party which had marched into office across the steps of the throne, stood feebly at bay behind the petticoats of their wives and sisters."

Lord Brougham put forth all his power of sarcasm and inveighed against their return to office under such circumstances. The Premier in one house, the Home Secretary in the other, defended the course they had taken—in neither House did any one propose to take a hostile vote on the subject. Lord Russell has since owned it would have been better for the reputation of the Ministry if they had retired before they were further weakened by the loss of some of their colleagues and a further demonstration of their legislative inefficiency. The Session did not pass without two great Government measures being carried—not without strong opposition. The one was the reduction of the postage—a measure which Mr. Torrens truly describes as "transcending in extent, degree, universality and value, every other fiscal reform of our time." The Premier displayed his usual tact and skill in piloting the measure through the shoals and quicksands of the Upper House. The second was the commencement of national education. The Queen, soon after her accession, signified to Lord Melbourne that she had set her heart on her reign being remembered by the inauguration of a system of National Education. The suspicion and distrust with which the bishops and clergy would regard any measure on Education proposed by a Whig Government indisposed Melbourne to take up the question, but on his restoration to office he decided to make a beginning. The jealousy of the Church, his dwindling majority in the Commons, and the distressed state of our finances,

prevented the proposal of a large or comprehensive measure. Lord John Russell, in a cautious speech, proposed that the sum of 30,000*l.* should be yearly voted by Parliament for the aid of existing schools,—the fund to be administered under the direction of a committee of the Privy Council, of which Lord Lansdowne as Lord-President undertook the supervision. The vote was carried in the Commons after strong opposition. In the Lords an address of remonstrance was carried, the Premier in framing the Royal message in reply conveyed as much rebuke to his opponents as was proper to the Sovereign to administer to the Upper House.

In the autumn of 1839 the Cabinet was remodelled, and Macaulay was introduced into it as Secretary of War. "The credit is due to Melbourne of being the first Premier since the death of Stanhope, who opened the doors of the Cabinet to one who was simply and merely a man of letters." The Queen had now reigned two years, and the events of that time convinced the Premier it would be better for the honour, comfort, and security of his young mistress that the wish of her relations should be gratified, and that she should marry her cousin Prince Albert. Lord Melbourne had been the Queen's confidential friend and adviser from the first, and he knew that after her marriage he would hold that position no longer. A man more selfish and more greedy of power would have interposed obstacles and delays. Lord Melbourne did everything in his power to bring about the marriage as early as possible.

Parliament met in January, 1840; the proceedings in both Houses on the measures relative to the Royal Marriage were, to say the least, animated by a jealousy of the Ministry which proposed them, and the Premier's soul was vexed thereat.

In the Commons, a direct vote of want of confidence in the Government was proposed but defeated. The debate was one of the most brilliant of modern times. One of the best speeches was that of Lord Melbourne's former colleague (Lord Stanley); it concluded with the stinging taunt "we will leave to others the *name*, while we are content to wield the *authority* of Government." It was plain to all that the end of the Ministry was at hand. Sydney Smith being asked in reference to a popular actor and farce of that day, whether he had seen "Power" in "His Last Legs," replied, "Yes, I have just come from Lord Melbourne." Lyndhurst again summed up the Ministerial failures of the Session, in a caustic and telling speech which nettled the Premier exceedingly—he charged the opposition in reply, and with perfect justice and truth, "with reckless abuse of their power to frustrate and delay useful measures in order that

they might have the pretence for complaining that nothing had been done."* Another vexation the Premier suffered was the fanatical cry raised against him, for having, with a want of caution very uncommon in him, presented at Court the Soci-list leader, Robert Owen.

At the opening of 1841 the state of the finances were a great embarrassment to the Government. The Anti-Corn Law League was already formed, and demanded the total and immediate Repeal of the Corn Laws. Lord Melbourne had said to a free-trade deputation in 1839, that "the man who proposed such a thing was mad and fit for Bedlam"† but now his own Chancellor of the Exchequer (Sir F. Baring), proposed to him a fixed duty of 8s. per quarter on foreign corn and a large reduction in the sugar and timber duties.

To this plan Lord Melbourne assented. The Ministerial proposal on the sugar duties was defeated by thirty-six votes. Sir John Campbell (the Attorney-General) seeing the end at hand, thought it a fitting time to press his claims to be raised to the Bench and the Peerage. This led to Lord Melbourne assenting to or not opposing the intrigues, which resulted in the enforced withdrawal from the Irish Chancellorship of Plunket, his former colleague, and the object of his especial confidence and admiration, in order that Sir John Campbell,‡ a stranger alike to the Irish Bar and to Equity Jurisprudence, might for a few weeks sit as Chancellor. "In reality," says Mr. Torrens, "neither the inception of the scheme nor its accomplishment belonged to Melbourne, but he must be fairly held to share the blame generally cast on the transaction." A vote of want of confidence in the Government was proposed by Sir Robert Peel and carried by one vote.

Parliament was dissolved. The constituencies returned a Conservative protectionist majority. The new Parliament met in August, and on the 28th an amendment to the address was carried by a majority of ninety-one,—Lord John Russell, with true prophetic insight and foresight, foretelling that Sir R. Peel and his followers would come into power to carry the measures for proposing which the Whigs were expelled. On the same day Lord Melbourne finally resigned office. His fall caused him no grief, but he "felt some degree of anxiety as it might occasion trouble and uneasiness to her Majesty." "For four

* *Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 338.

† Browning's "Autobiographical Recollections," p. 293.

‡ It is due to Lord Campbell's memory to say that on his appointment he waived all claim to a pension which legally he would have been entitled to claim on ceasing to hold office.

years," he said, "I have seen you every day, but it is so different now to what it would have been in 1839, the Prince understands everything so well."*

The frequent interviews between the Queen and her First Minister had given occasion to frequent jibes and sneers from his Tory opponents. On one occasion some such remarks were made in the presence of the Duke of Wellington, who remarked, "I wish he saw her oftener." Lord Melbourne was more than once pressed to take promotion in the Peerage and the Garter; he refused both, saying, as to the latter *more suo*, "A Garter may attach to us somebody of consequence, whom nothing else will reach; but what would be the use of my taking it, I cannot bribe myself."†

With Lord Melbourne's resignation his public life may said to have closed. The wear and tear of the last seven years brought upon him impaired strength, less buoyant spirits, and diminished powers of exertion. In the Session of 1842 he attended the House regularly and spoke frequently, but in the November of that year he had a paralytic seizure. From this he recovered to take once more his place as Leader of the Opposition, but the seizure had affected his speech, and we find no trace of his again addressing the House, though once again he spoke at a public dinner.

He was much neglected by his former political friends and partisans, and he felt it. "I am glad," he said to a visitor, "you are come. I have sat here watching that timepiece, and heard it strike four times without seeing the face of a human being; and had it struck the fifth I feel I could not have borne it."‡

We are glad to notice that in the last melancholy years of his life communications from the Queen and the Prince were often the means of cheering him up.§

He watched with interest and amusement the disintegration of the Conservative party, and the adoption by Sir Robert Peel of that policy for proposing and upholding which he had been disingenuously opposed and then hurled from power. On the abortive attempt to form a Whig Ministry in December, 1845, and on the formation of Lord John Russell's Government in June, 1846, he was not even consulted. His health was no doubt affected, and he could not have undertaken high office, but he thought the Privy Seal should at least have been offered him. His judgment was as sound as ever, and in the absence of explanations the treatment he received at the hands of his old Lieutenant,

* Memoirs, vol. ii. pp. 366, 367.

† Ibid. p. 289.

‡ Ibid. p. 399.

§ The Queen's Journal, quoted in "Life of Princess Consort," vol. ii. p. 157.

Lord John Russell, and his other colleagues, cannot be called otherwise than neglect—the more so as “he was ready when asked, as he was not unfrequently by Lord John, to afford the benefit of his experience and advice.”* For instance, in the panic of 1817 he was consulted as to giving the Bank power to extend its issue beyond the limits prescribed by law, and the Ministry acted in accordance with his advice. In books and social intercourse he took to the end undiminished delight. The last act of his political life as his first, was in favour of religious liberty. On the 24th of May, 1848, he voted (by proxy) in favour of the Jewish Disabilities Bill. In the November following he had another paralytic seizure, and on the 24th of the month, having attained his seventieth year, he passed away.

Reviewing Lord Melbourne's career, we cannot improve upon the judgment of Lord Lytton, which we have already quoted. It seems to us one of the best illustrations of the benefit to the country ensuing from the existence and influence of a Liberal aristocracy, which are so well explained and defended by Mr. Lecky, in his *History of England during the 18th century*.†

As a politician he was throughout consistent. It may be said of him as of another Whig politician, “That he pitched his Whigism low in order that he might keep it there.” As a Minister he was exposed to the most profligate and unscrupulous opposition known in our parliamentary history; yet in spite of it he carried, not to mention other measures, the Reform of the Municipal Corporations of England and Ireland. The Acts Amending the Poor Laws and the Tithe Law, both of England and Ireland; these, with the cheapening of the Postage, and the initiation of a system of National Education, are no mean triumphs in the field of wise and beneficent legislation. Greater merit even that this he can claim. As Minister and confidential adviser of a youthful female Sovereign, he impressed on her rule the pre-eminently constitutional character by which at least the first thirty-seven years of the present reign were characterised. In this respect we may claim for him an equality with the greatest and most trusted Ministers of other female reigns—with the Councillors of the reign of Elizabeth and with him—in sight of whose ancestral home these lines are written, Godolphin, of the reign of Anne.

* *Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 397.

† *Vide* vol. i. p. 170 to 180.

ART. VI.—THE SITUATION IN THE EAST AND THE
FUTURE OF RUSSIA.

1. *The Protocols of the Berlin Congress.* 1878.
2. *The Berlin Treaty.* 1878.
3. *The Anglo-Turkish Convention.* 1878.
4. *England's Mission.* By the Right Hon. W. E. GLADSTONE, in the "Nineteenth Century" of September, 1878.
5. *Cyprus, Historical and Descriptive.* Adapted from the German of FRANZ VON LÖHER. With much Additional Matter, by Mrs. A. BATESON JOYNER. London: 1878.
6. *India and her Neighbours.* By W. P. ANDREW. London: 1878.
7. *The Ukase concerning the "Secret Group of Evil-minded Men,"* of August 21, 1878.

SO far back as April last we pointed to a coming complication in Afghanistan, entering upon details which some may have thought at the time to be scarcely in direct connexion with the Eastern Question. We alluded, in doing so, to a personal communication from a prominent Afghan, who knows Russia well, and who said that "if once the Mucovites had succeeded in lodging themselves in that rocky bastion, which at present serves as a protection to English dominion in India, it would be utterly impossible to dislodge them again." We added:—"There is but *one* Power in the world which aims at the overthrow of British rule in Asia. It is the Power which has invaded the Khanates of once independent Tatory; which seeks its way along the Attek towards Merv; which projects strategical railways towards Teheran and Tashkend; which intrigues with Persia; and which, after having got the mastery over the gigantic Caucasian bulwark, now breaks down Turkey, the protecting wall for the free and safe passage of English ships through Egypt. All these movements lead to the same conclusion. The Gospel of Philanthropy and Civilisation, which is put forward by the Czar's emissaries or dupes, merely serves as a convenient mask."

In the same article we referred to the "Memorandum of a confidential conversation of Count Schuvaloff with Lord Derby" (June 8, 1877), in which the Czar's Ambassador denied that it was the interest of Russia to trouble England in her Indian possessions. Count Schuvaloff remarked:—"The war which is *at present* going on does not demand it; for its object is clearly defined, and matters would be complicated rather than simplified

by so vast an extension of the struggle." We, on our part, observed:—"So the *present* war does not demand the troubling of England in her Indian possessions! That will come afterwards in due time. Russian diplomacy has always been great in such leering, ironical, and yet highly polite, covert threats. Those who cannot read and interpret them are naturally marked out as their victims."

We have not had to wait long for a verification of this surmise, made six months ago. No sooner has the Eastern Question, in its application to the Lower Danube, the Balkans, the Dardanelles, and Armenia, been disposed of for a little while than the Central Asian Question, the question of Afghanistan, the question of the security of our Indian Empire, comes up with considerable force. Merv and Herat, the Bolan and the Kyber Pass, Shir Ali and the Russian Embassy to that ruler, have suddenly become familiar words. Ay, they have become words of threatening import, even to those who formerly believed in Lord Salisbury's proposition, that a dangerous enemy can be best kept at bay by buying the largest maps possible, so that the gradual advance of the hostile party may still look very far off from the vital points of its intended victim. War with Afghanistan is "in sight." We apprehend that many will yet have cause to rue the day when they allowed themselves to be persuaded, by the advocates of the civilising mission of "Holy Russia," that Turkey had better been overthrown by Cossack hosts. In our opinion, the struggle against the Asiatic ambition of Czardom, which will never be satisfied until England shall have been brought down from her ruling position, is only delayed, but it cannot be avoided. For that reason alone, irrespective even of all other great considerations of European security, freedom, and culture, we held, and hold, it to be the interest of this country not to allow the destruction of an Empire which, in case of a contest with Russia, would be able to effect the most serviceable diversion.

We do not regard it as "England's Mission" to let herself be cribbed, cabined, and confined within her own tight little island for the sake of Muscovite autocracy. We have to think of the future—of vast political, industrial, and commercial interests, in which the interests of the working classes of England are involved to the largest extent. It is scarcely necessary for us to declare that we feel not the slightest sympathy with "Imperialism." The creation of a flash title like that of "Kaisar-i-Hind" we look upon as a sorry pandering to reprehensible Court tastes and petty Court rivalries. However, we do not, on that account, regard it as the duty of a Liberal or Radical to fling all the larger concerns of this country to the winds by throwing the insulting words "Imperialism" or "Jingoism" after them. If

the logical consequence of Mr. Gladstone's utterances were drawn, he himself would stand aghast at the social problem suddenly created in these isles by the disorganisation of our political edifice, and the shutting up of some of our most valuable labour-markets. It is easy, between picturesque tree-felling in the park of Hawarden, to utter finely drawn phrases at which the military *attachés* of Russian embassies must laugh in their sleeves. But when the toiling, struggling mass of people, who can scarcely fathom the importance of England's Asiatic dominion, though the loss of it would come home to them very quickly in a terrible manner—when the disinherited many, who “weave with toil and care,” would one day feel the pinching result of a mistaken pro-Russian policy, and find “fair England” to be for them nothing better than a “sepulchre”—then a struggle of mad despair would begin, which would exhaust the energies of the stoutest-hearted, and for which the smooth-tongued Parliamentarians of the present day would be as fit as babes are for lifting a hundredweight.*

It is true, Mr. Gladstone himself avers that he too has a feeling for his country's greatness; but, with all due respect for the great ability of the former leader of the Liberal party, and whilst fully acknowledging that he has been the means of promoting some highly useful and important measures, we are by no means impressed with the way in which he now tells us that he once intended achieving national greatness. The measures of which he prides himself as having been taken in regard to America; the revelation he makes of the wish he entertained, in 1863, to form an alliance of England with the representative of the most tyrannic and most corrupt Imperialism, with the Man of December, for denying to the German people of Schleswig-Holstein their right of nationality and self-government; the curious doubts he casts on the origin of the war so insolently undertaken, without any provocation, by Napoleon III.

* Speaking of what he calls the “Materialists of Politics”—that is, those who occupy themselves with the realities of a nation's life and concerns—Mr. Gladstone declares that, “if by some vast convulsion our transmarine possessions could be all submerged, the very same energies of that very same (English) people would discover other inhabited or inhabitable spaces of the globe on which to repeat its work, or would, without them, in other nodes, assert its undiminished greatness.” It is difficult to say which idea is more to be admired—the naïve geographical notion that there are yet spaces of the globe, of the existence of which, as at Columbus' time, we do not know at present; or the proposition that the English people, deprived of all its transmarine possessions, is to “repeat its work” on some, as yet undiscovered, “inhabited or inhabitable part of the earth.” As to the conclusion of the sentence quoted, it is so beautifully indefinite in its childlike vagueness that it is impossible to say what the author means at all.

—a fact not questioned even by patriotic Republicans like Louis Blanc: all this strange evidence Mr. Gladstone furnishes of his own sympathy with “national greatness,” is to us very unconvincing indeed. The cause of humanity, of progress and justice, which he professes to have so much at heart, would have been served very indifferently had he had his own sweet will, as indicated in his retrospective remarks in the *Nineteenth Century*.

We now come to the heartrending and hideous proofs of what we said, in April last, with reference to Russian barbarism—namely, that “the Gospel of Philanthropy and Civilisation which is put forward by the Czar’s emissaries or dupes merely serves as a convenient mask.”

Whilst we are writing, the report of the Rhodope Commission is not yet at hand; in fact, owing to the tactics of the Czar’s delegate, its publication as a united commissioners’ report has been stopped. However, there is a concordance of evidence concerning these fiendish, wholesale, historically unmatched atrocities in the French, German, and English press of so overwhelming a kind that Mr. Gladstone himself, as well as Lord Shaftesbury, have thought fit—at least by letters of a few lines—to protest against the demoniacal doings of their Bulgarian clients.* Moreover, there is already before us a great deal of official testimony—English, French, Austro-Hungarian, and Italian—which fully confirms the statements of the British and Continental journals. We will first deal with those “Voices of the Press”—all the more so because in them we find the statements of the Rhodope Commission foreshadowed.

Says the well informed Constantinople correspondent of the *Standard* on the great massacre near Hermauli, before which the horrors of the night of St. Bartholomew pale:—

“The report of the Mixed Commission of Inquiry into the condition of the Mahometan refugees in the Rhodope Mountains was signed yesterday by the French, Italian, Turkish, and English Commissioners.

* In his article on “England’s Mission,” Mr. Gladstone, speaking of the expected reports of the Rhodope Commission, says in a short note:—

“They (the reports) allege against Russians, as well as Bulgarians, a multitude of cases of cruel and revolting outrage. It would be idle to suppose that the Russian authorities can, under circumstances so terrible, stop every excess. But they are surely bound to make every so-called Christian, be he Russian or Bulgarian, who commits murder or other inhuman crime, pay, and that very promptly, the forfeit with his life. If they fail or falter in this duty, they will cover their Emperor and nation with disgrace; and unless they confute some very definite statements of British agents in these papers (pp. 52, 55), it would appear that *they have already and lamentably failed in it*; besides prosecuting against the Mussulmans measures which seem nearly to approach to WHOLESALE CONFISCATION OF THEIR LANDS.”

The Austrian Commissioner had voted for the acceptance of the report ; but the Russian representative retired from the Commission some time ago. I am informed that the report established conclusively that, after the signing of the armistice, *the Russian regular troops burned eighty Mahometan villages between Staninko and Demotica.* I have reason to believe that the report also proves conclusively that one day, at the end of February, there were 15,000 waggons full of refugees, men, women, and children, between Kasköi and Hermanli. These were attacked by Cossacks, brutally treated, and put to flight through deep snow. On the following day they were again attacked by regular Russian infantry and artillery, and were at night driven into a *cul de sac* formed by the junction of the rivers Maritza and Sazlü-Dere. In *this cul de sac* the Russian artillery, posted on heights, played upon the helpless crowd without intermission FOR TWELVE HOURS. *The women flying from the fire of the Russians threw their children into the rivers.* TWO THOUSAND BODIES OF CHILDREN WERE TAKEN OUT OF THE RIVER SAZLÜ-DERE. The members of the mixed Commission, travelling through the scene of the slaughter, were horrified by the sight of the skeletons of men, women, and children. This butchery of helpless Moslems was perpetrated, mostly in cold blood, by regular Russian troops under the command of their officers. I am told the report also shows that there are now 150,000 Moslem refugees in Mount Rhodope. (OF THESE NEARLY ONE-HALF ARE SAID TO BE WIDOWS. THE RUSSIAN COMMANDERS DO ALL IN THEIR POWER TO PREVENT THESE POOR PEOPLE FROM RETURNING HOME, AND INCITE THE BULGARIANS TO ATTACK THOSE WHO DO RETURN.)

The Constantinople correspondent of the *Liberal Manchester Guardian* writes :—

“The revelations brought to light by the Rhodope Commissioners exceed in horror by many degrees the worst affairs that occurred in the suppression of the Bulgarian insurrection, and ample evidence has been collected of *the share taken in the fiendish work by the RUSSIAN AUTHORITIES.* It seems to be considered by all alike amongst the invaders that the Mohammedan race must be cleared out in order to insure a complete Slav character for the new States to be created out of the conquered Ottoman territory. I have it upon the authority of a friend in whom I have every confidence, that even Count Skoboleff himself is no stranger to this idea, for in the heat of argument with the acting French Consul at this place, when the latter was endeavouring to call his attention to the misdeeds of the Bulgarian soldiers, the observation was allowed to slip that ‘THIS RACE MUST BE DESTROYED OR ROOTED OUT.’ The Commissioners have now in their hands trustworthy evidence of the murder of 1000 babes and little children. All and much more than was alleged with respect to the conduct of the Bashi-Bazouks in the suppression of the Bulgarian insurrection has been put in practice by the savages released from restraint by the arrival of the Russian troops. The details with respect to the treatment of women, of which evidence has been collected by Mr. Fawcett and his colleagues,

are revolting in the extreme. No wonder the Russian member left the Commission in disgust. The inquiry was bringing too many ugly facts to light. The insurgents, as they are called, still maintain their position in the strongholds of the Rhodope Mountains, defying the efforts of the Russians to put them down."

This is the application of the "bag and baggage" policy with a vengeance. Again, let us hear a correspondent of the *Pall Mall Gazette* on the treatment awarded to women by the Russians and their allies. He says:—

"The Rhodope Commission having completed its circuit, under shade of tent and tree, in village after village, from the coast to the Arda, and beyond that river over the long plain from Stanimaka to Hasskeui down to Adrianople and Demotica, arrived the other day in Constantinople laden with a thick volume of *procès verbaux*, sick and sorry all round, save only Mr. Fawcett, who was sorry but not sick. And there was plenty to make him sorry; for the *procès verbaux* tell a sickening tale—a tale that became so intolerably distressing one day that the Commission actually broke down, and almost joined in the bitter weepings of some hundreds who had come under the harrow of Russian Christianisation; whereupon Mr. Fawcett, who was president, dissolved the sitting. The particular incident which upset the Commission was the testimony of a man concerning the fate of his wife. The woman was very far advanced in pregnancy, and her appearance gave rise first to coarse jokes on the part of some officers of the army of the Czar, and then to curiosity, which took the form of betting as to the sex of the coming infant. The bets were decided on the spot, and when the *procès verbaux* are published you will see how—I dare not tell so ghastly a tale. THERE SEEMS TO BE A SINGULAR PREJUDICE IN THE RUSSIAN ARMY IN FAVOUR OF CUTTING OFF THE BREASTS OF WOMEN, for wherever the Commission sat, it found cases of this form of mutilation. Rolling women in tar or petroleum, or other inflammable substances, and then setting them alight, is a method of torture more rarely resorted to; but fire seems to have been found a convenient instrument of destruction when a good lot of Mussulmans were trapped together in a barn, or the like. I will say no more now about these *procès verbaux*, but let some one at home insist on their publication, and on the publication of Mr. Calvert's report about the military executions of Kezanlik. Why should we all be believing the wrong thing? And it is much by luck that we may know the truth now. For the Austrian Ambassador, Zichy, and the German *chargé d'affaires*, Radolinski—Pole as he is—and the Italian *chargé d'affaires*, Galvagni, telegraphed every day to their men on the Rhodope Commission, bidding them '*ménager*,' '*adoucir*,' '*ne pas donner lieu à un scandale*,' &c. &c. But Mr. Fawcett and M. Chalet, the French Commissioner, were very decided about not being accessories after the fact to Russian barbarity. Thanks to them, the truth has been ascertained, and those who wish to know it will shortly find it in the archives of the Foreign Office, at any rate. I told you of the Russian falsehood about the

Rhodope insurrection. The best of it is that while the Commission was there at the head-quarters of the army of defence, at Karatarlar, the Russians sent a flag of truce, with official communications, to Ildayet Bey, styling him 'Commander-in-chief of the Army of Defence of the Pomak Nation.' There is, in the opinion of the Commission, an amount of vitality and power in the Rhodope 'insurrection' which renders its resolution into peaceful elements a problem far from easy to solve."

The Pomaks, it may be remembered, are themselves of Bulgar or mixed Bulgaro-Greek origin, but in religion Mohammedan. Their commander-in-chief has furnished to a correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph* a long horrible list of atrocities, headed with the significant words:—"Show the enclosed to friends of Mr. Gladstone; bless them!" It is a catalogue of murders and of rape committed against girls and women, whose age ranged from six to forty-nine. The list refers to a single village, but contains numerous cases of the most ghastly nature.

In one instance a young girl, named Fatime, was "ill-treated" (this euphemism has been everywhere applied by the correspondent for rape) until she became mad. A girl of sixteen was violated, and afterwards compelled to dance before the Bulgarians. The wife of Murad Hatid, thirty years of age, declares:—"I was bound with my hands behind my back, and for three days delivered to the lust and brutality of the soldiers." A woman of forty reports that she was violated over and over by the Cossacks, and then given to the Bulgarians, who kept her four days in the mountains. Old men and women were mercilessly beheaded or shot. Softa Ohxtu Hassan, aged seventy, had his head chopped off with an axe, in the presence of all his family.

The original of the declarations referring to these horrors, is signed by the survivors. "This"—says the Commander of the Army of Defence in the Rhodope Mountains—"is one case out of a thousand. Such is the civilising system of Russia, and the conduct of Mr. Gladstone's mock Bulgarians. Over 50,000 women and children were murdered by the holy crusaders; and I defy a single case of murder to be proved against a soldier under my command." But then, Mr. E. A. Freeman, the arch-crusader, has taught us that atrocities committed by Bulgars cannot, morally, be placed on the same level with the guilt of the unspeakable Turk. Such highly religious casuistry has never failed to make its appearance when the "Cross" was to be avenged. We wonder, however, whether the fertile pen and fluent tongue of others who have hitherto worked in common with Mr. Freeman, will not have to say something better on this subject than we can expect from that ardent admirer of mad Peter of Amiens, who would rather let "perish the interests of

England, perish our dominion in India," than "that we should withstand the advance of Russia."

Among the Liberals or Radicals in Parliament who have firmly and nobly stood out against the prevalent pro-Russian current of the Opposition, Mr. Joseph Cowen, the member for Newcastle-on-Tyne, must be mentioned foremost. With a stirring eloquence that wrung a tribute of admiration even from some of his antagonists, he passed a scathing judgment upon Russian tyranny, supporting it by quotations from historical records which no honest man will gainsay. It is a pity that voices like the one of Mr. Cowen did not make themselves heard when the summer-madness of philo-Russianism first threatened to pass over the Opposition ranks. What mischief to Liberal prospects at home might have been avoided! What blood might have been spared which has since been shed abroad in torrents!

The *Newcastle Chronicle*, which itself had yielded for a time to the views so persistently urged by Mr. Gladstone, now says, under better guidance, with great truth and force:—

"We have briefly recalled the incidents of the 'Bulgarian Atrocities' for the purpose of directing the attention of our readers to proceedings equally horrible, of which that unhappy country has just been the theatre. This time, however, it is the Christian Bulgars and the holy and liberating Russians that are the criminals, and the 'unspeakable Turk' that is the victim. In another column will be found such a chronicle of horrors as has seldom been put before an English newspaper reader. We don't wish to exaggerate the disgust and indignation with which all Englishmen, not blinded by party passion, will read the fiendish record of Bulgarian and Russian brutality. But we may add to the statements sent from Constantiuople by the correspondents of contemporaries a notice of beastly outrages, communicated to us from a trustworthy source, that have been committed on several unfortunate Turks. The women not only had their breasts cut off and the nipples thrust into their mouths, but *the men had parts of their bodies dealt with in exactly the same way*. Other countries will be curious to learn what the politicians, and the papers, and the preachers that denounced so loudly the conduct of the Turks in 1876, will say to the conduct of the Bulgarians and the Russians in 1878. Shall we have any meetings or Conferences held to denounce the perpetration of the more recent atrocities, as we had to decry those committed two years ago? We fear not. There will be mild, but doubtless sincere, regrets expressed by many. But not a few will attempt to excuse and palliate the people they have so persistently patronised. And others will console themselves with the reflection that the men and women now maltreated and murdered are only Mahometans, while the people who slew them were Christians. To our thinking the faith of the sufferers is a matter of small moment. We warmly denounced the barbarities of the Turks, and we denounce with equal earnestness the

greater barbarities of the Russians and their protégés. Some day perhaps Englishmen will realise the mistake they have made in encouraging the aggressive and the most deadening and heartless despotism that curses the earth. The Russians evidently mean to annihilate the Turks, as they have striven, fortunately so far without success, to annihilate the Poles."

But it still remains to us—lest these quotations from Conservative, Liberal, and Radical papers of this country should appear one-sided—to make at least a passing allusion to the foreign press. We will neither refer to Republican and Democratic prints in France or Germany, though these are the most energetic in their denunciation of Russian tyranny and barbarism, as well as of the false tactics of the English Opposition. We prefer alluding to a Berlin paper, which is neither Turcophile, nor anti-Russian in the so-called "Jingo" sense, but on the contrary has often attacked "Jingoism." The Liberal *Vossische Zeitung* says, in its Vienna correspondence:—"It is officially proved now that in presence of the horrors which are being committed by Cossacks and Bulgars in Roumelia, the 'Bulgarian atrocities' denounced by Mr. Gladstone in 1876 recede, as comparatively far less important, into the background. The deeds of the former enormously surpass the Mohammedan atrocities of Batak. The latest horrors are all the more abominable because the Russians professed to come into the country as 'civilisers,' and because the regular Russian troops there have played the same nefarious part as the wild Tcherkess and Bashi-Bazouk hordes did in May, 1876. The description of the unspeakable disgust with which the members of the Rhodope Commission were seized at the sight of the skeleton heaps at Hermanli, reads like a more powerful copy of the picture which offered itself, two years ago, at Batak."

From official documents, so far as they have come to hand, we have yet to give some passages, in order to show that newspaper correspondents had not exaggerated, but only been beforehand in supplying information.

Vice-Consul Brophy writes, under date of Bourgas, 10th July, 1878:—

"In my despatch of the 4th instant I mentioned the fact of the Mussulman villagers of Kara Abbaklier having been plundered, tortured, &c., by Bulgarians. I have now the honour to report to your Excellency that the village in question is one of three which alone of all the Turkish villages refused to leave their homes when steamers were sent here by the Ottoman Government to carry away the Mussulman emigrants from the Hassaki district. The two others, Belevren and Ahlatli Kebir, have, I regret to say, been also sacked at various times by their Bulgarian neighbours, and so effectually that at

the present moment there are not ten pairs of working beasts in the two villages, which collectively number about 120 families. From Belevren alone, 300 head of oxen, buffaloes, and horses, were carried off at once some weeks since, and it is literally impossible for a Turk to stir outside his village without running the risk of being fired at; so that these peasants have but little hope of being able to reap their crops. They have complained to the local Council here, but without effect. In a recent conversation with a Bulgarian peasant whom I have known for many years, from the environs of Karnabad, he told me that cattle-lifting was now more frequent than it had ever been previously. On asking whether the Turks of the mountains (in the neutral zone) ever came to rob, I was told, 'No; but our Bulgarians go into the hills and steal Turkish cattle.' To a question I put as to the provisional Government of Karnabad, I received the answer that the action of the authorities there might be characterised by the phrase 'undisguised robbery' ('atchik soighoundjoulouk'). Not only are the Bulgarian peasants and Bulgarian members of the local Administrations thus permitted with impunity to plunder and do worse, but the Provisional Government itself appears *bent upon the ruin of the Mussulman element throughout the country*; all the Turks who have returned here for the purpose of claiming their sown crops are prohibited from getting them reaped, and their fields have either been confiscated by the authorities, or sold to Bulgarians at a tithe of their market value, whilst some of them have been told plainly that Mussulmans have no longer the right to possess property in this country. From a member of the Local Council of Bourgas I learn that on the 8th inst. an order was received here, according to which '*no assistance was to be given to any Mussulman, no matter what his previous character or reputation, who, having once quitted the country, may return to claim houses, land, or any other property, movable or immovable.*' Whether the information thus given me be or not literally correct, I have no hesitation in affirming that the Bulgarian local authorities have acted, are still acting, and apparently intend to continue to act, in the spirit of the alleged order."

There is another report by Mr. Brophy, concerning the persecution of Jews by Russo-Bulgarians at Karnabad. Some of our present instructors in Liberalism make light, it is true, of anything happening to men of the Mosaic creed. They do not seem to acknowledge that even a Jew "hath eyes, hands, organs, dimensions, senses, affections," and so forth, like the most devout believer in that so-called "Religion of Love," whose tenets are at present so strangely interpreted by the fiery antagonists of the "one anti-human specimen of humanity."

A report on the attempted re-patriation of 200,000 Mussulman refugees, by Consul Reade, under date of July 8th, contains a telling description of "the value of the assurances of protection" given by Prince Dondoukoff-Korsakoff. The condition of that mass of unfortunate human beings is truly a harrowing one. Sir

A. H. Layard, in his communication to the Marquis of Salisbury, of July 18th, says that Prince Labanoff "informed us that he had to state, on the authority of Prince Dondoukoff-Korsakoff, the Imperial Commissioner, that the Mussulman refugees could *not* be allowed to return in any numbers to the districts in the occupation of the Russians, who had no means of protecting them against the Bulgarians. I ventured to remark that if such were the case, these unfortunate people, who ought to be protected by those who had taken possession of their country, *would be left to starve*, as, if they were not to be permitted to go back to their villages, *I did not see how they were to live.*"

But perhaps the Commissioner of Alexander II. was of the opinion of Talleyrand, when the beggar approached the latter with the remark that, after all, he "must live." Talleyrand replied:—"Je n'en vois pas la nécessité." The Russian logic of the bag and baggage policy does not trouble itself with affording the means of living to a population formally excommunicated by Mr. Gladstone from the pale of mankind.

Sir A. H. Layard also reports that—"At our first meeting Prince Labanoff objected to the inquiries of the Commission being extended to territory occupied by the Russian troops, and proposed that, if they commenced in Mount Rhodope, they should end at the Russian lines. But Consul-General Fawcett, Colonel Raab (the Austrian Military Attaché), and two other gentlemen who had been named as members of the Commission, pointed out that if the Russian Ambassador's proposal were accepted, the inquiry could lead to no practical results, as *the greater number of the villages that have been destroyed, and whose inhabitants have been massacred or expelled, ARE WITHIN THE RUSSIAN LINES.*" In fact, the ill-will of the Russian authorities, arising partly from their evil intentions, partly from the consciousness of the crimes committed under their orders, or with their connivance, becomes apparent in all those transactions. Only the firmness shown by the English, Austrian, and French members of this Commission was able to vanquish, to some extent, the unwillingness of the Czar's agents.

Under date of July 20, we read in Sir A. H. Layard's despatch:—"I have received the following information to-day from the International Commissioners at Gumuldjina:—'According to information given by refugees in the neighbourhood of Demotica, it appears that during the last six weeks *the Russians have burnt innocent villages and destroyed the inhabitants.* We have just received trustworthy information that the Russians are on the point of attacking a Turkish village near Karaja, which is outside their lines, and where the Commission intend to go. The Commissioners will endeavour to prevent useless

shedding of blood." Thus we see the Commissioners running fast after the delivering angels—angels of death, in truth—of the "Divine Figures" from the North," in order to stop their swords of extermination, and the torches with which they bring so strange a light to the East.

Well may the English ambassador say, in regard to outrages which are a disgrace to civilisation:—"The unhappy Mussulmans, without the sympathy or help of Europe, must suffer to the bitter end. Those who denounced Bulgarian atrocities, and invited, in the cause of humanity, one of the most cruel and unrighteous of wars, are now silent."

Mr. Fawcett writes:—

"The persons whom I have seen are well-informed, and, I think, impartial. Their unanimous opinion is that if the yoke of the Turks was somewhat hard, that of the Russians is infinitely more so. They ask me to request your Excellency, if possible, to prevent, at any rate for the present, the return of any refugees to Roumelia, as it only exposes them to persecution, *and their women to outrage*. These gentlemen say that the Russian soldiers, though rough, are not by nature cruel, which, from what I saw last year, I fully believe; but they are indifferent, and if they do not encourage, at any rate permit, in many cases, the Bulgarians to maltreat the Turkish population. They further state that the Russians show a great absence of decent feeling. *The smaller mosques are systematically destroyed, the houses of the Turks pulled down, and their cemeteries defaced and defiled, both here and at Philippopolis.* In riding up to these towns from the station you can see palpable evidences of these facts. The same gentlemen likewise complain of the unusual system of billeting pursued by the intendants and the police, who put officers into respectable houses, turning out in many instances the members of the family. This may, perhaps, be allowable in time of war, but it can scarcely be usual *to bring by force women of ill-fame into such houses.* This, nevertheless, I am assured by several persons, was done by the Governor and Vice-Governor of Adrianople at the house of M. Badetti, a most respectable merchant here, at which the Vice-Governor was quartered, and which was occupied by M. Badetti's family at the time. As for the morality of this town, *there are now 3400 registered prostitutes in a place where such a thing was almost wholly unknown before.*"

The same despatch graphically describes Prince Dondoukoff-Korsakoff's hypocritical talk in "a speech nearly an hour long," the upshot of which was, that the several hundred thousand innocent Mussulman refugees could *not* be allowed to return to their homes. Mr. Fawcett also denounces the "most open corruption which prevails in the Russian administration." He furthermore refers to the rigorous levying of taxes amidst all this misery, to the harsh imposition of fresh ones, and the inexo-

nable exaction, by Russia, even of taxes which had been remitted by the Porte to villages that had suffered, in 1870, from the Bashi-Bazouks.

Vice-Consul Calvert writes:—

“ One story of persecution of the most horrible nature, to which I have alluded elsewhere in this Report, has come to light within the last few days, and it is this that has obliged me to qualify as relative the immunity from outrage which the Turks may now be said to enjoy. Yesterday a young Turkish woman came to me and made the following statement:—Her name is Nazik, she is twenty-three years of age, and is a native of Buyuk-Himetly, in the district of Kyzanlik. Her husband, Seid, died three months ago in this town, and she has no relative now living but an uncle, who is staying at Philippopolis. With about one hundred returned refugees from different villages, Nazik was sent away from Philippopolis two months ago. They bore a safe-conduct from the Russian authorities. ‘When we left Philippopolis,’ she said, ‘we slept the first night at Tchirpely; the second night we stopped at Yunkioi, a Bulgarian village. The Russian soldiers, who had been given us as an escort, had left us on the road, and returned to town. At Yunkioi the Bulgarians received us badly. They shut us all up in a barn about thirty feet square, men, women, and children together. It was then about the hour of evening prayer. Shortly afterwards, the door of the barn was thrown open, and a crowd of Bulgarians rushed in among us, at their head a ‘papass’ (priest). I cannot describe in detail what then took place, for I was ill, and lay helpless on the floor in a corner of the barn—my two children, one a girl of twelve months, the other only ten days old, at my side. The Bulgarians were all armed, some with swords and guns, others with axes, clubs, &c. They began by demanding money of us; they searched our persons, and took the little money we had, beating us because we had not more. Then, after binding all the men among us, they rushed upon the women. Each man seized the first woman in his way, and dragged her into the fields and gardens around; THEY RAVISHED EVERY FEMALE OF OUR PARTY, DOWN TO GIRLS OF EIGHT YEARS.’

“ ‘Can you name any of the children who you say were outraged?’

“ ‘Yes; Hassan Prankadji’s sister, Hazirné, was only eight years old—they violated her. Also Rushid’s daughter, Zelhah, ten years old; and Yuzbashi’s daughter, Urkieh, all of Beykioi. The priest himself violated Selim Bashî’s wife, Lutzieh, twenty-four years of age. In the confusion which took place when the Bulgarians were seizing the women, and the women resisting and trying to elude them, my two children were trodden under foot. I cried out: ‘You are killing my children!’ But one of the Bulgars, who carried a gun with a fixed bayonet, turned round and thrust his weapon into the body of my oldest child. It only lived a few minutes longer. My baby died the next evening of the injuries it received. The outraging of the women went on from shortly after sunset till the fourth or fifth hour of the night. In the morning we were allowed to proceed to Beykioi,

which the Russian authorities had assigned to us as a residence. On the way to Beykioi, the family of Konkon Mehmed, consisting of himself, his wife, son, and daughter-in-law, were all murdered, having lagged behind the others and been overtaken by Bulgarians. The life we have led at Beykioi for the last two months, God knows what it has been. Not a week has passed without some one of us women being forced to submit to the worst indignities. *And if we resisted, which we knew to be useless—beating, beating, beating!* WE HAVE BECOME LIKE ANIMALS, AND HAVE FORGOTTEN WHAT IT IS TO FEEL SHAME. Until now the tchorbadjis of Beykioi would not allow any of us to come to town, because they feared we would come to town to complain. Two other women come with me to town. Six others remain at Beykioi, and they beg for the love of God to be allowed to escape from their persecutors. I was not outraged by the Bulgarians, either at Yunkioi or at Beykioi, because I was seriously ill till lately. One day, at Beykioi they dragged me into a garden, but seeing that I was unable to walk or stand, they let me go. I could not identify any of our persecutors at Beykioi, but my companions can. I could recognise some of those who ill-treated us at Yunkioi. I have almost lost my mind. In the space of three months I have lost my mother, my husband, and three children. My eldest child, my husband, and my mother died in Philippopolis."

Messrs. Fawcett, von Raab, and Chalet finally telegraph together to Sir A. H. Layard:—"Evidence of most of the refugees, concerning atrocities committed by Russian soldiers, is unanswerable. M. Basily, the Russian Commissioner, wishes to stop these accusations, *many of which Germany acknowledges to be true.* M. BASILY SAYS HE WILL RETIRE, AND SO PUT AN END TO THE COMMISSION."

Truly, when, in July last, we expressed satisfaction at seeing the conquering career which the Autocrat of all the Russians and Baskirs had pursued "in the fashion of Ghengis Khan and Timur Leng," stopped at last by English intervention, we were even under the mark in our denunciation of Russian barbarism. Such wholesale outrages against women have not even disgraced the path of those Asiatic "Scourges of God."

The "Peace with Honour" which Lord Beaconsfield said he had brought back from Berlin, we are not able to recognise as a very satisfactory arrangement. It is, in Sir Charles Dilke's words, merely a truce. Worse than that, it is an arrangement against which Pomaks, Albanese, Mohammedan and Christian Bosnians, and Lazes, have risen arms in hand. Gradually, these popular insurrections will be overcome; but a fertile source of fresh complications is nevertheless still flowing from the provisions of the Berlin Treaty. The Greek question, too, threatens to bring about an outbreak. Had the pan-Slavonian manœuvres of Russia, and the Czar's territorial lust of aggression been more

firmly met at Berlin, the Porte would, no doubt, have shown greater willingness in acknowledging Hellenic claims. As it is, one can scarcely expect Turkey to allow herself, without protest or resistance, to be territorially diminished, both in front and in the rear.

Among the worst provisions of the Berlin Treaty, must be noted the mandate conferred upon Austria-Hungary, for the occupation of Bosnia and the Herzegovina. We have reason to believe, from what we heard from a trustworthy private source nearly three years ago, that this scheme was originally agreed upon in a personal interview between Alexander II. and Francis Joseph. The Liberal Germans of Austria, as well as the Magyars, always declared against that plan. Every now and then it was, however, broached by the affiliates of the so-called "Slavonian Court Party" at Vienna, at whose head the reactionary, absolutist Archdukes Albrecht and Salvator stand, and which is mainly formed of men of Czechian, Slovene, and Croatian birth, such as General Rodich, who, as governor of Dalmatia, has greatly favoured the Herzegovinian insurrection, which finally led to the Russian intervention.

The Constitutional compromise, or *Ausgleich*, so happily effected, years ago, between Austria and Hungary, can only suffer by the addition of a further South-Slavonian population to the Hapsburg dominions. Liberalism and every kind of progress have their stronghold among the Austrian Germans and the Magyars. Both, however, have to contend, within their respective territories, against reactionary, clerical, feudalist, and centrifugal forces, mainly of Slav origin. Now, to tack on to this already complicated system any fresh Slav tribes of so uncultured a character as those of Bosnia and the Herzegovina are, must of necessity work deep hurt to the cause of parliamentary government. In this is to be found the explanation of the strong antipathy evinced by Austrian Germans against any disturbance of the balance of power in the East, and of the even more energetic demonstrations made in Hungary in favour of the maintenance of Turkey as against Russia.

Curiously enough, this state of feeling among the Magyars has led to a sudden rise, during the recent elections, of the numbers of the Radical Opposition in the Parliament at Pesth. At a first glance the connexion between the issue of the late war and this increase of the strength of the Hungarian Radicals may not be very apparent to the ordinary English reader. Yet the explanation is very simple, though it may jar upon the ears of our own Russophiles.

The fact is, Hungarian Radicals know full well that the safety of the liberties that have been reconquered from the despotic

Hapsburg ruler, and the hopes for an even fuller establishment of the self-government of their country, depend on the way in which the threatening advance of Czardom is met. The more Russia is victorious, the greater grows the danger for the very existence of Hungary. Men like General Fadeyeff, and other pan-Russian propagandists, have openly laid down the maxim that "the way to Constantinople lies through Vienna." A glance at the map shows that Pesth is thus to be circumvented and englobed in the grand scheme of Russian annexations. Indeed, the Katkoffs, Tcherkasskis, and other preachers of the extension of Muscovite dominion, have always roundly asserted that the Magyar has as little business to live in Europe as the Turk. Both are to be driven out, "bag and baggage."

Now, the Magyars have been in Hungary about as long as the English have been in Britain. They therefore naturally object to the promotion, by a so-called Three Emperors' League, of Russian plans which are ultimately directed against their own national existence. The "Slavonian Court party" at Vienna, to whom the ancient Parliamentary system of Hungary is an eyesore and a thorn in the side, would fain get rid of Magyar ascendancy beyond the river Leitha. All the more do the best Liberals and Radicals express their decided wish to see Russia foiled, lest the advancing power of Northern autocracy should at one and the same time encourage the Slavonian Vendeeans within the Hungarian Commonwealth, and cast a blighting shadow over the representative institutions of the country at large.

Neither Count Andrassy, nor Mr. Koloman Tisza, the Hungarian Premier, has taken heed of this strong national and Liberal sentiment. Tisza once was a Radical of Radicals; but office seems to have weakened his energy. Both statesmen were eager, before all, to maintain themselves in a governmental position. Hence they gradually yielded, albeit with a heavy heart, to Court influences which, as Magyars, they could not but condemn. The patriotic and truly Liberal party of Hungary, all through the last three years of the Eastern complication, have loudly called for armed resistance against Russia. Over this fact Mr. Gladstone and Professor Fawcett will not get; but perhaps it does not matter to them in the least. The "Liberalism" of the day—at least here, but nowhere else—consists of running down the men of the Hungarian Revolution, and crying up the Cossack, whose lance speared freedom in 1849. ❀

The significant fact, in the issue of the last Hungarian elections, is, that the "Extreme Left," owing to popular disaffection with the weak policy of Government, has suddenly increased in

an enormous proportion. In 1865 it had only seven representatives in the Reichstag; to-day it has seventy-two. The moderate Opposition which last session counted one hundred and sixteen members, to-day only counts eighty. The decrease it has suffered has been to the advantage of the Extreme Left. The Governmental majority, it is said, has remained the same as regards numbers; it is a majority of about sixty. But the advance made by the Radical section within the Opposition is all the more noteworthy because the Governmental majority itself is not a Conservative, but a Liberal one—only more moderate in its views than the various sections of the Opposition.

Add to this that Mr. Tisza was beaten in what has hitherto been considered almost his pocket borough. The same happened to several of his most intimate friends—such as Jókai, Csernátoni, and others. So also the Minister of Public Instruction, Mr. Trefort, barely carried the election in so ultra-moderate a town as Oedenburg. Other Liberals of less pronounced views had, like the Premier, to seek for a new constituency in order to secure a seat.

Had the Tisza Government and Count Andrassy firmly planted the banner of resistance to Russia, they would have carried the country with them. For justice' sake we must acknowledge that they were hampered by the difficulties they met with at Court, and that, whatever doubt and hesitation, or inclination towards Russia, existed in the Hofburg, was strengthened by the exertions of our own illiberal Opposition. Austria-Hungary could not decide upon a clear course whilst England was divided and distracted. Meanwhile, the large increase, in Hungary, in the number of firmly anti-Russian Radicals, whose guiding principles are the maxims of the Revolution of 1849, is the best proof of what the Hungarian nation thinks both of the Russian cause and of its ill-advised allies here.

We may incidentally refer here to an estimate of the situation of the Liberal party, which has appeared in the *Newcastle Chronicle*. The writer of its London letters says:—

“The policy the Liberal party have followed on the Eastern question has not met with the approval of the majority in Parliament, nor—as far as the elections that have taken place, or the other evidences of public opinion that we possess can be taken as a guide—with the concurrence of the majority of the people. The Liberals have been divided in opinion, but the larger, and certainly the more active, section of them has been strenuously opposed to the action of the Government. . . . The action of the party that pressed Lord Hartington to move his resolution has gone about since complaining of the half-heartedness of the men that either abstained or gave the motion a very unwilling support. The abstainers, on the other hand, accuse the pro-Russian

sympathisers of having *discredited Liberalism in the estimation of the country and of Europe*, and of having indefinitely postponed the day of their return to power. . . . More recently, the principles of what was once commonly known as the Manchester School have permeated the party—Peace, trade, and absolute and unconditional non-intervention—these were the watchwords of the men who five-and-twenty years dominated English Liberalism, and their representatives and descendants to-day share their convictions. There has always been a section of English Radicals who have opposed this limited view of England's duties and responsibilities—*men who hold by the old Democratic faith*, but have nothing in common with the exclusive and insular sentiment of the Manchester party. . . . There are three things in which I think the Liberals have made a mistake. . . . First, they have turned what ought to have been a national question into a party question. Not only the interests but the stability and safety of our dominions were involved in the issues raised in the east of Europe. . . . They seized with avidity upon any mistake that was made; they magnified its importance, and drew all manner of disparaging comparisons between the action of England and that of other nations. No one would have been astonished at any amount of party asperity in discussing questions affecting the extension of the suffrage or the disestablishment of the Church; but when the independence—and possibly the existence—of a portion of our empire was at stake, such a course of procedure was not commendable. When a man's house is in danger of being burnt down, he doesn't stand to inquire the political opinions or religious convictions of the people from the street that come to assist to put the flames out. If the interest and honour of England are to be defended in a great international controversy, it is neither wise nor generous to push partisan and internal differences into prominence, and make support or opposition dependent upon the success or failure of political rivalry.* The second mistake I think the Liberals have committed has been in espousing with so much unnecessary warmth the cause of Russia. Their objection to Turkey is understandable. No intelligent man would wish to foster international jealousies or dislikes. Russia is only emerging into a civilised State, and every reasonable allowance should be made for her position. But with all these qualifications Russia is to-day, and has been for more than 150 years, the representative of the hardest and most unrelenting despotism in the world, and it is certainly no part of the duty of English Liberals to seek for an extension of her dominions, or an increase of her power. It is a remarkable fact that, in all these Eastern controversies, the only people in Europe who have supported the Russian cause throughout have been a certain section of English Liberals. *French and Italian Radicals, all the Liberal party in Germany, Belgium, Holland, and Denmark have been opposed to the line that their brother Liberals in England have taken*; and they have championed, both in the press and at their public gatherings, the policy of the English Ministry. I don't suppose the men who have conspicuously supported the Russian cause will pretend that they know more of Eastern politics

than the statesmen and politicians of France, Italy, and the smaller States of Europe. The isolated position in which a section of our countrymen have stood ought, I think, to make them more tolerant of their neighbours who have not been able to see eye to eye with them on this subject. The third mistake they have, in my opinion, made, has been to turn the contention so much on personal considerations. The old cry of English Liberals was: "Measures, not men." Many an eloquent homily has been uttered by the old Radical leaders on the unwisdom of blindly following any political chieftain; but during this Eastern agitation any man who chose to question the wisdom of anything Mr. Gladstone said or did was regarded, or certainly treated, as something like a traitor to Liberal principles. There is no man in Britain who has a warmer admiration for Mr. Gladstone than I have, or a higher appreciation of his priceless services to the English nation; but Mr. Gladstone is no more an angel than Lord Beaconsfield is a devil. They are both human beings, with all the frailties common to ordinary humanity. Mr. Gladstone is deserving of the grateful confidence of all Liberals, but he is not infallible, and the idea of setting him up as a Liberal god which every man must fall down to and worship, is foolish and calculated to inflict damage on the party."

If the writer of this estimate had said that Russia has been the representative of the hardest and most unrelenting despotism in the world for the last thousand (instead of 150) years, he would have been even more correct in his statement.

Having omitted—perhaps from want of a trustworthy ally, but perhaps also from the long-continued absence of unity in the Cabinet itself—to take up the proper attitude against Russia, our Government endeavoured to better the situation by a confidential arrangement with the Porte. It is now done, and cannot be undone. We neither admire the occult procedures by which the Anglo-Turkish Treaty of Alliance, and the Convention concerning the future administration of Cyprus, were brought about; nor do we imagine that the English occupation of the Island of Aphrodite will act as a specific against all the dangers threatening from the bristly Muscovite War-God. To those, however, who utterly deny the value of Cyprus, we must bring to recollection that both as a maritime and military position, and as a means of opening up new Asiatic communications, it has long been acknowledged as being of first-rate importance.

Franz von Löher's book, to which a valuable chapter has been added from another writer, contains some good material in that respect. For many years—it is there stated—eminent statesmen, soldiers and engineers, have been proclaiming the advisability of making Cyprus the point through which that grand scheme, the Euphrates Valley Railway, would receive its principal sources of traffic. The island, in their opinion, was to form

the terminal station of a line of railways and steamers destined to connect us more firmly with our Indian possessions; thus opening again the long-deserted or neglected land that lies between it and the Persian Gulf. The geographical position of Cyprus makes the island a fit guardian of Upper Syria, Coelo-Syria, and almost of Palestine. The distance to the several ports on the mainland of Asia Minor is not great. Indeed, the isle is said to be visible on a clear day from Seleucia. A railway terminus for the Persian Gulf line might be reached in a very few hours; and fair-weather boats, apt to carry over a thousand passengers, troops or civilians, might be used at certain times at a small cost.

As to the various routes suggested for the Euphrates Valley Railway, five different schemes were selected as the chief ones by the Parliamentary Committee which sat in 1872. It is not necessary to go into Babylonian or Chaldean history, or to make quotations from Herodotus or from the chronicles of the Roman Empire, in order to impress the reader with the importance of an enterprise which may lead to the revival of an ancient civilisation. We may, however, refer to what Mr. W. T. Andrew, F.R.G.S., who for thirty years had devoted much time and attention to that plan, says of the special advantages that would accrue to general culture, and to this country more particularly, from the opening up of a Euphrates Valley route.

"It is," in his words, "the direct route to India. It is the shortest and the cheapest both for constructing and working a railway; so free from engineering difficulties, that it almost appears as though designed by the hand of Nature to be the highway of nations between the East and the West; the most surely defensible by England—both of its termini being on the open seas; and the most likely to prove remunerative." All the routes which have been suggested from places on the Black Sea are open to two fatal objections. The engineering difficulties with which they are surrounded are of themselves sufficient to exclude them from practical consideration. At the same time, whilst these Black Sea routes to the Persian Gulf would be of the greatest service to Russia, they would be altogether beyond the control of England. This remark applies now with double force since the issue of the recent war, when the Muscovite Empire, after having already overmastered the formerly independent Caucasian population, has by the Treaty of Berlin been allowed to push her frontiers still further into Asia Minor.

In the course of the investigation by the Select Committee of the House of Commons, it was demonstrated also: that the route of the Euphrates and the Persian Gulf is decidedly preferable, in respect to climate, to that by Egypt and the Red Sea—that moreover, as regards the safety and facility of the naviga-

tion, the Persian Gulf has by far the advantage—that the proposed undertaking would be of great commercial interest, and, if not immediately profitable, would be so at a date not far distant—and finally, that the route would be of the highest political and strategic importance to England.

For our part, we think it right to state here once more that, in dealing with the Ottoman Empire, we have to do with a free-trade country. It would be amusing in the highest degree, were it not so extremely painful, to listen to the ignorant tittle-tattle of some of those who, in the House of Commons, have kept the ball of “questions” rolling in the extreme Russophile interest. “Will Government”—one of these questioners naïvely asked, being probably under a notion that he was giving a great deal of trouble by his would-be sarcasm—“Will Government, now that Cyprus is to come under British rule, take steps to secure there the freedom of our commerce?”

This worthy inquirer clearly laboured under an impression that the benighted Turk was wedded to the worst protectionist principles. Yet, the truth is that Protectionism—ay, in some cases, the prohibitive system in its most antiquated form—is maintained by the Czar for fiscal purposes, whilst the absence of all entrance duties, or the extreme lightness of a merely nominal impost, marks Turkey as one of the countries which free-traders should, least of all, allow to fall into the hands of Russia. Poland, once a free-trade country, has been absorbed by Russia. Hungary, a free-trade country, is the aim and object of that Panslavistic propaganda which worked for the Czar's policy in the recent war against Turkey. If the “great and glorious” policy of Russia (to speak in the words used by Professor Fawcett, after the publication of the Treaty of Stefano) had been allowed full swing, a large item of present English trade to the East, and all prospect of its future increase there, would have been lost.

Our exports to Turkey in Europe and Asia have of late been as large (about 12,000,000*l.* a year) as those to the vast Russian Empire, whilst we pay more to Russia for imports than to Turkey. It is all very well for Lord Hartington, or Mr Forster, to advocate the cause of the Czar for a sectional party-purpose which goes against the grain of the nation at large, and which runs counter to the best Liberal traditions. But if they would promote the cause of free-trade, which we suppose to be the main guiding principle of the Cobden Club, they would certainly not forget that police- and Cossack-guarded Russia, which no man dare even leave without Government permission, is the representative of the narrowest Protectionism, whilst the Porte is fully open to the free-trade policy.

A railway through Mesopotamia, as a route to India, would

no doubt contribute to a vast increase of the cultivation of grain, owing to the opening-up of markets. Bad harvests are almost unknown in that part of Asia Minor, for there is always plenty of rain there, and a hot sun to ripen the corn. Sweet water is in abundance in that fertile district, which, according to the ancient Greek historian, yielded always the most extraordinary crops of grain. A proper system of irrigation, by means of the life-giving waters which always pour down cool and plentiful from Ararat, would work wonders. Cereals, according to Mr. Andrew, could be grown there so cheaply that no country at the same distance from England—say, for instance, Russia—could compete with it at all. What with the increasing import of wheat from India, we might thus soon be rendered altogether independent, in this respect, of Russian imports.

In case of any future struggle against the rival of English power in Asia, we should say this would be no mean gain. Furthermore, many acres in Asia Minor—which at present lie waste, save when in spring they are wildernesses of flowers—might be covered with cotton plantations, tending to the employment of the spindles of England.

It would be the merest affectation to attempt discussing seriously with those who see no danger in the policy of annexation pursued by Russia. Yet the author quoted correctly remarks that even those who are unable to perceive this danger will admit that the Russian roads and railways now being pushed towards Persia and Afghanistan, if they were even designed with pacific intentions, would at all events prove the anxiety of the Russian Government to compete with England for the trade of Central Asia, the Punjab, and northern India. He then goes on:—

“The substitution of Kurrachee for Bombay as the European port of India would, even by the Red Sea route, give us an advantage of some five hundred miles; but if the Euphrates route were once established, the adoption of Kurrachee as the European port of India would necessarily follow, and India would thus be brought upwards of a thousand miles nearer to us than at present; while, during the monsoon months, the gain would be still greater, as the route between the Persian Gulf and Kurrachee is not exposed to the severity of the monsoon, which, it is well known, renders a divergence of some five hundred miles necessary during a portion of the year on the voyage from Bombay to Aden. When the railway system of the Indus is completed, Kurrachee will be in continuous railway communication with Calcutta, and the gates of Central Asia at the Khyber and Bolan passes; and it will thus become the natural basis of operations in the event either of any internal commotion in India or of aggression on our north-eastern frontier. The grand object desired is to connect England with the north-west frontier

of India by steam transit through the Euphrates and Indus valleys. The latter will render movable to either the Khyber or the Bolan—the two gates of India—the flower of the British army cantoned in Punjab; and the Euphrates and Indus lines being connected by means of steamers, we should be enabled to threaten the flank and rear of any force advancing through Persia towards India. So that by this great scheme the invasion of India would be placed beyond even speculation; and it is evident that the great army of India of three hundred thousand men being thus united to the army of England, the mutual support they would render each other would quadruple the power and ascendancy of this country, and promote powerfully the progress, the freedom, and the peace of the world. . . . I believe that the establishment of the Euphrates route would add incalculably to our prestige throughout Europe and the East, and would do more to strengthen our hold on India than any other means that could be devised.”

From the point of view of general progress, the Cyprian Convention has its value in so far as it entitles this country to look to the carrying out of reforms in the Ottoman Empire. At the same time it is stipulated that if Russia were to re-cede her recent unduly acquired conquests to Turkey, England would withdraw from Cyprus. Consequently those who, with some show of justice, complain of the transfer of the administration of the isle to England without a previous consultation of the inhabitants—or who think that Cyprus ought ultimately to revert to Greece—must see that, according to their own argument, it would be in the public interest to make the Russians go out again of Kars, Ardahan, and Batoum, where they are now, contrary to the wishes of the population; whereas, the English occupation of Cyprus has certainly not met with any opposition or ill-will on the part of the natives.

We are now guarantors of reform in Turkey, but no reform will be of any value without the continuance of those parliamentary institutions which were brought about at the end of 1876 by Midhat Pasha. The first Ottoman parliament that has sat at Constantinople, though hastily composed by a very insufficient mode of election, fulfilled its task in a very creditable manner. It showed great spirit and courage, passed a number of Liberal laws, claimed full control over the Exchequer, made inquiries into the corrupt administration of the Court expenses, resisted over and over again attempts at introducing measures tending to the curtailment of the freedom of the press—in short, acted more independently than many a legislature in the west. Ignorance only, or wilful untruth, can deny these facts.

The “unspeakable Turk,” surrounded by Christians of different races, to whom he had given political and religious equality, ex-

hibited himself in the light of a very promising parliamentarian. That very fact may be a good reason for Mr. Carlyle to desire the extermination of the Turkish race—for has he not told us that he abominates the “universal celebration of ballot-box, divine freedom, &c.?” And is he not enthusiastic about “the talent of obedience, of silently following orders given”—a quality which he admires in the Russians, whose successes he hopes will be a conspicuous benefit, “directly and indirectly,” to our own anarchic condition? But why should English Liberals—unless they be sham Liberals, or sorry dupes of erratic leaders—fall in with this desire of crushing parliamentary institutions in Turkey in the bud? As to the talent of the Russians for absolute silence and obedience, the stillness of their slavery has of late been often enough broken by the whistling bullets or the poniard-thrust of the *Vehm-Gericht*.

Owing to the prolonged stay of the Russian army near Constantinople and the menaces of the northern Autocrat, the representation of the people is at present in abeyance in Turkey. Alexander II. could not tolerate an Ottoman parliament, where deputies sat irrespective of race or creed—Turks, Greeks, Albanese, Slavs, Bulgars, Syrians, Arabs, Mohammedans, Greco-Catholics, Roman Catholics, Armenian Christians, Protestants, and Jews. At the Berlin Congress the envoy of the “Liberator” Czar fought tooth and nail against the introduction of a clause which guaranteed full equality to the adherents of the Mosaic faith in those countries that were to obtain their full independence from Turkey—to wit, Servia and Roumania. Even the terrible and shameful persecutions, reminding us of the worst deeds of the Inquisition, from which Jews had quite recently suffered in Servia and Roumania, were not sufficient to move the Russian Chancellor and his colleague to a sense of ordinary justice. It was only through the energetic insistence of Germany, England, France, and the other Powers represented at Berlin, that this opposition of the Czar’s delegates was finally vanquished. Thus the ruler of “Holy Russia” comes out as the champion of tyranny, and of an antiquated prejudice, even on soil which is not his own.

No wonder that the tide of indignation is rising in the Autocrat’s dominions—that men in despair proceed to the most desperate deeds, by way of protest against intolerable wrongs.

The war undertaken by Alexander II. against Turkey, after the latter country had, by a series of popular risings at Constantinople, obtained parliamentary institutions, was destined, in the calculation of the Czar’s counsellors, to keep the growing home opposition in check through “glory” abroad. But the utter inefficiency with which the war was conducted for months; the frightful corruption of officials which came to light in its course;

and finally, the humiliating way in which the haughty conqueror was compelled, by English intervention, suddenly to retrace his steps to a considerable extent—all this series of shortcomings, or unexpected rebuffs after a promising success, has not contributed to enhance the despot's prestige at home. To-day Russia herself is in a condition of downright moral disorganisation. The brazen Colossus shows its feet of clay.

In our July issue we said that, however crude some of the political tenets of the so-called Nihilists may be, there can be no doubt, at any rate, of the existence of a deep estrangement between an eager and active section of the cultured strata of Russian society on the one hand, and the Government power on the other. "It was," we added, "a disturbed state of things not unfavourable to a great political change, provided Czardom were suddenly to lose its prestige by a great military defeat abroad. In such a case, we are convinced that the somewhat fantastic ideas which were elaborated in the darkness of tyrannic oppression, would soon change into more practical views. . . . We know, from trustworthy information of our own, that in a number of towns where autocratic authority has hitherto had its real seat and stronghold, Government have latterly been driven to employ the most curious practices for the sake of coping with the forces of dissatisfaction. . . . *We could say more on this subject from various sources were it not that, under present circumstances, it is better to refrain from dwelling on details.* With an exhausted exchequer, with an army decimated by battles and by the ravages of sickness and epidemics, and with discontent brooding in several chief towns, the Czar is not in a position to face new dangers abroad. This country is, consequently, master of the situation. Well may we say, therefore, that a great responsibility attaches to our own Government, who by a firm bearing may at one and the same time successfully uphold the cause of public right as against conquering pretensions, and embolden the more Liberal forces in Russia itself to wring concessions from the oppressor."

This quotation is not made with the idle object of showing that we were correct in our estimate of the situation, but rather with a view to a possible—nay, very probable—new complication, when the same problem must present itself once more to thinking statesmen. The English Government—in not taking advantage of the protracted siege of Plevna, when the Russian emperor dared not even return to Moscow or St. Petersburg, from fear of the dissatisfaction existing there—have missed a great historical opportunity. It is true, we could scarcely expect a deeply divided Tory Cabinet to resolve upon such a great stroke of policy as would have deeply affected the internal condition of Russia in a sense of deliverance, when even a so-called Liberal

Opposition, misled by Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Bright, and Mr. Fawcett, were holding an Achillean shield before the "noble-minded and generous" autocrat. Tories of the older school, in spite of their prejudices and selfish interests as regards English home affairs, might have ventured upon such a "large policy" abroad. Unfortunately, both political parties in this country seem to be smitten just now with a similar incapability of understanding the real signs of the time in Russia—the Conservatives, it must be owned, though it is a pity we should have to say so, perhaps in a lesser degree than those Liberals whom the ex-Premier has led into the bewildering forest-maze of his interminable argumentation.

Meanwhile, lurid finger-writing has appeared, in rapid succession, on the walls of Muscovite tyranny. Revolutionary riots, or successful attempts upon the life of prominent police chiefs, have occurred at Odessa, at Kieff, at St. Petersburg, and in a number of smaller provincial towns. At Odessa—a prosperous and ordinarily quiet commercial town, where such things seemed least likely—scenes of insurrection and violence have of late been repeatedly enacted. No sooner had the sentence of death against Kowalski and other political prisoners been pronounced, than the signal was given for the people to break, arms in hand, into the Court, when a conflict ensued which led to much shedding of blood. At Kieff, Baron Heyking, the chief of the gendarmerie, who had made himself as hateful as Trepoff, was killed in the open street. The same at St. Petersburg, where General Mesentzoff, the chief of the secret police—a post formerly filled by Count Schuvaloff—fell under the poniard of men who, no doubt, thought they had cause for revenge. On the same day several officials were assassinated in various small towns. Since then a house-porter of the house in which Kowalski formerly lived, and who had aided the police in arresting the patriotic conspirator, has also been found killed at Odessa, in front of his dwelling. There exists a widespread network of popular vindictiveness—the inevitable fruit of a political system in which there is no freedom of speech, no right of meeting for common concerns, no parliamentary representation; nothing but the arbitrary will of one man, and the irresponsible violence of his tyrannic and corrupt tools.

It has been stated, within the last few weeks, that each province in Russia has now a chief-committee and several under-committees in the popular and revolutionary interest. The directors of each committee, according to an old and useful practice in conspiracy, are said to be unknown to the members. So also, the men of the central committee at St. Petersburg, who call themselves "National Committee" (in accordance with the practice of the Warsaw Committee during the Polish rising of

1863-64), are unknown to the leaders of the chief-committees and under-committees in the provinces. These latter, it is alleged, receive printed orders, weapons, and schemes of operation, from St. Petersburg. At Odessa alone, several thousand members of the league are said to live. On the day when Kowalski was condemned to death, placards appeared on the street corners, announcing that, for the death of this member, the chief of the secret police at St. Petersburg would be made answerable. On the day afterwards, General Mesentzoff is said to have received his sentence of death. It having been discovered by the leaguers at Odessa that the chief of the gendarmes at Yalta, Samojloff, and the detective Nikonoff, at Rostoff, had contributed to the arrestation of members at Odessa, these agents of Government were also condemned to death by the conspirators. They were all killed on the same day as their superior, General Mesentzoff, in the capital.

So far a report which professes to give strictly correct details. We should not wonder if the statement were rather over-coloured—that is to say, as regards the extent of the organisation. Its existence, however, in some shape or other, is beyond doubt. It need scarcely be explained that, in an occult league of the kind mentioned, in which the face of local “directors” is hidden from the simple members, whilst the Supreme Committee remains a mystery even to the provincial chieftains, there must be certain signs agreed upon beforehand, whereby the authenticity of orders given can be tested, and the identity of men, under certain exceptional circumstances of personal contact, may be proved. A danger of the introduction of “false brethren” always lurks in clandestine associations. The history of conspiracies in Italy, Germany, and France, sufficiently proves it. Yet, in a state of oppression like that under which the Russian nation groans, occult leagues are of necessity the last resource and refuge of a people driven to despair. These associations generally herald in some attempt, successful or not, of a popular rising for the conquest of the main rights of men.

But what is the Czar, the alleged Deliverer of oppressed races, doing to cope with this sudden danger to his “paternal” rule? Has he applied those means of “pacification by way of reform,” which were the continued burden of his diplomatic song towards Turkey, before he lifted the mask, and simply acted as the unscrupulous, ambitious aggressor which he is?

Not a word of reform in Russia! Nothing but ukases upon ukases for the stricter manacling, and the short and easy disposal by courts-martial, of would-be rebels, or “poniard-men”—in case they are caught. In case they are caught! This latter proviso has already become a very necessary one to add, when we speak of Russian affairs; for, owing to the influence of the *Vehm-*

Gericht in a number of places, and the disturbed condition of the governmental machinery, whose minor officials are no longer fully to be relied on, the authors of most deeds of violence remain to this day undiscovered. Meanwhile, another Vjera Sassulitch, Miss Alexandra Paulovna Wenezka, the daughter of a State Councillor, has again been found "not guilty," before a Moscow jury, for having wounded the substitute of the Public Prosecutor, with a bullet from a revolver!

We have before us the Ukase of August 21, concerning the "Secret Group of Evil-minded Men," who are charged with "aspiring, under the influence of revolutionary social maxims, and of other subversive doctrines, to the destruction of the whole state edifice." We need not say that, in an empire like Russia, this means mainly the overthrow of Czardom; the Czar, who formally calls himself "Autocrat" (*Samodershez*), acting openly on the principle of "*L'Etat, c'est Moi!*" In this intolerable claim he is hostilely met by so-called Nihilists, the more practical ones of whom reply:—"The Nation ought to be the State!" After having branded these enemies of Autocracy as rebels against everything reasonable and sacred, the ukase decrees, for the time being, "exceptional measures," which consist of the judicial transfer of all cases of resistance against officials to drumhead courts, in accordance with Article 279 of martial law. This is the sum and substance of the "Reforms," as understood by the crowned friend of those Bulgarians whom we have of late seen at work, together with the Cossacks, in the cause of toleration, progress, and humanity, against the patriotic defenders of the Rhodope Mountains.

A Berlin paper, the *Vossische Zeitung*, observes, on this newest decree of Alexander the Magnanimous:—"The military courts will, no doubt, act with a terrible severity against those who allow themselves to be caught by the police; but the dissatisfied party, as such, will not in the least be deterred by these threats. Some few may be pounced upon. The hundred-headed hydra will continue as lively as ever. Exceptional measures can only lead to more terrible conflicts with fanaticism; the 'Nihilist' party will not feel the effects of the ukase. The Nihilists, and all those who threaten Russian society under this name, can only be rendered harmless by a reform in the Liberal sense. A Constitution which would make the Russians self-conscious members of a free nation, and which would grant to all classes a legitimate influence upon State-policy and administration, a strict control over the public exchequer, the introduction of the right of free scientific inquiry—these are the mortal enemies of Nihilism. . . . The powers that be in Russia should open their eyes at last to these considerations. They ought not to remain deaf to the calls of the people for self-government, which daily grow stronger, but which yet are treated with contempt. They

ought not to use mere brutal force against the aspirations of the nineteenth century, which at last have penetrated even into Russia. . . . Sooner or later, the sacrifice must be made by the Czar, either of his own free will, or by the inexorable force of circumstances."

This prospect of a coming revolutionary uprising, which the German paper would fain see avoided by a concession, can, of course, not be alluded to in the Muscovite press. The eyes of the powers that be in Russia are open, but only for the object of censorship and espionage. Even the well-known Panslavist leader, M. Aksakoff, who had lately been attached to the Russian head-quarters on Turkish soil as a useful penman, has been ordered away from Moscow as a "suspect," and compelled, by administrative order, to live in a village near St. Petersburg, ready at hand for the authorities, in case they should wish to move him further east. Siberia is ever-present to the imagination of a Russian inclined to ideas of opposition. The head and the agents of the dreaded "Third Department" may be struck down by the bullet or the dagger; but whilst they live, no cause for suspicion must be given to them. He who does, may at any moment, in the light of day, or in the dead of night, be torn from his home, and without an hour's delay, without a judicial warrant, or even the pretence of a trial, be whisked off to the distant Asiatic place of banishment, where he is kept during the Czar's pleasure, and where he may die, forgotten and friendless.

We must keep in mind the existence of such a barbarous, "anti-human" state of things, in order to understand the full importance of the progress in public opinion, which at last makes itself felt even in Russian journals hitherto regarded as semi-official, or open to the worst Government influences. In this respect there have been, within the last few weeks, some remarkable utterances.

Thus, even so hyper-loyalist and, until now, subservient a paper like the *Golos* stands now aghast at the ever-increasing fierceness of despotic terror. It says:—"The drumhead procedures under the martial law are, after all, the severest forms imaginable. On this path, a 'yet further!' is impossible. The most terrible threats have been uttered; the heaviest punishments have been fixed. But can any security be obtained thereby for doing away with aspirations hostile to the whole political and social organisation? We are afraid not."

The *Golos*—truckling to Government as it generally does—had at first pleaded for an increase of severity. It had clamoured for courts-martial and the erection of gallows. Thereupon the St. Petersburg *Vedomosti*, though by no means distinguished for Liberalism, took its contemporary to task for believing that repressive measures alone could alter the per-

plexing condition of Russia for the better. Whilst advocating exceptional measures against the "poniard men," the *Vedomosti* wished to see the roots of the evil attacked by "such a modification of the State institutions as will enable the whole population to counteract their pernicious propaganda with a clear and conscious energy of its own." This means, under veiled language, the introduction of representative government; but the writer dared not utter that word, which is treason in the eyes of the Czar.

We do not know whether it was owing to the reprimand by the *Vedomosti*, or to the influence of public opinion, so far as it can make itself known in Russia by underhand means, or whether the menaces held out right and left by the secret League had anything to do with it: but the fact is that the *Golos* presently changed its tone. In the article above referred to it still reminds its readers that it had originally recommended strong "exceptional" legislation. At the same time it now seeks to make out that it had always thought such an increase of rigour would not be a full remedy for tendencies and passions which do not shrink from the use of the pistol and the poniard, and that reforms are therefore necessary.

In the opinion of the *Golos*, as at present informed, the severity of the punishments may be able to restrain a hand from an act of violence (an opinion, we on our part would say, which is refuted by all history); but a person's way of thinking can never be changed by mere repressive laws. The Russian paper then shows how, after the Netchayeff and the Sassulitch trials, the procedures against State criminals were successively altered in the sense of an ever-augmenting rigour. To propagate a forbidden pamphlet was made to entail the penalty of forced labour, as well as the loss of rank and civic rights. Crimes against officials were withdrawn from the cognition of the jury. This being still found insufficient for the prevention of certain deeds of violence, court-martial were established for judging political offenders.

The *Golos* then goes on with the following words, which, in the well-known condition of the Russian press, convey even more than meets the eye:—

"Nobody will assert that our police are not invested with sufficiently large power for a struggle against the evil. The law has not only left to them all their previous powers, at the head of which stands so vast and incisive a privilege as is the right of pronouncing banishment (to Siberia and other places) by administrative order; but it has also conferred upon the police the right of making use of certain prerogatives of the legislative power. Nevertheless, we see that our police is rather

impotent, not only in coping with the (revolutionary) 'doctrines,' but even when dealing with criminal acts. The police not only were unable to prevent those crimes which in a short time stained Moscow, Kieff, Kharkoff, Odessa, and St. Petersburg, but it had not even the strength and the ability of finding out the guilty, and handing them over to the tribunals. The reason of all this is, that criminal procedures and police measures, let them be ever so severe, only grapple with the outside of things, but have no influence whatever on the causes of the phenomena. Courts-martial and the penalty of death have a great importance, but less as deterrents for the evil-doer, than as a means of restoring confidence among society at large. *For the contest with ideas, other means are required.* Criminal punishments, police measures, must, in this case, be placed in the background as mere accessories of help. The real remedy is, free play for sound thought, for practical views. Against pernicious doctrines, only useful teachers or teachings are able to struggle with good effect. Against the apathy or inaction of society, the true corrective is *a living participation in the general concerns.* Society must at last be provided with the means of carrying on the struggle on its own behalf, of fulfilling its duties by its own agency. The chief instrument for doing so consists of the introduction of *a legalised freedom of speech*—of the right of applying criticism. The sound forces of society must be called into activity: **A FREE FIELD MUST BE ALLOWED TO THEM**, so that they may freely develop themselves, and be able to work within the limits of the law."

Translated from the muffled language of a paper which always feels the Damocles' sword suspended over its head, this signifies, that a parliamentary representation, a free press, and the right of meeting for public concerns, are the only cure for the ills from which Russia suffers.

It would be difficult to overrate the importance of such an utterance in a journal which until lately had kept faithfully to the Government line. True, an autocracy whose generals acted in Turkestan—and still act now in Turkey—on the principle of "Spare no age or sex! Kill them all!" will not yield without a fierce resistance to the growing popular demands. There is the danger, moreover, that, seeing the rising dissatisfaction at home, the Autocrat will yet once more seek a diversion by a warlike enterprise abroad. It is the old device of a sorely pressed despotism. We must on that account be all the more watchful. But we ought also to imbue ourselves with the firm resolution not to shrink, if the time comes—and it may come soon enough—from an encounter in which we shall have the forces of popular dissatisfaction in Russia as practical allies on our own side.

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

THEOLOGY.

THAT a new principle for morality and a new basis for religion should be proposed by A. Spir¹ need surprise no one, since every day and hour brings forth a new god or a new creed, as gods and creeds go in our time. Attaching himself to his critical philosophy, our author introduces into it various important emendations. Accepting the distinction between the thing in itself and the phenomena by which it is manifested, he complains that Kant failed to discern the true issue of his doctrine. For as, according to Kant, experience does not show us things as they really and essentially are, the obvious inference is, that experience contains elements foreign to their essence, or, in other words, that that essence does not contain the ground or sufficient reason of the actual world. This world, our author submits, has in it much that it ought not to have—much that the unconditioned essence has not—namely, plurality, mutability, physical and moral evil, errors of conscious thought, constitutional delusions of the intellect and emotions. Religion requires that we should rise above this world of experience into the non-empirical sphere. Religion, then, may be defined as spiritual elevation; in fact, the true religion is the cultus of the ideal, communion with the Eternal Essence which is characterised by unity instead of plurality, and is free from all admixture of imperfection. It has its root, not in a notion, but in a feeling—the inner feeling of relationship with God. God indeed is neither more nor less than the true higher essence of man, and of all that exists. The divine element in the world is feeling, or the emotional life of man. Neither the “Intellect” of Kant, which is logical, conditional, subordinate—nor the “Will” of Schopenhauer, which implies effort after change, and has its origin and object in feeling—can be the element or organ of the divine. But—and here lies the strength or weakness of the argument—as the inner nature of man has but three constituents—intellect, will, and emotion—and as one of these must be the divine organ or element, we are driven to conclude, by an exhaustive process, that that organ or element is feeling. Belief in God is belief in the higher nature of man and things. Religious aspiration is realised in the three fundamental divisions of the physical life—as morality, as poetry or art, and as philosophy. Though the essay before us has a section on the objective aspect of religion, we cannot find that the new god has any independent existence. God is defined by its author as our own higher non-empirical nature. To regard God as the active principle of the external world—to ascribe to Him the properties or operations which we observe in it—to identify

¹ “Moralität und Religion.” Von A. Spir. Leipzig: Verlag von J. G. Fintel. 1878.

Him with power or force—to impute to Him design or contrivance—to recognise Him as the Almighty, Creator, or Lord—is to adopt a representation which is logically incompatible with a true conception of God as an ideal. In treating the question of the immortality of the soul, Herr Spir pronounces a future life scientifically improbable—the doctrine of its eternal duration, extravagant—the craving for individual existence, egotistical. The true immortality lies in the good which we effect in this life, for it cannot perish while the human race continues. Conceding, however, that the belief is a source of happiness to those who have it, he advises them to be content with the subjective certainty, objective proof being impossible. Turning from the religious construction to the moral, we find our author proposing amendments on the Kantian theory of the practical reason. The formula of the moral law—So act that the rule on which thou actest would admit of being adopted as a law by all rational beings—has, he rightly contends, no meaning or reality in it. It affords no criterion to show what maxims are suited to become universal laws; and J. S. Mill's objection is valid—that Kant fails to show that there would be any contradiction or impossibility in the adoption by all rational beings of the most outrageously immoral rules of conduct; all he shows being that the consequences of their universal adoption would be such as no one would choose to incur. Herr Spir objects, moreover, to the assumption, that the *reason* is the Thing in itself—to the derivation of the categorical imperative from the pure reason—to the doctrine of the posthumous connexion of virtue and happiness by which, as Schopenhauer wittily remarks, after shutting out the eudæmonistic, or happiness, principle at the front door, he readmits it at the back—and declares, that morality and religion play a melancholy rôle in Kant's practical philosophy, each supporting the other, and neither being able to stand. The cardinal rule, however, with which Herr Spir replaces the maxim of Kant—Will and act according to thine own higher nature—appears as impracticable, and is probably open to as severe criticism as that which he repudiates. In his strictures on utilitarianism, he quarrels with its empirical character, forgetting that the science of morality, like all other sciences, is imperfect; and that, like all others, will be gradually improved as we learn more of the laws of human nature, and the conditions of human existence. On the whole, dissatisfied as we are with Herr Spir's solution of the great problem which he has undertaken to elucidate, we welcome his essay as a thoughtful contribution to the general discussion of that problem.

Touching lightly on the character of Christ, the essayist just reviewed regards him as a living illustration of the religion of the ideal, so far, at least, as his character is portrayed in the Synoptics, not in the fourth Gospel, which no unprejudiced person, in his opinion, can fail to recognise as a free poetic composition. The author of a work entitled "St. Matthew's Gospel, with Parallel Passages," &c.,² con-

² "St. Matthew's Gospel: with the Parallel Passages in the other Evangelists, showing their Agreement and Differences, with Notes and Comments." Edinburgh and London: William P. Nimmo. 1878.

stantly indicates discrepancies in the evangelical narrative, which he contends are merely human productions. While rejecting the doctrine of plenary inspiration, however, he dismisses the critical researches of German, Dutch, and French theologians as merely speculative assumptions, whose truth can never be proved, and need not unsettle the faith of any Christian. Anti-Catholic, anti-Anglican, anti-Trinitarian, the anonymous commentator appears to acquiesce in the comforting doctrine of everlasting punishment.

By the Dean of St. Paul's³ we are favoured with no theory of inspiration, and no distinct avowal of his belief either in the eternal torture of the wicked, or in the ultimate restitution of all things, but we have instead an unsatisfactory balancing of opposing passages of Scripture, a rejection of proffered solutions, and a surrender of all attempts at solution in favour of the blind submissive trust, that each soul will receive what it ought to receive, and will be dealt with by the Infinite Goodness and unerring Justice—which is a mere evasion of the difficulty. From the author, however, of the thoughtful essays, well known and admired in earlier years—notably those on Anselm and Dante—we could not well receive a volume which would fail to testify to the possession of general culture and scholarship, literary taste, and mature thought. We note with pleasure the peculiarly human spirit which characterises the volume of sermons before us, and are glad to see that Dr. Church's orthodox theology does not prohibit quotation from non-Christian authors like Shelley, Herbert Spencer, and W. R. Greg. In the two sermons on the "Supremacy of Goodness," and "Human Life, Collective and Individual," there is much that we can approve and admire, though we have long ceased to have any living interest in the theological creed of which Dr. Church is the eloquent advocate.

A kindred spirit distinguishes an excellent series of papers on the teaching of Jesus, entitled "The Light of the World,"⁴ by the Rev. David M'Laren. The Minister of Humber—*for such is Mr. M'Laren's titular designation*—while acknowledging that criticism is throwing new light on the history of religion and import of the Bible; that science is shaking men's ancient conception of the supernatural; and that the general conscience is rising in revolt against some of the prominent portions of the Augustinian system, vindicates the claims of the pure doctrine of Jesus to the attention of this bewildered generation. There is a simplicity, a quiet earnestness, and a generous spirit about these miniature sermons which may serve to recommend them to minds that, still Christian in sentiment and aspiration, have somewhat loosened their hold on dogma. The author's critical views, however, are not very profound, and he succeeds only in vindicating the religion he glorifies by purifying it of its obsolete elements, avoiding

³ "Human Life and its Conditions." Sermons Preached before the University of Oxford in 1876-1878. With Three Ordination Sermons. By R. W. Church, M.A., D.O.L., Dean of St. Paul's. London: Macmillan & Co. 1878.

⁴ "The Light of the World." By David M'Laren, M.A. Edinburgh: Douglas. 1878.

burning questions, reading *out of* it what offends modern intelligence, and reading *into* it what modern intelligence demands.

Mr. Macnaught, who, twenty-two years ago, in a useful little book on the doctrine of Inspiration, instructed us that "in almost every instance where two or more evangelists record the same conversation, the various interlocutors are represented as saying the exact words written, and yet the several accounts of their words differ remarkably," disappoints us in his new work,⁵ by the hesitation which he treats the question of the alleged difference in the Synoptical and Johannine determination of the date of the Last Supper—a hesitation the more remarkable as the orthodox Ebrard candidly acknowledged the reality of that difference. His uncritical exposition of the transaction, as recorded in the Fourth Gospel, further increases our disappointment. Similar weakness may be traced in the unnecessary compromise which hastily resolves the six days of creation into as many periods of time. A timorous circumspection appears in this later work to have replaced the courageous common sense which marked Mr. Macnaught's early attempt at liberal theology, traceable in the exaggerated estimate of the beneficent results of the great movement which we call Christianity, and in an excessive veneration of the Fathers of the Church. St. Augustine, it is true, shows some greatness of conception in the 'De Civitate Dei;' and Origen was a bold and ingenious speculator; but what there is in the good and interesting, but weak and credulous Justin, to induce Mr. Macnaught to regard him as an intellectual giant, we are at a loss to discern. Looked at, however, from the popular point of view, our author has produced a sufficiently learned and tolerably complete essay on the primitive institution, apostolic uses, and subsequent history of the Lord's Supper, citing the testimony of the early Fathers, tracing the development of sacramental materialism, commenting on the mass-book, and entering at great length into the usage of the Church of England. As regards the point at issue between Catholics and Protestants, we agree with Mr. Macnaught in repudiating the doctrine of the literal transmutation of the elements. In Scripture we find no warrant for it; in the earliest and most important Fathers there are very strong and emphatic expressions susceptible of citation in favour of the developed Catholic theory, but expressions which, closely inspected, scarcely go beyond the symbolical view. The remarkable comparison in Justin, where a change by assimilation of natural food into the substance of the human body, suggests indeed a corresponding change of some kind in the bread and wine, but not, in our judgment, a material change; while Augustine's definition of the Sacrament seems to exclude the idea of a real transmutation. We are not at all surprised, however, that minds prepossessed with a belief in the Catholic doctrine appeal to such passages for its justification. Between the Lutheran and Catholic hypothesis there seems little to choose, both, in Hallam's phrase, teem-

⁵ "Cena Domini: an Essay on the Lord's Supper." By Rev. John Macnaught, M.A. London: C. Kegan Paul & Co.

ing with unmasked absurdity; while the Calvinistic explanation, which is, or used to be, that also of the Church of England, is, in the words of the same historian, the worst imagined of the three that have been opposed to the simplicity of the Helvetic, or purely symbolical explanation; the Romish tenet of trans-substantiation, bad as it is, being the best. As a material substance can only, in a very figurative sense, be said to be received by faith, we seem obliged to agree with Hallam in condemning the usual Church of England doctrine as a jargon of bad metaphysical theology. We will only add, that Mr. Macnaught is very severe on the Ritualists, "those clerical defamers of the Protestant Reformed Church, who must have forgotten their own repeated oaths and must be ignorant of the most elementary principles of the English Constitution." No doubt the Ritualists would think themselves entitled to retort on Broad Church Sadducees, *heretical* Evangelicals, and the glorious uncertainty of the law, which punishes them and stultifies itself.

After a temporary estrangement from his Church, Mr. Macnaught, seeing the error of his ways, returned to the ecclesiastical fold and resumed his pastoral office; Mr. Voysey, on the other hand, is one of the few clergymen whose intellectual divergence from the old creed seems likely to be permanent. Distinctly separating himself from the Anglican communion, he occupies an independent position as a teacher of philosophical theism. In a volume of essays, on "The Mystery of Pain, Death, and Sin,"⁶ he endeavours to obviate objections which the sense of the great misery of the world opposes to the belief in a Being of perfect wisdom, goodness, and power. In the line of argument which he adopts, we do not think that there is anything new. His attitude is that of an amiable special pleader rather than of the stern logician. The style of oratory which he affects is the rose-water style. We have sentiment and rhapsody instead of calm reasoning, and unctuous persuasiveness instead of the logic that brings conviction. He suspends a cloud in the theological firmament, and sees "smiles and assurances of a loving purpose behind it." He dismisses the "myth of the devil" for the "prophet's bright dream," and though he makes God, and God alone, responsible for every and the most minute event, good or evil, which has befallen any one of his creature, he bids his congregation believe only in absolute good. For the "blessings in disguise" theory we have the most unqualified contempt, and we think Mr. Voysey's representation of the measureless sorrow of sentient existence wholly inadequate, as his attempted solution of the problem of life is, in our judgment, unsatisfactory. But from his own point of view, his book is a good book enough, and will be read with pleasure by all who are prepared to accept its premises and agree with its conclusions.

Thomas Cooper,⁷ the Chartist, whose poem of the "Purgatory of

⁶ "The Mystery of Pain, Death, and Sin, and Discourses in Refutation of Atheism." By Rev. Charles Voysey, B.A. London: Williams and Norgate. 1878.

⁷ "Evolution, the Stone Book, and the Mosaic Record of Creation." By Thomas Cooper. London: Hodder and Stoughton. 1878.

Suicides" delighted us in our youth, and whose bold speculation gave promise of some high purpose unfulfilled, has crowned his retrogression to an outworn creed by a clever but perverse proclamation of his dissent from scientific and critical theories, some of which at least have the sanction of high authority, and by his attempted vindication of ancient records, which men, otherwise orthodox, long since pronounced unhistorical. As a literary curiosity we recommend to all who have time and taste for such studies, the daintily got-up little volume entitled "Evolution, the Stone Book, and the Mosaic Record of the Creation."

An acceptable contribution to the fashionable Neo-Christianity will be found in "La Conscience et la Foi"⁸ of A. J. Coquerel, son of the well-known French Pasteur, translated by Mr. J. Edwin Odgers, and prefaced by a memoir of the author by Albert Réville, D.D., being an article reprinted from the *Theological Review*. In his lectures the writer inveighs eloquently against the two conspicuous enemies, Irreligion and Absolutism, defines conscience to be "that which makes a man superior to all nature," and maintains that to the question, "What is God?" conscience immediately replies, "God is some one, a person." Progress, he tells us, is the solution of the riddle of life, and the eternal march of souls towards God—a truth derived from our moral experience—is a sublime thought. Attached to the Reformed Church of France, he is impatient of dogma, and referring to a notorious attempt made to impose orthodox unity, declares that it could only be got into shape at all by maintaining a prudent silence on three dogmas essential to Christianity—the Trinity, original sin, and expiation. The Bible, he maintains, has been made a fetish, Adam's fall he considers a parable, and the narrative of the confusion of tongues he calls the story of the Tower of Babel. Eternal punishment he rejects, because he is perfectly convinced that, if Jesus were here and were asked, "Master, did you say this?" he would reply, with a sweet sad smile, "I have no pleasure in the death of the wicked!" In Jesus he recognises with rapture the head of humanity, the Son of God *par excellence*—that is, not the Son of God at all in the old Catholic sense, but "the Son of God who is at once most truly man, and as perfectly divine as it is possible to be on earth." Glancing at the doctrine of the soul's immortality he writes, "I know not what form of being will be mine, but I already see myself in the future as in the present, moving upwards towards my Father, mounting the steps of the gleaming ladder that stretches across ages, worlds, and skies." In these expressions of rapturous piety we recognise the professor of an elastic, flexible Christianity, resting on feeling, and tremulous with emotion.

The ductile and accommodating religion of M. Coquerel would have been repudiated as an infirmity of a not ignoble mind by the masculine and ratiocinative intellect of one of the few really vigorous,

⁸ "Lectures on Christianity, Conscience, and Faith. Five Lectures by the late Athanase Coquerel Fils." Translated by J. E. Odgers, to which is prefixed a Memoir of the Author, by Albert Réville, D.D. London: British and Foreign Unitarian Association. 1878.

and in a certain secondary sense original, ecclesiastical thinkers of our time, Dr. Mozley,⁹ the author of the "Bampton Lectures on Miracles," a "Treatise on the Augustinian Doctrine of Predestination," and of numerous articles contributed to the *Quarterly Review*, the *Contemporary*, *British Critic*, *Christian Remembrancer*, &c. A judicious selection of these papers thus from time to time given to the world, comprises many valuable Essays, all of which stimulate thought as containing the objections of a magnanimous opponent—objections which solicit a reply. A decided Churchman, with clear insight into the aspects of his own side of the question, with a strong grasp of his subject, and a characteristic intellectual consistency, Dr. Mozley exhibits with vigorous ingenuity the seeming strength of such arguments as can be advanced in his favour, and detects the apparently vulnerable points in the logic of his adversaries. His dissent, though often very determined, is not marked by contempt or unreasoning depreciation, and his admiring recognition of sterling qualities in men with whom he widely differs, as Blanco White and Dr. Arnold, is cordial and sympathetic. To Puritanism indeed, and to the armed servant of Puritanism, Cromwell, he scarcely does justice (the renewal of the charge of hypocrisy against that chief of men will, by Mr. Carlyle's followers, be pronounced a gross injustice); while, on the other hand, his high estimate of the supremely able Strafford, blinds him to the oppressive character of some of the acts of the despotic Earl. But, in general, a bright intelligence and generous enthusiasm enable him to see genius, goodness, and greatness, wherever they exist. Thus he dwells admiringly on Dr. Arnold's ideal of life, on his historical talent, on his high-minded and sensitive nature; on Luther's humour, genial heartedness, and naïve poetic fancy; on Blanco White's literary capacity, and on Carlyle's splendid rhetoric, while declining wholly to follow them in their favourite theories. In defending old theological outposts, Dr. Mozley puts forth strange and questionable views, such as that on the irony of prayer, and the *philosophical* anthropomorphism of Biblical conceptions of Deity. In contending with Mr. Maurice on the significance of the words eternal or eternity, he appears to us to be completely victorious. The omission in the Articles of 1652 of the forty-second Article of 1552 (against those who deny the eternity of future punishments) he holds, with Dr. Jelf, to be accounted for by the declining importance, at the later date, of the sect of the Anabaptists, against whom it was directed; adding that as the Article on the resurrection and that on the eternity of future punishment were inserted and omitted under exactly the same circumstances, the omission, as interpreted by his opponents, would carry along with it the inference that the doctrine of the *resurrection* is considered by the Church an open one. Far from tolerating any mitigation of posthumous penalties, Dr. Mozley contends that the belief in eternal punishment is the true and rational concomitant of the sense of

⁹ "Essays: Historical and Theological." By J. B. Mozley, D.D., late Canon of Christ Church, and Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Oxford. Two Vols. London: Rivington. 1878.

moral obligation, and contemplates with alarm the general spread, even in simple thought, of such a view as that advocated by the late eloquent chaplain of Lincoln's Inn. An admirer of Paley's "Natural Theology," Dr. Mozley, in his "Essay on the Argument of Design," strenuously, though not very effectually, upholds its validity against the assault of Mr. G. H. Lewes, whose paper on Darwin's hypothesis, published in the *Fortnightly Review* for 1868, some of our readers will perhaps remember. The final Essay, if we except a short "In Memoriam" notice of the Rev. Samuel Rickards, in discussing the Principle of Causation, traverses unsubstantial metaphysical ground, the conclusion being that the idea of causation applied to the universe takes us up to an eternal, original, self-existent Creator.

M. Albert Réville, the author of the memoir of M. Coquerel mentioned above, in a history of the "Dogma of the Deity of Jesus Christ,"¹⁰ answers the strictures of the Abbé Troncy on his Christology, and traces the development of the doctrine from its commencement in the earliest days of Christianity to its decline in our own days. In the Synoptic Gospels he denies that this dogma can be found; the fourth Gospel he attributes to one of Justin's cotemporaries, "a Philonist like himself, more mystical, more profound and bolder, who about the time when the philosopher was publishing his Apologies at Rome, brought out a new Gospel in Asia Minor." With the Fathers, M. Réville shows a considerable acquaintance, though we cannot vouch for the absolute accuracy of his representations. What he means by affirming that Clemens Alexandrinus flourished at the end of the first century and the beginning of the second, we are at a loss to understand. The translator should have known that the author of the *Eternal Gospel* was Joachim of Floris, not of Flores. The general result of M. Réville's investigations is that Christendom has exhausted all the resources which it could derive from the faith in Jesus, and must return to the faith of Jesus illustrated by the experience of eighteen centuries; the dogmas of the Trinity and the Incarnation having had their day.

Before us lie two works on the connexion and separation of Church and State. The first,¹¹ by Mr. Thomas Hughes, the well-known popular author, consists mainly of reprints of his public addresses. Mr. Hughes, a liberal Churchman, pleads for the continuance of the Establishment, his pleas being, property-rights, the influence of a State Church in checking the advances of Romanism, controlling an excitable clergy, restraining sacerdotal assertion, and, above all, its capacity of service as a national society for the promotion of goodness. While thus earnest, however, for the conservation of the Church, Mr. Hughes acknowledges the necessity of reforms, that she may no longer be hampered with the trappings and garments, the definitions and

¹⁰ "History of the Dogma of the Deity of Jesus Christ." Translated from the French of Albert Réville, D.D., Minister of the French Reformed Church. London: British and Foreign Unitarian Association. 1878.

¹¹ "The Old Church: What shall we do with It?" By Thomas Hughes, Q.C., Author of "Tom Brown's School Days." London: Macmillan & Co. 1878.

formulas, of three hundred years ago. "For," he argues, "in the face of the wider and larger knowledge which science and Biblical criticism have opened to our generation, it is hopeless to expect that men of cultivation and ability can solemnly pledge themselves, even in the general form now required, to the propositions contained in the Thirty-Nine Articles, or to use the Athanasian Creed in the Church Service."

In the second of the two works we have coupled together, the subject of Church and State connexion is discussed in a different interest by Dr. Rainy, Lord Moncreiff, and Mr. Taylor Innes. In Dr. Rainy's thoughtful *Essay on the policy of Constantine*,¹² he admits the inevitable right of inspection and remonstrance which the Church must concede as the recipient of a standing provision from the State, thus creating a great and grave position with reference to the movements of her organic life, and urges that she is bound to consider well to what sort of State she concedes it, and what sort of use of it the State is likely to make. Lord Moncreiff deals with the history of Church relations in Scotland from the Reformation to 1843, the era of the Free Church movement, lamenting that it is easier to destroy than to restore. In the third *Essay* Mr. Innes, after a survey of the relations of Church and State throughout the world, notes especially the relations of Church and State in Scotland, considers the Free Church claim of right of 1842, the right of endowments, &c., and comments on Lord Hartington and Mr. Gathorne Hardy's declarations towards the close of last year. Looking forward to the Scottish Establishment being abolished while that of England still survives, he requires the retention of the statutory and parliamentary guarantees which at present secure Scotland against the establishment of the Church Episcopal. In addition to this security against Episcopacy he demands an historical recognition of the Scotch Presbyterian Church as well as of the Church of Christ in general. This negative establishment, as he calls it, conceded, Scotland, he predicts, will establish her own Church.

The facts of ancient religion, as recorded in Mr. Bonwick's "*Egyptian Belief and Modern Thought*,"¹³ are surprising if true: and though we have far too little acquaintance with the subject to justify us in rejecting them, yet if scepticism in geology is permissible, scepticism in theology, especially in the theology of the country of the sphinx, may be pardonable. Mr. Bonwick appears, or rather Mr. Bonwick's authorities, who are good, bad, and indifferent, appear to see in the ancient cultus of the land of the darkness that might be felt, if the old legend be accepted, the light of an ante-natal Christianity, the "pure anticipated cognition" of a revelation that required Paley's splendid apparatus of miracles to introduce it to the world. "Strange," we repeat, in

¹² "*Church and State, chiefly in Relation to Scotland.*" By Robert Rainy, D.D., Principal, New College, Edinburgh; the Right Honourable Lord Moncreiff, of Tulliebole, Lord Justice-Clerk; A. Taylor Innes, Esq. Edinburgh: Nelson & Sons. 1878.

¹³ "*Egyptian Belief and Modern Thought.*" By James Bonwick, F.R.G.S., Author of "*Pyramid Facts and Fancies.*" London: C. Kegan Paul & Co. 1878.

words cited by Mr. Bonwick, "that the ancient heathen knew so much more clearly those essential truths than did the saints themselves; and that Pagan Scriptures had more light upon the Incarnation, the Trinity, the Atonement, the Resurrection, than the Jewish Scriptures in the words of Moses, David, and other prophets." We are far from doubting that in Egyptian theology may be found correspondences and parallelisms to Christian dogmas; but we strongly suspect that a determination to see Christianity wherever there is a shadow of an approximation to those dogmas in ancient beliefs, influences credulous minds and warm fancies to find or force resemblances where they do not exist. Mr. Bonwick's book, whatever may come of this theory, is full of information, and abounds in interest. It is a popular work, and suited to the popular comprehension, but it is not original; and Mr. Bonwick is not, and does not pretend to be, an authority on the questions on which he descants intelligibly enough, though sometimes adopting modern language as well as illustrating "modern thought," as when he talks of a "resurrected person," a "reincarnationist," a "scientist," or uses other damnable iterations borrowed from the vocabulary of pseudo-philosophical slang. With his notice of the Millennium we are far from satisfied; and why is the Bishop of Hierapolis (we are aware that there was another Papias) described as Papias of Egypt?

Two works of semi-historical, semi-theological character, complete a library for the quarter. The "History of the Christian Church during the First Ten Centuries," by Mr. Philip Smith,¹⁴ though erring, as we believe, in its Conservative estimate of certain literary productions of the early Church, is in the main a valuable compendium of event and doctrine, executed with care, and as replete with information as such a succinct recital can be. The Student's "English Church History," by Rev. G. G. Perry,¹⁵ is also a closely-packed historical repository of incidents, opinions, controversies, reforms, and reactions, in which the Church of England was interested, from the accession of Henry VIII. to the silencing of Convocation in the eighteenth century. If the writer's sympathies are occasionally over-clerical—and a writer like Hobbes receives no philosophical appreciation—the students for whom the work is designed are not likely to complain of such excesses or shortcomings.

¹⁴ "The History of the Christian Church during the First Ten Centuries," &c. By Philip Smith, B.A., Author of "The Student's Old Testament History," &c. With Illustrations. London: John Murray. 1878.

¹⁵ "A History of the English Church," &c. By G. G. Perry, M.A., Canon of Lincoln and Rector of Waddington. London: Murray. 1878.

PHILOSOPHY.

THE student of philosophical literature is provided with a not unneeded period of repose this quarter. Metaphysic would seem to rest for a moment on its oars, and give its followers a moment to reweigh the speculations which have recently been offered them. And certainly after works such as Mr. Shadworth Hodgson's "Philosophy of Reflection," which we noticed in last number, such a breathing space is doubly useful. It enables us to digest the ideas which we had imperfectly, because rapidly, assimilated; and it leaves us an opportunity to consider works which might otherwise have met with less attention than they really deserve.

Herr Spir's two good-sized volumes¹ may be regarded as a work of this last-mentioned character. The author himself, in fact, complains in the preface to this, the second, edition of his book, that till now his labours have remained tolerably disregarded. And while prepared to admit that the defective exposition of his ideas was partly to be blamed for this result, he thinks that the "unfortunate unsusceptibility of most men for reason" has been also in no small measure responsible for the neglect. "Notwithstanding," he continues, "I publish this new edition in the calm confidence that the proof of the doctrines brought forward in it, being no longer obscured as previously through a defective exposition, will overcome every obstacle, and lay a sure foundation for a truly scientific philosophy." Herr Spir is obviously not without a due appreciation of the views he is propounding. The principles of his work, he informs us at the conclusion of the second volume, "contain in them nothing of my individuality; they are dependent on no personal opinion or arbitrary whim, they are self-evident and universally valid." And from first to last the author claims to have produced a strictly scientific system, in which every step is demonstrated with the most rigorous precision. The foundation of this demonstration is the law or maxim of Identity. This law, it is almost needless to remark, bears much more meaning to our author than it does in general to formal logic. He sees, rightly enough, that the real question of philosophy is, how we get *beyond* the mere feelings of our own consciousness to something which lies outside our consciousness; and how again, starting from single impressions, individual sensations of taste, smell, &c., we can arrive at universal notions of perfect certainty. Another form in which Spir states his question is, How is Error (*Unwahrheit*) possible? And he finds that, so far from the idea of the true being the offspring of the untrue, the case is rather the reverse. Experience is only possible on the assumption of a distinction of the untrue from the true, and this

¹ "Denken und Wirklichkeit. Versuch einer Erneuerung der kritischen Philosophie." Von A. Spir. 2 Bde. I. Das Unbedingte. II. Die Welt der Erfahrung. Zweite Umgearbeitete Auflage. Leipzig: J. G. Fiedel.

again rests essentially upon the principle of identity—that principle which maintains that every real object is equal to itself, or not different from itself. This principle, however, is no generalisation from experience. “The axiom of identity cannot be gained from experience, for the simple reason that experience *does not agree* with, or does not realise, this principle. For the conception of the self-identical is nothing else than the conception of the absolute, the unconditioned, the self-existent, whereas our experience offers us nothing absolute but only what is relative and conditioned.” Philosophy, therefore, is not confined to the world of experience: the law of identity, as a principle which is undeniably true, and yet at variance with the world of experience, enables us to go beyond the present, and postulate the existence of an Unconditioned. Conceiving the relation of the unconditioned to the conditioned, not as that of cause to effect, but as that of normal to abnormal, of true to untrue, philosophy, by its very nature, involves a going beyond the facts, the *data* of experience. But in so going beyond the given, philosophy only falls upon antinomies, which it is powerless to transcend.

“Those elements in the given reality, which are foreign to the true essence of things or of the actual cannot, it is obvious, be derived from this essence. As foreign they must have come to it from without. But since outside the actual there is nothing out of which anything could come, it is consequently absolutely impossible to comprehend whence the foreign elements originate. Here, then, the antinomy, lying in the nature of the conditioned, becomes palpably apparent. Thesis and antithesis have within it one and the same common basis. Just because the conditioned given character of the actual is foreign to its original essence, it must have a condition from outside. But just because it is foreign to the actual in itself, it can have no other external condition, because outside the actual there is nothing to be discovered. And thus the same reason as makes an explanation of the world necessary shows also that such an explanation is not possible.”

Herr Spir has, in fact, shown the nothingness of all metaphysic, at the same time as he has characterised the motive, which unceasingly drives man on to metaphysic. But though the unconditioned is thus excluded from the sphere of the philosopher as a basis for metaphysical construction, it remains still as a higher standpoint for the consideration of the world of experience; and Spir proceeds in his second volume to analyse the different properties attaching at once to external and to internal nature. The ideas of time and space, of succession and of movement, have special sections devoted to them; and a lengthy chapter is devoted to the teleological study of nature, with especial reference to the doctrines of Darwinism. The Ego is the subject of the last book in the work. Feeling and will are here discussed; and a suggestive analysis is given of judgment, abstraction, syllogism, and induction, about which otherwise the writer has incidentally some valuable remarks. The critique of Pure Reason is obviously the spring from which Herr Spir has drunk most freely. His work, in fact, describes itself as an attempt to renovate the critical philosophy; and though he has occasion frequently to dispute the conclusion of the sage of Königsberg, a follower of Kant in the sense

in which Professor Caird has interpreted him for English readers will consider that it is the letter rather than the spirit of Kant's writings with which Spir finds himself at variance. But follower of Kant or not, Herr Spir has written a vigorous, suggestive, and original work. An English reader will be especially struck by the wide acquaintance with British philosophy which he exhibits. Spencer and Lewer, Mill and Hamilton, are names that frequently appear upon his pages. The criticisms on Mill's "Theory of Syllogism and Induction" are particularly worthy of attention (*vide* vol. ii. pp. 270-290). With the physiological side of the teaching of Bain and Spencer, Spir, it need hardly be said, has little sympathy. "The fact that 2×2 equals 4," he remarks somewhere, "remains just as true even if our thoughts were dependent on a sack of straw instead of on a brain." Spir, in fact, has apprehended, it seems, that distinction between nature and history which we noticed in our account of Mr. Hodgson's recent work. He sees that so-called scientific explanations relate merely to the empirical side of phenomena, and that when they have done their utmost the question is by no means really settled. His own system of philosophy he holds to be in intimate harmony at once with religion and with science—with science, because the province of philosophy only begins where science ends; with religion, because the eminently philosophical consciousness that the real essence of things is identical with the thing itself, and that experience does not present things to us as they are constituted in themselves, is also eminently the religious consciousness. How far this principle of the self-identical is in itself a satisfactory basis for philosophy is a question that cannot be discussed at present. But there is no doubt that in the hands of Herr Spir it has been made the corner-stone of a work which will be perused with profit by all interested in philosophy.

Signor Turbiglio, Professor of the History of Philosophy at Rome, has already made himself a name by his critical researches into the development of modern thought. He has now added to his studies of Descartes and Spinoza, an exposition of the underlying currents of ideas which combine to form a somewhat discordant stream of doctrine in Malebranche, the third chief figure in the Cartesian school.³ In this work, on "The Antitheses between the Middle Ages and Modern Times in the History of Philosophy," the professor has much to say about his critics, who either misunderstand or disapprove his view of what the historian of philosophy has to do. This view, though not altogether new, is here insisted on with unusual emphasis. Instead of telling us what the philosophers said, in the same order and in the same proportions as they said it themselves, Professor Turbiglio proposes to put forward what they ought to have said, if they had been able to look at their own systems from the vantage-ground which a full knowledge of the life and thought in their own times and of their own idiosyncrasies would have supplied. He proposes to detect and then

³ "Le Antitesi tra il Medievo e l'Età Moderna nella Storia della Filosofia, in specie nella dottrina di Malebranche." Sebastiano Turbiglio. Roma: Tipografia dell'Opinione. 1877.

to eliminate the personal element—the facts which are interesting merely to the biographer and the chronicler. What he wishes to find is the objective and universal scheme of truth which is obscured and distorted by the subjective and individual features of the philosopher's own mind. According to him, a system of philosophy is merely an irregular resultant from the various and fortuitous actions and reactions between the philosopher and his surroundings, and any arrangement there may be in it is but accidental, depending on the character and circumstances of its author. These ideas, which he presents in such and such a manner, arose in the philosopher's mind from peculiarities of his feeling and upbringing. But the historian wants to see how they ought logically to have been generated in his thought, supposing his understanding had been unsuffused by various affections, and had grasped the whole scene of the world in one impartial glance. To that end "the historian ought to pull down the edifice composed by the philosopher, and with the very same stones—none being removed and none added—to recompose them anew, and in such a way that they no longer represent the relativity of the human will and the changeable accidents of life, but the unity, necessity, and absoluteness of the psychical and social evolution of humanity." Each philosophic system, when it has thus been pulled to pieces and put together by the critical historian, will then present us "in a splendid organic synthesis the very constitution of the mind and soul of humanity within determinate limits of time and confines of space." We have heard something very like this before from Germany, where also we can parallel Signor Turbiglio's doctrine—that "the history of philosophy has a chronology of its own, which is measured, not by the years in which the systems appeared, but, within certain limits of time, by the place which each system occupies in the logical development of the philosophical ideas of humanity." But for the cool audacity with which these views are asserted, the professor beats most of his leaders and colleagues in the *à priori* reconstruction of the history of philosophy. He is fond of the analogy of the physical sciences, which, as he says, must guide and instruct that mere "artist," the philosopher. What would he think, then, of taking some extinct animal—which, no doubt, also has been due to the casual interactions of organism and environment—and, after its dissection, putting it together on more logical principles, so as to represent more adequately the form and direction of organic life in the period? Work of this kind is a fine exercise for analytic and synthetic talents; but it is emphatically not the work of an historian. At the best it seems to us a legitimate help towards determining what the philosopher did mean if he had to our judgment truly and adequately represented the phenomena he proposed to comprehend. But it is decidedly a dangerous path. One is apt to turn criticism, so called, into a worse form of dogmatism, by the critical assumption that one can understand past thinkers better than they understood themselves. We have a personal equation which it were well to estimate, not less than that of the extinct philosopher. And it is hard enough to find out what the philosopher

did mean, without seeking always to discover what he ought to have meant. It is a good thing, however, to note, and if possible allow for, this personal element in the philosopher: and in the second and third parts of his little book, Signor Turbiglio does this in an interesting way for Malebranche. In Malebranche the Middle Ages and the Modern World brought their severally dominant ideas face to face; and the development of his thought is a struggle between the opposing tendencies, either of which is in turn preponderant. Medieval thought, in the interests of the Church, drew a fast line of separation between what was most real and what was most perfect—between the actual world and the ideally perfect beyond. It set God on one side, and the world and the human soul on the other. In the Modern period, on the contrary, where the *pure* reason has replaced the *theological* reason of the Middle Ages, there is an ever-increasing Pantheistic doctrine, of which Spinoza is the first prophet, which rejects all dualism between finite and infinite, between God and the world, and asserts instead the unity, continuity, and interdependence of nature. In Malebranche the pure and the theological reason alternately rule. His pure reason led him to identify the divine with the natural, to abolish the distinction of two provinces in the universe, and to reduce the human will and the human soul to mere parts and manifestations of one force and one spirit. His theological reason, on the other hand, carrying out the individualist theory of ordinary Christianity, which postulated separate human souls and a personal God, led him to put on one side the imperfect things discovered by the senses, and on the other the perfect divinity postulated or revealed by the intellect. The course of this struggle is traced by Signor Turbiglio with a large and clear hand, which again and again deepens and darkens the fundamental antithesis at the starting-point of modern thought. In the interests of history one may object to such a dialectical opposition of the antinomies inherent in the thought of Malebranche, particularly in what may be termed the metaphysic of his ethical doctrine; but there can be little doubt of its value to the scientific study of the very bases of morality. We can say that Signor Turbiglio's book, if a little harsh and overdrawn at times, and savouring of doctrinaire zeal, is yet interesting and suggestive, and calculated to keep in view the bearings of those great topics which the chroniclers of philosophy are apt to hide under a mass of personal and archæological details.

Mr. Mallock has contributed to the well-known series of "Ancient Classics for English Readers" an account of the doctrines and poetry of Lucretius.¹ The work, as readers of the "New Republic" might expect, is well written, and will convey to general readers a fair idea of the great scientific poet of antiquity. Mr. Mallock knows how to make a subject interesting; and the work contains numerous references to modern scientific teaching, which will no doubt be duly appreciated by those for whom the volume is principally intended. But we think that Mr. Mallock might have made a better book if, instead of

¹ "Lucretius." By W. H. Mallock. Edinburgh and London: W. Blackwood and Sons. 1878.

writing one long chapter on "the scientific system of Lucretius" and another on "the poem of Lucretius," he had combined the two into one, and used the smooth and graceful verse translations he has given in the second chapter, to relieve the necessary dulness of the first.

POLITICS, SOCIOLOGY, VOYAGES, AND TRAVELS.

THE surprise of the acquisition of Cyprus seems to have taken book-makers aback, and as yet the flood of publications of all sorts and sizes has scarcely touched us. Mrs. Batson Joyner,¹ however, who publishes an "adaptation" from the German of Franz von Loher, "with much additional matter," has done something. Herr Loher's work has only lately appeared, and seems to be a narrative of recent travels through the island of Cyprus. It is not easy to say which is his and which is Mrs. Batson Joyner's, nor to which of the two we are obliged for the large number of repetitions in this book, but between them there is certainly a very valuable quantity of information for the uninformed new masters of the place. As for the climate, it is said to be very curiously extreme for a comparatively small island. "The great heat of Syria is felt here, as also the violent winds and extreme dryness of Cilicia, but to compensate for this there are most refreshing sea breezes and night dews." The hills are resorted to by some in the summer, while the winter in the northern parts of the island is rendered exceedingly cold by the icy winds from Taurus. "The summits of the Olympian range are entirely snow-capped." Quartan ague is prevalent among the natives. The time of excessive heat is from the middle of September to the end of October, when there is no daily sea breeze. It rains more or less from the end of October to the end of April. A north wind is much dreaded, for, should it last seven or eight days, vegetation is destroyed. "For this reason scarcity is so often felt in Cyprus, notwithstanding its fertility and good soil. These burning winds and the scorching heat are the scourges of the country." It is, however, difficult to estimate the beneficial changes that may be brought about by good forestry, as Cyprus used to be famous for her abundant and valuable timber, which, under Turkish rule, has been recklessly used and wantonly destroyed, until the poorer inhabitants believe it to be pleasing to the Turks if they destroy great trees for quite small ends. The sheep and goats are allowed to browse freely on young trees that might have somewhat repaired this savage waste. "To burn down a fine tree, merely for the pleasure of seeing and hearing it crackle and blaze, is an amusement constantly practised by the ignorant and unreflecting shepherds as they lounge away their day upon the mountain side." Many trees are ruined by a wasteful mode of collecting resin, and this is one

¹ "Cyprus, Historical and Descriptive." By Mrs. A. Batson Joyner. London: W. H. Allen & Co., 13, Waterloo Place. 1878.

matter which ought at once to engage the attention of the new administration. Plagues of locusts used to be common, but are now unknown, having been "stamped out" by the ingenuity of a M. Mattei, at what date—even approximately—we are not told. This gentleman observed that locusts cannot mount a smooth surface, so he smoothed and whitewashed the walls of Nikosia, against which they were advancing in numbers, diminished already by the destruction of their eggs, caused by an exceptionally energetic Pasha. M. Mattei had ditches dug, and behind them he stretched low walls of linen or smooth wood. There were several distinct circumvallations of this sort. Unable to scale these walls, the locusts fell and were destroyed in the ditches. The same thing was done in other parts of the island with satisfactory results. A terrible picture is given of the penal establishments, which are now to be removed from the island. Historical sketches appear and reappear at intervals in this volume, some of them being rather well written, and all conveying the monotonous lesson that where the Turk appears as a ruler, the richest lands become unprofitable wastes. Under the Venetians, sericulture was a source of wealth to Cyprus, and mulberry trees are still abundant. The antiquarian remains, about which many among us are feeling great interest, may prove a source of great disappointment, for the ancient buildings have served both Turks and Egyptians as quarries of ready-cut stones, and have been well ransacked for treasure by generation after generation of needy peasants and greedy officials. Some valuables have been wantonly destroyed by other explorers within living memory.

It is, as Mr. Stanley Lane Poole says, most difficult to obtain plain, unbiassed information about Turkey and its inhabitants, and the two volumes which contain so much reliable detail of life during the last twenty years in various parts of Turkey will be welcomed by all, and highly valued by all but those to whom truth about Turkey is distasteful. The lady whose materials have been cast into form by Mr. Poole² was well able to converse with Greeks, Turks, and Bulgarians in their own tongues, and had, as the daughter and wife of English Consuls, and as an evidently spirited and competent woman, unusual opportunities for collecting information. To the more critical among us, it will perhaps appear that long residence among a polygamous people has somewhat dulled her keen sense of the degraded position of the wives and concubines and slaves of Turkish officials, and of the hideous sensuality of their owners; and that the long contact with a mild form of slavery has accustomed her moral sense to its presence. But none the less the facts presented themselves to her sight, and she noted them and gives them to the public to judge and utilise. Her most hopeful glances turn towards the Greeks, and she bases her opinion upon the very substantial fact that they are an exceptionally clever people, not exceptionally untrustworthy, and growing exceptionally well educated, while they are full of enthusiastic patriotism, and yet are strong and patient to wait.

² "The People of Turkey." By a Consul's Daughter and Wife. Edited by S. L. Poole. London: John Murray, Albemarle Street. 1878.

At the present moment, when long-continued commercial depression is putting the popular belief in the great principles of free trade to a severe practical test, we welcome Mr. Fawcett's new work³ as more than opportune. When Chambers of Commerce are meeting to demand reciprocity in our dealings with protectionist States, it is high time for the champions of a sound economy to step forward and be ready to fight the battle again. Writing with direct reference to this state of things, Mr. Fawcett goes at once to the bottom of the matter by tracing existing misgivings to the unintelligent character of the former belief. English people have in fact believed in free trade pretty much as Americans have believed in protection, because under it trade continued to increase. Attributing to it the general satisfactory results due to a variety of causes, they have failed to grasp its true relation to economic prosperity, and have even misunderstood the nature of that prosperity itself. While producer and consumer have been sharing the benefits of an unrestricted commerce, they have fixed their eyes chiefly on the gains of producers, and have treated them as the criterion of the national well-being; forgetting that while the interest of producers is that of a part of the nation only, the interest of consumers is that of the whole, producers themselves being consumers often on a large scale, and bearing a proportionate though not always distinctly recognisable share in the general burden or relief. Where prices are high, production as well as mere living is carried on under disadvantages, while the compensation of high profits touches only a small part of the community. Mi-conceptions on this subject have led to a false estimate of the good resulting from the great development of certain trades, and to expectations of general misery as the consequence of a depression of trade, which are not borne out by the facts. The main interest, for England, of Mr. Fawcett's book centres in the two last chapters, on Commercial Depression and Commercial Treaties; but he carves his way to these through an admirable preliminary exposition of the working of the two principles, and a discussion, one by one, of the varied and even startlingly contrasted arguments of protectionists, and this not only gives the necessary fulness and completeness to his work, but would in Australia or America form part of its chief value. He complains that English economists have treated the arguments of the other side with too much contempt, and reminds us that considerations potent enough to decide the conduct of our most enlightened and enterprising neighbours must at least be worth a respectful treatment at our hands. We must remember too that the arguments with which we meet them were not able single-handed to carry the cause of free trade amongst ourselves. Had our manufacturers only been protected, and our agriculture free, five-and-thirty years ago, England might have been protectionist to this day. It is not to mere economic theories that we owe the freedom of our trade, but to the cry of hungry mouths for bread. Nor have we much right to complain that other States are

³ "Free Trade and Protection." By Henry Fawcett, M.P. London: Macmillan & Co. 1878.

not convinced by our success, when we consider that even amongst ourselves the principle is not yet understood in its application to labour. The arguments on the protectionist side with which Mr. Fawcett deals most fully, as being those to which the greatest weight is attached in America and the colonies, are those which have reference to a temporary protection of necessary or desirable industries in a young country. Some concessions have been made in this direction, even by eminent authorities, on account of the impossibility of successful competition with established trade on the part of a newly planted industry, and the inadequacy of private fortunes to the task of starting such enterprises without some form of Government aid, a temporary protection being regarded as unobjectionable under these circumstances, on condition that it should be thoroughly understood to be temporary, and that it should actually cease as soon as it could be done without. To this Mr. Fawcett replies by alleging the well-known immediate difficulty of any withdrawal of protection, the fact that no protective duty has ever been voluntarily relinquished, and the ruinous effects of fostering from the first a habit of dependence on State aid instead of a healthy spirit of self-dependence. Another branch of the same argument is that which lays stress on the hypothetical necessity of temporary protection in a country where, as in America or Australia, agricultural advantages are so great that capital and labour tend to flow exclusively in that direction, and special means are required to foster social development and the growth of towns. The answer given to this is, that special means are neither necessary nor advantageous; that as manufactures are required they will spring into being, and that till they are required it is no use creating them; that when labour is sufficiently abundant in the country it will be cheaper to manufacture at home than to import from a distance, and that no State interference will be needed to aid the working of natural causes. On the other hand, for a young country to begin with protection, however expedient, is to commit itself to a principle the inevitable tendency of which is to spread from industry to industry, since the protection of one necessitates, as a matter of compensation, that of another; and which, in addition to all economic inconveniences, has a frightful effect in corrupting political life, "controlling the election of Congress men, and putting inferior men in office, whose inferiority has reacted upon the nation in worse and worse legislation." State interference with trade is bad, but trade interference with State interests is worse. In his chapter on Commercial Depression, Mr. Fawcett is careful to explain an important point or two connected with the method in which statistical tables of exports and imports are drawn up. Exports are valued in the tables at the price at which they are bought in England for exportation; but the actual receipts in this country are this price plus the exporter's profit plus the cost of carriage, the goods being exported in English ships, and the carriage paid by the foreign importers. Imports, on the other hand, are set down at the price at which they are about to be sold in England; but it is clear that this price is not paid in full

to the foreigner, part of it being the English importer's profit, and part the cost of carriage in English ships, paid into English hands. We receive therefore for our exports considerably more than appears in the tables, and we pay for our imports considerably less. Further, no country has so large a capital as we have invested in foreign loans and undertakings. The interest on these investments must be paid in either goods or bullion, and this reckons as import. This part, then, at least, of the excess of our imports over our exports not only does not prove us reckless insolvents, but shows us by so much the creditors of foreign nations. This is followed by an instructive comparison of the consequences of depression in England and in America. In England, the free play of commercial laws converts the loss of the producer into the gain of the consumer; and as when prices fall consumption increases, there is a rapid and sound reaction in favour of trade itself. This state of things is conducive to a true public prosperity. How far a great advance of profits in any given trade is from deserving the name of public prosperity, Mr. Fawcett points out in a searching analysis of the results of the recent extraordinary prosperity of the coal trade. As a matter of fact, after four years of commercial depression, the decline of pauperism brought about by a better poor-law administration has proceeded without a drawback, and neither savings banks nor railway traffic are found to have actually suffered. Commerce, in fact, is simply undergoing the inevitable reaction after an unusual exhilaration, and the well-being of the nation itself is not materially touched. In America it is quite otherwise. Prices being artificially kept up, the depression of trade is not free to benefit the consumer at the expense of the producer, nor can any improvement therefore set in from a wider consumption; pauperism increases, railways suffer, communistic ideas receive a fresh development among the working classes, and the highly paid American artisan crosses the sea to seek lower wage and cheaper living in free trade England. The chapter on Commercial Treaties is of course chiefly occupied with the question of reciprocity. This is treated separately with regard to America and with regard to France; and after pointing out the impossibility of retaliation in the case of the former, from whose tariff we suffer the most severely, Mr. Fawcett discusses it in the case of France under the two forms of import duty on French products and export duty on coal or English machinery, and shows how rapidly American competition would drive us from the field if we subjected ourselves to such a disadvantage as an export duty on products of ours in which she could rival us.

Mr. Bates⁴ does not believe in our modern fashions of combination and co-operation; he gives us a lively view of all the abuses of trades' unions, and all the failures of the co-operative system. His ideal is the yearly fair, at which hind and farmer meet and agree between themselves on the year's work and wage; and "a fair price between man and man" is simply the price which you are willing to work for

⁴ "A Glance at the Wages Question in England." By Cadwallader J. Bates. London: Williams & Norgate. 1878.

and I am willing to pay. His pamphlet was originally written to influence a local dispute in Northumberland, and is somewhat rambling and hasty; but there is much force in his appeal for individual freedom of trade in labour, and he is fair enough to acknowledge that all trades' unions do not exist for the purpose of getting up strikes, and that the question of the confederation of workmen cannot be judged apart from that of the confederation of employers.

Under the title "Principles of a Time Policy,"* Mr. Moffat reprints a single division of his book on the "Economy of Consumption," setting forth the advantage to working men of combining to secure not full work at high wages—a thing often impossible—but a shortening of the hours of work in proportion to the fall of wages. By this plan the demand for the full number of labourers would, as he holds, be kept up, even in a time of depression, and over-production would be checked at the very moment at which it begins seriously to affect profits. He lays stress on the fact, that employers themselves adopt this method as a last resource in case of obvious glut, and believes that they would not be sorry to have forced upon all, at the first symptoms of over-production, a measure which is only disadvantageous to each, in so far as he uses it alone. Mr. Moffat gives, in a long appendix, his reasons for disagreeing with Ricardo and John Stuart Mill, and in a long preface his reasons for despising most of his reviewers.

Sir Louis Mallet has rendered an important service to the political education of the people by editing and republishing the more prominent of Mr. Cobden's political writings.⁶ The type, paper, and guise of the whole make the work adapted to the largest possible distribution in the right quarters. In an interesting introduction Sir Louis Mallet describes the programme which Mr. Cobden appears to have set before him in the construction of a policy, as embracing the following objects:—

"1. Complete freedom of trade throughout the British Empire with all the world.

"2. The abandonment of a policy of conquest and territorial aggrandisement in every quarter of the world.

"3. The adoption of the general principles of non-intervention and arbitration in our foreign policy, publicity in the transactions of diplomacy, and the renunciation of all ideas of national preponderance and supremacy.

"4. The reduction of military and naval forces by internal co-operation.

"5. A large reduction of indirect taxation.

"6. A reform in the laws affecting land.

"7. Freedom of the press from all taxes, happily stigmatised by Mr. Milner Gibson as taxes on knowledge.

"8. A reform of maritime law."

The collection of papers included in the present volume affords ample illustration of the method pursued by Mr. Cobden in addressing

* "The Principles of a Time Policy." By R. S. Moffat. London: C. Kegan Paul & Co. 1878.

⁶ "The Political Writings of Richard Cobden, with an Introductory Essay." By Sir Louis Mallet, C.B. London: William Ridgway. 1878.

himself to the consideration of these several subjects, and to the advocacy of the chief reforms with which his name is associated.

The joint essays of Mr. Kenny and Mr. Laurence,⁷ on the "Law of Primogeniture in England," which obtained the York prize at the University of Cambridge, are so replete with learned information on the subject with which they deal, that they must henceforth form a necessary handbook to all persons who deal with a topic which is likely to draw to itself increasing attention in the legislature every year. The treatment in the case of both essays is necessarily of a somewhat antiquarian character, though both writers deal with the social and political aspects of primogeniture, and discuss the policy of suggested changes in the law. It is curious that one of the writers, Mr. Kenny, is in favour of the abolition of the existing law, and the other writer, Mr. Laurence, of retaining it. Mr. Laurence's essay contains an interesting quotation from Mr. Austin's article on "Primogeniture," in the WESTMINSTER REVIEW of October, 1824.

Owing to the strictures of Mr. Ruskin, what is known as the "Thirlmere Water Scheme,"⁸ in accordance with which the Corporation of Manchester propose to convert Thirlmere Lake into a reservoir, has become a topic of far greater than merely municipal importance. Besides the purely æsthetic considerations, to which Mr. Ruskin and the Thirlmere Defence Association have called an amount of attention not perhaps overstrained, there are engineering and social aspects of the question which, if not of equal public interest, are of course essential to the due discussion of the project. In his lecture, delivered before the Queenwood Mutual Improvement Society, Mr. James Mansergh has examined in a compendious and exact form all the claims of the scheme as an engineering possibility. He argues furthermore with the Defence Association on their own grounds, and denies categorically that "the over-living green surface of the meadows at the south end of the valley will be exchanged for a vast expanse of oozy mud and rotting vegetation, whilst a belt of like character will be laid bare round the shores of the lake; and the total extent of this hideous margin will more than equal the area of the remaining water."

Mr. Monahan's essay on "The Method of Law"⁹ contains many acute observations and practical illustrations in reference to a branch of scientific inquiry which is not particularly congenial either to the general reading public in England, or the ordinary English lawyer. The prospects of a true science of jurisprudence in England seem to turn upon whether the science can be so represented that the general reader shall see its direct connexion with ethics and politics, and the

⁷ "Two Essays on the Law of Primogeniture." By C. S. Kenny, LL.B., and A. M. Laurence, B.A. London: Reeves & Turner. 1878.

⁸ "The Thirlmere Water Scheme of the Manchester Corporation." A Lecture by James Mansergh, C.E., F.G.S. Queenwood Mutual Improvement Society. 1878.

⁹ "The Method of Law: an Essay on the Statement and Arrangement of the Legal Standard of Conduct." By James H. Monahan, Q.C. London: Macmillan & Co. 1878.

practising lawyer its usefulness for the purposes of his profession. It is to be feared that the form of Mr. Monahan's essay is not such as to promote either of these ends. It is rugged, desultory, incomplete, and technical. Nevertheless the matter will be very serviceable to other writers on the same head.

Mr. Ball has contributed a modest though extremely valuable little treatise¹⁰ to the aid of the increasing mass of the British public who keep thronging the profession of the bar. There is scarcely a point of practical detail omitted; and an appendix contains a list of the minimum number of treatises on English law with which a student must be acquainted.

A work,¹¹ which can only be described as portentous in size and magnificent in appearance, published by the authority of the O'Connell Centenary Committee, can perhaps best be described in the words of its superscription, as being "respectfully dedicated, by the National Committee, to the Irish race, wherever dispersed, and to all the friends of Civil and Religious Liberty throughout the Globe, who nobly sympathised in the glorious Celebration of the Centenary of Daniel O'Connell." It is, perhaps, needless to say that the work contains not only the minutest record of every detail of the Centenary celebration of 1875, in Dublin, but an account of foreign and colonial celebrations all over the world. The historical matter relating to Catholic Emancipation, Irish education, and the political reforms carried or supported by O'Connell, makes the work a great repository of information on Irish subjects, and a worthy monument to one of the greatest of great Irish patriots. It is to be hoped that a cheap and popular edition will be issued.

Dr. Weisz¹² takes for his motto Comte's words—"The historical method is the sole fundamental base upon which the system of political logic can really rest." His brochure is divided into a few pages of introduction to the science of national economy, and tables of facts and dates arranged under the heads of the countries which Dr. Weisz includes in his survey.

Mr. Ram¹³ believes himself to have found a more philosophic mode of thought about war than other people. His idea is, that war is a mode by which "nature" secures the survival of the fittest; and the sense in which he may be said to differ from other people is, that while many have thought and spoken of ancient or distant calamities, which they had not imagination enough to realise, as working out the design of "nature" or of God, he uses the same thought of present and probable disasters. But he never seems to consider what he means by the survival of the fittest. Taking physical strength and symmetry as a test

¹⁰ "The Student's Guide to the Bar." By Walter W. R. Ball, M.A. London: Macmillan & Co. 1878.

¹¹ "The O'Connell Centenary Record, 1875." Dublin: Joseph Dollard. 1878.

¹² "Einleitung in der Wirtschaftsgeschichte." Von Dr. B. Weisz. Budapest: Moritz Rath. 1878.

¹³ "The Philosophy of War." By James Ram. London: C. Kegan Paul & Co., 1, Paternoster Square. 1878.

of the fitness for survival, war certainly secures the destruction of the fittest. Or, taking Mr. Ram's view, that "a high ideal of excellence in any individual involves combativeness and readiness to suffer"—and again, "to say that a man fights bravely is to award him our most ideal praise," then war involves again the extinction of the highest type of excellence, of the fittest for survival. This is enough, perhaps, to denote what are Mr. Ram's claims to philosophical thought. The little volume is a magnifying of war as a civilising agent. He imagines thirty thousand persons of the criminal classes transported from London to an island apart, and maintains that—"cry havoc, and let loose the dogs of war among such an assemblage, and improvement will immediately begin." He had better attend the next "Prisons Congress," and there advocate this plan.

One of the most popular of the officers of the last English Expedition to the North Pole, Captain Markham,¹⁴ supplements the more official narrative of Sir George Narce by a more personal account of the daily life of the members of that expedition. Certainly he pictures a depth of misery of cold which might well suffice to prevent any reasonable man from volunteering for any such work. But the misery is nothing new—is less than it used to be with less well-equipped vessels; and yet he tells of the embarrassment of one ship's captain, whose whole crew of three hundred men volunteered when he asked for names of men willing to go in the *Alert* or *Discovery*. Captain Markham only incidentally alludes to the scientific value of the work done, contenting himself with saying that it ought only to whet our appetites and stimulate us to undertake further discoveries. He would wish us to continue the discoveries of the Austro-Hungarian expedition in Franz Joseph Land. The casualties of the expedition were, as all know, very few, and Captain Markham is of the number of those who maintain that lime juice will not prevent an outbreak of scurvy. He also says that it cannot be served out on sledging expeditions, because it freezes so hard as to be unmanageable. At the same time he believes that future Arctic explorers may ward off scurvy by taking due precautions during the dark months. He believes it to be induced by darkness, damp, intense cold, and want of ventilation, to which this expedition was exposed for a longer time than others have been, because it wintered further north. At the same time it must be confessed that the men were rarely fortunate in the amount of trouble taken to keep their spirits up. Weekly entertainments, in the shape of lectures, music, readings, tumbling, and sleight of hand, as well as regular teaching, were kept up throughout the dark months of leisure. Indeed it was one of the recognised qualifications of a volunteer that he could sing a good song, or in some way entertain his fellow sailors. A few good maps and illustrations adorn the pages of this volume, and in some measure enable the reader to appreciate some of the conditions of a life described by one traveller as "the very acme of discomfort"

¹⁴ "The Great Frozen Sea." By Captain Albert Hastings Markham, R.N. London: Daldy, Isbister, & Co., 56, Ludgate Hill. 1878.

endured while they were doing work, which Sir G. Nares forewarned them was so hard that "if they could imagine the hardest work they had ever been called upon to perform in their lives intensified to the utmost degree, it would be only as child's play in comparison with the work they would have to perform whilst sledging." The account is simply written, without any special attraction of style beyond its evident trustworthiness and sobriety.

The "French Pictures in English Chalk"¹⁵ are a series of stories written somewhat in the tone of the Erckmann-Chatrian novels, and making no greater pretence to literal truth. If they truly represent the feelings of French recruits, and their gradual deterioration in the army—the patriotic fury of high-bred French girls during the late war—the possibilities of a bourgeois engagement—of corruption under the Second Empire, and other details of French life, they are distinctly valuable. If not, they are at least exciting and well-sustained fiction.

Mr. Stevenson¹⁶ has a most pretty trick of language. He has imbued his mind deeply with the style of some of the older English essayists, and has taken for his subject one that lends itself easily to the leisurely quaintness of his pen. He details the incidents of a canoeing trip with a friend on the river Oise. The comedies are piquant, the philosophising fresh and lively, and not too serious, the cynicism slight, and view of life very human and kindly. It is a book to make a leisure and lazy hour pass very pleasantly, and to leave a hope behind it both of future literary pleasure from its writer and of his using his working years as well as his holidays to good, solid purpose, though his youthful opinions are at present in need of mellowing. Take, for instance, the passage in which he avows "Independent America is still the cross of my existence; I cannot think of Farmer George without abhorrence; and I never feel more warmly to my own land than when I see the stars and stripes, and remember what our empire might have been." This is a curious type of thought in these days.

Two volumes of further conversations between Mr. Nassau Senior¹⁷ and some of the distinguished men whom he knew, include conversations with M. Thiers, M. Guizot, and M. Cornu, which lately appeared in the *Fortnightly* and *Cornhill Magazines*. The period which these volumes cover extend from 1852 to 1860, but include no conversations with living persons. Their range is, in few words, over the whole of European politics; and as they consist of the picked portions of selected notes taken after talking with eminent men, their

¹⁵ "French Pictures in English Chalk." (Second Series.) By the Author of "The Member for Paris." London: Smith, Elder, & Co., 15, Waterloo Place. 1878.

¹⁶ "An Inland Voyage." By Robert Louis Stevenson. London: C. Kegan Paul & Co., 1, Paternoster Square. 1878.

¹⁷ "Conversations with M. Thiers, M. Guizot, and other Distinguished Persons." By the late Nassau William Senior. Edited by his daughter, M. C. M. Simpson. Two Vols. London: Hurst & Blackett, 13, Great Marlborough Street. 1878.

interest for the readers of the gossip of politics can scarcely be exaggerated, nor can it be in any way adequately represented by quotations. Very much of the gossip is, of course, about Louis Napoleon. One of the minor interests of the book is to note the constant, the almost invariable falsification by history of the prophecies of these leading politicians. One blemish is the uniform dogmatism of tone imparted to the expressions of all alike, by the fact that what we have is merely the recollection by one of the interlocutors of what he heard worth recording. One excellence is that Mr. Senior keeps himself modestly in the background.

Mr. Grenville Murray's brief essays,¹⁸ entitled "Round About France," have long been known to readers of the *Daily News*. They contain a mass of curious information of a more recondite character and permanent value than is nowadays usually contained in the pages of a daily journal. Several of the essays deal with the abuses of French elections, and the central administrative pressure, which is such an obstacle to independent political action in France. Other essays treat some of the more urgent clerical and ecclesiastical problems, and three or four of them explain the peculiarities of French judicial procedure. The style is very attractive and readable, and the work commends itself as proceeding from a competent and well-informed critic.

"An Old Punjaabee"¹⁹ gathers up in small space, and in very orderly and accessible fashion, a great deal of information about the Punjaub. Beginning with a geographical description of the district, and then giving a classification of the population according to their creeds, he proceeds to give a particular account of the Sikhs, whom he treats with much respect as the most formidable enemies, even in their decay, that English troops ever met in India. Their decrease in importance he attributes partially to the fact, that as "they are now a subject instead of a governing race," there is less care taken by Sikh parents to initiate their sons into a sect which is not an hereditary one. He says that the Mohammedans of the Punjaub are not bigoted. The Afghans are in a condition closely resembling that of the natives among whom Cortez landed, as described by Robertson:—"The first step towards establishing a public jurisdiction has not been taken." He thinks that we cannot be too open and outspoken in all our dealings with the hill tribes. It appears possible that our relations with the Ameer of Cabul may be rendered less difficult by the recent death of the Akhoond of Swât. The principal tribes are spoken of with decisiveness of opinion and apparent sufficiency of information; and the practical outcome is the advocacy of the policy of appointing a distinct Commissioner for the border provinces, because they require special knowledge, an immense amount of work, and a wholly different mode of treatment from what may be called the "Home

¹⁸ "Round about France." By E. C. Grenville Murray. London: Macmillan & Co. 1878.

¹⁹ "The Punjaub and North-West Frontier of India." By an Old Punjaabee. London: C. K. Paul & Co., 1, Paternoster Square. 1878.

Counties" of India. Russia appears to the writer a formidable and threatening neighbour.

Mr. Andrew,²⁰ regarding a struggle for supremacy between England and Russia as inevitable, thinks that he can usefully contribute something to the popular knowledge of India and her neighbours. That he takes a wide view of his subject is obvious from the fact that, after disposing of the climate, fauna, flora, minerals, people, early history, remarkable women, British rule in various parts, feudatory States, other European settlements, commerce, communications, and finance of India, he ranges over the wide fields of Beloochistan, Afghanistan, Persia, Turkistan, Russia, Tibet, Nepal, Sikkim, Bhutan, Burmah, Siam, Malacca, and all the adjacent islands, Muscat, Zanzibar, and Ceylon, and all this in one large-printed, wide-margined volume. He will be pleased should the native Princes be restrained in the matter of their armies, and made to pay more towards the maintenance of British forces. He approves of the opium monopoly. He would urge the increase of our expenditure on communications, on the good grounds that to open the country is to prevent local famines, and would tend to relieve the "silver dilemma." This question of communications is that upon which he wishes to lay special stress, and is one upon which he has, by long-continued earnestness, made himself a right to be carefully heard, even by those who do not care for his subject, because of any suspicion or dread of Russia.

Mr. Dutt's²¹ collection of papers, descriptive of a native official's life, and of stories from Indian history, is interesting as the production of a native gentleman, bearing on its surface no trace of his having been out of India, and presumably giving a reflex image of the tone of English society in India. The story in which Nana Sahib figures speaks bitterly of the English vengeance for the mutiny. The word "devil" appears to be a frequent one in the Indian vocabulary.

The Registrar-General of Victoria forwards the indexes, for the year 1874, of patents and patentees.²² The method and form of publication is especially noticeable at the present time, when the English patent law is undergoing revision. The patents granted are first described, the name and description of the patentee being given with much precision, and the claim of novelty or utility being distinctly and briefly stated. The latter half of the work consists of exact drawings, and is somewhat remarkable as a literary and typographical curiosity. The publicity provided for is, for those who advocate publicity, of the most satisfactory sort.

Last summer a commission was issued to Mr. Pearson²³ to inquire

²⁰ "India and her Neighbours." By W. P. Andrew. London: Wm. H. Allen & Co., 13, Waterloo Place, Pall Mall. 1878.

²¹ "Bengalians: a Dish of Rice and Curry, and other Indigestible Ingredients." By Shoshoo Chunder Dutt, Rái Bahádoor. Calcutta: Thacker, Spink, & Co., 5, Government Place.

²² "Patents and Patentees." Vol. IX. Indexes for the Year 1874. By Richard Gibbs, Registrar-General of Victoria. Melbourne. 1877.

²³ "Report on the State of Public Education in Victoria, and Suggestions as to the Best Means of Improving it." By Charles H. Pearson. Melbourne: John Ferres, Government Printer. 1878.

into the state of public education in Victoria and into the best means of increasing its efficiency. The report which he presented a few months later to Sir G. F. Bowen is of the highest value and interest, not only as expressing the personal opinions of so distinguished a man on the ideal of education for all stages, from primary schools to universities and technical colleges, but also as summing up in succinct form the most modern utterances of other educational authorities. Education is not yet compulsory in Victoria, and the migratory habits of the population will make it difficult to enforce, but it is strenuously urged as necessary by Mr. Pearson, who also advocates a compulsory examination of all children, even those taught at home by parents or private teachers. In the readjustment of educational standards Mr. Pearson would largely change the present system of payment by results; would prefer German and French to Greek and Latin for ordinary high-school pupils; would teach no history to children under twelve years of age, and would then only begin with English History in the seventeenth century and the history of Australia; would teach only political geography, and would introduce the subject of the laws of health and various natural sciences, beginning with botany. Of course no subject need be excluded from universities and technical colleges.

M. de Laveleye²⁴ writes with just patriotic pride of the position taken by the King of the Belgians towards Central African discovery and colonisation. Last year we noticed with admiration the report published by M. Emile Banning²⁵—of which a second enlarged edition with Stanley's map on a smaller scale has just appeared—of the Geographical Conference held under King Leopold's presidency at Brussels. That Conference, which was a truly international one, resolved that it was desirable to plant as soon as possible a line of permanent stations between Bogomayo on the Zanzibar coast and St. Paul de Loanda on the Atlantic side, and named some of the points to be first occupied. Such stations are to be in no sense either for purposes of religious propagandism nor at all military in their character, though they must be rigorously well ordered and friendly to all efforts for the instruction and civilisation of the African populations. M. de Laveleye's small volume is likely to stir up fresh interest in this great subject, which he treats with vigour and an infectious enthusiasm. He hopes that railways and trainways and steamers will soon make transit very easy to the interior and across Africa, and meanwhile he advocates the use of elephants. Already the great lakes can be reached without danger in two months. M. de Laveleye speaks with respect of Mr. Stanley, not having received, at the time of his publication, the news of Mr. Stanley's scandalous outrages upon the natives of Africa, and wholesale warlike operations.

Mr. Elihu Burritt²⁶ publishes, as his last book, a collection of

²⁴ "L'Afrique Centrale." Par M. E. de Laveleye. Bruxelles: C. Muquardt. 1878.

²⁵ "L'Afrique et la Conférence Géographique de Bruxelles." Second Edition. Par M. Emile Banning. Bruxelles: C. Muquardt. 1878.

²⁶ "Chips from Many Blocks." By Elihu Burritt. London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle, & Rivington. 1878.

scattered papers and lectures, all of which have the charm of his eloquence and fervent spirit and manly directness of thought, and the latter few of which possess the special interest that they show what graceful free and stirring use may be made of our English tongue within the strict limits of words of one syllable. These papers for children are to be commended to the attention of our many long-winded writers for the young. Another paper on the women-workers among the soldiers and the poor of England reads strangely, for we are apt on this side the Atlantic to think that American women set us a noble example of brave and zealous philanthropy. An earnest appeal to the young men who crowd to the cities of America, to find a nobler and more quickly and surely independent career in the depopulated country districts, conveys the curious information that the farms of New England are largely held now by Germans and Irish. But perhaps the most generally interesting papers will be the first in the book, on the desirableness of colonial representation in the British Parliament, in which Mr. Burritt points out, among many other advantages, the gain to legislation that would come of admitting the able men of the colonies to the home national councils, as well as the immense gain to both England and her colonies that must result from the closer feeling of union that would follow. Mr. Burritt thinks that the suffrage is so nearly universal in England that there would arise no practical difficulty from its being absolutely so in some of the colonies, that the question of the Established Church would not be affected by the wider representation or that it will be settled before the change he advocates could have come about. A paper which maintains that "England, Russia, and America are the three Great Powers which, from their birth, Providence has been training for an everlasting alliance," will arouse more dispute than even the question of the imperial representation. Mr. Burritt says that they are the three countries surrounding Asia and bound to supply it with civilising influences. And he points to the emancipation of the Serfs and the sending to their homes 10,000 Persian slaves from Khiva as proofs that Russia is a civilising Power, both in the sense that she is herself growing more civilised and that she is anxious to do good where she goes. It is needless to say that in his chapters on the Eastern Question Mr. Burritt is most convincingly pro-Russian. A deeply interesting discussion on the changes that should be introduced into the American system of electing Presidents advocates a direct popular vote in order to prevent the anomaly of the present system. Other papers deal with the expense of the "two daughters of the horse-leech—the army and the navy;" the duty of the American nation to the freedmen whose savings were scandalously filched from them; the Chinese immigrants, and so on. It is a little volume full of thought and suggestion.

Mr. Wallis Nash²⁷ had an energetic friend who was devoting capital,

²⁷ "Oregon, There and Back in 1877." By Wallis Nash. London: Macmillan & Co. 1878.

time, and intelligence to acquiring vast property in Oregon, and at his invitation he went over to see what he thought of that region as an opening for investment and a hopeful field for emigration. He has returned to England enthusiastic, and his soberly written book, bristling with substantial figures and facts, is enough in itself to turn many a wise man's face in the same direction. Nothing can well surpass in promise the rich lands which, in varying stages of wildness or cultivation, are to be had at advantageous rates from the Government of the United States, or persons holding under them. What would a young English farmer say to a rich wheat country, where the crops have not in any sense failed for thirty-three years—where, with mere scratching of the ground, twelve to twenty bushels are yielded to the acre, and cultivation gives from thirty-five to fifty; where grass seed sown on the hill-sides extirpates the wild growth, and in one year establishes itself in such wise that sheep and cattle will live on it and fatten all the year round? In parts of the State, though a man and his family may live easily, they can scarcely grow rich for want of communication with the markets; but roads and railways are quickly pushing their way in a State which has admirable self-governing institutions, and where a large proportion of the young people are not only well but highly educated.

The new publications, entitled "Annual Italian Statistics,"²⁸ which follow the same general lines as the "Statistical Abstract" of the English Board of Trade, form an important and valuable addition to the increasing number of statistical treatises issued by the Italian Government. The two parts of the work issued for the present year supply a summary view of Italian statistics for such departments as—(1) meteorology, (2) topography, (3) population, (4) public and private instruction, (5) civil and criminal justice, (6) prisons, (7) public charities, (8) elections for administrative and political offices, (9) the army, (10) the navy, (11) the mercantile marine, (12) the progress of navigation at home and abroad, (13) foreign commerce, (14) banks and savings banks, (15) agriculture, (16) domesticated animals, (17) public works, (18) public finances, (19) ecclesiastical affairs, (20) communal and provincial finances. A very complete introduction indicates the sources and methods from and by which the statistics are obtained, and the more striking of the general results.

We have also received the report of the Italian Government on the progress of Italian shipping in foreign ports for the year 1875,²⁹ and in home ports for the year 1877.³⁰

A number of sketches of Paris life,³¹ as led by rag-pickers, spy-police, artist's models, betting men, concierges, fishwives, *et hoc genus*

²⁸ "Annuario Statistico Italiano." Anno I. 1878. Parte Prima e Parte Seconda. Roma: 1878.

²⁹ "Movimento della Navigazione Italiana nei Porti Esteri." Anno 1875. Roma: 1878.

³⁰ "Navigazione nei Porti del Regno." Anno 1877. Roma: 1878.

³¹ "Paris Originals." By A. Egmont Hake. London: C. Kegan Paul & Co., 1, Paternoster Square. 1878.

omne, is written with a certain vigour and verisimilitude. The illustrations can only be said to be curious.

Mr. E. D. Girdlestone²² publishes a bright, popular account of the composition of Earth and Air, and their vegetable and animal inhabitants, with their chemical relations. His object is to advocate the utilisation of all sewage.

Mr. Ernest Hart²³ describes the Mosaic regulations for cleanliness and health, and maintains their reasonableness, and points out their success.

The Rev. Mr. Haweis²⁴ speaks with earnestness of the value of the stage as a moral teacher, of the high vocation of the actor, and his real excellence of practice, and urges Christian people to frequent and so finally purify the theatre.

Messrs. Macmillan publish a progressive French Course,²⁵ and a progressive German Course,²⁶ each course, as far as yet completed, extending over two years, and each little volume containing the matter for a single year. The author of both courses is M. G. Eugène Fasnacht, the Senior Master of Modern Languages, Harper Foundation Modern School, Bedford.

An Elementary Greek Grammar²⁷ is issued by the Rev. G. J. Davie, Head Master of the Market Bosworth Grammar School. It purports to have been compiled "day by day, as the classes had to be taught their daily lessons, and especially directed to meet those points which the author saw to be their difficulties."

SCIENCE.

THE electric light has roused so many sanguine anticipations, and is yet capable of so much improvement, that M. Fontaine's treatise on Electric Lighting¹ will be read with general interest, espe-

²² "Our Debt and Duty to the Soil." By E. D. Girdlestone. Sold in London by Hamilton, Adams, & Co. Weston-Super-Mare: Robbins, High Street. 1878.

²³ "The Mosaic Code of Sanitation." By Ernest Hart. London: Smith, Elder, & Co., 15, Waterloo Place. 1877.

²⁴ "Shakspeare and the Stage." By the Rev. H. R. Haweis, M.A. London: C. Kegan Paul & Co. 1878.

²⁵ "Progressive French Course." First Year. By G. Eugène Fasnacht. London: Macmillan & Co. 1877.

"Progressive French Course." Second Year. By G. Eugène Fasnacht. London: Macmillan & Co. 1877.

²⁶ "Progressive German Course." First Year. By G. Eugène Fasnacht. London: Macmillan & Co. 1878.

"Progressive German Course." Second Year. By G. Eugène Fasnacht. London: Macmillan & Co. 1878.

²⁷ "An Elementary Greek Grammar." By the Rev. G. J. Davie, M.A., Head Master of the Market Bosworth Grammar School. London: Richard Bentley & Son. 1877.

¹ "Electric Lighting." A Practical Treatise by Hippolyte Fontaine, translated from the French by Paget Higgs, LL.D., A.I.C.E. With 48 engravings in the text. London: E. & F. N. Spon. 1878.

cially as his book deals more with the industrial applications of the light than with technical details of the several inventions by which it is obtained. The scientific aspect of the question, however, is excellently stated, and well illustrated with figures. The volume is in twelve chapters, of which the first half deal more especially with apparatus, and the latter half with the practical aspects of electric lighting. From the first chapter it would appear that, as early as 1862, Serrins' electric regulator was used with perfect success, for night-work, in the Guadarama mountains in constructing the Spanish Northern Railway. The electric light was burned for 9417 hours till the works were finished, at a cost for each lamp of 2.90 francs per hour, which was a saving of 60 per cent. on the cost of torches. And in lighting the subterranean works of the great mines of Guadarama it was found to have the great advantage of not vitiating the air. Since that time it has been used for night-work in the construction of various forts, railways, public buildings in Paris, and the Havre harbour and docks. The chief difficulty with the electric light being its unsteadiness, the second chapter is devoted to regulators, of which M. Serrins' is the best. M. Jablochhoff's electric candle is a form of electric lighting in which no regulator is required. Electric carbons occupy the third chapter. Practically, the carbon from gas-retorts, first introduced by M. Foucault, is the only substance available, since the chemically-purified carbons are too costly for use in public lighting, but a short account of the mode of preparation of each of these carbons is given. M. Gaudoin's results are the most satisfactory. He obtains a purer form of carbon by decomposing pitches, fats, and organic substances, and the carbon thus prepared has twice the illuminating power of the gas carbon from retorts. The fourth chapter describes the several magneto-electric machines down to the invention of Gramme's machine five years ago, the immense importance of which is elaborately explained in the next chapter. This machine transforms mechanical force into electricity, and conversely, electricity into motive power, and has already been employed with success as an economiser of labour in several industries. The Gramme machines for the electric light occupy the sixth chapter. The first which the inventor constructed supplies the electric light of 900 carcel burners in the clock tower of the Houses of Parliament, but since that time the apparatus has been greatly simplified. The industrial applications of the electric light are fast becoming numerous. In the Gramme Company's factory an electric light has replaced 25 gas-burners, at a cost of 0.60 franc per hour. In the Ducommun iron foundry at Mulhouse, electric light, equal to 400 gas-burners, has been introduced at a cost of 400*l.*, which sum would be the cost of introducing 250 gas-burners. Every four hours the carbons have to be replaced, and this operation takes from two to three minutes. This light is used in Paris, in the factories of Messrs. Saulter, Lemonnier, and Co., the makers of lighthouse lenses; in M. Ménier's caoutchouc factory, as well as in his chocolate works and sugar refinery; in various spinning mills in Spain and France, in a goods depôt, in the building-yards of the outer port of Havre, in

wharves at Sermaize on the Marne and Rhine canal; in the skating rink at Vienna, where reflectors prevent the waste of light upward, and concentrate the rays on the surface of the ice; and in cannon foundries, engineering works, dye works, and other industries. The electric light was first introduced into lighthouses in 1863. There are now electric lighthouses in France, England, Russia, Austria, Sweden, and Egypt. The same source of light has been introduced into the navies of France, Denmark, Russia, England, and Spain; and another form of apparatus, suitable for military operations, has been adopted in France, Russia, and Norway. So rapid have been the improvements introduced into the Gramme machine, that the workshop type which, five years ago, produced a light of 100 burners with 3-horse power, now produces a light of 450 burners with 2-horse power; while the light is from $6\frac{1}{2}$ to 40 times less expensive than gas, the cost per burner per hour being '0011 of a franc, while for 4000 burners per hour the cost is '44 franc, when worked with hydraulic power, for 4000 hours in the year. The electric candle is much more costly, being at the rate of half a franc for half an hour, or one franc an hour for forty burners. The book is of the greatest interest, on account of its frank criticism of all that has been done on electric lighting, and for the materials which it furnishes for the formation of an independent opinion as to the present possibilities of lighting by electricity. The translation is sometimes wanting in elegance, and occasionally in clearness, but on the whole is well made.

Fourier's celebrated *Theory of Heat*,³ first published in 1822, and already illustrated by Professor Clark Maxwell, is at last presented by Mr. Freeman in an excellent English version, which will enable it to exercise a greater influence on the study of physics in this country than heretofore. The work is written in 433 articles, grouped into nine chapters, which follow the preliminary discourse; and comprise, first, the introduction, which treats of general notions, preliminary definitions, the principle of the communication of heat, and the nature of its uniform and linear movement, movement in three dimensions, and measurement of its movement. The other chapters discuss the equation of the movement of heat, the propagation of heat in an infinite rectangular solid, the movement of heat in a ring, a solid sphere, a solid cylinder, a rectangular prism, and in a cube; while the last chapter concerns the diffusion of heat. The whole work turns on the facts that different bodies do not possess to the same degree the power to contain heat, to receive or transmit it across their surfaces, nor to conduct it through the interior of their masses; and its object is to supply exact mathematical measurement of heat in all its relations to the earth, and to indicate the applications of the theory in the arts. The author claims to have demonstrated all the principles of the

³ "The Analytical Theory of Heat." By Joseph Fourier. Translated with notes by Alexander Freeman, M.A. Edited for the Syndics of the University Press. Cambridge: At the University Press. London: Cambridge Warehouse. 1878.

theory of heat, and to have solved all the fundamental problems. It is impossible not to admire the beautiful clearness with which the work is written, and the perfection of its construction. It is one of those standard works in science which are above all praise and all criticism, and will commend itself to every thinker whose studies lead him to take interest in the questions which come within the domain of the theory of heat.

The influence of Auguste Comte in education has made itself felt in a quaint manner in the edict which has been issued by the Science and Art Department at South Kensington, defining the new study for elementary schools which is named Physiography. Formerly every one learned physical geography, in which astronomy, physics, chemistry, geology, and biology were indiscriminately interwoven with a descriptive and historical account of the earth. Now the youthful physiographer has first to learn the chief principles of the several sciences separately, and then to observe how those principles help to explain the physical phenomena of the earth's surface. In this study organic phenomena find no place. This recasting of the science of geography necessitates text-books on a new pattern, as well as a furnishing up of old ones, to meet the new regulations. Mr. John Williams has produced an unpretending little volume of 212 pages,³ which, though stated on the title-page to be both elementary and advanced, is an exposition of elementary physiography of very great merit on account of the remarkably clear language in which it is written, the judgment with which the materials have been gathered, and the logical and condensed form in which the matter is presented. It consists of twelve chapters. The first three are an abstract of the elementary principles of physics; the next two are a similar abstract of the introductory part of elementary chemistry. But a special merit of these chapters lies in the paragraphs which follow each explanation of the nature of a force, &c., and treat of what the author calls the "uses" of these forces. The next five chapters relate to the rocks forming the earth, to interior temperature, volcanoes, earthquakes, and upheavals and subsidences of the earth's crust. The last two chapters are devoted to the sea, and atmospheric phenomena. The book deserves to find favour with teachers, because, while containing much of the results of modern speculation and discovery, it is within the grasp of beginners. Occasionally terms are used which require careful explanation—such as "compound radicals," "precession of the equinoxes," &c. &c.; and this defect might be remedied by a small glossary: more rarely views are urged which, though convenient, require full explanation to save them from being sources of error—such as the enunciation of a "centrifugal" force, and the explanation of volcanoes on the hypothesis of lakes of molten matter existing in the interior of the earth.

The name of Professor Ansted on the title-page of "Elements of

³ "Stewart's Educational Series; Physiography, Elementary and Advanced." Part I. By John Williams, F.R.G.S. London: W. Stewart & Co.

Physiography"⁴ excites anticipations which are not realised. Many years ago the professor made an abstract of his Physical Geography, which was entitled "The World we Live In," and has long been a favourite book with young students. This work has had a page or two altered in the first chapter, and is deprived of its index, glossary, and concluding chapters on the Distribution of Plants, Animals, and Man; and to replace this matter chapters have been added on the Nature and Succession of Rocks, Disturbance and Arrangement of Rocks, and on Igneous and Metamorphic Rocks, which are reprinted from four chapters of the author's book called "The Earth's History," an excellent beginner's handbook of geology. The volume thus constructed is now named "Elements of Physiography." It is manifestly a compound of physical geography and geology; yet in the opening paragraph the author defines physiography as including physical geography, some departments of general physics, geology, chemistry, biology, and some investigations with regard to the nature and composition of the sun, the stars, the nebulae, and other celestial phenomena; therefore the volume does not cover the field which the author marks out. It is, however, still a useful guide to physical geography.

The "Physical System of the Universe"⁵ is another conception of physiography, intended for the general reader, in which the author endeavours to show that, by studying physical phenomena upon the earth, much may be learned of the laws which govern the universe as a whole. It might be inferred from the preface and title-page to be a philosophical exposition of geography, but is rather an account of the present state of knowledge of some departments of physics, largely astronomical, but dealing with terrestrial phenomena in the latter part of the volume. The style is somewhat inflated and didactic, and the matter too much drawn out and diluted by illustrative suppositions, to have all the interest which naturally belongs to it. The work consists of fifteen chapters, which treat of the scheme of the book: matter and motion; light and its revelations; the sidereal system; the solar system, especially as concerned in gravitation, meteors, and comets; the sun; the earth's internal and external heat, and the effects which these forces produce; climate; and life; while the concluding chapter deals with the nebular hypothesis. There is no necessary connexion between the first 245 pages, which treat of the heavens, and the succeeding 121 pages, which relate to the earth, and discuss some aspects of physical geography. And the two portions would probably never have come together but for the South Kensington definition of physiography. The book evidences a good deal of careful reading on the part of the author, and will be valued by those who are not familiar with the works and memoirs from which its materials are derived. It would be improved by being largely condensed, and by the removal of superfluous adjectives, adverbs,

⁴ "Elements of Physiography" By Professor D. T. Ansted, M.A., F.R.S. For the use of Science Schools. London: W. H. Allen & Co. 1878.

⁵ "The Physical System of the Universe; an Outline of Physiography." By Sydney B. J. Skercholy, F.G.S. London: Daldy, Isbister, & Co. 1878.

clauses, and illustrative ideas, and the too frequent references to the author's personality.

Professor Green's *Physical Geology*⁶ is the most complete exposition of the subject which has been published; but it is too large a book, extending to some 550 pages octavo. Too much credit cannot be given for its full knowledge and thoughtful treatment of many unsettled problems; but large parts of it resemble the copious notes which a scientific reader takes for his own convenience, rather than the well-digested outcome of experience, reading, and meditation, which it is the professional province of the teacher to lay before his pupils. Hence labour is forced upon the reader which it is certain the writer could have performed easily; and by doing this he would have greatly increased the usefulness of his work. As it stands the volume has too much the character of lecture notes adapted to the wants of the author's pupils, and the method of his own lectures. But we have no doubt that it contains materials for a treatise on Geology, which, with judicious abridgment and condensation, would meet a general want. It is well printed, and excellently illustrated with 113 woodcuts. The first chapter, on the aim and scope of Geology, with a sketch of its rise and progress, is exceptionally feeble, does not cover the ground which it professes to occupy, tells but little, and that little without much point. Then follows a chapter named *Descriptive Geology*, which consists chiefly of the elements of mineralogy, and an account of the crystalline and non-crystalline rocks. It may be a matter for consideration whether it is not better to refer the student to a special book on these subjects, such as Cotter's "*Rocks Classified*," than to attempt to compress Mineralogy and Crystallography into the compass of 25 pages, and to teach lithology in about 40 pages more. The third chapter is devoted to Denudation, and the ways in which denuding agents work. This part of the subject is well stated, but it would have been an advantage to the student if instances had been more freely given of the effects produced by these agencies in modifying scenery and in accumulating the several geological formations. The fourth chapter undertakes to explain what becomes of the waste products carried away by denudation, and how they severally become mechanically deposited, precipitated, or converted into organic substances; and considers the nature of the agencies by which these materials are consolidated into rocks. The fifth chapter treats of the classification of detrital rocks, and the means by which the physical geography of the earth in periods of its past history can be determined. But beyond indicating how to recognise deep sea and shallow water deposits and accumulations formed in estuaries, lakes, inland seas, and upon land, no attempt is made to account for the succession of the several stratified formations, much less to show the limits of the areas which were modified in terrestrial outlines in the several geological

⁶ "Geology for Students and General Readers. *Physical Geology*." By A. H. Green, M. A., F.G.S., Professor of Geology in the Yorkshire College of Science, Leeds. Second edition. London: Daldy, Isbister, & Co. 1877.

ages, though the subject has long been discussed in many of the lecture rooms of Germany and France. The sixth, seventh, and eighth chapters are respectively occupied with volcanic, metamorphic, and granitic rocks. The most distinctive feature of this section of the book is the author's acceptance of the doctrine, that all igneous phenomena are products of the agencies which, in a less intense form, result in metamorphism. There can be no doubt that this conception simplifies the study of fire-formed rocks; but carried to its legitimate conclusion, it reverses the old ideas by regarding the strata as relatively deep-seated, while the igneous rocks would be formed in them comparatively near to the surface. The ninth chapter explains how the rocks came into the positions in which they are found, and expounds admirably the phenomena of strata, which result from folding, fracture, and denudation of the displaced rocks. The tenth chapter deals with the origin of the present surface of the ground, and explains the mode of formation of plains, valleys, escarpments, mountains, and lakes, and considers how the origin of these and the other features of the land was influenced by the lie of the strata. The eleventh chapter is concerned with the internal condition of the earth, and is the best discussion which is available of density, internal heat, and the views which have been advanced to explain the formation of mountains and continents. The twelfth and last chapter discusses possible changes of climate on the earth, and the astronomical circumstances enunciated by Mr. Croll, which are supposed to have determined their succession. We trust the book will meet with careful revision, for even as it stands it is a treatise which no student can afford to neglect.

Professor von Cotta's treatise on *Lithology*,⁷ first rendered into English twelve years ago, has contributed perhaps more than any other book to enlarge the ordinary student's grasp of rock-knowledge; and it has necessitated a wider, as well as more profound, teaching of the elements of Geology. Dealing with rock-forming minerals, and with the rocks into which they are combined in the mountain and volcanic regions of the world, it united with a descriptive explanation of the characters of various igneous and metamorphic rocks, a statement of views held by the chief writers wherever there was ground for difference of opinion, together with so much of speculation on the causes which determined the mineral composition and texture of rocks, as, at that time, appeared likely to conduce to the advance of sound knowledge. It is no slight evidence of scientific progress in this country, that a new edition should be called for of a work which goes so far beyond the ordinary scope of text-books, especially when it is remembered that, unlike Germany, this country has neither special professors of petrology, nor, in South Britain, public museums in which collections of igneous and metamorphic rocks are shown. But while the importance of Cotta's book was great, it was from the first

⁷ "Rocks Classified and Described. A Treatise on Lithology." By Bernhard von Cotta. An English edition by Philip Henry Lawrence, F.G.S., F.R.G.S. With English, German, and French Synonyms. Revised by the Author. New edition. London: Longmans, Green, & Co. 1878.

found to have shortcomings which sent the ordinary reader to study the writings of Zirkel; and now after the lapse of twelve years it is antiquated, and needs recasting to embrace the vast progress in knowledge which has been made especially in Germany, Belgium, England, and America. Students will therefore be disappointed at finding the new edition a mere reprint of the old one, with the addition of two pages by the author, on the results of microscopic analysis of rocks. There are no references to the new literature of the subject, nor a single modification to improve the work; and in its present form the book will be, if not absolutely mischievous, at least detrimental to the author's reputation.

After long study Mr. Wollaston demonstrated the remarkable fact, that the small groups of islands off the Atlantic coast of Africa possess an insect fauna which in the main was distinct in each island. Now the *Testacea Atlantica*^a unfolds the distribution of land and freshwater shells in the same region, and describes the distinctive features and modes of occurrence of the 558 species and varieties which have been collected in those islands. Hence the volume is essentially a geographical monograph, and will be read with more than ordinary interest by the scientific student on account of the evidence which is indirectly adduced upon the subject of the origin of the species described. The author was always a firm believer in the distinctness of species, though he considered that difficulties might be experienced by individuals in correctly determining them, and in distinguishing between species and varieties. The species which also occur in the Mediterranean region are believed to have reached the Canaries and other islands by a slow system of migration over a continuous land which united them with what is now the coast of Morocco, at a period subsequent to the occupation of the island region by man, and that the depression of some areas and upheaval of others so far modified the habitat of races of molluscs that the shells became rapidly modified in consequence of altered circumstances, into varieties which group themselves round central specific types. The idea of rapid modification is urged because there is no evidence of change now going on, for many of the species which are dying out occur abundantly in a sub-fossil condition without change of character, except that some of the surviving forms have become reduced in size; and there is evidence of change having taken place in the fauna, since many species only occur in the sub-fossil condition. As the writer of a monograph designed to record every variation of type under altered geographical conditions, the author deprecates speculation, and *pr* i-
nently remarks:—"That if a plausible hypothesis were allowed to be made the basis of a treatise like the present one, and the species were to be reduced in consequence to half the number, it would be open to any future naturalist to demand a still further reduction (according to the views which he happened to entertain on the *questio ve-cal* of

^a "*Testacea Atlantica*; or, the Land and Freshwater Shells of the Azores, Madeiras, Salvages, Canaries, Cape Verdes, and Saint Helena." By T. Vernon Wollaston, M.A., F.L.S. London: L. Reeve & Co. 1878.

'origin'), a process which might and probably would be again and again repeated, until there were no 'species' at all left (as such) either to enumerate or monograph." The volume commences with an account of the Azores, an archipelago which the author had not personally explored. Here only seventy-one Pulmoniferous Gasteropods have been hitherto found. These islands lie in about the latitude of Lisbon, and it is urged that accidental transport through indirect human agencies must be held accountable for many of the twenty-seven species which also inhabit Europe, though some of them also occur in the Madeiras, Canaries, and Cape Verdes. Of the remaining forty-four Gasteropods, eleven are found in the Madeiras and more southern islands; while, including the European element, nineteen species are common to the Azores and Canaries, and twenty-six species occur equally in the Azores and Madeiras. The American affinities of the mollusca are hardly worth consideration, since they consist in the superficial resemblance which three species of the genus *Zonites* bear to American forms, from which they are specifically distinct. No freshwater shell has hitherto been found in the Azores, or at St. Helena. The Pulmonata of the Madeiran group number 176 species, of which only five range over all the islands of the group; and excluding the thirty-eight European and North African forms there are only seven species which range beyond the group, and of these three may have been transported with ballast. Of the 138 peculiar species, sixty-one are only found in Madeira, forty-four in Porto Santo, and ten in the Desertas, a statistical result which would suggest that most of the species came into existence subsequently to the separation of the islands from each other; and this would seem the more probable, since some species like *Helix polymorpha* are said to have distinct modifications on every minute rock which has been explored. Yet there appears to be a relationship between the Archipelago, since a section of the genus *Helix*, characteristic of the Madenas, is dominant also at the Azores and Cape Verdes though absent from the Canaries; while another section of the genus common to the Madeiras and Canaries is absent in the Azores; though *Bulinus* abounds at the Azores and Canaries, it is, but for two introduced forms, absent at the Madeiras; *Clausilia*, though universal in the Madeiras, has no representative at the Azores, Canaries, and Cape Verde; and *Cyclostoma*, abounding in species in the Canaries, is unknown in the Madeiras. Altogether eighty-two of the Madeiran species have been found in a sub-fossil state; and twelve species found fossil, are not known living. The small group of islands known as the Salvages are imperfectly explored, and have only yielded one species of *Helix* and seven brackish water or marine shells. From the Canarian group 189 species have been obtained; the larger number as compared with the Madeiras, having relation to the greater number of the islands and the altitude of the central peak. Like the beetles, the shells from the Canaries are more like those from the Mediterranean and North Africa than is the case in the Madeiras, although the Canaries lie further south, and some of the European species and

sections of genera are found on all the seven islands. With the Cape Verde Archipelago only four species are common, and these are thought to have been introduced. Thirteen of the Canarian species are only known in a sub-fossil state, and about thirty others are met with in a condition which implies some doubt as to whether they are still living. The Cape Verde group is less perfectly known than the Canaries. But here there is a comparative uniformity of species throughout the cluster of islands. Only forty-one species have been recorded, and these appear to indicate a closer connexion with the Madeira group than with the Canaries, evidenced chiefly by the relationship between the Helices. Another curious feature in the fauna is the presence of the genus *Succinea*, also found in St. Helena, but absent from all the northern archipelagos. The genus *Melania* also, which abounds on the African coast, occurs in Cape Verde, but is found in no other of the island groups. Finally, in St. Helena, twenty-nine species of shells have been found, of which more than half are now extinct. The *Bulimi*, as is well known, have some resemblance to those of Brazil, but the species of this genus are mostly extinct; and the abundant shell is *Succinea*. A more admirable zoological monograph on this subject could not have been written; and it would be impossible to over-estimate the conscientious labour which the author has bestowed on the works of others, though unusual personal research in these Atlantic islands might have been some justification, had he been disposed to rely more absolutely on his own splendid materials, the memories and collections gathered during thirty years of research; but in the true spirit of a great naturalist, justice is as faithfully rendered to every writer and gatherer of knowledge, as the habits and characters of species are lovingly written down, or as trenchant criticisms to careless work, and hasty speculation are unsparingly given that truth may prevail. More latitude might we think have been allowed to himself in final speculation, since there are strong reasons for believing that a contour map of that portion of the Atlantic would go far to clear away the apparent anomalies in the distribution of life in the region described by laying bare ridges along which the species travelled.

Mr. James Simson is an American gentleman, who having written a book about snakes, Gipsies, and John Stuart Mill, has met with a certain amount of criticism and neglect, which have induced his publisher to write appeals to reviewers to recognise "great originality," and other merits which their unaided efforts were not likely to detect; while the author valiantly comes forward with an appendix,⁹ and does battle in a multitude of words with those who have affected to doubt that John Bunyan was a Gipsy, or that snakes swallow their young. This appendix consists of four articles on (1) John Bunyan and the Gipsies; (2) Mr. Frank Buckland and White of Selborne; (3) Mr. Frank Buckland on the Viper; and (4) on the Endowment of Research. But

⁹ "Appendix to Contributions to Natural History and Papers on other subjects." By James Simson. New York: James Miller. 1878.

the latter article is more likely to interest the cerebral pathologist than the ordinary reader, since it devotes about four lines to the statement that the endowment of research is almost always abused, and then plunges boldly into the old questions of the Gipsies, Bunyan, Frank Buckland, snakes, and John Stuart Mill. Those who have found pleasure in the original work will no doubt delight in the appendix; but we should hesitate to recommend it to any one else.

Mr. Pattison Muir's minute book on Practical Chemistry¹⁰ is designed to enable the medical student to acquire thoroughly the practical knowledge which examination requirements make indispensable. It is remarkably clear in directions for work, and sure to find favour with that numerous class who desire the best possible information in the smallest possible space.

Metals, and their chief industrial application,¹¹ is an excellent little book, arranged on a somewhat novel plan, which tells a great deal about the metals and comparatively little about their practical usefulness. The volume consists of seven chapters, divided into 111 sections, which are illustrated with 33 woodcut figures. The first chapter treats of metals and their natural sources, and discusses some questions involved in the reduction of ores. The next chapter discusses the noble metals—gold, silver, platinum, and mercury—and treats of the various processes by which metals are extracted and refined. The third chapter is devoted to the metallurgy of the more important base metals—iron, copper, lead, tin, and zinc—and concerns blast furnaces, puddling, manufacture of steel, &c.; then a similarly careful account is given of the less important oxidisable metals—aluminium, magnesium, nickel, antimony, bismuth, arsenic, manganese, and some other metals of less practical importance. The fifth chapter explains the physical properties of metals—such as lustre, colour, density, malleability, ductility, tenacity; and gives some account of the manufacture of pens, pins, and teapots. The sixth chapter expounds thermic and electric relations of the metals; and the last chapter is taken up with their chemical relations, chiefly as concerning alloys and pigments. Though much of the information is of the kind which has long been current, the volume will commend itself to those who desire a handy book of the metals.

The Fern Paradise¹² has been largely re-written, and in its latest form enriched with photographs of Devonshire lanes, views of country scenes where ferns would grow, and wood engravings on a black

¹⁰ "Practical Chemistry for Medical Students: specially arranged for the first M.B. course." By M. M. Pattison Muir, F.R.S.E., Professor in Chemistry, Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge. London: Macmillan & Co. 1878.

¹¹ "Metals and their chief Industrial Applications; being, with some considerable additions, the substance of a Course of Lectures delivered at the Royal Institution of Great Britain in 1877." By Charles R. Alder Wright, D.Sc. Lecturer on Chemistry in St. Mary's Hospital Medical School. London: Macmillan & Co. 1878.

¹² "The Fern Paradise: a Plea for the Culture of Ferns." By Francis George Heath. Illustrated edition (being the fourth). London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle, & Rivington. 1878.

ground, of the species. It is a charming book for the lover of ferns; and even for those who do not yet care for them, since it may help to kindle in others the author's delight in green lanes and ferny moorlands, which yield the plants round which new interests gather as they become the centres of happy memories. The first part of the volume, called Fernland, takes us away to Devonshire, where the whole land is glorious with ferns; and even the banks of the wayside ditches are beautiful. Rambles enough are described where in holiday-time ferns may tempt us to seek scenery of exquisite beauty. The second part of the volume is the fern paradise at home: and here we are taught how ferns may be grown in baskets, on the lawn, in windows, in aquaria, and in miniature fern caverns. A third part examines into the hygienic influence of plants in rooms; and then succeeds the fourth part, with thirteen chapters on ferns and fern culture. Each species has a short descriptive note, which gives particulars of its habitat and characters by which it may be identified.

Dr. Taylor¹³ gives us a charming book on "Flowers: their Origin, Shapes, Perfumes, and Colours." His main point throughout appears to be the adaptation of their structure to the purpose of cross-fertilisation by the agency of wind or insects; and it is in this aspect that he treats of "the geologic antiquity of flowers and insects," pointing out the almost simultaneous appearance of showy-perianthed flowers, and of the flower-haunting *Hymenoptera* and *Lepidoptera* in the early Tertiary—of their geographical distribution in connexion with that of insects or humming-birds; of the relation between flowers and the wind; of their external and internal shapes, adapting them to insect-visitation, and preventing self-fertilisation, and of the arrangement of small flowers in masses, as in the case of *Compositæ*, to combine their attractions of colour, perfume, and honey. Perhaps the best chapter is that on "the Structure of Flowering Plants," illustrated with some really beautiful drawings of leafbuds; indeed, all the illustrations are excellent. We wish Dr. Taylor had left out the first chapter, on "the Old and New Philosophy of Flowers." It is well-intentioned, but weak.

The records of early mining in Scotland¹⁴ form a sumptuous quarto volume, of which only 350 copies are printed. It consists of an introduction of 52 pages, and a series of documents which date from 1219 to 1683. Gold attracted attention at an early period; and David I. granted to the Abbey of Dunfermline, in 1153, a tithé of all the gold which he should obtain from Fife and Fotherif. In 1424, the Scotch Parliament granted the Crown all the gold mines in Scotland, and those silver mines in which three halfpennies of silver could be obtained out of a pound of lead. The gold mines of Crawford Moor were discovered in the reign of James IV., and in the reign of

¹³ "Flowers: their Origin, Shapes, Perfumes, and Colours." By J. E. Taylor, Ph D., F.L.S., F.G.S., &c. Illustrated. London: Hardwicke & Bogue. 1878.

¹⁴ "Early Records relating to Mining in Scotland." Collected by R. W. Cochran-Patrick, of Woodside, LL B. Cantab., B.A. Edin., F.S.A. Scot. Edinburgh: David Douglas. 1878.

James V. much of the gold coinage was minted from native metal. In 1526 the mines were leased to a party of Germans and Dutchmen; but the enterprise did not prosper, and miners were obtained from Lorraine in 1539 to work the mines for the king. In 1567 other Dutchmen worked the mines, and gold continued to be obtained in large quantities; so that a little later it became necessary to prohibit the exportation of that metal. But the precious metals continued to increase in value, and in 1583 gold cost 22*l.* Scots the ounce; while forty shillings Scots the ounce was paid for fine silver. About 1578 gold was found abundantly upon Henderland Moor, in Ettrick Forest. But little gold was obtained for many years, though some was met with in 1633; and then no more important find occurred till about ten years ago. Lead from native mines is known to have been obtained early in the thirteenth century, but it was imported from the Isle of Man in 1292. In 1540 lead was exported to Holland in considerable quantity. Silver was obtained from lead at least as early as 1424, but a considerable vein of silver was found at Hilderston, in Linlithgowshire, in 1606; and in 1715 a valuable silver vein was met with in the Ochils, between Middlehill and Woodhill. Coal-mining is mentioned in documents as early as 1219; and in 1283 there were at Berwick regulations for selling it alongside vessels importing it. In 1542 the crown dues on coal yielded a considerable sum, but there was great alarm about 1563 lest the coal should be quickly exhausted. Prior to 1567 the tenth Earl of Sutherland discovered coal at Brora. The Ayrshire coalfields began to be important about 1681. Iron was worked at a very early period, and a tithe is granted of iron in 1153. The workmen in the mines were at first on the same footing as other workmen; but in 1606 coal miners were in slavery, since their service was perpetual, and they changed hands with the property; and it was not till 1799 that they became fully emancipated. These records are full of interest, and are valuable historical documents. They have been brought together with admirable skill, and elucidated by an excellent historical introduction.

A science primer¹⁸ on the Nature of Things, is one of those remarkable productions which rather follow in the path of ordinary human aspirations, than present the well-ascertained conclusions which are the aggregate result of research. Yet it is a thoughtful and learned book; only the author is a science unto himself, so that his labours fall flat on those who only know the ordinary science which deals with the experimental world of fact. He spins out molecular ideas; and with the aid of geometrical drawings invites us first to contemplate the full-faced aspect of molecular portions of chemical substances, and then turns them round to exhibit their profiles. The author, at least, is convinced that this ought to be done. Through twelve chapters we, in this fashion, are taught the nature of things. The second chapter is devoted to definition of a supreme being.

¹⁸ "A Science Primer. On the Nature of Things." By John G. Macvicar, A.M., LL.D., D.D. With illustrations. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons. 1878.

Energy, we are told, when individualised and possessed more or less of its full complement of attributes, constitutes a spirit; though the author confesses to a difficulty in investigating and observing phenomena which are at once invisible and impalpable. But the Supreme Being is fashioned, with a little theological assistance, in a similar *à priori* manner; though this time there is no confession of difficulty in the investigation; and the author's acquaintance with his subject is apparently more complete. The third chapter so far departs from the work of a science primer as to discuss the reasonable grounds for a creation of beings capable of enjoyment, and other things; and a little further on it may be learned that the grand law of creation is assimilation. We have now advanced some way in the book, without greatly augmenting our knowledge of the nature of things, for the assimilative idea is not entirely new. Chapters succeed on the laws of motion, the universal ether, and on matter, and then come the chapters on Molecules. These latter particles have been made the subject of minute study; and the author finds that molecules are possessed of the attribute of sex. "If it be said that this is surely going too far, generalising beyond measure, the same fault," remarks the author, "may be found with every paragraph of this work." This is a proposition which can be more confidently accepted. And it is not impossible that when the chemist ceases to believe in the results of experiments he may turn to the writings of Dr. Macvicar for speculations on the nature of things.

Professor Mayer has invented a series of experiments in Light which are described by Mr. Barnard in a new volume of the "Nature Series."¹⁶ Nothing is more necessary for sound teaching than experiments made by the pupils, and this book, by considering the difficulty of costly apparatus, has rendered an important service to teacher and student alike. It extends to ninety pages, and is divided into five chapters, which deal with the sources of light, reflection, refraction, and decomposition of light. The experiments are extremely simple and well suited for young people.

This is an admirable book¹⁷ from the hand of one of our most experienced and able teachers in Insanity. In this matter not only the medical profession, but the public is interesting itself deeply, and the bearings of insanity upon conduct are discussed as keenly by the barrister as by the physician. Dr. Hack Tuke commands our deep attention when he tells us that he addresses himself especially to an inquiry into the manner and measure of that action of individuals upon themselves, which may tend to prevent insanity in those who reasonably suspect in themselves a tendency to irregular mental

¹⁶ "Nature Series. Light: a series of simple, entertaining, and inexpensive experiments in the Phenomena of Light, for the use of students of every age." By Alfred M. Mayer and Charles Barnard. With illustrations. London: Macmillan & Co. 1878.

¹⁷ "Insanity in Ancient and Modern Life." By D. H. Tuke, M.D. London: Macmillan. 1878.

action. Dr. Tuke endeavours to formulate an inquiry still larger than this—to learn by observation the mode of the genesis of insanity in societies, and thus to stimulate social reformers in their “great and often discouraging” labours. The author, therefore, devotes the first part of his volume to an inquiry into the prevalence of insanity among the nations of antiquity, and this he does, not after the irrelevant fashion of a man who cannot write upon coaching without delivering himself of a chapter upon the chariots of Rome and Egypt, but in the spirit of one who would seek, however imperfectly, to grasp the conception of widely acting causes producing like consequences in nations widely separated in time and manners. Dr. Hack Tuke thinks that mental disease was not likely to be largely developed among the primitive races, and that the causes of insanity must have exerted a greater influence in the later and more highly organised condition of the four great nations of antiquity. The removal of defective individuals by neglect and bad usage in ancient times, may as an advantage be set against the moral corruption, which makes much of this destruction of life possible. As regards our own times, the author explains the enormous apparent increase of insanity during the past half-century, by the increased provision made for the insane, by the lower rate of their mortality, and by the increased stringency in regard of certificates. This apparent increase is more observable among the working classes, but the author points out that a far greater amount of insanity exists among the wealthy than appears in the Blue-books. We regret to find that the author, after making full allowance for the causes of apparent increase, finds it impossible to deny that there is some real increase of occurring insanity.

Mr. Serjeant Cox,¹⁸ having studied very closely the phenomena of sleep and dream, has discovered therefrom that it is the body of man which does the one and his soul which does the other. It is impossible to overrate the importance of this new truth, for it sets at once to rest questions and doubts which have exercised philosophers, and have agitated mankind, both before Descartes and after Professor Tyndall, but which, after Mr. Serjeant Cox, will be laid to rest. Mr. Cox, for instance, on one happy night, dreamed that he was listening to the performance of an entire opera of his own composing, an opera as perfect as any he had ever witnessed at Covent Garden. Mr. Cox is sure that his body could not have composed an opera, and we trust that herein Mr. Cox is not misled by his own modesty, for if he be, the otherwise inevitable deduction that his soul composed the music (by the way the libretto is not mentioned), might so far be invalidated. The treatise is full of interest, this we need but say, but we may refer the reader in particular to the learned Serjeant's observations upon somnambulism occurring in patients who remain at rest, a state of things which, as he justly observes, might have escaped notice had he not drawn our attention to it.

¹⁸ “A Monograph on Sleep and Dream.” By Edw. W. Cox. London: Longmans. 1878.

Dr. Levinstein¹⁹ has put into a small volume his experience of a state of things which has of late years become familiar to every practitioner—namely, the morbid craving for morphia in the subcutaneous mode of administration. For some years English physicians have warned the profession and the public of the dangers which attend the habit of taking morphia by the syringe, but we believe the present to be the first adequate discussion of the subject. Dr. Levinstein's opportunities of seeing these victims of morphia seem to have been large, and his treatise is therefore very useful. The marvellous relief and comfort derived from the morphia syringe is so immediate and so potent, that the public quickly took the remedy into its own hands. Observant physicians, however, soon detected the latent harm of morphia injections. Its use served to perpetuate the being's suffering which it temporarily relieved. After peace came reaction, with reaction and depression a renewal of the pain, and so resort was had, again and again, to the treacherous remedy. Medical men themselves have not been free from blame in this matter hitherto, but we trust few in the profession are now reckless enough to entrust their patients with a remedy so dangerously facile and seductive. Dr. Levinstein does not hesitate to prescribe the sudden and complete cessation of the injections as the only method of cure. For a few days the distress of the patients is pitiful, but as four or five days pass by the patient becomes tranquil, and soon finds that he has emerged into a more wholesome and happy state of existence than he has known for some time past. His pains cease to recur, and his cravings diminish. This sudden deprivation of the morphia, far superior as it is to the gradual deprivation, is nevertheless so serious a measure as to need the constant supervision of a medical man and skilled nurses. Dr. Levinstein gives full directions for the treatment in all its details.

This timely volume²⁰ contains a report by a special commission appointed by the *Medical Press and Circular* for the purpose of advancing scientific inquiry as to the nature of rabies, and presenting the latest state of our knowledge of the subject. At a period when the journals, lay and medical, are full of fragmentary communications on hydrophobia, it is well that some adequate summary of our present knowledge should be published in this convenient form. The purpose set before the commission has been very well performed; not aiming at any brilliancy or at any novelty of treatment, the authors have chosen the more useful task of thinking their subject well out, and of arranging in order all the facts which are as yet to be relied upon. Our readers will see how conscientiously this has been done when we say that a careful list of cases recorded as hydrophobia since the year 1800 has been drawn up, and that the book concludes with a complete historical and bibliographical index. In treating of the disease itself, its morbid anatomy, etiology, and symptoms, and its treatment are fully dealt with, and the difficulties of diagnosis are made as clear as possible.

¹⁹ "Morbid Craving for Morphia." By E. Levinstein, M.D. Translated by Charles Herrer, M.D. London: Smith & Elder. 1878.

²⁰ "Rabies, or Hydrophobia." London: Baillière, Tinsall, & Cox. 1878.

We may venture to think that the Committee of the British Medical Association will find this modest but excellent little volume a useful introduction to their labours, and that its perusal will tend to establish a more adequate and more coherent conception of the disease, in place of the vague and alarmist notions now in possession of the general public.

Drs. Lewis and Cunningham²¹ continue their industrious investigations into the nature of cholera, and the laws of its development. The result of the present inquiry is to establish some parallel between the prevalence of cholera and of malaria in alluvial plains. The relations of soil to disease is rather indicated than discussed in the introduction, and in subsequent chapters the seasonal fluctuations of cholera in Calcutta and the physical conditions of such seasons are dealt with. In the next place, the relation of various physical phenomena to cholera in other districts of the Bengal area are considered and compared with the seasonal prevalence of cholera in non-endemic areas of the Bengal Presidency. The treatise concludes with a long series of statistical tables. The authors seem to be free from the temptation to write up to preconceived hypotheses, and to have succeeded in grouping together scattered data of the highest importance.

Mr. de Watteville's treatise²² appears to us to be the book of a good man, rather than itself a good book. It is evidently the work of one who has gone thoroughly into his subject, and who writes not as the scribes; but, on the other hand, his introduction may be made a far better work in a second edition than it now is. Nothing can be more admirable than the determination of the author to introduce a spirit—almost a new spirit—of accuracy into the muddle of electro-therapeutics. Up to the present, physicians have been feeling their way, and we can scarcely complain if the treatises hitherto current have been rather of the nature of *aperçus* than records of definite and realised discovery. The time has now come when we may insist on the application of the stricter measures of time and degree to future observations. One fundamental difficulty still lies at the bottom of our work in electro-therapeutics—namely the want, still unsupplied, of a good battery element. The Leclanché cell is a great advance upon previous elements; but its constancy, regularity, and portability leave much to be desired. It is all that can be desired for signalling, but it is still greatly wanting in the attributes needed for batteries which are to serve for accurate observations upon the living organism. Mr. de Watteville gives much valuable information about a large number of batteries, information which cannot be overrated in its way, though we doubt whether the medical men who want an instrument will find exactly the simple guidance they need. On the other hand, while the chapter on batteries contains more than the ordinary reader requires, that on therapeutics contains far less. Although this chapter is a literal translation from some notes by Dr. Onimus, yet they

²¹ "Cholera in relation to Certain Physical Phenomena." By Dr. R. Lewis, M.B., and D. D. Cunningham, M.B. Calcutta. 1878.

²² "Introduction to Medical Electricity." By A. D. Watteville, M.A., &c., London: Lewis. 1878.

are, we must say, far too meagre and inadequate for their purpose. Thus we scarcely see whom the book is to benefit. In all that relates to the battery Mr. de Watteville writes above the general physician; while in that which relates to practice, he is far below the scientific electrician. But as we have said, the main merit of the treatise is the discussion on current measurements, though some currents recommended—*e.g.*, 12—15 cells to the head—are unduly strong, or at any rate to be approached with much caution. Erl's diagrams of the reaction of degenerating and regenerated muscle are given, and anatomical plates of motor points. Many sections of the subject are, however, omitted altogether—for instance, there is no chapter on electrolysis. We give the author a sincere welcome, and look forward to his doing great service in the department of medicine in which he has fortunately engaged.

This second edition of Dr. Douglas Powell's volume²² deserves notice, as the first issue, entitled "The Varieties of Pulmonary Consumption," was altogether on a smaller and narrower scale. In this new edition we think the author has made his title too comprehensive. The volume, regarded as a treatise on diseases of the lungs and pleura, is inadequate. It is impossible for an accomplished physician like Dr. Douglas Powell to issue a work which is not full of interest and instruction, and we do not at all insist upon his giving us a complete handbook upon a certain class of diseases. Still, as he certainly has not done this, we regret that he did not give to his volume some such title as a Collection of Essays on Pulmonary Diseases. For many of the most important sections of his subject receive very scant attention, while subordinate parts occupy more than their relative space. This in a collection of essays is legitimate, but in a complete treatise we look for due proportion and condition of parts. Here, however, our criticisms end, and we hasten cordially to commend the book to the profession as a careful, truthful, and vivid account of the work and opinions of an able physician, whose field of observation is one of the largest in the kingdom.

Dr. Ringer's excellent and suggestive handbook²³ has reached a sixth edition, a fact which alone places it above our praise. Chapters on new drugs have been added, and the whole arrangement of the work has been improved. We still regret that the author has not seen his way to make the arrangement alphabetical.

Dr. Gowers²⁴ has met a very general requirement in publishing these outlines of the trunk of the body upon which the situation of physical signs can be tested by the physician. A series of such outlines has been long in use at the Leeds Infirmary, more especially by the surgeons; Dr. Gowers' outlines are intended only for the

²² "On Consumption and on Certain Diseases of the Lungs and Pleura." By R. D. Powell, M.D. London: Lewis. 1878.

²³ "Handbook of Therapeutics." By Sidney Ringer, M.D. London: Lewis. 1878.

²⁴ "Diagrams for the Record of Physical Signs." By W. R. Gowers, M.D. London: Lewis. 1878.

physician. We would suggest that the inner margin of the sheets in future be perforated, so that they can be readily transferred to the note-book or bed-board.

Under this somewhat fanciful title²⁶ Mrs. Miller has published a short and popular treatise on simple physiology, especially with reference to health. It is intended as a text-book for classes and students. The contents are of the usual kind, and do not admit of detailed criticism; the facts seem fairly accurate on the one hand, but on the other do not seem to be handled with any special felicity. In this latter respect the little book seems to us inferior to that by Mr. Buckton, which was lately reviewed in these pages. However, we are sincerely glad to see such books written, and we trust the public will be the better for them.

The medical profession has wisely ceased to hold their art and craft as a mystery, and has, of late years, begun to take the public into its confidence. We believe this change of front to be full of promise for the future. At the same time we hope this new order of things will not compel our leading physicians to chop up their teaching into such very small meat as Dr. Richardson has done in the volume²⁷ before us. We gladly admit that unfamiliar subjects should be put very briefly and very simply before the unlearned, before those, that is, who are unlearned in respect of the special study. But the present lectures seem to us inadequate and even frivolous. Dr. Richardson cannot write without betraying the skilled hand and brain of the accomplished physician and man of science, but to knock off fifty-two subjects of the highest importance in little more than three hundred widely printed pages is a *tour de force* unworthy of grave criticism. If the Editor of *Good Words* finds such matter to pay, and Dr. Richardson chooses to descend to the manufacture of it, it is not for us to complain. But we have a right to complain when Dr. Richardson republishes hackwork of this kind, and offers it to our notice in a permanent form. We think Dr. Richardson's literary facility has been a misfortune to him and to us. If he had given his time more exclusively to quieter work he would have been one of the first men of science of his time. However, we must take our men as we find them, and we could have done ill without Dr. Richardson as he is.

²⁶ "The House of Life." By Mrs. F. F. Miller. London: Chatto & Windus. 1878.

²⁷ "Health and Life." By B. W. Richardson, M.D., F.R.S. London: Daldy, Isbister, & Co. 1878.

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

THE first two volumes of Mr. Lecky's "History of England in the Eighteenth Century"¹ are in every way worthy of the author, and of the excellent work which he has already done. He has exemplified in its fulness the newer and truer conception of history, which would make it describe the life of the people, and not merely the transactions of sovereigns, ministers, and armies. For him who wants merely a chronological record of the achievements of Anne, George I., and George II., these volumes will be of little use; but they will be found full of instruction for the student who wishes to understand how it was that Walpole and Newcastle could control an aristocratic oligarchy by corruption in its coarsest form, or why the unattractive doctrines of Methodism could take such a hold on the nation, that even in these days, when Ritualism and Atheism are each powerful, the crude systems of the various forms of Protestant Dissent can yet sway the bulk of the lower-middle class, and that, moreover, when these systems cost hard cash and a certain amount of social ostracism to their followers. In such space as we have, it is impossible to describe Mr. Lecky's work; and indeed it is unnecessary, for we would simply counsel all our readers to become acquainted with it. If reasons are required for such decided advice, we would say that the author has given such an insight into the social life of the last century as we have never before possessed. The state of Ireland, Scotland, and our Colonies is described: the great religious revival is treated with the fulness which its importance merits: and the very changes in public taste and manners are noted. In politics the great wave-movements are sketched with a broad and masterly hand. It is unnecessary to remind our readers that Mr. Lecky's style is among the most agreeable in our language.

Messrs. Rivington sends us the newest volume of the "Annual Register,"² which chronicle the events of 1877. This publication worthily maintains the historic fame that it owes to the fact of Edmund Burke having been its first editor. The greater part of the volume is devoted to a very efficient narrative of the events of England and foreign countries during the year. The second and smaller portion contains obituary notices, notes on literature, reports of a few very important law-cases, lists of officials, and, last, but not least, copies of a few of the chief State-papers written in 1877. All the work appears to have been done with great accuracy and fairness, and it is well arranged: and these are the chief points for praise in a book of this kind.

The second part of M. Taine's "Origines de la France Contemporaine" is to be a history of the Revolution, which will be of larger

¹ "A History of England in the Eighteenth Century." By William Edward Hartpole Lecky. Vols. I. and II. London: Longmans & Co.

² "The Annual Register for the Year 1877." London: Rivingtons.

dimensions than "L'ancien Régime." Mr. Durand, already known to our readers as the translator of the last-named work, has just brought out the first volume³ of "The Revolution." In it M. Taine describes, with all his usual liveliness and abundance of illustrative incident, the distress in country and town in the winter of 1788 and 1789, and the acts of violence produced by that distress, which reach their first great height in the cruelty which followed the capture of the Bastille, and the march of the mob to Versailles to bring back the "Baker and his wife." After this bright sketch, the whole work of the Constituent Assembly is discussed at length. The sorry constitution of that body itself, the feebleness with which it yielded itself up to its extreme section, and the incapacity of the nobles, the violent despotism of dogmas and theories: these are all admirably traced by M. Taine's strong hand. The volume brings us down to the year 1791. Mr. Durand's work as translator appears to be accurate, and his style is very readable.

Mr. McCrindle, who holds a very high position in the Education Department of the Indian Government, has collected into a volume⁴ some translations which he has lately contributed to the "Indian Antiquary" from Megasthenes and Arrian. Megasthenes went on at least one embassy to India for Seleukos Nikator; and it is more than probable that he made several such journeys, and even resided for considerable periods at Indian Courts. The work which he wrote on India is not extant, but we find frequent quotations from him in Deodorus, Strabo, Arrian, Pliny, and later writers. These fragments Dr. Schwanbeck of Bonn collected some quarter of a century ago; and Mr. McCrindle has translated his collection. We know how fond ancient geographers were of depreciating the labours of their predecessors, and how often they corrected a blunder by one larger. Even Tacitus, writing of Britain, indulges in the sneer: "quae priores, nondum compta, eloquentia percoluere, rerum fide tradentur;" and then gravely proceeds to remark of the British seas: "mare pigrum et grave remigantibus, perlubens, ne ventis quidem perinde attolli." No wonder then that Strabo and Pliny thought fit to condemn the writings of Megasthenes as absolutely false and incredible, although they were glad to copy into their own works much that he had written. We moderns, however, with our longer experience of travellers' tales, and of the vitality of fabulous statements, and practised in comparing accounts that vary, find much in these fragments that agrees with what we know of the present, and with what we can reasonably conjecture of the past of India. For instance—

"The care of the king's person is entrusted to women, who also are bought from their parents."—P. 71.

"They love finery and ornament. Their robes are worked in gold, and

³ "Les Origines de la France Contemporaine." The Revolution. By H. A. Taine, D.C.L. Oxon. Translated by John Durand. London: Daldy, Isbister, & Co.

⁴ "Ancient India as Described by Megasthenes and Arrian." By J. W. McCrindle, M.A., Principal of the Government College, Patna. Calcutta and Bombay: Thacker & Co. London: Trubner & Co.

ornamented with precious stones, and they wear also flowered garments made of the finest muslin. Attendants walking behind hold up umbrellas over them : for they have a high regard for beauty. . . . They marry many wives, whom they buy from their parents."—P. 70.

"The population of India is divided into seven parts. No one is allowed to marry out of his own caste, or to exchange one profession or trade for another."—P. 85.

. Altogether it is easy to see that there is much here that is historically valuable, although Megasthenes, like Herodotus, records a good deal of fable that was poured into his ears by superstitious or dishonest natives. We may observe that many of the singularities of the human race which are depicted on the famous *Mappemonde* at Hereford are described by Megasthenes. Mr. McCrindle's volume ends with an excellent translation of Arrian's first book. He is to be congratulated on having made a very useful contribution to the popular study of Indian antiquities.

From Copenhagen we receive a monograph⁵ on an ancient font by Dr. George Stephens, who sent us a paper on Macbeth two years ago. It consists of a short sermon, for which we do not care, followed by a minute description of the font in question, which was found at Ottrava in Sweden, and which he assigns to the year 1000. The outer circumference of the font is divided into eight compartments, each of which contains a carving in relief. Seven of these represent Christian subjects, one of them illustrating the Crucifixion. The remaining division, strange to say, contains a figure which Dr. Stephens, rightly, as we think, identifies with the Hammer-god Thunor or Thor. The editor supplies us with excellent woodcuts of these carvings, as well as of other Thunor antiquities which he compares with it. He ends his paper somewhat inconsequently with a "Moral," the style of which shows that he has caught the manner, if not the matter, of Carlyle.

Mr. O'Grady sends us the first volume⁶ of a "History of Ireland," which treats of the Heroic Period. The author complains that with modern writers history has degenerated into a mere accumulation of names, dates, events, and other purely archæological matters, while the historian's proper art, that of giving us living pictures of the past, has been abandoned to writers of fiction and romance. There is some truth in the complaint, and it is due to Mr. O'Grady to say that in this volume, the whole matter of which is legendary, his narrative is highly interesting and poetic. We could indeed wish that he had either given us a glossary, or avoided the use of words not understood of the people. It is irritating, for instance, to read that "they travelled swiftly, and bore Cuculain outside the tuath," that a man "whose liss was upon the left bank of the Fionglas had smote" a slave, or that "there were trained ollavs, well-skilled in the laws of Fohla, and

⁵ "Thunor the Thunderer, carved on a Scandinavian Font of about the year 1000." By Prof. Dr. George Stephens, F.S.A. London: Williams & Norgate.

⁶ "History of Ireland." By Standish O'Grady. Vol. I. London: Sampson Low, Searle, Marston, & Rivington.

repeating the ancient ranns adroitly ;" and "Fianna Eircen" and "Ah Cu !" are puzzling to the general reader as titles of chapters. But if he can get over this difficulty, he will find in Mr. O'Grady's book a wealth of romantic legends poetically told.

Professor A. Ferretti has published an interesting sketch⁷ of the history of Canossa from the tenth century down to the virtual extinction of the place two or three generations ago. Naturally the German Emperor Henry IV., Pope Gregory VII., and the Countess Matilda, occupy the greater part of this little work, which contains nothing very important or new, but tells its story in a clear and interesting manner.

From Turin we receive Signor Fornelli's "History of the Middle Ages,"⁸ and our first word about it must be a protest against the unworthy form and type in which, in spite of its importance and the careful study which it requires, it is printed. To compress the history of civilisation during the twelve centuries from Constantine's conversion to Columbus's discovery of America into 420 pages is no light task. Signor Fornelli has performed it in a manner which seems to us satisfactory; but we are bound to say that larger type, and an index, would have made the work of much greater use to the student.

We have received the third volume of Herr Gindely's "History of the Thirty Years' War,"⁹ the second volume of which was noticed in our last number. The work promises to be one of stupendous labour and magnitude; for this, the third goodly octavo volume, still treats only of 1620, the second or third year of the war. It is difficult to examine worthily in our limited room a work of so much detail; and the difficulty is rather increased by the appearance of the book in fragments. It is, however, easy to see, and it is our duty to say, that Herr Gindely has given the most unsparing labour to his task. His work proves that he has waded indefatigably through the pathless seas of State archives which are stored up in the German capitals and in our own. In the present volume he has to describe the attempts which were made to induce our James I. to give material help to his own son-in-law; and it is not a little interesting to find that passionate supporter of divine right (son and father of beheaded sovereigns) meeting these attempts by desiring to be informed as to the right of the Bohemian diet to depose the king. What might not have happened had he earnestly supported the boldest attempt ever made by Protestantism? Herr Gindely's book will be the authority on the period he describes; it is, moreover, very readable in matter and style.

M. Legrelle publishes at Ghent a very interesting monograph¹⁰ on the relations of the republic of Strasburg with Louis XIV. His title-

⁷ "Canossa." Studi e Ricerche del Prof. Angelo Ferretti. Reggio nell'Emilia: Torreggiani e Comp.

⁸ "Storia del Medio Evo, specialmente d'Italia." Per N. Fornelli. Torino: G. B. Paravia e Comp.

⁹ "Geschichte des dreissigjährigen Kriegs." Von Anton Gindely. Band III. Prag: F. Tempsky.

¹⁰ "Louis XIV. et Strasbourg." Par A. Legrelle. Gand: Snoeck-Ducaju et Fils.

page announces that he has made use of official papers hitherto unpublished; and we are bound to admit that he has turned his authorities to very good account. He writes in a strongly anti-German sense; and it is indeed not very difficult to prove that the much-abused seizure of the city by Louis savoured less of outrage and insolence than many other of his acts. There was some reason in the argument that if he did not seize it the Emperor would possess himself of it, and so hold a dangerous weapon in the flank of France; and there was a semi-legal claim based on the very obscure treaty of Münster, and that of Nymwegen. And though it will never be shown that the seizure was not an act of high-handed violence, yet there are many of Louis' outrages for which less can be said in extenuation. M. Logrelle writes, as we have hinted, with a decidedly anti-German bias: he is, however, not unjust, and he treats his official documents fairly. His narrative is very interesting.

Colonel Malleson,¹¹ on his return from India, was invited to complete Sir John Kaye's unfinished "History of the Sepoy War," three volumes of which had been published. He was gratified by the offer, but he and many other eminent members of the Indian services were of opinion that Sir John's last volume was much less accurate and impartial than its predecessors, and he accordingly stipulated that he should carry on the narrative from the end of Kaye's second volume. Colonel Malleson's first volume, therefore, which is now before us, covers much the same ground as the earlier writer's third volume. The difficulties that attend the writing a history of events many of the chief actors in which survive are obvious. Colonel Malleson has not escaped them, and shows, now and then, that he feels strongly that some living officer has been over-rewarded, or that another has met with injustice. The volume is, however, on the whole, written in a spirit of fairness. The events it describes are gloomy enough, the reiteration of mutiny and murder at station after station. It closes more cheerfully with the chivalrous self-denial of Outram in declining to supersede Havelock, and with the march to the first relief of Lucknow. Few parts of history are marked by more deeds of heroism and unselfishness than the Indian campaign of 1857 and 1858; and Colonel Malleson can have had no great trouble in making his narrative interesting. His style is always spirited, and we can only utter a small grumble at a tendency to fine writing, which occasionally leads to use such phrase as "lethal weapons."

Mr. Andrew's "India and her Neighbours,"¹² seems to us to be a book which does not deserve very high praise. It gives an account of the physical features of the country, a brief sketch of its history, some notes on its commerce, and a few paragraphs on the neighbouring territories and islands. It is written with a strong feeling against the

¹¹ "History of the Indian Mutiny, Commencing from the close of the Second Volume of Sir John Kaye's History of the Sepoy War." By Colonel G. B. Malleson, C.S.I. Vol. I. London: W. H. Allen & Co.

¹² "India and her Neighbours." By W. P. Andrew. With Maps and Index. London: William H. Allen & Co.

Russians, and against the power allowed to the native princes. The author is also an advocate of the Euphrates Valley railway. The observations which he makes are generally just, but they are not very profound, nor are his descriptions very full. His book may become popular with the general reader, but the student of Indian matters will not gain much from it.

Colonel Stevens, formerly of the Connaught Rangers, publishes a history¹³ of the deeds of that gallant regiment in the Crimean campaign. It is compiled from notes made on the spot at the time of the events which it records, and will therefore be of value as *mémoires pour servir*. It will also be read with interest by many who shared in the sufferings of the Crimea. It is not marked by any great literary merit, but it will be found a lively and spirited picture of things as they were.

A more technical work is the "Commentaries on the Punjaub Campaign"¹⁴ by Capt. Lawrence-Archer. In it the author gives a detailed account of that campaign, which, having been fought before the days of Special Correspondents, is still little known. It is perhaps, also, partly owing to this circumstance, and to the fact that the conquest of the Punjaub was our most important achievement in arms during the long peace, that it received a very large amount of indiscriminating praise from the public. The dimensions to which Captain Lawrence-Archer is limited prevent his book being made very interesting or attractive; but it will be a useful contribution to purely military history.

In "Ocean and her Rulers,"¹⁵ Mr. Elwes has produced a brief history of the nations which have at different periods been mighty at sea, beginning with Phœnicians and Greeks, and ending with our own achievements at Trafalgar. The book, which is illustrated, is interesting, and will no doubt be largely read by our lads, for whom it appears to be intended.

Mr. Labilliere, of the Middle Temple, a native of Victoria, has published in two most interesting volumes¹⁶ the history of that great Australian colony. Some of our readers may, perhaps, object, as did a friend of the author, that Victoria has had no history. This, however, was a shallow remark. Other things besides wars and diplomacy go to the making of history; and, although it is not yet half a century since the first permanent settlement at Melbourne, our colonists have already enriched the world with valuable lessons as well as with material wealth. Mr. Labilliere's account of the earlier explorations, which fills his first volume, is of fascinating interest. He has worked at his subject thoroughly, and from various public records, such as unpublished logs, he has been able to throw new light upon it. His

¹³ "The Crimean Campaign with the Connaught Rangers." By Lieut.-Colonel Nathaniel Stevens. With a Map. London: Griffith & Farran.

¹⁴ "Commentaries on the Punjaub Campaign, 1848-49." By J. H. Lawrence-Archer, Capt H.-P. London: William H. Allen & Co.

¹⁵ "Ocean and her Rulers." By Alfred Elwes. London: Griffith & Farran.

¹⁶ "Early History of the Colony of Victoria." By Francis Peter Labilliere, Barrister-at-Law. 2 vols. London: Sampson Low & Co.

second volume contains a history of the colony from its beginning down to its constitution as a self-governing colony in 1851. This portion of the work is less romantic, but is not really less interesting than the earlier volume. Mr. Labilliere's style is excellent; and his book is one to be read by both those who do, and those who do not, know Australia.

We have received a handsomely printed edition¹⁷ of the English translation of the "Colloquies of Erasmus," made by N. Bailey a century and a half ago. These dialogues require no praise of ours to recommend them now; and we are very glad to see them issued in such attractive form. They are so fresh, so full of common sense, and, we would add, so *modern*, that they are as sure of life in the future as in the past. The present edition, by Mr. Johnson, is supplied with some ninety pages of notes. These strike us as being occasionally somewhat too elementary.

Dr. Lorimer issues a translation¹⁸ of Professor Lechler's important work on Wiclif and his predecessors. It is not flattering to our national pride to observe how much of what is known of our early English Reformer is due to the labours of Germans. It is a strange fact, moreover, that in the library at Prague (as well as at several other capitals) are to be found many MS. works by Wiclif which have never yet been printed here or elsewhere. The spread of Wiclif's writings in Bohemia is of course due to the early struggles for the Reformation in that country, and their preservation at Prague we owe to the secularisation of the monasteries by Joseph II. in the last century. A very small portion of the present work is assigned to Wiclif's Precursors, among whom Grossetête, Bishop of Lincoln, holds the chief place. The life of Wiclif himself is treated with as great fulness of detail as is possible with the not very ample personal records of him. But his doctrines, and the relations between these and the political history of his times, have evidently been the most pleasant portion of Professor Lechler's work, and they are described with a breadth and justice which prove the author to have a singularly comprehensive view of the times. No history of the Reformation is likely to appear for many generations which will not owe much to this work. Dr. Lorimer has translated the book well, and has added to its value by appending some excellent notes of his own.

The fourth and fifth volumes¹⁹ of Professor Masson's "Life of Milton in connexion with the History of his Time" are really a complete history of the Commonwealth, embracing the period between January, 1649, and April, 1660, a few weeks before the restoration of Charles II. The

¹⁷ "The Colloquies of Erasmus." Translated by N. Bailey. Edited with Notes by the Rev. E. Johnson, M.A. 2 vols. London: Reeves & Turner.

¹⁸ "John Wiclif and his English Precursors." By Prof. Lechler, D.D. of the University of Leipsic. Translated from the German, with additional Notes by Peter Lorimer, D.D. 2 vols. London: C. Kegan Paul & Co.

¹⁹ "The Life of John Milton, Narrated in Connexion with the History of his Time." By David Masson, M.A., LL.D. Vols. IV., V. London: Macmillan & Co.

author promises that another volume shall complete the work. We indeed think that he might, with more propriety, have named it the History of the Rebellion, with especial reference to the life of John Milton; for the events of that important period are discussed with such fulness that the personal career of the poet occupies only the smaller portion of the work. It is tolerably safe to say that a biography which fills six thick octavo volumes is not likely to be widely read; while any possible amount of detail seems to be tolerated now in a professed history. It is, moreover, the historical part which will be read with most pleasure in the present volumes, for it is of great importance, and is written in a lively style, not altogether free from a little mannerism. On the other hand, this portion of Milton's life is perhaps the part in which he least attracts our sympathy. He is here a placeman and a controversialist, rather than a poet, and in the second of these characters, at least, he is unlovely. With the labours of Stern in Germany and Masson at home our great epic poet does not lack attention in our day. Professor Masson's work is too vast to be more than "noticed" in our space: and even this small duty is rendered more difficult from the fact of our receiving it piecemeal. We may, however, say at once that it is a work of immense toil discriminatingly applied; and that it cannot fail to be for a long time an important authority on the Commonwealth, as well on Milton, being very complete and very readable. We expect to derive more pleasure from the last volume, which will picture to us the venerable poet devoting his retirement to his lofty task, than from any of its predecessors. And certainly the work, when seen as a whole, will deserve very important attention.

For some years past, Mr. John Morley has given us from time to time some good work on one or other of the great French thinkers and writers who did so much in the last century to make the outer and inner life of the present day what it is. We have had to thank him for essays on Vauvenargue, Joseph de Maistre, and Robespierre, and for more ambitious writings on Voltaire and Rousseau. He has now published an important work,²⁰ for which there was ample room, on Diderot. About half the work has appeared before in the shape of papers in one of the monthly reviews: the rest is new. Diderot was born in 1713, of a good middle-class family. Like Voltaire, and so many others who have become famed as opponents of Christianity, he was brought up by the Jesuits. At an early age he was thrown on his own resources, and became a man of letters, no very secure profession in the last century. When a little over thirty he produced "*Les Pensées Philosophiques*," and his treatise "*De la Suffisance de la Religion Naturelle*;" and a year or two later defiled the world by writing what Carlyle justly calls "the beastliest of all past, present, or future dull novels." It is fair to say that he soon repented this folly, and could never afterwards bear an allusion to it. He resumed his metaphysical

²⁰ "*Diderot and the Encyclopædists.*" By John Morley. 2 vols. London: Chapman & Hall.

studies and writing; and presently joined D'Alembert in the famous labour of the Encyclopædia, the first two volumes of which appeared respectively in 1750 and 1751. The boldness and cleverness of the work, and the opposition to it on the part of the Government, combined to insure it an enormous success. In 1765 he had occasion to sell his library in order to establish a daughter; and the Empress Catherine of Russia, hearing of the circumstance, nobly became the purchaser, and begged Diderot to retain the books as her curator of them. We next find him writing Dialogues; and it is more than probable that "Le Neveu de Rameau," of which Mr. Morley adds a translation, was composed at this time. Most of our readers will remember the curious history of this piece. Schiller lent a French MS. of it to Gothe, who translated it into German, returned the MS. to Schiller, and published his own version, which was the first form in which it came before the public. At Schiller's death the mysterious manuscript was sought for in vain: and it has ever since been a matter of conjecture how he became possessed of it. In 1821 appeared what professed to be the original French text; but Diderot's daughter produced in two years later a text which she declared to have copied under the author's eyes, and it is now supposed that the 1821 edition was a retranslation of Gothe's version. This picture of corruption, at once cringing and insolent, is one of the most striking productions of the last century. As the author remarks, it tends, like Swift's description of the Yahoos, to disgust one with life; and certainly, with some half-dozen other books of the latter part of the eighteenth century, it shows us, more clearly than any direct evidence, why the Revolution was what it was. These books depict a state of society which nowhere exists now, and which one would vain hope can never again exist. But there are ominous signs among us. The toleration of vulgar vice by those who are too high or too rich to be obliged to tolerate it: the extraordinary straining after wealth, and the foolish misuse of it: the indifference to the examples set before the young: these and other signs of rottenness tend to make us fear a decadence. There is certainly a new function among us for which Rameau's nephew would have been suited—that of editor of a "Society" paper. Another work of Diderot, "Jacques le Fataliste," has a history curiously like that of "Le Neveu." This piece also circulated in Germany in manuscript, and was seen by Gothe in that form. It was first published, eight years after the author's death, in Germany; and the first edition that appeared in France was of four years' later date. Diderot published Art Criticisms on the Exhibition of the Salon from 1759 to 1781. In 1773 he visited St. Petersburg, taking the Hague on his way both in going and in returning. The chief literary work of his latter years was a life of Seneca. He died in 1784. Mr. Morley's account of this remarkable man is most interesting, and his analysis of his writings is very valuable.

Dr. Abbott's "Bacon and Essex,"²¹ though a book begotten by a

²¹ "Bacon and Essex, a Sketch of Bacon's Earlier Life." By Edwin A. Abbott, D.D. London: Seeley, Jackson, & Halliday.

somewhat warm controversy, will be found an instructive and pleasant work. Any little signs of antagonism to an eminent writer which may have been noticeable in Dr. Abbott's earlier papers on the subject of Bacon have been carefully avoided; and this is a fair attempt to bring Bacon's earlier career before us, and to show that his policy towards Essex was far more censurable than is generally believed. We think that the author has made out his case; and has proved that Bacon exceeded the license of counsel in the prosecution of Essex, and that he traduced him dead. He also quotes from Bacon's letters and other writings sufficient to show that he was as capable of low aims and, doubtless, means, as other men who were less favoured by the gifts of divine philosophy. Dr. Abbott's is a well-written and convincing book of very great interest.

Mr. G. Birkbeck Hill has published a very interesting little book²² on "Johnson, his Friends and Critics." We will begin by saying that the author appears to have made a discovery. From a careful examination of college books, he shows that, in all probability, Johnson virtually left Oxford at the end of 1729, and not in 1731, as is generally supposed. Mr. Hill's work, which seems to be a collection of separate papers, is not a biography of Johnson, but as a protest against the treatment which Johnson and Boswell received from Lord Macaulay, and which Boswell received from Carlyle, to which are added some excellent papers on some of Johnson's friends and contemporaries, Langton, Beauclercq, Goldsmith, and Lord Chesterfield. All the chapters are interesting in a high degree.

A more connected and important work on Johnson²³ is Mr. Leslie Stephen's sketch, published in the series of "English Men of Letters," edited by Mr. John Morley. This is in every way a most excellent book. The biography is admirably narrated, and the criticism is equally good. The style of the book is bright and lively; and Messrs. Macmillan's series could hardly be more fortunate in subject or treatment.

Mr. Morison's sketch of Gibbon²⁴ in the same series also deserves great praise, and it has the advantage of being written about a man who is far less generally known than Johnson. Gibbon was born in 1737, the son of a landed gentleman who was disposed to spend more than his income. The lad was sent to Oxford when fifteen years of age "with a stock of erudition," to quote his own words, "which might have puzzled a doctor, and a degree of ignorance of which a school-boy might have been ashamed." This was at a time when our Universities were passing through the most degraded state that they have ever known. Study and discipline appear to have been quite unknown, and the tutor's duties were executed in a purely nominal manner. In the following year Gibbon went over to Rome, and had to leave Oxford. His father immediately sent him to Lausanne, where he was placed with a Calvinist minister. He soon returned to Protestantism;

²² "Dr. Johnson, his Friends and Critics." By George Birkbeck Hill, D.C.L. London: Smith, Elder, & Co.

²³ "Samuel Johnson." By Leslie Stephen. London: Macmillan & Co.

²⁴ "Gibbon." By James Cotter Morison, M.A. London: Macmillan & Co.

and during the five years that he spent at Lausanne he made, without much aid from his tutor, good progress in his studies, especially in Latin and French. We agree with Mr. Morison in thinking that the clearness and order of his great work are partly due to his thorough mastery and constant use of the French language. Shortly before he left home he fell in love with a very pretty Mlle. Churchod, who afterwards became the wife of Necker and the mother of Madame de Stael; but this passion, Gibbon's only love-affair, seems to have been of a mild and temperate kind. His father would not hear of the match. "Accordingly," says the young man, in words which remind us of Sheridan's Governor of Tilbury Fort, "after a painful struggle I yielded to my fate: I sighed as a lover, I obeyed as a son." The struggle would seem not to have been too severe; and we shall find him a warm and intimate friend of the lady in later life. On his return to England, he was gazetted to a militia regiment, with which he did two or three years' permanent service after it was embodied in 1760. The discipline and work of this life he turned to account in his literary labour, and he himself tells us that "the captain of the Hampshire Grenadiers (the reader may smile) has not been useless to the historian of the Roman Empire." His regiment having been disbanded at the end of 1762, he spent a couple of years in travelling in France and Italy. "It was at Rome," he says, "on the 15th of October, 1764, as I sat musing amid the ruins of the Capitol, while the barefooted friars were singing vespers in the temple of Jupiter, that the idea of writing the decline and fall of the city first started to my mind." The next year he returned home, renewing at Paris his acquaintance with his old flame, now Madame Necker. He now spent five years at his father's house, doing some little literary work. In 1770 his father died, leaving him an embarrassed estate. Gibbon soon afterwards established himself in London, and set to work on the "Decline and Fall," the first volume of which appeared in 1776, and met with great success. In 1774 he entered the House of Commons as member for Liskeard. Here his career was undistinguished. He received a place as Commissioner of Trade in 1779; and lost it on the defeat of Lord North's ministry in 1782. Finding his means now insufficient for life in London he migrated next year to the scenes of his boyhood at Lausanne, where he devoted himself to his great work, finishing it "on the day, or rather the night, of the 27th June, 1787. Between the hours of eleven and twelve I wrote the last line of the last page in a summer-house in my garden. . . . I will not dissemble the first emotions of joy on the recovery of my freedom, and perhaps the establishment of my fame. But my pride was soon humbled, and a sober melancholy was spread over my mind by the idea that I had taken an everlasting leave of an old and agreeable companion, and that whatsoever might be the future fate of my history, the life of the historian must be short and precarious." He lived nearly seven years more, but they were not years of happiness. He suffered deeply the loss of one after another of his dearest friends; and he became corpulent and feeble in health. In 1793 he returned to

England to condole with a bereaved friend, and here in January, 1794, he died of dropsy in the fifty-seventh year of his age. Mr. Morison has told the story of his life admirably, and has been wisely careful to draw as much as possible from Gibbon's own Memoirs. A considerable portion of the book is devoted to criticism of the successive parts of the history; and this appears to us to be most just and instructive.

Sir Walter Scott,²⁵ by Mr. R. H. Hutton, is also published in Mr. Morley's series of English Men of Letters. Under ordinary circumstances we should be disposed to speak highly of this book; but we cannot say that it has either the importance or interest of the books by Mr. Leslie Stephen and Mr. Morison which we have just noticed. It is true that Sir Walter's life is little known, owing, doubtless, to the fact that it has been buried in one of the longest biographies ever written; and therefore there will be room and probably a good sale for Mr. Hutton's little work. It is pleasantly written enough, and is not at all dull. There is, however, a certain want of something about it. Perhaps it is that it does not bring Scott before us either as a man of great power, or a man of great sympathy; and we think he must have possessed one of these characters, if not both. It is perhaps hypercritical, however, to be so difficult with a book that is so very readable.

BELLES LETTRES.

THE first of the Cheveley novels, "A Modern Minister," could not certainly be called a success, nor, as far as it has gone, can the second¹ be pronounced one. The Waverley Novels have not been dethroned, nor do we see the slightest chance of the sceptre of Scott being wielded by the author of "Saul Weir." Critics often do make great mistakes, especially in the case of a new author, but most especially of one who brings with him a new style, or who introduces new ideas. But in the case of the "Modern Minister" critics could not well be mistaken. The author did not introduce any new style. His tale was a patchwork of all kinds of style, of Dickens, Lytton, Ouida, and we know not whom else. He did not introduce any new ideas, for the story was the dullest of the dull. It was deficient in character-drawing, wanting in brilliancy, and unredeemed by any depth of thought. In the same way critics cannot well be mistaken in their estimate of "Saul Weir," if the first three numbers are to be taken as its standard. We cannot be misled by any novelty of style, for in this case "Saul Weir" is to a great extent a pale reflex of Dickens's most washy manner. We do not find ourselves saying—

²⁵ "Sir Walter Scott." By Richard H. Hutton. London: Macmillan & Co.

¹ "The Cheveley Novels: Saul Weir." By the Author of "A Modern Minister." London: William Blackwood & Sons. 1878.

here is a new author with a new style, new characters, and new ideas, and we must not judge him by old standards. On the contrary, we can accurately measure "Saul Weir" by Dickens, its characters by Dickens's characters, its style by Dickens's style, and its attempts at humour by Dickens's humour. Were the whole of these,—characters, style, and humour very much better than they are, we should still resent a second-hand Dickens. That we are not finding fault without very good reasons let us take a single sentence from "Saul Weir":—

"The Brothers Tomkins walk arm in arm; they always walk thus abreast, as though unwilling to trust one another out of each other's sight. They walk pliantly erect, with a straight look ahead; but they have each a peculiar half-spring with their walk which raises them all up together, like those little figures children play with, the apparatus of which opens and closes upon sensors plan. It imparted an undulating action, not graceful, but jerky, but consonant with the rhythmical locomotion dear to the Brothers Tomkins" (Part I. page 40).

This reads like a parody upon Dickens's later style. Nor have we been at any pains to select the passage. Plenty of such imitative bits may be found. Even the names of the characters are formed upon the same lines as Dickens's names. Tattergast, the lecturer, Tummytot, Jochebed Sneozzer, Bulltack, Jediah Lufkin, and the firm of Jubeson, Wattle, and Crick, are all Dickensian in their very sounds. With regard to the characters themselves, they seem, as far as we have gone, to be as utterly unreal as those in "A Modern Minister," and the incidents as improbable. We had marked a number of passages for comment, but it is not worth while wasting time upon them. In short, we do not know that we should have noticed either this work or its predecessor had it not been for the loud blowing of trumpets with which "The Cheveley Novels" were heralded into the world. The highest praise which we can give "Saul Weir" is that it is fluently commonplace. This, however, may be a recommendation to a great many subscribers to Mudie's. Average novel readers like anything which makes no demands upon their thought. They prefer, too, a style like Dickens's which they know to a new one, just as some people prefer an old worn-out joke which they understand to the finest piece of humour which is new to them.

Whatever Ouida's² faults may be, she possesses at all events a style of her own. She does not, as a rule, copy from anybody. To ourselves her style appears to be as faulty as a style can be. But it is no use now saying anything on this subject. The Transpontine theatres know their audiences, and Ouida understands the tastes of her readers. "Friendship," however, is a shade better than most of her novels. Ouida does not fling her *Lempriere* quite so wildly about as she used to do. Her ornithology, too, is somewhat more correct than it was. Her descriptions, too, are not painted with quite so juicy a brush. But there is an unhealthy tone about the book. The general setting is disagreeable, and some of the characters detestable.

² "Friendship." A Story by Ouida. Author of "Puck," "Ariadne," "Signa," &c. London: Chatto & Windus. 1878.

Mrs. Stowe's new volume³ breathes a very different air. A fresh, healthy breeze blows through her tale. We have delightful sketches of New England life some fifty years ago, meet with children whom we can love, and men and women whom we can respect. Since "Uncle Tom's Cabin," Mrs. Stowe has not produced so delightful a work.

Colonel Mansfield⁴ has undoubtedly many qualifications of the novelist. He is able not only to describe scenery, but to draw character. He reproduces a small Devonshire watering-place with all its inhabitants, especially people like Mrs. Chetwynd and Mr. Fredericks, with the greatest fidelity. We are afraid, however, that his introduction of foreign characters and foreign politics, about which the average novel reader cares so little, will prevent his book attaining that popularity which its literary merits so richly deserve.

We have had many novels of Oxford and Cambridge life, but in "Scotch Firs"⁵ Miss Tytler gives us some sketches of a Scotch University. Oxford and Cambridge are generally painted from the undergraduate's point of view. In this story, however, we have the principal and the professors taken from the world's standpoint. Like everything else which Miss Tytler has written, both tales in "Scotch Firs" are full of touches of character, shrewd strokes of Scotch humour, and sustained power of narrative, which always keep the reader's attention alive.

"Bonnie Lesley"⁶ does not show quite the same literary power and the same practised style as "Scotch Firs," but it attracts the reader in much the same way by its quiet style, good sound sense, and accurate character-drawing. We can recommend it for family reading, especially to the younger members of the household.

Decidedly the best part of "The Monomaniac of Love"⁷ is the preface. From it we hoped we were going to have had a scientific analysis of at least one character. But had the author achieved a success in this direction, the book, from its repulsive style, must have been a failure. It is, perhaps, most difficult to draw auctioneers' clerks and barmaids and make them interesting, simply because their general surroundings, their education, and the aim of their lives are so poor. Only the humour of Dickens can invest them with any degree of interest. That the author of "The Monomaniac of Love" has failed is not at all surprising. We are doubtful if he possesses any of the qualifications of a novelist, but, should he attempt another novel, at all events let him choose more interesting characters.

³ "Pogonuc People. Their Loves and Lives." By Harriet Beecher Stowe. Author of "Uncle Tom's Cabin," &c. London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle, & Rivington. 1878.

⁴ "A Latler-Day Novel." By Lieut.-Colonel Charles Edward Mansfield, Her Majesty's Agent and Consul-General at Bucharest. London: Chapman & Hall. 1878.

⁵ "Scotch Firs." By Sarah Tytler, Author of "A Garden of Women," "Citoyenne Jacqueline," &c. &c. London: Smith, Elder, & Co. 1878.

⁶ "Bonnie Lesley." By Mrs. Herbert Martin, Author of "Cast Adrift." Illustrated by Miss C. Paterson. London: Griffith & Farran. 1878.

⁷ "The Monomaniac of Love." London: Provost & Co. 1878.

"Verney Court"⁸ is a very unequal production. Some of the characters are carefully done. There is, too, a shipwreck in the first volume which is described with so much force that we are led to think that the writer might do very much better work than the present, if he would only take the trouble. "Rare Pale Margaret"⁹ shows greater literary skill and no small dramatic power. Those who are tired of scenes in the West may be advised to try Colonel Vereker's tale.¹⁰

It is worth noticing how different is the reception which has been given to the second series of Swinburne's poems¹¹ to that which was accorded to the first. The age has certainly grown during the last twenty years less puritanical. Subjects which were forbidden are now freely handled. Art wears her shackles more lightly than she did. Even our picture and sculpture galleries have opened their gates wider. Every one must have been struck in this respect with the boldness of the Grosvenor Gallery. Twenty years ago the bishops would have cried for fig-leaves. Now not a word is said. Art is left to be her own mistress and her own judge. Most certainly if this second series of Swinburne's poems had appeared even a decade of years earlier, we should have had a howl raised over the exquisite translations from Villon and the sonnet on Mademoiselle De Maupin, decidedly the finest thing, from a literary point of view, in the whole volume. With regard to the contents of the volume, we are inclined to class "The Last Oracle" as the highest effort of Swinburne's particular genius. He must not, however, be surprised if it is not so popular as some of his other poems, which contain far less thought. He must remember that his "Songs Before Sunrise" possess the least attraction for the general public, even when they have the benefit of being explained by Clifford. Nor must we pass by "In the Bay," with its lofty flight, its gorgeous rhetoric, and its splendid invocation to the Elizabethan dramatists. Readers will, according to their tastes, put in their order of merit such very different but magnificent pieces as the "Year of the Rose," "In Memory of Barry Cornwall," "A Vision of Spring in Winter," and "The Four Songs of Four Seasons." Look, however, where we choose throughout the volume, we are everywhere impressed by force, by the depth of thought, the gorgeousness of the versification, and the melody of the rhythm.

Turning to Mr. Matthew Arnold¹² after Swinburne is like entering into some new land. The reason is obvious. Arnold's own beautiful sonnet explains the cause:—

⁸ "Verney Court. An Irish Novel." By M. Nethercott. London: Remington & Co. 1878.

⁹ "Rare Pale Margaret." London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle, & Rivington. 1878.

¹⁰ "The Child of the Desert." By Colonel the Hon. C. S. Vereker. London: Chapman & Hall. 1878.

¹¹ "Poems and Ballads." Second Series. By Algernon Charles Swinburne. London: Chatto & Windus. 1878.

¹² "Selected Poems of Matthew Arnold." London: Macmillan & Co. 1878.

- "That son of Italy* who tried to blow
 Ere Dante came, the trump of sacred song,
 In his light youth amid a festal throng
 Sate with his bride to see a public show.
- "Fair was the bride, and on her front did glow
 Youth like a star, and what to youth belong,—
 Gay raiment, sparkling gauds, elation strong,—
 A prop gave way! crash fell a platform! lo,
- "Mid struggling sufferers hurt to death, she lay!
 Shuddering, they drew her garments off—and found
 A robe of sackcloth next the smooth, white skin.
- "Such, poets, is your bride, the Muse! young, gay,
 Radiant, adorned outside; a hidden ground
 Of thought and of austerity within."—Page 113.

Now we feel that Swinburne's Muse does not wear a robe of sackcloth. One poet prays to be delivered from the very things which the other dwells upon. They, in fact, appeal to two very different classes of mind. And yet we know from his essay on Arnold, one of the most generous tributes ever paid by a poet to a brother poet, how much Swinburne admires the author of "Apollo Musagetes." Nor is the essay mere idle words. Over and over again we find Swinburne in his prose writings quoting from Arnold. He has pointed out, too, with great truth and delicacy of criticism, that since Shakspeare no poet has ever sung of the lowland scenery of England and its meadow-flowers with such rapture as Arnold has done. But we need not now dwell upon Arnold's beauties. His verse has long since become the property of all English-speaking nations. We shall make no other remark than this, that if the volume had been published, as was announced, in the "Golden Treasury Series," it would have been the golden book of the series.

The author of "Songs of Two Worlds"¹³ differs from most other poets. They generally give us their name, but not their photograph. He gives us his photograph, but not his name. We are, however, very glad to receive a collection of his poems in whatever shape he chooses to give it to us. As we have before said in this section, we cannot rate them so highly as many critics. They always keep just above the level of mediocrity, but seldom rise much higher. None of them appear to us to show the same power which the author revealed in the "Epic of Hades," which must certainly be regarded as his greatest work. The best pieces in the present volume are "The Organ Boy" and "The Ode on a Fair Spring Morning."

We knew nothing whatever of Swedish, but the names of the translators are a sufficient guarantee for the accuracy of their version of Runeberg.¹⁴ Prefixed to the translation is a life of the Swedish poet,

* Giacomone di Todt.

¹³ "Songs of Two Worlds." By the Author of "The Epic of Hades." London: C. Kegan Paul. 1878.

¹⁴ "Johan Ludvig Runeberg's Lyrical Songs, Idylls, and Epigrams." Done into English. By Eiriker Magnusson, M.A., &c., and E. H. Palmer, M.A., &c. London: C. Kegan Paul & Co. 1878.

whose name is barely known in England. He was born in 1803, and his early years were embittered by a constant struggle with poverty. He managed, however, to take his degree at the University of Abo, and then retired into the country, where, amidst its beautiful scenery, he wrote some of his finest pieces. In 1830 he was appointed Amanuensis to the Consistory of the University, and in 1831 married. For the other events of his life we must refer the reader to Messrs. Magnasson's and Palmer's introduction. The translators sum up their critical verdict by observing that "Runeberg's greatness rests objectively on one main foundation—patriotism. With a rare intensity of love and sympathy he lives himself into the life of his people, and with the keenest eye for Nature, he lives himself into the natural phenomena of his country." Of course from the present limited collection we are not able to form a fair estimate of his powers. He here appears rather as a joyous bird with a passionate love of Nature, especially in spring, with much fancy and much delicacy of sentiment, something akin to that of Herrick and Carew. Here, for instance, is a piece which Herrick might have written:—

THE KISS.

"I'm kissing thee, nor weary grow,
And shall I ever weary? No.
Now, dailing maiden, answer me,
What bliss a kiss doth give to thee?"

"Thou lovest it as well as I;
Say wherein does its pleasure lie?
I ask now, asked thee lately, thus,
And get for answer kiss on kiss." Page 115.

Here is another piece which Carew might have written when in his happiest and highest vein:—

"Midst some fresh-grown flowers through the green wood
Walked the kindly maiden very lonely,
And she broke a new-horn rose, then saying,
Lowly flower, if thee but wings possessedst,
Would I send thee onward to my lover;
Two light messages I then would fasten,
On the right wing one, on the left the other.
One: that he should do no less than kiss thee,
And the other: hither back should send thee."—Page 192.

Our last quotation shall be an epigram, also quite worthy of Carew:—

"Counsels three the mother gave her daughter;
Not to sigh and not be discontented,
And to kiss no young man whatsoever.—
Mother, if thy daughter trespass never,
Trespass never 'gainst your last-named counsel,
She will trespass 'gainst the first two surely."—Page 197.

These extracts, so full of fancy and grace, will show how deep is the debt which we owe to Messrs. Magnasson and Palmer for intro

ducing us to a poet who possesses so many of the sweetest charms of some of our own.

"Hilda Among the Broken Gods,"¹⁵ is not St. Hilda of Whitby waging war with the Heathenism of her day, but a modern woman puzzled and terrified with the growing disbelief. The author's aim is thus told in his words:—

"I do but paint a picture just to show,
How cracks the old crust of Faith beneath our feet,
Partly by light from heaven and fervent heat,
Partly by fierce upheaval from below."

And the writer certainly could not have taken a more interesting subject. But "Hilda" raises another question. Shall we ever have a novel in poetry, for this is what "Hilda" attempts to be. We most certainly think so, and on this account gladly welcome "Hilda" as an attempt in the right direction. The writer has many qualifications for success. He can draw character, and can individualise his personages. Further, he has no small command of metre. His resources in this direction are certainly remarkable. But every now and then we are met with a roughness and a want of polish which seem unaccountable in one who generally has so good an ear and so fine a taste. The author of "Hilda" must remember that Tennyson has already in such pieces as "Enoch Arden," "Aylmer's Field," "Sea Dreams," and especially "The Brook," shown us how exquisite the versification of a novel in poetry may be made, and we can put up with nothing of less merit. If "Hilda," however, is not a perfect success, it comes very near to one.

If anything could inspire the satirist it would be the career of Lord Beaconsfield.¹⁶ Indignation alone would make verses. Even Cluvenus and Settle would be able to write decent couplets. But the subject does not put the least edge to the verses of the author of "Beaconsfield." His lines are lame, clumsy, and lumbering. He is willing enough to wound, but he knows not how to strike. Before he attacks one who is at least in his own coarse way himself a satirist, let the writer of "Beaconsfield" give his nights and days to Boileau and Pope, and then study the articles on Lord Beaconsfield which have lately appeared in *The Fortnightly Review*. After doing this, if he is a sensible man he will not attempt the task.

Mr. Boulding, the author of "Westminster Abbey,"¹⁷ deals in the highest-flown images and metaphors. Here is a specimen—

"Earthquake shut her dragon mouth, and lay
In her red lair spell-bound."—Page 58.

Here is another—

"The cream of Time stands thick on those still days."—Page 87.

¹⁵ "Hilda Among the Broken Gods." By the Author of "Obrig Grange." Glasgow: James Maclehose. 1878.

¹⁶ "Beaconsfield." A Mock-Heroic Poem and Political Satire. London: Abel Heywood & Son. 1878.

¹⁷ "Stones of England. Westminster Abbey." By Winsett Boulding. London: Benrose & Sons. 1878.

On the other hand Mr. W. T. Washburn¹⁸ deals in the highest-flown words. For instance—

“Frosty Winter’s ungentle reign
Holds the pride of the leafless tree,
Sowing deep its unfruitful grain,
Icy harvest of surquedry.”—Page 105.

And again—

“Maiden, gliding o’er the sod,
As by the Graces’ sandal shod,
Art thou an adelopod?”—Page 227.

The adelopod, we should think, might walk upon the cream of time without disturbing it.

With every wish to say a favourable word to the author of “The Indian Pilgrim,”¹⁹ we can hardly recognise the following as poetry :—

“Here is a man with wealth and honour crowned,
Whose vast estates extend there far and wide;
He is the lord of all he sees around,
The fields, the corn that stretch on ev’ry side.”—Page 14.

Such stuff is neither prose nor verse.

The author of “Feuillemorté”²⁰ shows a love for Nature and a sympathy for whatever is noble. But he wants far more power. His verse is feeble. Every now and then we have a flash of light, but it soon dies away.

“Through Death to Life”²¹ is a singularly unequal production. The book itself is remarkable. It is beautifully printed on excellent paper, and adorned with some very pretty head-pieces on every page. But it has no pagination, nor index of poems, nor are the poems even numbered for the sake of reference. The consequence is that we have been obliged to read the book under great disadvantages. We could only refer back to each poem by the device of paper-markers. If we have done the writer injustice, it is the fault of his publisher. The volume consists entirely of sonnets all dealing with the old, old subject of love. Yet how freshly the author can write may be seen by the following :—

THE BITTERNESS OF LIFE.

“This is the bitterness of life, to know
That Love lies not in front but far behind :
That not for violent searching shall one find
A sweet-faced rose of hope beneath time’s snow,
Nor any flower of new joy below
The furrows swept by the autumnal wind,
Nor any corn-stalk where the maidens bind
The golden ears in a long laughing row.

¹⁸ “Poems.” By W. T. Washburn. New York: Jos. H. Haney & Co. 1878.

¹⁹ “The Indian Pilgrim.” Canto I. By J. C. B. Dutta. Calcutta: J. C. Bose & Co. 1877.

²⁰ “Feuillemorté.” And other Poems. By Percy Gordon. London: Longmans, Green, & Co. 1878.

²¹ “Through Death To Life.” By George Barlow. London: Samuel Tinsley & Co. 1878.

"This is the bitterness of life, to feel
 The slow-limbed noisome minutes crawl away,
 But not to mark by any happy peal
 Of silver bells the passing of a day,
 Tarrying till our now consciousness doth steal
 Into death's pine-wood, damp, obscure and grey."

Here is a sardonic view of married life, which has been touched upon by many writers—

"Men pass through life, and never, never, see
 The souls of the companions by their side :
 It is not much to be an actual bride ;
 Much is it to have thought's community.
 Husbands and wives may kiss yet never be
 The closer and the happier for the kiss—
 One may be dreaming of some distant bliss—
 The other of some sweet past ecstasy."

We will, however, close our extracts with a sonnet, which will give the reader a better idea of the general character of the book and of the writer's high poetical power when at his best—

THE MORNING AND THE EVENING STAR.

"Thou art the morning, I the evening star,
 I am the sun, thou art the dainty moon ;
 When thou art absent I am risen soon,
 When thou dost fade the morning is not far,
 And when the sun sets sadly, lo ! thy car
 Is shortly present for a silver boon
 To lovers—so we keep the world in tune,
 And all the tides and cloudlands that there are.

"The sweet significance is deeper yet,
 My moon, thy light is gathered from the sun,
 And with his kisses, lo ! thy lips are wet ;
 And shining soft attire he hath spun
 For thee, and having crossed the dark and met,
 The evening and the morning star are one."

If the writer will only cut out some of the sonnets which repeat themselves, and smooth away some of the roughnesses, we think that his volume would take a very high place amongst the poetry of the day.

And here at the end of the volumes of poems let us call attention to an excellent little work on versification.²² Several of the writers whom we have just been noticing have evidently either no ear for rhythm, or else have not cultivated it. The worst part of the matter is that the proverb, *Qui canere nescit canere semper laborat*, still holds good in these days. All the treatises in the world will not make poets of those who have no ear for rhythm. To a very great extent rhythm is as much a gift as music. Some people cannot tell one tune from

²² "A Treatise on Versification." By Gilbert Conway. London : Longmans, Green, & Co. 1878.

another; others cannot detect the grossest flaw in the rhythm of a line. Critics are not sufficiently severe upon this great defect of most modern poetry, the want or rather falseness of rhythm. As Mr. Conway rightly observes, a schoolmaster punishes a boy for a false quantity in a Latin verse, but a critic passes false rhythm by as an utterly trivial matter in an English one. His book most certainly deserves attentive study, and we strongly recommend it to all our readers, but most especially to some of the poets whom we have just been reviewing.

The English Dialect Society has most certainly lost none of its energy since it made Manchester its head-quarters. The new edition of Tusser's "Five Hundred Pointes of Good Husbandrie"²³ is by far the best piece of work, from whatever point of view we regard it, which the Society has yet put forth. It is in fact, if we may be paradoxical, almost too good work. What we mean is that such an edition of a writer, who to a certain extent is a classic, and holds a place of his own in English literature, appeals to a wider audience than the members of the English Dialect Society, and should be found on the shelves of every library. The task of editing Tusser was begun by Mr. W. Payne. Ill health, however, prevented him from carrying out the undertaking, though he was able to make most important contributions to the work. Mr. Herrtage succeeded him in the difficult task of editorship, and certainly no one could be more competent for the duty. It has been said that a man might live on Salisbury Plain with no other companion than Wedgwood's English Dictionary. The saying would be far more applicable to the present edition of the "Five Hundred Pointes of Good Husbandrie." The notes and illustrations and glossary are a perfect mine of word-lore and folk lore. No future commentator of Shakspeare can ever afford to pass over these notes. Fresh light is thrown upon many obscure points, and fresh illustrations of difficult Shaksperian words and phrases are continually occurring. It is, too, a perfect dictionary of plant-names. We are glad to see that in this part of his work Mr. Herrtage has done full justice to Dr. Prior's excellent work on British Plants. Mr. Herrtage is also well versed in English dialects, and turns his knowledge to excellent account. Further, old blunders are corrected. One amusing instance we must give. Most people, we suppose, have heard or met with the term "bishopped," meaning burnt, as "bishopped milk." A silly explanation has been always given, that the phrase had its origin from the fact that bishops were so popular that even the kitchen-maid used to run after them, and so allowed her milk or porridge to be burnt. Mr. Herrtage, following Skeat, shows that the phrase really arose from the fact of bishops burning people. And this view is supported by a passage from Tyndale's "Obedyence of a Chrystene Man" [1528]: "If the podesch be burned to, or the mete over-rosted, we say 'the byshope has put his fote in the potte,' or

²³ "Five Hundred Pointes of Good Husbandrie." By Thomas Tusser. Edited, with Introduction, Notes, and Glossary, by W. Payne, Esq., and Sidney J. Herrtage, Esq., B.A. [English Dialect Society.] London: Trubner & Co. 1878.

'the byshoppe hath played the coke,' because the byshoppes burn who they lust, and whosoever displeaseth them." Blunders, however, die hard, especially all blunders connected with bishops, and we have no doubt that we shall see the old nonsense repeated again and again.

With the exception of Yorkshire, Lancashire, and one or two more counties, Cumberland has been more prolific in glossaries than any other part of England. Mr. Dickinson²⁴ is well known as a glossarist. As far back as 1859 he published a glossary of Cumberland words, to which, in 1867, he issued a supplement. He has in the present volume given us the results of his twenty years' labour. His glossary is distinguished from all other glossaries by the care with which he has collected the provincial names of all the flowers and birds in his district, and the accuracy with which he has given their scientific synonyms. The names of the flowers alone fill several pages, whilst those of the birds make a goodly list. It is delightful to find that such expressive words as "glead," for kite, "hammerblate," for snipe, "mire-drum," for bittern, "heronseu," for heron, are not quite extinct, though, both from the nature of things, in spite of Acts of Parliament, both birds and names must soon become things of the past. In other respects, Mr. Dickinson's glossary is remarkably full. We find a goodly array of what may be called Shakspearian words. Thus we meet with "ucif," a list, used by Pistol and Bottom, and "pickthank," a mischief-maker, still heard in Shakspeare's native county. Again, too, we find the still rarer word "soil," to feed cattle on green food, which explains the meaning of Lear's "soiled horse," about which so much nonsense has been written. It will thus be seen that Mr. Dickinson's glossary has equal claims on the Shakspearian commentator as on the ornithologist and botanist. The general reader, too, will find some local stories quite as good as those which made Mr. E. Peacock's Lincolnshire glossary so popular. Taking it as a whole, the compilation is admirably done, and bears witness to Mr. Dickinson's zeal and industry. And yet we do not think that Mr. Dickinson has exhausted all the stores of the district. We should have thought that Cumberland would have contained as many words as the Lonsdale district, of which Mr. R. B. Peacock has given us so full a glossary. We shall hope, therefore, to see a supplement to the present work. One great value, however, of Mr. Dickinson's glossary we must not forget to mention; the author has localised every word and phrase. This is as it should be. His introductory remarks, too, upon the variations of the different accents and the shades of pronunciation in various parts of the country are particularly interesting and valuable.

"Lucullus"²⁵ is a series of essays on various articles of food, written in a disagreeable, slovenly style, and in the worst possible taste. How any one could make the confessions which the writer does at page 185 of

²⁴ "A Glossary of Words and Phrases, pertaining to the Dialect of Cumberland." By William Dickinson, F.L.S. [English Dialect Society]. London: Trübner & Co. 1878.

²⁵ "Lucullus, or Palatable Essays." By the Author of "The Queen's Messenger," &c. London: Remington & Co. 1878.

his first volume is beyond our conception. Other passages are nearly as bad.

Mr. Mallock's "New Paul and Virginia"²⁶ will, like his "New Republic," do good to the cause which he ridicules. People who never before heard of the doctrine of evolution, and never knew the names of Tyndal and Clifford, will have their curiosity aroused. Nobody, we suppose, now fancies that ridicule is the test of truth. As George Herbert puts it—

"All things are big with jest: nothing that's plain
But may be witty, if thou hast the ven."

Scientific men believe too firmly in the doctrine of evolution to be disturbed by jokes, however good. They can afford to laugh with Mr. Mallock. We have certainly enjoyed the book. Mr. Mallock's humour is refined and subtle. He possesses what is so rare in England—a light touch. He should not, however, have joined a Positivist head on to a Darwinian body in the person of his hero. Mr. Harrison has little in common with the leaders of the evolutionist school. No critics have been so severe on the shortcomings of Comte as Tyndal, Huxley, and Herbert Spencer.

We cannot congratulate Mr. Browne on his "Tales from the Old Dramatists."²⁷ In spite of his disclaimer, his book will be inevitably compared to Lamb's work. Mr. Browne draws his tales from Otway, Dryden, Addison, Young, all more or less poetical rhetoricians. He could scarcely hope for success. Lamb, too, had the advantage of an inimitable style. Without wishing to unduly disparage Mr. Browne, we need not say that his style and his criticisms are not equal to Lamb's.

We have already called attention to Mr. Paton's theory upon the emphasis-capitals in the first folio of Shakspeare.²⁸ He again sends us, prefixed to his reprint of the first folio "Hamlet," some more very ingenious and interesting remarks on the subject. What, however, we wish to know is, what was the practice in other works printed at the same date with regard to the use of capital letters.

There are still two or three new books on our list, which we can, however, now only very briefly notice. Great praise must certainly be given to "A Century of Emblems."²⁹ The prettiest illustration, amongst many pretty illustrations, is a Cupid whose wings a maiden is clipping, whilst two other maidens are gleefully breaking his bow and his arrows, and

²⁶ "The New Paul and Virginia: or Positivism on an Island." By W. H. Mallock. Author of "The New Republic." London: Chatto & Windus. 1878.

²⁷ "Tales from the Old Dramatists." By Maimaduke E. Browne, M.A. London: Remington & Co.

²⁸ "The Tragedy of Hamlet, Prince of Denmark." According to the First Folio. With Further Remarks on the Emphasis-Capitals of Shakspeare. By Allan Park Paton. Edinburgh: Edmonston & Co. 1878.

²⁹ "A Century of Emblems." By G. S. Cautley, Vicar of Nettleden. With Illustrations by the Lady Marian Alford, Rear-Admiral Lord W. Compton, Ven. Lord A. Compton, R. Burnes, J. D. Cooper, and the Author. London: Macmillan & Co. 1878.

a third is putting a clean shirt on the little rogue previous to sending him to a Sunday school. "A Search For a Fortune"³⁰ is a narrative of travels in various parts of the world related in a free-and-easy sort of way. Some of the illustrations are very poor, and one is particularly disagreeable. "Wilhelm's Wanderings"³¹ is an amusing volume of literary anecdotes, notably about Goethe and Landor. "Mental Travels,"³² takes us into a kind of Idealand, where the author discusses all sorts of subjects with a great deal of good sense. Lastly, we must notice a most poetical and accurate translation of "Wilhelm Tell,"³³ which possesses one great advantage—the German printed opposite to the English; and a new edition of "Hermann Agha."³⁴

MUSIC.

THE whirligig of time brings about its revenges," and Richard Wagner, reading M. Schuré's two interesting volumes,¹ must have had a pleasant consciousness of the fact. Wagner may not greatly value French opinion of himself and his works, but he is far too sensitive a nature not to feel the vigour with which France, and especially Paris, has withstood his pretensions, and laughed at his music. Indeed we know, on the master's own showing, that the iron of Gallic sarcasm has entered deeply into his soul—so deeply as to make him lose all sense of personal dignity, and write a wretched farce, lampooning the once proud capital at a time when its misfortunes should have enjoined silence, if they could not command pity. The ridiculous *jeu d'esprit* in question probably relieved Wagner's overcharged feelings; but we venture to say that M. Schuré has given him far more comfort, for here is a work written in French by a Frenchman, and published in Paris, having no other object than the glorification of Wagnerian teaching as the *summum bonum* of the art with which it deals. Our author is by no means alone among his countrymen in siding with the Bayreuth reformer. But only a small band, however faithful, rallies round the new idea, and hence the interest rightfully attaching to such uncompromising advocacy as that of the work before us.

M. Schuré's first volume discusses the historic development of music and poetry, from the earliest period of Greek history to the time now

³⁰ "A Search For a Fortune." By H. Lindsay-Duchnall. London: Daldy, Ibister, & Co. 1878.

³¹ "Wilhelm's Wanderings." London: Remington & Co. 1878.

³² "Mental Travels in Imagined Lands." By Henry Wright. London: Trübner & Co. 1878.

³³ "Wilhelm Tell." A Drama. By Schiller. Translated into English Verse, by the Rev. E. Massie, M.A. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1878.

³⁴ "Hermann Agha." An Eastern Narrative. By W. Gifford Palgrave. London: C. Kegan, Paul & Co. 1878.

¹ "Le Drame Musical." Par Edouard Schuré. Paris: Sandoz et Fischbacher. 1875.

present. Within less than four hundred pages this, of course, could only be done after a sketchy fashion: but the writer's object was not so much to deal with his subject *per se*, as to make it lead up to Wagner's "music drama," and exhibit that as a legitimate expansion, under modern conditions, of the Greek ideal. What that ideal was, in its wonderful union of the dance, poetry, and music, our author takes care to show. But though always interesting and eloquent, he tells us nothing new, for the simple reason that no vestige of Greek art which has survived the ages can have escaped the eager search of countless explorers in that fascinating field. When M. Schuré reaches the art of the Latins, and surveys its progress down to the time of Dante, he excites a keener attention, because his argument begins to reveal itself. In previous observations we find him insisting, with Wagner, upon the essential and perfect union of the dance—or its modern equivalent, dramatic action—poetry, and music, "the three spontaneous arts—the three great primitive Muses;" and now he traces the decadence of poetry to its separation, under the Latins, from its natural companions. On this point our author becomes rhapsodical, and exclaims, after saying that Latin poetry provoked a desire for the good, without satisfying it through the eyes:—

"Where is, in the Roman world, that art at once so noble and so popular? Where is the rhapsodist reciting his poems at the public fêtes? Where are the groups of virgins dancing and singing before the temples? Where are the bands of youths traversing the streets by the light of torches and celebrating their favourite heroes? What has become of these peans and dithyrambs? There is nothing in Rome but poets of the cabinet and rolls of papyrus."

This rupture of essential artistic unity became more complete in the Middle Ages, when not only the arts, but society, broke up, each class living in its own particular corner. The dance lost its religious dignity and was placed under a ban; music was confiscated to the Church, and poetry took refuge in convents or buried itself in libraries. But at last the dawn of the Renaissance appeared, heralded by Dante, who discovered a new ideal for the passionate adoration of humanity in "the splendour of God reflected by the beauty and depth of the feminine soul." Then arose Shakspeare to demonstrate that the whole universe is comprised in man's being, and Greek beauty and elevation promised once more to reign. But all was of no avail, for modern art, like modern society, became either an hypocrisy or a platitude. Out of this depth of degradation, according to M. Schuré, Goethe showed the way. And how? Simply by, in his "Faust," returning to the myth and to the ideal drama which exhibits the "eternal man"—returning also to the dramatic principles which are not complete without music. "Faust," we are told, demands music as much as did the tragedies of Eschylus or Sophocles, for without it how can many of its scenes be represented? "But Music," exclaims our author, "what has become of her in the vast ocean of Harmony? Does she also yearn after her sister? We will follow her in her voyage."

We regret that our space does not permit us to go with M. Schuré

on the track of the "divine art" *par excellence*. But let us join him where he discovers that, just as Poetry had been seeking Music through the ages, so had Music been seeking the Dance, and dated her greatest modern development from the happy day of union. Here, unquestionably, M. Schuré is on firm ground. The symphony, grandest of all musical creations, had its origin in dance measures, and although we may fail to see that the "symphonies of Haydn show us the image of the patriarchal and popular life," it is beyond doubt that they set before us "the dance idealised, and projected into the world of harmony." The work begun by Haydn was completed by Beethoven, who, after writing his Seventh Symphony, which Wagner calls "the apotheosis of the dance," showed in the ninth how once more to unite poetry and music. At last, then, the two sisters, so long separated, were joined together, and only the man was wanted who could complete the "three in one" by rescuing the dance, or dramatic action, from its degraded isolation. That man, according to our author, appeared in the person of the Chevalier Gluck, who is called, and with ample reason, "the creator of the musical drama" as distinct from that we know by the name of opera. We need not follow M. Schuré through his remarks upon the familiar subject of Gluck's reforms; and have only to say, with reference to the retrospective portion of his volumes, that, however we may disagree with him on matters of detail, his case is, as a whole, not less fairly than eloquently put. True, Wagner said the same things long ago; but the value of the work before us lies in the fact that M. Schuré speaks as a Frenchman to Frenchmen, and commands from his countrymen the attention which Wagner, a German of the Germans, could not possibly obtain.

That M. Schuré has the greatest possible contempt for modern opera need not be said. He exposes its weakness without mercy, and follows carefully in the track of his master Wagner, when dealing with the illustrious musicians who have added to its repertory. But over all this we pass as not possessing the slightest novelty, in order that we may arrive at the section of the work to which aught else is preliminary. M. Schuré thus introduces Wagner to us:—

"But even at this time has risen to the surface an artist to whom an organisation powerful and complete assigned a distinctive rôle, and to whom the future will give an exceptional place in the history of art. In him we have a man of passionate temperament, audacious idealism, and iron will. He was born with the faculties of a great dramatist and musician, to which was joined a power of generalisation and a metaphysical intuition which enabled him to embrace the vastest *ensembles*."

All this is true to the letter, and not less so M. Schuré's description of the object sought by Wagner through long years of labour:—

"The confused aspiration of poetry towards music, and of music towards poetry, the desire of the other-sister Muse, which is both poet and musician, and which we have discovered in the development of the two arts, became his dominant passion, and the masterful law of his being."

In his efforts to realise this union, he "conceived a drama very different from that which had ever before occupied the stage; where all

the arts could serve the same end; where great poetry and great music could unite, each finding in the other its highest expression, its supreme liberty—a work in fine which should be for us what antique tragedy was for the Greeks.” It is thus, no doubt, that Wagner and his mission should be looked at. Nothing is more common than to hear the master judged and condemned on his merits as a musician solely; whereas, save for a few unimportant marches and such like, he has never appeared in that character. To estimate his music separated from his poetry, or indeed to regard any part of his complex work away from the rest, is grossly unfair. The man must be taken as a whole or not at all, for he truly is “one and indivisible.”

M. Schuré's second volume is devoted to a biography of Wagner, and an examination of his principal music-dramas, the whole of which will be read with interest even by those who cannot agree with the conclusions reached. It begins with a pen-and-ink sketch worth quoting, as in part very happy, in others marked by the exaggeration of an ardent admirer:—

“The arched forehead of Beethoven has the power of a Titan and the candour of a child. That of Richard Wagner is more colossal, and produces a very different effect. It rises abruptly, bold and inaccessible, like the mass of the Wetterhorn charged with storms. This wonderful and superb forehead inspires, at first sight, admiration mixed with a kind of fear. One finds oneself in presence of a superior being, created to defy obstacles and arouse humanity. One feels, also, that he could not accept you as his like, nor allow you to mount to the height of his thoughts. Force, resolution, magic dwell upon that Promethean forehead. One reads there in indelible characters, ‘War to my age.’ Under its enormous mass beam eyes of clear blue, deep and small. Usually his look is slow, fixed, magnetic; but often he flashes like lightning, and pierces you through and through. It is difficult to encounter him then, so much does he surprise and disconcert. . . . The face, graven with well marked lines, is thin, and of a paleness which, under the influence of indignation or enthusiasm, changes to colour in the twinkling of an eye. The nose is curved and dominating, the mouth sunken, the lips small and thin, expressive, in turn or together, of unsatiated desire and penetrating irony. The chin, projecting and pointed, bears the stamp of formidable energy. All the lower part of the face, marked by angular features, is moved and tormented by passions. But whatever the emotions that agitate him, it is always royally dominated by the forehead, where dwells a vast and splendid genius. It is this contrast which gives the head its unique and grandiose character. . . . His usual expression is a bold enthusiasm; his dominant individuality, strength and daring. Placed before the Alps, he would seem to say, ‘I will ascend them!’ The head of Goethe appears to think, in its Olympian calm, ‘I would sit above the world and contemplate it in peace;’ that of Wagner, ‘I would overturn it and rebuild from base to summit.’”

From this magniloquent description it is a descent to the familiar details of Wagner's early career. Nevertheless, our author takes us through them, and then reviews the master's characteristic works, beginning with “*Der Fliegende Holländer*” and ending with “*Der Ring des Nibelungen*.” Reluctantly we give these chapters of the second volume no more than a passing glance, in order that we may look the longer at that which discusses the place of Wagner in the history of the theatre. Here M. Schuré summarises his argument

with great clearness, and shows us precisely what he claims for Wagner the credit of having done or yet intending to do. He insists that the master, penetrated with a sense of the weakness and degradation of modern opera, found in the symphonic music of Beethoven wherewith to musically animate a new form of art. For the dramatic materials he went to mythic and popular poetry, where only could he find characters, created by the people, analogous in grandeur and freedom from conventionality to the ideas developed by Beethoven. It is the union of these two—symphonic music and the popular legend—that constitutes the “new art” which Wagner boasts of having presented to the world. “The tragedy of Richard Wagner,” says our author, “essentially arises from the conjunction in his brain of the myth and Beethoven music.” What will be the future of that new art only the future can reveal; but let what fate soever befall it, M. Schuré claims for Wagner the right to say, “I have grasped in their entirety the phenomena which artists generally look upon as isolated. I have invented nothing, but only laboured to establish a connexion which exists in the nature of things.”

Taking leave of M. Schuré, we must thank him for a valuable contribution to Wagnerian literature. Few readers will, perhaps, go with our author to the extreme whither his ardour propels him, and there are points of detail, both in his retrospect and in his vindication of the Bayreuth master, with which we cannot agree. But these are subordinate matters, in no sense affecting the general worth of the volumes, from a study of which no man can rise without enlarged views of, and some measure of sympathy with, one of the greatest men of the present age.

The attempt made four years ago to establish an association for the discussion of topics connected with music may now be looked upon as successful. A large number of persons more or less eminent, both professional and amateur, regularly take part in the proceedings; the interest of which seems to wax rather than wane as time goes on and novelty wears off. This is as it should be. Music is becoming more and more important both to the social life of the people and as an educational influence. Everything, therefore, that tends to further its interests, or, as in this case, to enhance the respect in which it is held, has a value not difficult to appreciate. Looking over the published record of the Musical Association's Proceedings* we are struck by the preponderance of merely scientific discussion. One would imagine from the number of papers read upon acoustics and such like that the value of music as an art is regarded as small indeed. But of late a change for the better has taken place. The scientific gentlemen with hobbies naturally caracolled to the front at the outset, and having done what they could to “witch the world with noble horsemanship” have now left some little room for others. As a result we find the “Proceedings” of the fourth session far more generally interesting and much

* “Proceedings of the Musical Association for the Investigation and Discussion of Subjects connected with the Art and Science of Music. Fourth Session, 1877-78.” London: Stanley, Lucas, Weber, & Co.

more likely to be useful than those of an earlier date. For example, the little volume under notice contains papers by Mr. W. H. Cummings, on "The Formation of a Musical Library;" by Mr. George Bullen, on "The Galin-Paris-Chev  Method of Teaching considered as a Basis of Musical Education;" and by Mr. C. Mackeson, on "The Present Cultivation of Sacred Music in England." These are topics of general rather than special interest, and although much that is curious may be found in papers like Mr. W. Chappell's "Music a Science of Numbers" and Mr. Blaikley's "Respecting a Point in the Theory of Brass Instruments," the chief value of the "Proceedings" belongs to the first-named category. We cannot bestow even a slight notice upon the details of the eight essays and discussions which constitute the work of the session, and shall, therefore, limit our observations to a paper read by Mr. J. Spencer Curwen on "The Laws of Musical Expression as formulated by M. Lussy in his *Trait  de l'Expression Musicale*." The WESTMINSTER REVIEW for January, 1876, contained some observations upon M. Lussy's original and remarkable work—the first attempt, as far as our knowledge goes, to reduce to rule principles before undefined and determined by individual feeling, or vaguely transmitted by hazy tradition. We need not, therefore, follow Mr. Curwen through his elaborate exposition of the French teacher's system. It is an exposition and nothing more. It even leaves to inference whether or not the reader is in agreement with the matter he sets forth, and to which he simply invites attention. But let us see how the musicians present received M. Lussy's theory. Mr. W. H. Cummings repudiated it altogether, and in very strong terms. "He believed it would be quite possible to frame rules for anything, but such rules as those he had heard would, he thought, be positively detestable. He could find throughout the whole series of examples which had been given sufficient reason for denying their appositeness in every case, and in each case he could even find an instance for doing exactly the opposite to that recommended." No doubt. In the world of mind people can generally discover anything they wish. But Mr. Cummings further says, "You must depend on the soul of the artist for all real expression." This, of course, implies that the artist has got a soul; but how as to the very many cases where the soul exists not? You cannot prohibit soulless artists from singing and playing, wherefore, if M. Lussy or any one else is able to formulate laws of expression based on the usage of others more highly endowed, he surely does an acceptable and valuable work. The Rev. T. Helmore followed Mr. Cummings on the same side, but Dr. Bridge, of Westminster Abbey, admitted the usefulness of the rules laid down, and Mr. Bullen pertinently remarked that the dissentients had admitted their ignorance of the work, which could not possibly be understood by a ten minutes' lecture. It seems to us that Mr. Bullen by these words knocked away the ground from under the feet of Mr. Cummings and his friends. When men discuss an important and complex theory with no more knowledge of it than can be picked up in ten minutes, their judgment is worth very little. It follows that the preponderance of opinion in the counsels of

the Musical Association against M. Lussy's system need not give its supporters the smallest uneasiness.

Opportunely with the record of the discussion to which we have just adverted, comes a new edition of M. Lussy's work.³ Although "revised and corrected," it differs in no material respect from that which was the subject of our notice in 1876; and the observations then made strictly apply in the present case. After further experience of M. Lussy's formula, we have nothing to add to, and certainly nothing to take away from, the opinion before expressed. It should be pointed out, however, that M. Lussy anticipates, and meets in the fairest way, many such objections as were raised by members of the Musical Association. For example, he challenges those who demur to the truth of his rules thus:—"Let any one take sonatas by Beethoven or Mozart, mark their expression according to our system, and then compare with the markings of Moscheles, Marmontel, or Le Couppey. The result will be the same. Now Moscheles personally knew Beethoven; his edition of the master's works has a world-wide reputation; better than any one else he knew how Beethoven gave expression to his music, and he has given us, therefore, the truth as to its interpretation. If, then, we have succeeded in this case, we are entitled to believe that we have succeeded in all others." To the charge that his rules cramp the free manifestation of feeling on the part of the performer, M. Lussy cogently remarks:—"The liberty of interpretation has, like all other forms of liberty, its limits—limits imposed by the laws of expression. If those laws demand a connexion between feeling and the causes of the phenomena of expression no one can separate them without falling into license. But in order to submit to laws it is necessary to know them. Ignorance necessarily entails license, whereas knowledge gives liberty." M. Lussy further says, with mingled modesty and confidence, "Far be it from us to pose as a legislator. These rules do not belong to us. The greatest masters of all times have unconsciously observed them; and artists and men of taste have instinctively conformed to them. Our task has only been to give them expression and classification. By doing this, and despite the imperfection of our attempt, the gap we have pointed out in the present system of teaching is filled; individual empiricism gives place to scientific procedure, and musical expression comes out of the exclusive domain of *sentiment* to enter that of *reason*." Here we leave the work, content once more to urge its study upon all who desire that their musical utterances, whether vocal or instrumental, should be marked by the subtle beauty which only a comparative few can acquire through instinctive means.

On a sheet of thick cardboard M. Lussy supplies the pianist with a set of exercises⁴ admirably adapted for daily practice, and

³ "Traité de l'Expression Musicale, Accents, Nuances, et Mouvements dans la Musique Vocale et Instrumentale." Par Mathis Lussy. Troisième édition, revue et corrigée. Paris: Hengel et Cie. 1877.

⁴ "Pupitre Exercices du Pianiste," tirés des ouvrages didactiques de Mathis Lussy. Paris: Hengel et Cie.

combined with brief but comprehensive directions for use. The principles of execution are first set forth; after which come mechanical exercises to be transposed from C major into all other keys. Then we have short studies in arpeggio, repeated notes, rhythm, and so on, all compressed into the smallest possible space, and so arranged that, if permitted to lie upon the pianoforte desk, a whole course of practice is under the eye at once. This little work should be the amateur pianist's *vade mecum*. He can have no better companion.

MISCELLANEA.

THE new volume of the "Encyclopædia Britannica"¹ presents perhaps a greater aggregate of articles of special interest to our age than any of the preceding volumes. The various articles on English history, language, and literature may naturally be supposed to be attractive to Englishmen: the articles on Evolution, on Ethnography, on Embryology, on Ether, on Electricity, and Electrolysis deal with the most important scientific questions of a scientific epoch; Engraving, the art in which the age has made greatest progress, is treated of; those moral laws which bind humanity as a whole are discussed under Ethics; and the laws that men create for men are represented in some of their most important features, by Equity, Evidence, and other legal articles. Europe, too, the most important of the world's divisions, comes within the range of the present volume. These are the most remarkable articles, but there are many others, such as the "Eleusinia" of Sir G. W. Cox, the "Emilius" of Professor Sellar, the "Euripides" of Mr. Jebb, the "Epicurus" of Mr. W. Wallace, the "Etruria" of Professor Deecke and Mr. A. S. Murray, and the "Erasmus" of Mr. Mark Pattison, which show that the volume well can hold its own in the general interest of its lesser articles.

The articles on Evolution in Biology by Professor Huxley, and Evolution in Philosophy by Mr. James Sully, deserve perhaps the foremost place in our consideration of the volume. Having the advantage of being written by masters of their subject, recognised leaders in modern English scientific thought, they naturally embody a vast amount of knowledge upon a theme whose importance has so greatly increased within the last twenty years.

Professor Huxley traces the progress of evolution from its creation in the eighteenth century as a term for generation opposed to the definition by Harvey as *epigenesis*, "or successive differentiation of a relatively homogeneous rudiment into the parts and structures which are characteristic of the adult." Malpighi, Leibnitz, Malebranche, Bonnet, Haller, Cuvier, Buffon, all these are as the expressions of so many degrees of differentiation from Harvey's doctrine. But Caspar Frederick Wolff's

¹ "Encyclopædia Britannica," Vol. VIII. Ele-Fak. Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black. 1878.

"*Theoria Generationis*," published in 1759, established conclusively the triumph of epigenesis, which now boasts so many illustrious supporters. It is not a little curious that the term used to express the views of those hostile to the theory of epigenesis should have been adopted as their own by the successful supporters of the latter theory. "The terms 'development,' 'entwicklung,' and 'evolutio,' are now indiscriminately used for the series of genetic changes exhibited by living beings, by writers who would emphatically deny that 'development,' or 'entwicklung,' or 'evolutio' in the sense in which these words were usually employed by Bonnet or Haller, ever occurs."

Professor Huxley thus sums up his case:—

"Evolution or development is, in fact, at present employed in biology as a general name for the history of the steps by which any living being has acquired the morphological and the physiological characters which distinguish it. As civil history may be divided into biography, which is the history of individuals, and universal history, which is the history of the human race; so evolution falls naturally into two categories—the evolution of the individual, and the evolution of the sum of living beings."

Under these two heads Professor Huxley deals with the great doctrine with a clearness of style and comprehensive grasp of the subject which enables him to crush into some ten or a dozen columns a lucid exposition, which would almost seem calculated, so exhaustive are its contents and so concentrated the powers of its author, to place the merest tyro in philosophy upon a level with the greatest teachers as regards this vast scientific problem of existence.

Mr. James Sully treats of Evolution in Philosophy at greater length than Professor Huxley. He thus defines the meaning of the term:—

"Evolution includes all theories respecting the origin and order of the world which regard the higher or more complex forms of existence as following and depending on the lower and simple forms, which represent the course of the world as a gradual transition from the indeterminate to the determinate, from the uniform to the varied, and which assume the cause of this process to be immanent in the world that is thus transformed. All theories of evolution, properly so called, regard the physical world as a gradual progress from the simple to the complex, look upon the development of organic life as conditioned by that of the inorganic world, and view the course of mental life both of the individual and of the race as correlated with a material process. This definition covers roughly the principal historical systems bearing the name of Evolution, as well as others which have hardly as yet been characterised by this title."

After pointing out the almost identical nature of progress with evolution, and the subjective difference between the two ideas explained by Mr. Herbert Spencer, Mr. Sully investigates the various problems which evolution seeks to solve, the doctrine of creation and emanation, and the various forms which the doctrine of evolution has assumed consequent upon the answers given to the three questions:—

1. How far is the process a real objective one? 2. What is the nature of that reality which makes the content, so to speak, of the process of evolution? 3. How is the process effected? Mr. Sully concludes his paper with a valuable historical survey of the various expressions of evolutionary doctrines, or doctrines akin to evolution, from the earliest

mythological interpretations to the present time. It is a curious example of the imperfection of language that the term evolution in modern science is used like that of pessimism to convey an idea different from that warranted by the etymological meaning of the word.

Mr. P. G. Hamerton writes on the various forms of engraving, with a knowledge of the subject so great as to be almost an injury to his paper. A complete authority on all the artistic and technical features of his theme, he does not appear to have kept the fact sufficiently before him that he was not delivering a lecture to an audience of intelligent art-students. An instructive article in a work of general reference must be very explicit and studiously simple; while containing as much information as possible, it must not assume any existing knowledge on the part of its readers. The writer of such an article should not be above primer-work, and should carefully avoid making his subject too much the medium of personal opinion. We fancy Mr. Hamerton indulges a little in the pedantry of knowledge, when he vigorously conjures students of engraving to avoid all Durer and other reproductions on a reduced scale, as positively injurious. To compensate, Mr. Hamerton recommends the production of the Amand Durand process. If Mr. Hamerton means by this that it is best for those who wish to excel in engraving, to study only the best possible models, we certainly agree with him. But if he means to imply that under all circumstances reductions are injurious—that they are, in fact, worse than nothing, and certain to harm the taste of the ordinary art-student—we do not agree with him. Durer reductions are very cheap, and the productions of the Amand Durand process are more or less expensive, so that Mr. Hamerton's theory would seem to come to this, that those who cannot afford to buy costly fac-similes, must either do without art altogether, or destroy their artistic tastes by wasting their affections on reduced Durers and typographic heliograves of Marcantonio. Mr. Hamerton may be right. The reductions he attacks may not preserve the true proportion of parts, but we confess we do not like his theory as an axiom. It seems somewhat akin to the so-called aesthetic objection to cheap prints and badly-coloured reproductions of the works of great masters. We do not wish to defend the gaudy Raphaels and Michelangelos of cheap print-shops, for their artistic merit. All we say is that they are better than nothing, and may do some good. It seems little better than sheer nonsense to say that the art-instincts of the lower classes are positively injured by the sight of a chromo-lithograph of the Last Supper; and that a poor boy whose better senses have been touched by some such gaudy translation of Lionardo or Van Eyck, is thus cut off from proper appreciation of Lionardo or Van Eyck. We do not like the Arundel Society's coloured reproductions; they are expensive, and are only intended for a cultivated class who ought not to like them; but we confess to a sympathy for the highly coloured Madonnas and cheerful martyrdoms which do their best to give to the poor and to the ignorant some faint presentment of great masters and immortal imagination.

Mr. Edward A. Freeman's powers as an historical writer are so well known, and his peculiar theories of English history so universally familiar, that there is little need to say much of the portion of the History of England allotted to him. From the necessary limitation of an Encyclopædia he has had to present the whole range of British history from the earliest period down to the Armada, in a nutshell as it were, but then it is like that famous nutshell which contained the whole "Iliad." Mr. Ranson Gardiner's portion of the task, bringing it down to the present day, is good in itself, but not quite so satisfactory in those years especially relating to our own time. Thus the omission of any mention of the Bank Charter Act, in Sir Robert Peel's administration of 1844, is a serious defect when the great effect of that measure upon the financial systems of our country be considered, as well as the interminable controversy which its principles excited.

Mr. T. Arnold's article on English literature cannot be considered happy. With all due regard for the difficulty of presenting a bird's-eye view as it were of our literature from "Beowulf" and "The Traveller's Song" to the writers of the Byronic period, in a limited space, we cannot think Mr. Arnold has acquitted himself creditably. It is not so much his critical efforts, though they are feeble enough, that deserve to be found fault with; it is his curious inaccuracies and omissions that call for condemnation. He speaks of Marlowe's "beautiful poem of Hero and Leander, translated from the Greek of the pseudo-Musæus," as if the whole poem were the work of Marlowe, and could properly be called a translation. He does not seem to be aware that Chapman translated the "Odysscy" as well as the "Iliad;" that Gawin Douglas translated the "Æneid." He does not appear to consider Macaulay an important figure in English literature, for he is not mentioned as an author, though Mr. Arnold might plead for this the excuse that he has unwisely chosen to conclude his sketch with the death of Sir Walter Scott. Sir Thomas Browne, De Quincey, Bolingbroke, Lord Chesterfield, the Letters of Junius, Godwin's novels, Pope's "Homer," Chatterton, and Bishop Percy are passed over. After this, such trifling inaccuracy as speaking of Richardson's famous novel as "Clarissa Harlowe" seems comparatively insignificant, though it would be about as sensible to speak of "Arthur Pendennis," or to insist upon adding surname to Christian name in giving the title of Miss Burney's first novel. The index is singularly imperfect.

Mr. Webster contributes a useful article on Europe, the historical portion of which might have been with advantage made fuller. Mr. Freeman's little "Primer of European History" is a model of compressed information, and of excellence in arrangement which might well have been made use of. The whole of Mr. Freeman's little book would not have been too long for an Encyclopædia article.

Mr. Carruthers' article on Elizabeth is one which, on account of its advanced historical criticism of that queen, would scarcely have found favour, could it have been written in the days of the early editions of the Encyclopædia Britannica. Recent investigations have afforded historical inquiry a far greater scope than it possessed a century ago;

and the spirit of historical study recognising a wider variety of character than was comprehended by the historian who created "the Virgin Queen," have rubbed off some of the gilt from the figure of good Queen Bess. Mr. Carruthers' article shows the influences of expanded historical ideas in its many-sided consideration of the character of Elizabeth. Mr. Carruthers also contributes interesting articles on Fairfax, the poet and translator of Tasso, and Fairfax the famous puritan. The article on De Lacy Evans might have mentioned that the shameful action of the British troops, in burning the public buildings of Washington, was in no measure attributable to him, and that he always indignantly denied any complicity in such an offence against the laws of nations.

Mr George Smith's article on Lord Ellenborough is written with remarkable fairness. No attempt is made to gloss over or conceal those unhappy errors of administration which provoked the disastrous Cabul campaign, and the incompetency of Lord Ellenborough to carry on, against startling checks, the energetic action at first proposed. On Lord Ellenborough's name rests the terrible stain of being content to abandon, in the hands of an unprincipled foe, those English men and women who were taken prisoners after Akbar Khan's treacherous murder of the English Envoy, Sir William Macnaughten. Mr. Smith, however, while stating the fact of Lord Ellenborough's unworthy action, does not say who the captives were, and how they fell into the hands of the Afghans, an omission the more to be regretted as the *Encyclopædia* does not give any article to General England. Six lines would have added greatly to the value of this article for purposes of reference.

Mr. E. W. Gosse contributes a sympathetic and scholarly memoir of Johannes Ewald, the great Danish lyricist, whose melancholy career makes his name sound among the saddest of those poets who, like Lenan or Catullus, bear testimony in their blighted lives to the terrible influences of an absorbing passion.

A rational view of the Examination Question is taken by the Rev. Henry Latham. He clearly points out the possible advantages and disadvantages of the methods of testing knowledge now in vogue, and discriminates with ability between the employment of these tests as a means of encouragement or improvement, and their use as a trial of mechanical application. The article is one that calls for thoughtful consideration in these days of reckless and, in many cases, excessive examination; and many of its suggestions might, if wisely adopted, spare much of the wear and tear of the physical and bodily faculties, the waste of mind and time, now so often occasioned by the misapplication of the powers of examination.

The article on Epitaphs might have included, as a specimen of the savage epitaph, Arbuthnot's famous lines on Colonel Francis Chartres.

The article on Robert Emmet, in mentioning the poems which Moore devoted to his memory, omits perhaps the most beautiful, "When he who adores thee," supposed to express the utterances of Emmet before his death. It might also have been mentioned that

Miss Curran, his love for whom was partly the cause of his death, afterwards married a Major Sturgeon; also that Curran, who was strongly opposed to his daughter's affection for Emmet, declined to defend the rebel, for which reason he was looked upon by some of the more disaffected among the Irish as in an indirect sense the cause of Emmet's untimely death.

It is certainly surprising to find Etretat omitted altogether. The pretty watering-place which Alphonse Karr invented, as it were, and has written so much about, certainly should have had a notice.

The singular fascination which the unknown exerts will probably attract many to the learned article on Etiuria, produced by the combined labours of Professor Deecke and Mr. A. S. Murray, where all that human research has yet attained or guessed at with regard to a people once so powerful, and now so strangely perished, is to be found.

The article on Lord Erskine might with advantage have contained some allusion to Boswell's interesting account of his meeting with him at Sir Alexander Macdonald's, in the company of Dr. Johnson.

It is a curious example of the spread of American ideas, and the greatly increased international feeling now existing between the two countries, that considerable space is devoted to a careful exposition of the rules of that small game which Ah Sin did not understand. The readers of the Encyclopædia may hope to be on an intellectual level with the Heathen Chinese, at least as far as the knowledge of Euchre goes.

The volume is not without misprints, which tend to lower the reputation of the work for typographical excellence.

It has been said, unfairly, of France, that she has no epic; that where other nations can show a *Iliad*, an *Inferno*, a *Nibelungenlied*, or a *Romancero*, she can only present the "*Henriade*;" that to the epical literature of the world, from the great poems of India to the "*Paradise Lost*" of puritan England, her only addition is the tedious compilation of an unpoetic age, a work whose frigid imitation of classic models applied to in appropriate themes are, if possible, less attractive than the allegorical compositions of Rubens, in which blowsy unclad giantesses, velvet-robed queens, and steel-clad warriors are confused together in ludicrous juxtaposition. Such an accusation would have been less unfair in the days of Voltaire himself, when the "*song of Roland*" was only understood to mean a somewhat foolish ballad by the Count de Tressan, though even then the "*Franciad*" of Ronsard was, if little known, at least in existence, and quite as well deserving the title epic as Voltaire's laboured and monotonous performance. But now that the "*Chanson de Roland*"² has been restored to the world by the labours of scholars it would be idle and unjust to deny to France an epic well worthy in many points to be placed side by side with the epopees of any country and of any age. No great number of years has elapsed since what may be considered as the Renaissance of a poem which, without any great stretch of fancy, may well be considered the same as that song which

² "*La Chanson de Roland.*" Traduction nouvelle by L. Petit de Julleville. Paris: Lemerre. 1878.

Taillefer sung while tossing his war-sword and scoffing at the English on the morning of Senlac fight. But already there is in existence an extensive Roland literature to which the labours of scholars are daily making additions. The latest of these additions is M. Petit de Julleville's volume, which will be of special interest to the average student of early French literature and to the lover of national poetry, who will be glad to get a knowledge of the *Chanson de Roland* in as easy a manner as may be. Besides translating the poem in the assonantic tirades which are characteristic of so many of the *chansons de geste*, M. de Julleville does what all good translators should do; he places the text of his original opposite to his own rendering. Besides this, he prefaces his work with an exhaustive and careful introduction to the whole subject from which a very good *résumé* of the most important questions connected with the *Chanson de Roland* may be obtained, as well as some useful bibliography. Of the translation itself there is a good deal to be said in praise. It is very ably done, bears comparison well with preceding versions, and adheres with commendable closeness to the original. One or two departures, however, might, we fancy, have been avoided in spite of the difficulty of treatment consequent upon the verse M. de Julleville has chosen. As a whole we should certainly recommend the volume to any one wishing to open an acquaintance with an epic which, in spite of its want of woman or of the passion of love, is certainly one of the few great epics of the world.

We have heard so much of Japan and Japanese art of late that a little weariness and impatience of the subject ought not to be wondered at or too severely condemned. It has been terribly the right sort of thing to do to express an admiration for the art of Japan, and, as usual, the word of command, issued by one or two art-leaders, has been obeyed by their followers with a pertinacity only rivalled by their want of knowledge. But when a book like Sir Rutherford Alcock's³ deals with this much-talked-of subject, without being either the expression of a popular passion or a popular prejudice, its claim to attention must be recognised. Sir Rutherford Alcock writes upon Japanese art with the sobriety and gravity of long acquaintance with the subject, a sobriety and gravity that contrasts with the vehemence and exuberance wherein other writers mark their ignorant enthusiasm. Sir Rutherford Alcock was amongst the first to give this country a comprehensive knowledge of the Japanese fine arts by the formation of a Japanese Court in the Exhibition of 1862, and he complains without bitterness, but not without justice, that this effort is passed over as if it had not been made by Messrs. Audsley and Bowes in their "Ceramic Art of Japan."

That ever-present feeling of Art which evidenced itself in all possible forms among the ancient Greeks, is also characteristic of the Japanese, though in a far lower degree. Japan has neither high art nor architecture, but it has all the art which gave Europe of the Renaissance

³ "Art and Art Industries in Japan." By Sir Rutherford Alcock. London: Virtue & Co. 1878.

its treasures of handicraft, "that art which can give a priceless value to the commonest and least costly material—such as clay or iron—by the mere impress of genius and taste, and out of the coarsest matter create objects either for ornament or for use, affording constant satisfaction to a sense of beauty and fitness." In the art-life of a people, the *Kunst-leben*, which Mr. Gladstone places in that "vast and diversified region of human life and action, where a distinct purpose of utility is pursued, and where the instrument employed aspires to an outward form of beauty," the Japanese are absolute masters. Sir Rutherford Alcock's aim in the present book is "to indicate what the Japanese seem to have done for art, in creating a new and to a great degree an original school of decorative design, and its novel application to a large group of art-industries, rather than the converse—of what art may have done for them, as an æsthetic and a civilising agent." On this well-chosen path he walks well and easily, with the firm tread of one who knows his way. As one by one the various principles of Japanese decoration, their dislike to uniformity and regularity, their matchless treatment of variety and symmetry, their originality, and their wonderful use of colour are investigated, it is difficult to restrain within due bounds the enthusiasm for a race of artificers whose cunning has added to the beauty of every art which may be affected by the employment of careful and loving handicraft. Unfortunately much of Sir Rutherford Alcock's book will henceforward have more of an interest as a melancholy record of what has been than as a tribute to a still-existing source of artistic production. The Japanese cannot now rival the best specimens of their ancient art, while their own art-feelings are rapidly withering before the unreasoning demand which has converted a pure source of artistic industry into commercial traffic. The mania for Japanese fans and tea-pots, for which the prettinesses of Mr. Du Maurier and the fantasies of Mr. Whistler are so largely responsible, seemed at first to betoken an enlargement of ideas among us. The ready recognition and acceptance of an art so entirely foreign to our own might have been expected to have a beneficial effect both upon our taste, by making us aware of the treasures still to be obtained from the prolific East, and upon our arts and art-manufactures through the fresh inspiration consequent upon the introduction of handiwork bearing the impress of careful and loving labour. But the result has been a disappointment. Not only has our own taste been corrupted rather than cured by the exports of Japan, but, which is perhaps worse, we have succeeded in corrupting the Japanese. We boast an admiration for the art of Japan, and fancy we prove it by our eager acceptance of every new shipload of horrors manufactured by the now degraded Japanese artists for the European market, horrors whose crude and offensive colours point to the use of debased pigments, whose clumsy imperfections show the decay of art and the influence of mercantile speculation. Yet we hear with indifference of the destruction of old bronzes, we observe the demoralisation of an ancient art, and are not abashed. Our workmen copy with callous fingers the patterns of Oriental toil and reproduce them in barbarous combinations

for the gratification of a vulgar whim and a transient enthusiasm. Whatever pleasure the prospect may afford to us is only akin to that experienced by a child in the destruction of some precious object. We have ruined where we cannot restore, and smile with complacent folly at our artistic appreciation. In fact, to quote the words of Mr. Jarves in his "Glimpse at the Art of Japan," cited by Sir Rutherford Alcock: "We are fast obliterating the ancient Japanese artisan and turning him into a machine labourer, prompt to begin and end on the minute, to run on time, caring only for his pay, careless of what he does, as well he may be, for there is no soul in what is required of him."

With those who may contend that it is far better for Japan to become civilised, even if she lose all her characteristic art, than to remain as she was while retaining it, we have no wish to dispute. If Japan had to pay that price for civilisation she may be held a gainer, but the fact remains that, whether for good or ill, her art-power is fading away with a rapidity which, to our mind, is chiefly accounted for by improvident eagerness with which Europe has drawn upon her Eastern treasury, and accepted a debased currency in lieu of precious metal.

For this very reason, however, in especial, Sir Rutherford Alcock has made a really valuable contribution to art-literature by his careful disquisition upon an art industry, of which he himself begins by dim forebodings to see the decay. One of the most essential features of Japanese handicraft lies in its originality, in the individuality of all its productions which only hand-work of the highest order can create. Without having the hatred for machinery which Mr. Ruskin so fiercely expresses, we need not seek to claim for machine-work the original beauty of hand-work. What is gained in cheapness is lost in beauty. The demand for cheap productions may not destroy Japanese art, but it must injure, it has injured it. Let all therefore who have a care for those arts of design and decoration for which the Japanese were famous, study all that their art can teach before its pristine qualities have perished. If there be among us, as we believe there are, art-workmen who are possessed even in a mercantile age with a love for and a belief in the things their hands have wrought, who still care for beauty of design and subtle workmanship, they may find many precious lessons in Sir Rutherford Alcock's volume.

This is an average specimen of that unhealthy product of the present day, children's literature.⁴ The good old Mother Goose stories and the delightful fairy-tales of Perrault and Grimm, with such more recent works as the "Rose and the Ring," and the ever charming Alice books, are books fit for children; but the ever-increasing list of stories in which children are the heroes and heroines, and which encourage their puerile readers in a belief in their own importance, and foster disagreeable self-consciousness and affectation, should be strongly condemned and avoided. The present volume has the additional defect of making its little heroine die, and of thus gratifying the sickly taste

⁴ "Crumbs from Dame Nature's Table." By Mrs. Emma E. Adams. Partridge & Co.

for juvenile death-beds which is scarcely less morbid in children than a mania for visiting the Morgue.

The little volume on the English language⁵ which comes to us from Calcutta deserves high commendation. The information is full and varied, the style clear and condensed; the best authorities have been laid under contribution, and the result is a handbook to the English language of which we cannot help envying Indian students the exclusive possession. We should be glad to see an English edition of this valuable little work.

Mr. Tegg's little volume on posts and telegraphs⁶ is, like so many of the previous volumes of its author, a sort of commonplace book of all the best information to be collected upon the subject of the book. It is simply a production of scissors and paste; but Mr. Tegg has used his scissors and paste well, and has added one more to the many useful volumes of reference he has compiled.

To sanitary engineers and those engaged in the architecture of sewerage, Mr. Baldwin Latham's volume⁷ will prove of great value. The work is profusely illustrated with useful diagrams, and is well indexed.

⁵ "A Short History of the English Language." By Thomas Edwards. Calcutta: Thacker, Spink, & Co. 1878.

⁶ "Posts and Telegraphs, Past and Present." William Tegg & Co. 1878.

⁷ "Sanitary Engineering." By Baldwin Latham. London: E. and F. N. Spon. 1878.

INDIA AND OUR COLONIAL EMPIRE.

WE have in this department of the WESTMINSTER REVIEW little concern with general questions of English party politics. But the tendency of home opinion as regards the relations we hold to our colonies and dependencies has of late become so powerful and prominent a factor in their affairs that we must dwell upon it. We grant that if the Liberal party believed that the policy of Government was likely to end in national disaster or disgrace, or even wrongdoing, it was its duty to oppose it, even though by doing so it opposed the will of the majority in the country, and thus adopted a course which may in one sense be described as unpatriotic, and might lead to long exclusion from office. Whether a man may rightly desire and procure the triumph of his country in a quarrel which he feels to be unjust is an ethical question we have not time to discuss. Conceding all we have conceded, we have still to charge the Liberal party, or at any rate a considerable section of it, with unconscious insincerity. The truth is that as a party it has, as regards foreign politics, no homogeneity, even of principle. Few of the leaders of Liberal thought have the courage to avow their belief that India is an encumbrance, and our colonial system a precarious and unsubstantial fabric. But many, while they deprecatingly accept as rooted in popular prejudice the theory that England is an Empire, reluctantly and grudgingly consent to the discharge of Imperial duties and the maintenance of an Imperial position. When a policy is suggested to provide against dangers which it is alleged threaten the security of our Empire, Liberals of this type are apt to oppose it in a way which we venture to call vexatious and illogical rather than factious and unpatriotic. Deep in their minds, underlying all their judgments, vague, inarticulate, hardly recognised, and never acknowledged is the conviction that Empire is not worth preserving. If this fundamental premise could but once be clearly formulated political discussion would be cleared, and, we may add, political parties would be compelled to arrange themselves anew. But it hardly ever is formulated. It acts by distorting judgments; by blinding the intelligence. When the question is "How may the dangers which threaten the Empire be averted?" it suggests not the frank avowal "Empire is not worth preserving," but the answers—"There is no danger," "There is no great, no urgent danger," "The danger

cannot be averted by the means you propose." The dislike or indifference to Empire predisposes the mind to listen to every superficial suggestion of humanitarian sentiment, of economy, of love of peace, or of party rancour. We say "superficial suggestion," for there can, we believe, be no fair defence of any policy except on wide grounds of humanity and that true economy which regards the use as well as the accumulation of wealth. In the main we approve of the direction which the policy of Government ultimately took, and we regret that ministers appealed so little for their justification to the healthy humanitarian sentiment of the nation. We do not defend all the acts of Government, or condemn all the attacks of the Opposition. But where attempts were made to censure or thwart Government policy as a whole the attempt was made within Parliament by a union of sections which could certainly not have united in framing any alternative policy, and commanded but little respectable support in the nation. The parliamentary minorities may be roughly said to consist of:—1. The mere partisans who are always ready to discredit Government by the one-sided criticisms to which any policy based on such fluctuating elements would be open. 2. The thoughtful Liberals whom the utterances, and perhaps even more the silence, of ministers rendered (not unreasonably) distrustful. 3. The persons whom either doctrinaire convictions or fervour of humanitarian sentiment rendered indifferent to danger. It can hardly be matter of surprise that ministers whose policy was threatened by such a combination of sentiments did not disdain to appeal for support to the tendencies which the term Jingoism describes with sufficient exactness. Were the controversies of the past a mere matter of history we should not linger over this retrospect. But the policy of Lord Beaconsfield's Government can be said to have culminated in the Anglo-Turkish Convention only in the sense that it was then first clearly defined. It has not settled the Eastern Question. The pending negotiations with Afghanistan forbid us even to say that it has averted war. We see but the beginning of the policy, and we have the assurance of more than one Liberal chief that it is to be the object of the Liberal party if not to reverse it at least to minimise its results.

If we had no concern with India we should have no concern with Russia. If we had no concern with Russia we should have no concern with Turkey. But having India, and being resolved to keep it, we are concerned not only with Turkey, but with the whole belt of States which separate Russia from India, and our highway to the East. We have already¹ attempted to indicate what, in our opinion, is the degree

¹ Nos. CV., p. 281; CVI., p. 569 *et seq.*

of danger to be apprehended from Russia. We have said that we have to deal not with designs, but with tendencies. And to ascertain the tendency of Russian progress we have but to consult the history of Russia and the history of the growth of our own power in the East. Unless we take steps to avert it, Russia must extend its conquests to the borders of India. The Government of St. Petersburg may, with perfect honesty of purpose, enter into engagements not to extend its conquests, or the sphere of its influence. It may issue the most stringent injunctions to its commanders in Asia to abstain from further expeditions; but such efforts will be as fruitless as were the restraints the Directors of the East India Company imposed upon its servants in Hindostan. The difficulties of maintaining existing conquests will necessitate further conquests. The aggressions of unruly neighbours can be restrained only by annexation. It is sometimes urged that the mountain chains on the north and west of India form a barrier behind which we may rest in safety, careless of what passes beyond. No doubt much may be urged in favour of a policy of inactivity, but this argument of a practically impregnable frontier is worthless. We may be able to repel invasion, but we should always be exposed to it. Chinese armies have crossed the Himalayas and descended on Khatmandu, and forces of Gurkhas have descended from Khatmandu to the plains of India, as we know both to our advantage and our cost. On the west the Khyher and the Bolan are but two of many practicable passes into India. When once the Russian dominions are conterminous with ours, the inducements for invasion are obvious. India is populous and fertile. The countries which Russia has, after long and painful effort, subdued, are poor and sparsely peopled. They do not pay the expense of government. But if India were Russian, and Russian commercial policy were applied to it, a vast field would be opened for profitable enterprise, and surplus revenues would flow into the Imperial Exchequer.

Where the inducements to aggression are so obvious, a pretext cannot long be wanting, and British power in India would be safe from attack only as long as it could defy it. The question, then, is simply whether the cheapest and most effectual way of providing against the danger is to keep the Russian power at a distance, or allow it without an effort or a protest to come near. Our national policy has, as a whole, concerned itself less with obstructing Russian advance than in making provision against Russian attack. We have cared not so much to prevent the growth of Russian power as to secure the unfettered exercise of our own, should it be needed for defence. We have, in fact, sought rather to keep the road to India open, than to keep Russia from its borders. It was to effect this end that we supported Turkey against Russia in 1854; that we reduced to a minimum the aggrandise-

ment of Russia in the Berlin Treaty; and because political exigencies and general considerations of what was due to misgoverned races compelled us to assent to territorial changes which rendered our route less secure, that we supplemented that instrument by the Anglo-Turkish Convention. But we have not been indifferent to the security of our border. We have already³ reviewed our relations with Afghanistan. The object of the disastrous measures of 1839, as well as of more recent diplomacy, has been to bring Afghanistan under British influence. Even while the policy of masterly inactivity was in the ascendant, we wished to secure not merely its neutrality, but its benevolent neutrality. We entered, too, into direct and amicable negotiations with Russia, with a view to establishing, if possible, a neutral zone between the dominions of the two countries. The result was that in 1869 the Czar made a formal declaration that Russian conquests would not be pushed beyond the Oxus, and that Afghanistan would be regarded as not within the sphere of Russian influence. We are willing to believe that when this promise was given it was the intention of the Russian Government to keep it, just as we believe that the assurance that Khiva would not be permanently annexed was intended to be kept. But since then Russia has been exposed to serious temptation, and, from a Russian point of view, has received gross provocation. Our very distrust of their pledges—justified, though it be, by experience and regard to probability—may almost seem to absolve Russia from keeping faith. We have, in a great measure, thwarted the avowed designs of Russia in Europe; and we have, as we believe, struck a fatal blow at the ulterior schemes which—whatever may have been the immediate purposes of the Government—the bulk of the Russian people and governing classes cherished. For a long time it appeared that, exhausted by war and threatened with national bankruptcy, it would have to enter into a fresh struggle with the wealth and military vigour of England in order to retain what it thought it dishonourable to abandon. Surely here was justification more ample for the breach of engagements than the necessity of punishing Turkoman raids, or establishing commercial outposts.

If England was able to summon Indian troops for service in Europe, Russia was able, if not to attack India, at least to render our position there insecure by hostile demonstrations on the frontier. The war for the solution of the Eastern Question would be fought all along the line; the struggle would be for the Bosphorus, for the passes of the Hindu Kush—perhaps for the command of the Euphrates Valley. Every element that makes the question so complex would be brought

³ Nos. CV., 231 *et seq.*; CVI., 569 *et seq.*

into play. We do not know to what we are to ascribe it—whether to the imperfection of the means the Government of India has for procuring information, or to its unwillingness to make the information it has public. But certain it is that during the negotiations which preceded the Berlin Treaty, nothing was known as to the state of Russian preparations in Asia. We think it was after the Treaty was signed that news was telegraphed from India that the Russian garrisons were very weak. This small item of information was eagerly laid hold of by the English journalists, who were anxious to show that the resources of Russia were approaching exhaustion. But their triumph was destined to be brief; for soon the news came that the Russians were showing unwonted activity. The Russian organs in Europe spoke almost boastfully of an expedition towards Balkh intended as a counter-move to the summons of the Indian sepoy. We have heard since in greater detail of explorations and movements along the whole line from the Hindu Kush to the Caspian. A mission was sent to Bokhara ostensibly to give explanations to the Amir and to obtain supplies for the expedition—but really it is probable to feel the way towards Merv. The Amir seems to have been anxious to hear that the expedition was not necessarily hostile to the ruler of Cabul, but promised the necessary supplies. We learned too that expeditions were being prepared against Karategin, Darwaz, Shagnan and Wakhan—petty Khanates which lie at the base of the great Pamir plateau. Of these Wakhan is by far the most important. One of the two trade routes between Eastern (*i.e.*, Chinese) and Western Turkestan, and between Eastern Turkestan and Afghanistan, passes through it. But the point which most concerns us is, that it commands the passes into the Chitral country, by which an easy route of 356 miles leads to our frontier north of Peshawar. Wakhan is historically connected with Afghanistan, and is tributary to it. Indeed, one of the grievances alleged against us is, that we sent an Envoy direct to the ruler of Wakhan. What under these circumstances, was naturally asked, will be the relations between Russia and the Amir? We have, it must be remembered, no representative at Cabul, and depend for information on letter writers or the reports of traders. We had heard in this way that the Russians were pressing an embassy upon the Amir, but that he had hitherto appeared reluctant to receive one. A correspondence—probably fictitious—between the Amir and the Sultan had been published in the native vernacular papers. In this the Amir complained of the perfidy of the English, and said that, having had for some time a Russian embassy at his Court, he had come to the conclusion that they were more honest than the English. The Sultan, in reply, expresses his own confidence in the goodness of the intentions of the English, and advises the Amir

to throw in his lot with them. These were mere straws which showed the way the wind was blowing; but soon came definite and accurate intelligence that General Abramoff, accompanied by two other Russian officers and an escort of Cossacks and Uzbeks, had entered Cabul on the 22nd of July. General Abramoff was the bearer of an autograph letter from the Czar to the Amir as well as of one from General Kaufmann, the Governor-General of Turkestan. To give due honour to such a mission, with such credentials, the Envoy was received in full durbar, and on the 2nd of August a grand review was held, to which troops and representatives had been summoned from all parts of Afghanistan. We have no precise information as to the object of the mission, but it is said the Russians, among other things, desire to be allowed to establish trading stations on the north-west frontier of Cabul. The Envoy was no doubt charged to give explanations as to the object of the military preparations in Turkestan, and we may well assume that it was his duty to draw the attention of the Amir to the advantages he would reap by cultivating friendly relations with Russia. If we attempted to indicate the nature of the arguments used, we should but repeat what we have already said (c. vi. p. 570). The diplomatic advantage which one despot has in dealing with another over a constitutional Government is obvious. For the time, the project of an inroad into India had been abandoned, but the soldier from Central Asia was free from the checks which restrain the utterances of the diplomats of St. Petersburg. The wish, no doubt, was father to the thought when he urged that the Berlin Treaty provided for a truce—not for a peace—that complications would soon arise which could be settled only by war, and that if the Russians were kept out of Constantinople by European jealousy, they would at once avenge and compensate themselves by annexing India. The Eastern Question moves in a circle. We keep the Russians from Constantinople because we fear they will try to take India. They are stimulated to the conquest of India because we exclude them from Constantinople. We distrust the Russians, and our distrust inspires the designs which justify the distrust. The Envoy, we may be sure, spoke more of the Treaty of Berlin than of the points in which it differed from the terms of San Stefano—more of the Treaty of Berlin than of the Cyprus Convention. If Prince Gortschakoff thought it prudent to dwell on the concessions made by Russia, it was General Abramoff's duty to exaggerate its success. The overthrow of Turkey in spite of English sympathy and English promises—the acquisition by Russia of the great Armenian fortresses were dwelt upon. The way to Afghanistan through Persia lay open to Russia. Its power steadily grew onwards, while India was but a precarious outpost of Great Britain. Our occu-

pation of *Khelat* was referred to as a proof, not of our watchful power, but of our treacherous distrust, and the irritation it had caused the Amir was sedulously aggravated. He was reminded of the glorious days of Nadir Shah, and of Ahmed Shah, and that, if he furthered Russian designs, Afghan horsemen should, as of yore, ride in the "Lahore" country.

The Calcutta Government seems to have had no information as to the design of sending this mission, but it recognised at once the gravity of the crisis and took steps to meet the danger.

It was decided that in September the Commander-in-Chief of the Madras Army, Lieutenant-General Sir Neville Chamberlain, should proceed to Cabul as English Envoy or Ambassador. A happier selection could not have been made. To his personal popularity with every class of Anglo-Indian society, and his connexion with the Indian Army, he adds the advantage of long experience of Afghanistan and dealings with border tribes. He served in Cabul for four years during the occupation in 1839 and the events which followed, and was personally intimate with Shir Ali (the present Amir) when the latter was a State prisoner. But what chiefly fits him to be an Envoy to the chief of a warlike State is his well-deserved reputation for personal gallantry. With him are to go Major Cavagnari, who has lately distinguished himself in border warfare, and the eminent Pushtu scholar Dr. Bellew. The reason the Amir has always assigned for objecting to the presence of an English representative at his Court is that he could not, in the present state of Afghan feeling, guarantee his personal safety. Since he has received a Russian mission he can no longer avail himself of this pretext, but it serves as a justification—if justification be needed—for the despatch of a large escort of cavalry with Sir Neville Chamberlain. It has been more recently announced that the Sultan of Turkey has also despatched an Embassy to the Amir, and we may fairly hope that the representations and remonstrances of the English Envoy will be supported by the Ottoman Ambassador. But it must not be forgotten that on the outbreak of the Russo-Turkish war the special mission sent from Constantinople failed to remove the Amir's repugnance to the British alliance, and that he has since then more and more shown a disposition to enter into cordial relations with Russia. A messenger was sent to inform the Amir of the contemplated despatch of the English mission, but while he was still on his way news reached India that Abdulla Jan, the youngest and favourite son of the Amir, was dead. To explain the significance of this event we must refer very briefly to the internal politics of Afghanistan. The present Amir is son of his predecessor, Dost Muhammad. Dost Muhammad, we need hardly remind the reader, was the popular

Afghan whom it was the mistaken policy of Lord Auckland in the year 1839 to depose in favour of Shah Shuja. After we had retrieved the disaster to our arms, we wisely left the Afghans to the ruler they preferred, and Dost Muhammad recovered power, continuing till his death on terms of tolerable friendship with his English neighbours. Sovereign rule amongst the Afghans means simply a suzerain power, varying in degree, over the various chiefs and tribes which make up the ill-defined nationality that we (and not the Afghans themselves) call Afghanistan. Over some the power is real, over others it is nominal and is often not acknowledged, or acknowledged in the most precarious fashion. The succession to such rule is of course unsettled, and generally is the result of civil war. This was so in the case of Shir Ali. When his father died he had a long struggle with his brothers and uncles. A series of successes seemed to place the whole country in his power, when the death of a favourite son in battle plunged him into dejection and inaction. The fruits of his victories had nearly all been lost when the valour and ability of his son (Yakub Khan) turned the tide of fortune, and in 1868 he found himself without a rival master of Afghanistan. To an Oriental prince those to whose genius and daring he owes his power are always objects of suspicion. In the powerful son, or nephew, or chief they see a probable rival. There is no reason to suppose that Yakub Khan had any treasonable designs. But his merits and the popularity they had won for him made him dangerous. He was kept at a distance from the Court while the Amir named as his successor Abdulla Jan, the son of his favourite wife, a sickly youth of little promise. The English Government, which desired to see a strong and stable government established in Afghanistan, avoided any formal recognition of the injudicious choice, while the Russians, whose only object was to ingratiate themselves with the ruling chief, promptly recognised Abdulla Jan as their apparent. In 1873 Yakub Khan, who was then Governor of Herat, was summoned to Cabul, and on his arrival was treacherously made prisoner and placed in confinement, from which he has never since emerged.

The British Government in 1874 remonstrated with the Amir as to his treatment of Yakub, and the interest thus evinced in a prince against whom he had so strong a feeling is one of the many reasons assigned for the Amir's displeasure. In 1869 he had met Lord Mayo at the Umballa durbar, and shown the most cordial disposition, but to our conduct regarding Yakub Khan and the ruler of Wakhan (p. 593) must be added as a cause of offence our unfavourable (and apparently unfair) award in the arbitration of the Scistan boundary dispute between Persia and Afghanistan. For five years past our Government

has maintained an attitude of passive indifference—varied only by the abortive conference of 1877. The death of Abdulla Jan has removed one impediment to reconciliation. If the Amir can but be induced to believe that we really desire to see his dynasty established in Afghanistan as an independent and allied State—if we can persuade him that by recognising Yakub Khan as his successor, he will provide against the domestic dangers which would otherwise prove fatal to him—our policy must triumph. Yakub would be bound to us by every consideration of gratitude and interest, and the Afghan people would owe to our action a ruler to whom they are heartily attached. But we must not be blind to difficulties. The long and rigorous imprisonment to which the unfortunate prince has been subjected is said to have impaired his faculties. It is easy, indeed, to conceive what must be the effects of degradation and enforced inaction on so high and active a spirit. And the Amir may well doubt whether his son can ever forgive the injuries he has received at his hands. Yakub Khan is said at one time to have been opposed to the English connexion, but he has spoken of us in terms of cordial admiration, and he has certainly no reason to be grateful to Russia. It is by no means certain that the Amir will consent to receive the mission. He is said to have already despatched by special messenger to Tashend his replies to the Russian messages. This despatch and the signal honour he has shown to the representatives of the Czar seem to indicate that his mind is made up. If so, he has, of course, contemplated a final rupture with England, and it is perhaps part of the Russian programme to support him against what they will represent as an aggressive attempt to force him into diplomatic relations. It is the intention of the Indian Government to tolerate no evasion of their demands. If the Amir will not listen to reason he will be compelled to yield to force. Meanwhile, it is arranged that the mission will leave India in time to reach Cabul after the forty days of mourning for Abdulla Jan have expired. But by far the most significant step taken is the determination to back diplomatic action by assembling at Hasan Abdul, near Peshawar, in October, a force of three divisions of infantry, and three brigades of cavalry—in all, of 15,000 men. Should war ensue there seems to be little reason for apprehension as to the result. It is very unlikely that Russia, which had to forego so much in order to avoid war in Europe, should undertake it now in Asia, where it would have to fight under greater disadvantages. If we have to deal with Shir Ali alone, the jealousies and discontent that surround him will be our best ally. He has not the same hold on the affections of his people as Dost Muhammad, and it is impossible that on our part the cowardice and incapacity which brought on the disasters of 1842 should

be repeated. Little organised resistance is to be expected. The chief difficulty will be to furnish supplies. Probably two or three columns of 10,000 men each will advance by different routes and dictate terms at Cabul. In such a case the deposition of the Amir would seem absolutely necessary for the vindication of our prestige. But suppose a peaceful settlement be possible, what are our terms to be? We suppose the most vehement advocate of the doctrine of inactivity would hardly say that the dominance of Russian influence at Cabul can be a matter of indifference to us. It is open to them to say that it was our show of aggression which threw the Amir into the arms of Russia. This may be so. But the state of facts we have to face is this. The Russians are in Cabul, and are there as friends. The old argument of the difficulty they would find in conquering or holding it no longer applies. Apart from the advantage their foothold would give them if they prepared to invade India, they would always have it in their power to annoy us by inciting the Afghans and border tribes to renew on a larger scale the harassing raids which we have found it so difficult to prevent or exact punishment for. And they would no doubt strengthen their own position and harass us by summoning horde after horde of Central Asian tribes to predatory expeditions in India. Putting other considerations for a moment aside, the line of the Hindu Kush and its Western prolongations is a far stronger line of natural defence than our present frontier. The Russians are clearly aware of this, for they have sent out surveying parties to explore the routes to the fords of the Oxus. When they have secured these and established trading stations within the Amir's dominions, it will be easy for them, without a moment's warning, to secure Balkh or Merv. And if these be secured they can easily become masters of Herat. And Herat is the key of Afghanistan. If, then, the Russians establish themselves on the Oxus, it will in the judgment of most military critics be necessary for us to obtain control of Herat. We cannot trust to Afghanistan to preserve its own neutrality in the presence of Russian force and Russian intrigue. We must have guarantees and means of observation. Not only must there be a British minister at Cabul, but there must be British agents at all points of importance. We shall have, on the other hand, to renew our subsidy to the Amir and to guarantee his independence and the continuance of his dynasty. His independence will be qualified only by the necessity of giving guarantees for his neutrality. To save ourselves from aggression we are forced to be aggressive. The Russians, at any rate, have no cause of complaint. Between 1869 and 1876 the Government of St. Petersburg gave several formal diplomatic assurances that it would consider Afghanistan as entirely outside the Russian line of political action. We on our

part have faithfully observed our stipulations. In 1873 the Amir's Envoy warned the Simla Government that the Russians would certainly advance beyond Bukhara and establish cantonments at places near the Afghan frontier. They would then "call upon the Cabul Government to enter into engagements for the facilitation of trade and for the establishment of missions and agents as in other countries." He asked the British Government to consider the situation, and say what reply should be given to the Russian overtures and what assistance we should be ready to give. The Envoy was told in reply that it was the Amir's business to cultivate good relations with our friendly ally Russia. This rebuff was one of the causes of his estrangement, and now we see the Envoy's predictions are fulfilled.

There is reason to hope that the tact and temper of Sir Neville Chamberlain will procure an amicable understanding both with Russia and the Ameer. A brother of the Maharajah of Jodhpur and an uncle of the Nawab of Tonk accompany the mission as representatives, the one of the Hindoo princes, and the other of the Mussulman princes, who acknowledge the Empress of India as paramount. They will be able to support what the Envoy will say as to the relative resources of Russia and of England, and as to the regard we show for the sovereign rights of our feudatories. The great difficulty will be to convince him that we do indeed desire to respect his independence, and that the precautions we have taken are not directed against him.

The *Times* Calcutta Correspondent, who either presumes, or is authorised to be the exponent of the views of the Indian Government, assures the British public, in his telegram of the 8th September, that

"India is fortunate in the possession at the present time of a Viceroy specially gifted with broad statesmanlike views, the result partly of most vigilant and profound study, partly of the application of great natural intellectual capacity to the close cultivation of political science and the highest order of statecraft. The consequence is that, whether the Viceroy's present frontier action be approved or not, it has the merit of being based on the broad lines of well-considered policy. The present measure for the despatch of a mission to Cabul forms but a single move in an extensive concerted scheme for the protection of India, which is the outcome of a long devised and elaborately worked-out system of defensive policy."

We give this passage in full because it seems to us characteristic of the claims advanced by Lord Lytton's apologists. We cannot, of course, decide whether a well-considered policy now exists, and, if so, how far it is Lord Lytton's own, and how far it has been imposed on him by the Home Government or by his Indian advisers. Nor can we say whether measures like the occupation of Quetta were deliberate steps in such a policy or unconsidered shifts. But this we can say, unhesitatingly, that if the system has been "long devised" Lord Lytton has shown more of diplomatic cunning than of true "state-

craft" in working it out. We have said elsewhere (p. 226) that our hold of India has been maintained not more by valour than by honesty. But the Viceroy has attempted in Asia the "inappropriate methods of European diplomacy." Had we spoken honestly and plainly to the Amir we are persuaded our remonstrances would have been effectual. Had we told him that we occupied Quetta in order to hold Afghanistan in check, and that we meditated no conquest while he maintained a loyal neutrality, he would have understood and believed us. But the Viceroy, who said he wished "to take the Press into his confidence," "to scatter factions by stating facts," assured us that the occupation of Quetta was a merely temporary measure, and was dictated only by the necessity of preserving peace in Beluchistan and keeping the Bolan Pass open for trade. This assurance was repeated in Parliament by the responsible Minister, but now we hear from the telegraphic exponent of the Viceroy's policy that the occupation is intended to be permanent, and (by implication) that it is part of "a long devised and elaborately worked-out system." Can we after this denounce the wiles of the Russians, or wonder that the Amir believes them more honest than us. The policy of Lord Lytton, we say, has been a policy of reserve and insincerity. Less likely than a straightforward policy to effect the ends to which it is directed, it tends to lower the best prestige of England—its character for simple honesty.

It would be foreign to the design of this survey to discuss the general features of the Berlin Settlement; but the Cyprus Convention belongs rather to Indian than to European politics. The possession of the great Armenian fortresses by Russia—the importance of which is recognised as fully at the Courts of Cabul and Gwalior as at Constantinople—besides giving increased weight and volume to the flood of Muscovite aggression, gave them a base of operations against Asiatic Turkey in case war broke out afresh; and from what we know of Russian intrigue and Turkish corruption, we were justified in believing that there would soon be a pretext for renewed hostilities. No European Power but ourselves was interested in restraining Russia from fresh conquests in Asia. Unless, then, we assisted Turkey, the inevitable result would be that the route to Persia and the Persian Gulf would fall into Russian hands. It is, of course, possible that internal weakness and division may put an end to their career; but no prudent nation would rely for its own safety on such a possibility. The gain to civilisation by the substitution of stable government for the shifting dynasties of Central Asia may perhaps reconcile us to the exclusion of our commercial enterprise from the countries where the imperial eagle floats. But the double risk our route to India would be exposed to by Russian advance towards Constantinople and Syria

on the one side, and to Persia on the other, was too obvious to be disregarded by any one save doctrinaires and the placid souls who disbelieve in any danger which is distant. Even those who deny that an invasion of India would be possible from Turkestan, separated as it is by a belt of desert and the range of the Hindu Kush, admit that from the side of Persia invasion would be practicable. Clearly, then, we could not tolerate further Russian conquests in Asia Minor; and the only question was as to the most effectual way of preventing them. We know that twice the Czar has been betrayed into war by want of belief in the firmness of English purpose, and therefore in the interest of peace it seemed desirable to give the Russian nation distinct notice beforehand that they must not transgress the limits they had reached. It was necessary, too, to prevent Russian intrigue by checking the abuses in the Turkish administration which had invited it. Lastly, it was necessary to have a basis of action in order to carry out our engagements, and in some degree obtain an advantage counterbalancing that the Russians had gained in Armenia. We believe that for this purpose the island of Cyprus is a most valuable acquisition. It gives us a depôt near the territories we have to defend, and near the entrance of the Suez Canal. It is separated by but a short sea-passage from the Mediterranean terminus of the projected Euphrates Valley or Palmyrene Railway, and thus enables us to command an alternative route to India, and to be indifferent to an Egypto-Russian alliance. It will serve as an example to the Turkish Government of what administration ought to be, and as a station from which control and supervision may be exercised. To make it healthy is a mere question of expenditure, and in time it will no doubt pay the expense of administration. We do not pretend that these were the sole motives of our Government, but they were, we think, the ones on which they may rely for justification. Nor are we blind to the risks and responsibilities involved. We admit the awkwardness of having to choose between coercing the Porte into good government and giving it immunity from the effects of its misgovernment. If Turkey refuses to be guided by our advice, and gives Russia just cause for war, it will be plainly impossible for us to carry out our guarantee. No reform is possible in Asia Minor without increased expenditure, and in the bankrupt condition of Turkey it is hard to say where the money is to come from. The indemnity to Russia will hang over the heads of Turkish statesmen and discourage good administration. England, no doubt, can supply from India a sufficient number of trained administrators; but will they be acceptable to the Turks? will they even be tolerated? If we assume, say, the revenue administration, is it not probable that, as in Bengal, we must end by becoming rulers of the country? And

can we support the added weight of these fresh responsibilities? We are not bold enough to answer these questions. We admit the risk of failure, but there is sufficient promise of success to justify the experiment. Whatever be the fate of Asia Minor, Cyprus can hardly prove a burden. We admit the vastness of the responsibility we may be led to assume, but such burdens are the penalties of greatness. Lust of territorial aggrandisement, we feel sure, will never bring our empire to ruin, though possibly its maintenance may some day prove beyond our strength. The opponents of Government win an easy victory when they point out risks and objections, but they have not suggested an alternative course. They ignore the dangers for which their schemes do not provide. Mr. Gladstone would make a series of independent Bulgarian, Greek, and perhaps Armenian nations a barrier against Russia; but he nowhere, as far as we know, suggests the means by which the remnant of the Mussulmans could be prevented from becoming the tools of Russia. Nor does he point out how an English guarantee of the integrity of Armenia would be free from the objections which he urges with such rhetorical force against the guarantee to Turkey.

There is a dangerous plausibility about the assertion so often made that we have gone forth to meet and to invite danger—that we have abandoned a strong and short frontier for a weak and long one. Yes. But by so doing we have secured as allies a nation of soldiers who would otherwise be the subject-allies of Russia. True we have incurred expense, but the actual danger from the approach of Russian influence and the harm to our prestige which that expenditure averts would, if not averted, compel us largely to increase our military establishments both at home and in India. If we keep Russia at a distance by maintaining the independence of a belt of Mussulman States we shall secure the goodwill of Islam everywhere. And if we make our protection dependent on good government, we shall deserve well of humanity. We admit the difficulties. But no other mode of adjustment would interfere so little with the rights of others, or hurt so little the susceptibilities of the Western Powers, whose goodwill it is essential to retain. The policy now initiated can be successful only if its conduct be entrusted to those who heartily sympathise with it. The Liberalism of this review is too sincere to be mere fidelity to party. But we see great danger to Liberal principles if the party loses on this great question of foreign policy the confidence of the nation. The nation, we believe, approves of the policy of the Cyprus Convention, and will not entrust its destinies to men who are pledged to put it aside.

We feel tempted to dwell upon the interesting problems presented by our brief experience of administration in Cyprus and the analogies

they present to those which confronted us in Bengal after the grant of the Diwani. But here we can only give a warning which the experience of India suggests. There seems every probability that to supplement the deficiencies and correct the grosser conditions of the existing codes of law or bodies of custom we shall allow an equitable discretion to the judges, and that to lessen the evil of corrupt or incompetent native judges we shall appoint English assessors. In India, under such a system, principles of English law crept in as principles of equity, and the refinements of English procedure took the place of the rougher but more appropriate and effective methods of native jurisprudence. At present there seems to be a chaos of conflicting rules—local custom, religious codes, and brand new Turkish codes framed on the principles of Western speculative jurisprudence, symmetrical but inoperative. If to this be added the influence of technical English law, all the good our administration of other departments will have done will be undone, and Cyprus will reproduce the evils which our inefficient legal system has produced in India. (*Vide* No. CVI. art. iii.) Local tribunals will, we hope, be as far as possible retained, and the mode of inquiry which is most likely to elicit the truth be adopted. It will be impossible, we suppose, to exclude English lawyers, but their influence should be minimised. The functions of Chief Justice should be regarded as from a political point of view not less important than those of Governor, and we sincerely hope that as wise a selection may be made.

The South African Colonies.—By order of the Government the 1st of August, 1878, was observed by the people of Cape Colony as a day of solemn thanksgiving for the termination of the Kafir war. To many it appeared that the celebration was premature. In the Transvaal and in Griqualand West a state of open hostility existed with the native tribes, while with the King of the Zulus and the Pondos of Independent Kaffraria our relations were strained and unfriendly. Though the leader of the Galekas had been killed, Kreli, the leader of the Gaikas, was still at large, and but few of the defeated insurgents had come in under the terms of the amnesty. But the Premier was able to say that active war and rebellion no longer existed on the frontier, that a strong force of police had been organised to check the cattle thefts which still harassed the border, and that measures of disarmament had been so far carried out successfully. The colonists, if they dared not rest, had at least a breathing space in which to be thankful and to survey the dangers from which they had emerged. For their deliverance it appeared they had to thank rather the mischances that befell the schemes of their enemies than their own valour or temperate prudence. It is necessary to receive with caution the explana-

tions which at such crises are given as to the origin of the trouble. The public mind excited by danger and martial preparation receives with avidity stories of widespread conspiracy and subtle organisation among their native neighbours. But many who have had opportunities of studying at the actual point of contact the relations between colonials and natives allege, with an earnestness which is perhaps the greater because they address incredulous and unwilling ears, that the tribes are for the most part inclined to peace, and that the insurrection was due to the harassing blunders of our administration. There is truth, perhaps, in both theories. Sedition is easily organised among the disaffected. There is certainly good reason to believe that the isolated outbreaks were the result of a common understanding. Kreli (chief of the Galekas) was the chief of the conspiracy, and by 1876 the Tembus, the Pondos, the Gaikas east of the Kei, and many of the Fingoes, had become parties to it. But the strength of civilisation in its contest with barbarism lies in the jealousies and the perfidy of the savage races. Among the Galekas was a party headed by Xoxo, hostile to the supremacy of Kreli. Kreli appealed for help against his adversary to the Colonial Government through Mr. Brownlee, who is to Kafraria what Sir Theophilus Shepstone was to the Zulu tribes. Mr. Brownlee, instead of helping Kreli, granted a subsidy to Xoxo. Thus Kreli, we may suppose, was freed from the last tie of goodwill that bound him to the British. The Fingoes were prevented from adhering to the conspiracy by the loyal attitude and influence of their chief, Veldtman. To secure him, the proud Kreli stooped to the indignity of offering his daughter in marriage to Veldtman's son. But the Fingoes, who had long ceased to be the "dogs" of the Kafirs, were not to be bribed even by the prospect of intermarriage with their former lords. Veldtman declined the honour of the alliance. The indignation felt by the Galekas at his refusal was shared by the Pondos, the Gaikas, the Tembus. The Galekas had laid in stores of corn for the projected rising against the British, but the occurrence of a drought prevented the other tribes from making any preparation. Xoxo, however, decided to avail himself of the animosity against the Fingoes to ruin Kreli by embroiling him prematurely with the British—the protectors and allies of the Fingoes. He sent fifty of his Kafirs across the border to the now historic beer-drinking, from which, as we have already described, arose the war. Thus the Galekas were in arms against us before the preparations of the other tribes were complete. When they were subdued the Gaikas could no longer be restrained by their chief, Sandilli. The Tembus made an attempt at insurrection, which was promptly and effectually suppressed. There was much excitement among the Basutos—hitherto deemed the most

loyal and contented of the tribes—and there can be little doubt that had success attended the insurgent efforts elsewhere, the Basutos would have been in open revolt. When the Gaikas had been subdued the spirit of disaffection among the Pondos was shown by the readiness with which they harboured the fugitives. Before the difficulty with them was settled, the Griquas on the West of Natal (not to be confounded with the other branch inhabiting the Diamond Fields, or Griqualand West) rose, but their revolt was easily quelled by the Resident. Lastly occurred the serious outbreak in Griqualand West, attended with murders of whites, and for a time the apparent isolation of our forces. Our troops are few in number when compared with the work they have to do, but under the command of Colonel Lanyon they seem to be successful against the enemy. Many of the latter have been killed, and—a more certain pledge of ultimate peace—large captures of cattle have been made.

We would not underrate the risks of savage warfare, nor—in spite of the sneers which we meet with in the colonial papers, now at the courage of the Frontier Armed Police, now at the awkward tactics of the Imperial troops—would we speak, except with cordial respect, of the daring and readiness shown by every branch of the defence force. But where a few Europeans, armed with weapons of precision, are engaged with a host of gallant and desperate but badly armed savages, the encounter is rather a *battue* than a battle. But the losses of the natives in the field are as nothing compared with the miseries they endure from hunger and exposure in the bush. Under such circumstances war loses, even for the victor, all its romantic charms; and, accordingly, once it appeared that the rebellion was crushed, the feeling of the colonists pleaded for an amnesty to the vanquished. In July a Government Gazette Extraordinary communicated to “all her Majesty’s subjects in the colony and beyond its border—words from Victoria, Queen.” They set forth how Sandilli, when young, made war on the colony, and was defeated—how his country was annexed, and he became subject to the laws of the colony. After this he repeatedly rebelled and disobeyed the orders of Government, but was invariably forgiven. He and his people were settled in a country ample for their wants, where they might have thriven like their neighbours. They had no just cause to complain; but when Sandilli heard that Krelî had risen, he too after a while listened to the persuasions of Kiva and others—Galekas, Gaikas, and Tembus—and made common cause with Krelî. They were defeated in every engagement against the Queen’s forces, which included many loyal Fingoes and Kafirs who did not forget their allegiance. Many thousands of warriors were slain, and all their cattle taken. Krelî is now a fugitive, hiding with a few

followers in the bush. Sandilli, Kiva, Seyolo, and many other leading men, have been killed. The few followers *who remain in the field are hiding in the bush*—we retain the Hibernianism of the Proclamation—*where some have starved*, and the survivors are living on wild roots and whatever they can steal. An amnesty is proclaimed on the following terms:—1. All who desire pardon must surrender themselves to a magistrate or officer. 2. Having made their submission and given up their arms, and been registered, they will receive a certificate of pardon, which will secure them from molestation whilst they obey the orders of Government. 3. From the benefit of the amnesty are excluded the sons and brothers of Sandilli, and other leaders; all councilors and leading men who have taken a prominent part in fomenting or maintaining rebellion, all rebels who had been in receipt of pay as headmen, and all who are suspected of having had an active share in any murder. To all these nothing is guaranteed but a fair trial. The instructions which accompany the Proclamation direct that all who submit must be disarmed, registered, and placed under contract upon railway or other public works, and will receive for their labour ten shillings a month with rations.

The stringent terms of the amnesty are in strong contrast to the indulgence shown at the close of previous wars. The messengers sent to treat for submission showed the greatest surprise that anything more should be required of them than a confession that they were beaten, and wished to return to the ways of peace. Rebellion was a game they were entitled to play as long as they risked their lives in it, and to finish playing when they get tired of it. The colonists are apparently determined to have an end of Kafir wars. To effect their purpose they see it is necessary to give up the lands of the conquered natives to European settlements, to subject the natives to the law of the colony, and to destroy the power of the chiefs. To civilise, even to Christianise, the leaders is not, it appears, to secure their fidelity. Dukwana, one of Sandilli's most able associates, had been for many years an elder, and we believe a most exemplary member of the English Church. Patriotism was, he found, a virtue. He saw more clearly the wrongs we did his countrymen than the benefits our presence would confer on those who would tolerate it and try to conform to our requirements. We cannot here discuss the question of how far we have regarded native rights. It is enough to say that the missionaries have, as a rule, sympathised with and encouraged the complaints of the Kafirs. Rebellion followed, and to prevent its recurrence we are now compelled to sweep away the most characteristic features of their social organisation. How far their civil usages will survive contact with English law is a question the

future must determine. They may be hardened and crystallised by the decisions of our tribunals, or they may be destroyed.

Sandilli, we have said, died of wounds received in battle, but the war could hardly be said to be over while his sons were at large. They took refuge with their brother-in-law, a chief who seems to have lacked only opportunity to act against Government. At his Kraal they were made prisoners by the magistrate of the district. Edmund Sandilli, son of the chief, who had been for many years in Government employ, but had thrown in his lot with his people, and other leading chiefs, were also brought as prisoners to King William's Town. If the account given of their reception by the local paper be not wholly imaginative, he seems to have had very much the advantage, both in wit and good feeling, of the crowd of navvies and volunteers who collected to insult his misfortune. He admits that he joined his father, but says he never hurt a white man. He went to persuade his people to peace. He gave the "old story, blaming the Fingoes and the Government officials." "Instead of humility or penitence," says the King William's Town *Guide*, "his whole conversation displayed an overweening conceit and impudent hypocrisy." He and his brother are to be tried for sedition and murder. Many of the rebels taken in arms have been tried. Some chiefs have been sentenced to death, and others to long periods of imprisonment. We shall hardly be suspected of being willing apologists for murder, even when committed as an act of war; and we condemn as emphatically as the most embittered borderer a repetition of the old policy of forgiveness. But we trust that in assigning punishment regard will be had not only to the wrongs which, from a purely native point of view, they must be admitted to have suffered at the hands of the settlers, but also to the fact that in all the operations of war they have acted without barbarity, and even with chivalry. Unlike the Bashi-Bazouks, they do not torture; unlike the Indian Sepoys, they do not massacre. The people are unwilling to come in, because the chiefs have been excepted from the amnesty, and the authority of the chiefs is no longer recognised. This sentiment of faithful allegiance should be respected, till under a strict but kindly discipline it is transferred to the Crown of England.

The thanks of Parliament were voted to all the forces, Colonial and Imperial. The Imperial troops have proceeded, some by sea to Natal and thence to the Transvaal; others have marched through Kafraria to Natal, with a view to coercing the Pondos on their way.

The question of future native management has, of course, given rise to discussions. Mr. Molteno and the politicians of the Western Province have so long ignored the danger and the need of preparation, and their influence has been so much reduced by the vigorous action

of Sir Bartle Frere, that suggestions are naturally looked for from the Eastern Province. The Kafrarian Vigilance Society of King William's Town has lately published its Report. It proposes to disarm all natives with caution and firmness; to make the sale of arms and ammunition a Government monopoly; to reserve a belt of coast-land from the Kei to Natal for European occupation; to establish European settlements along the great lines of traffic through Kafraria; to guard the frontier with a vigorous supervising police; to recognise the authority of no chief, however loyal and deserving. To provide for the future well-being of the native races, it suggests that they should be settled in locations or townships framed apparently on the model of the pure Hindu village communities. Each country should be governed in internal matters by its own headmen, and the principle of joint responsibility should be enforced. An English magistrate is to supervise, and education, including practical training in agriculture and handicrafts, is to be compulsory. Drunken revellings, filthy practices, and witchcraft are to be strictly suppressed; no bigamous or polygamous marriages are to be registered. A partial representation in Parliament is to be conceded.

It will be interesting to observe what success will attend this attempt to create a new social organisation, and by a process of slow and insensible influence to induce a vigorous people to adopt alien usages. The debate in our own Parliament during last Session on marriage usages in Natal is but one of many symptoms of the growing intolerance of Europeans for barbarian institutions. It is no doubt hard to distinguish from slavery the custom of procuring wives by purchase. But some of the enormities alleged are hardly such as the English reader will find it grievous to contemplate. "Red clay" and the "privilege of flirtation"—practices which stir the *Eastern Star* to indignation—seem hardly to call for legislative interference. In Natal, native law—i.e., the customs relating to marriage and the home—have lately been codified. The recognition and promise of permanence thus given seems to be modified by the omission of all mere partial and local usages. In these are included the practices most repugnant to European notions of decency. The most striking feature is, perhaps, the extreme minuteness of the provisions. As in Hindu law, the idea of family rather than of individual property prevails.

We briefly referred in July to the debate on the constitutional question involved in the dismissal of the Molteno Cabinet by Sir Bartle Frere. The ex-Ministers made the strange mistake of making a motion in the form of a vote of censure on the Crown. As to the merits of the case, the allegations of the ex-Ministers were briefly that they had made good and timely provision for the crisis—that if

disaster ensued it was the fault of the Imperial Commander or of the Volunteers—that had they not been interfered with, the Colonial forces alone would have done all that was necessary—that by retaining the power of supply they had in effect reserved to themselves the power of control. We have already stated very fully Sir Bartle Frere's view of the position of affairs. It remains only to say that his action was fully supported by Lord Carnarvon, and that in the Assembly the new Ministry had a majority of 37 to 22. We have little doubt that, had Sir George Bowen in Victoria shown similar vigour in using the authority of the Crown to check the excesses of his Ministers, he would have received the support of the Colonial Office. But it must be remembered that, as events have shown, the Molteno Cabinet had not the confidence and approval of the constituencies, whereas the Berry Cabinet undoubtedly had. And in the one case only disorganisation impended—but in the other, possibly, extreme disaster.

We need hardly refer to the fiscal legislation rendered necessary by the expenses of the war and the projects of public works. An excise duty on spirits manufactured in the colony was for the first time imposed. This and the Defence Bills were the principal results of the Session, which closed on the 2nd of August. The Premier has since declared that the great question of next Session will be that of Confederation. Already, we may remark, there are indications that the colony is discontented with its thrift, and longs to develop its resources by loans as large as those of New Zealand. A national debt of 50*l.* per head of population seems a small thing if the population have the value of their investment in roads and railways. Confederation and well-considered schemes of internal communication are, we believe, jointly necessary to secure the peace and progressive well-being of all the South African colonies. The emigration to Cape Colony increased from 989 in 1874 to 2212 in 1877; but when once the framework of Government is sound and access to the interior easy, the annual increment will be far greater than hitherto. Every additional emigrant, comfortably housed and profitably employed, is a source of wealth and security. Already we hear that Delagoa Bay, which was awarded under arbitration to the Portuguese, is to be, or has been, purchased from them. It is the natural port of the Transvaal—a country the vast resources of which, both mineral and agricultural, have hardly been at all developed, and have but lately been fairly recognised. But some recent revelations in Cape Colony as to the frauds and abuses in the railway management illustrate the difficulties which attend Government management of such public works. Coal, we may here remark, has been lately discovered in several parts of the colony, and much excitement prevails in consequence.

The Diamond Fields, or Griqualand West, it must be remembered, has not yet been formally annexed, nor is there any prospect that it will be except by a vote of the inhabitants. Their temper at present is said to be encouraging. Meanwhile the Griquas, or Bastard Hottentots who form the native population, have risen in revolt. It seems to be admitted that both they and their brethren in East Griqualand have real grievances to complain of. They have been treated as nomads, and have as such been deprived of the rights they had acquired by the occupation of land. We have, too, destroyed the system of government by "kaptyns" which they had adopted for themselves, without giving them any better system in its stead. The operations which have been conducted against them and other tribes on the Northern Border who had joined them seem to have been uniformly successful, though in some cases, apparently, disgraced by individual acts of cold-blooded inhumanity.

Into Pondo politics, complicated as they are by internal rivalries, we cannot enter. Mrs. Jenkins, widow of a missionary, has long lived amongst them, and by moral influence enjoyed an almost despotic authority. In the negotiations missionaries have acted as delegates for the tribesmen. The grievances complained of are the harsh and arbitrary treatment they have received from our magistrates as regards the performance of what we may fairly call their international duties. They complain that a tract of territory which was first declared a neutral zone has since been seized by the Natal administration. They object to the free use our magistrates have made of the cat-o'-nine-tails, and lastly of the pernicious results of the brandy we have tempted them to take. It seems certain that the Pondos as individuals have taken part in the Griqua outbreak, and also that emissaries from the Zulu king have tried to influence them. It has been announced that the chief has conceded what we claimed—*i.e.*, a settlement and port on the St. John's River, and the right of way to Kokstadt. But the latest telegraphic advices, while declaring that the settlement has proved a success, inform us elsewhere that Umquileka (Umquikela? the chief) is with other chiefs "assuming an aggressive attitude." So great, we may here remark, is the apathy or ignorance of English journalists as to Indian and Colonial matters, that even in the *Times* the proper names in telegrams are generally so mutilated as to render the matter unintelligible to ordinary readers, and painful to experts.

In the country north of the Lydenburg goldfields in the Transvaal military operations are still being conducted against the Kafirs of Sakakuni. Sakakuni, we need hardly remind our readers, is the chief whose dispute with the Swazis and the Dutch settlers led to the war

which ended in our annexation of the Transvaal. Vigorous protests are still made against that measure. Doubts having been thrown on the statement of the delegates that it was carried out against the will of the inhabitants, they have again visited this country with a protest signed, we believe, by nearly all the Boers. Mr. Courtney, one of those Liberals whose anti-Imperial sentiments renders them prone to attach undue importance to the mistakes or mis-statements of Imperial policy, became their advocate, but their reception at the Colonial Office was something more than cold. It is easy to understand that every Boer in the country would discover a cheap satisfaction for their patriotic feelings, in protesting against a measure which might nevertheless be shown to be necessary both for the salvation of the Boers and the safety of their neighbours. Two of the residents are now under trial for conspiracy, it being alleged against them, among other things, that they promoted a petition for the removal of Sir T. Shepstone. That able administrator seems to have rendered himself unpopular to the Volunteers, and has had to give place to Colonel Lanyon. The latest accounts are most disquieting. The Zulu police have mutinied. The Kafirs have assumed the offensive. Fort Weber has been attacked, and Lydenburg surrendered. The discontented Volunteers refuse to serve.

Meanwhile the old fear and distrust of Katshwayo grows graver. Whatever may be his own wishes he is surrounded by warriors eager for fight. The Commissioners appointed to settle the boundary dispute have not yet reported. In the meantime, messengers professing to come from Katshwayo have given notice to the settlers of Utrecht—in the disputed territory—that they are to remove forthwith. He has, indeed, disavowed the act, but his Zulus are everywhere establishing themselves, and pushing the whites aside. The cry—reasonable or unreasonable—grows louder and louder in the colony that the Zulu power must once for all be destroyed. There seems every probability that while in Asia we shall have to undertake a war against Afghanistan, helped by the unofficial action of Russia, we shall have in Africa to sustain the attack of a vast and fairly disciplined army of fanatical Zulus. At such a juncture, it is perhaps something to know that we have 5000 men free to act in the Transvaal, and that Sir Bartle Frere has proceeded there, to avert war if possible by courteous tact, and if war be inevitable, to see that it is prosecuted with vigour.

The Australian Colonies.—Our purpose in this periodic survey is to describe tendencies and the slow process of peaceful development, as well as events and critical situations. The history we have to narrate,

presents as a rule, it must be confessed, but few dramatic crises. The present, however, is a time of exceptional interest, and we are compelled by the inexorable conditions of space to confine our attention almost exclusively to the stage on which intrigue and passion, and the marshalling of rival forces, give animation to the scene. The situation in Asia is perhaps unparalleled, as regards the vastness and subtlety of the forces at work, and the complexity of the conditions with which they have to deal. The interest of the struggle in Africa arises from race sympathy, and the sympathy we feel for civilization threatened by barbarism. But in Victoria the contest is between political forces, with which we are familiar, and involves issues which we may sometime have to determine for ourselves. We need not detail the history of the recent crisis. The democratic Assembly sought to coerce the plutocrat Council, by tacking to the Appropriation Bill (granting supplies) provisions which the Council had previously rejected. The Council has the right to reject, but not to modify money bills. It rejected the Appropriation Bill. The Ministry of which Mr. Berry is the head accordingly dismissed or suspended officials in every department, for whose pay, it alleged, no provision could be made. The whole official machinery of the colony was brought to a standstill. The Governor deemed himself bound by the Constitution to act on the advice of his ministers. Finally, a compromise was effected, but we regret to say many of the displaced officials have not been restored. Some of these—such as the Engineer-in-Chief, the Inspector-General of Public Works, and the Chief Engineer for Water Supply—were not reinstated, apparently because they were politically opposed to the Ministry or had given personal offence to some of its members. At the opening of Parliament (July 9th) the Viceregal speech announced: "The attempt to embody the unwritten constitution of England within the rigid limits of the statute has been found not to be a success, the written constitution being wanting in that elasticity which is attributed to its prototype; and it is intended to introduce a bill to remedy the same"—in other words, to prevent the recurrence of deadlocks. The measures which have since been introduced propose to take from the Council absolutely the right of rejecting bills for appropriating revenue or imposing a tax—a right it now enjoys under Section 56 of the Constitution Act. The right of suggesting amendments is alone reserved; and the Assembly can itself determine what bills are "bills under Section 56." As regards other bills, Mr. Berry proposes that if the same measure shall pass the Legislative Assembly in two consecutive annual sessions, and be each time rejected by the Council, it is to become law without the Council's assent, unless an absolute majority

of the Council, within twenty-one days of the second rejection, demand an appeal to the electors. Should such an appeal be made the Assembly electors will vote by ballot on the question whether the bill shall pass. He also proposes to repeal the clauses of the Constitution which make an absolute majority of both Houses and the Royal Assent necessary for changes in the Constitution. The objections to such a measure are as obvious as the need of some measure of reform. The Council as at present constituted represents wealth and education, and, though its members retire in rotation, it is not subject to dissolution. It has not the same prescriptive title to respect as our House of Lords, and has not yet learned, like it, to submit to the clear expression of the national will, while the Ministry has not the same power of coercion as the creation of new peers gives it in England. The Council attempts to thwart rather than to check and control. The opposition naturally objects to the proposed plebiscitum, alleging that it will be too convenient not to be frequently invoked, and will destroy even the suspensive power of the Council. Mr. Casey, one of the Liberal leaders, who has hitherto acted with Mr. Berry, objects to it because it lessens the influence and dignity of the Assembly by substituting a plebiscitum for its authority. Meanwhile the Council purposes to reform itself by lowering the property qualification of the electors, increasing its numbers, and reducing the term for which they are elected. The only representative of the Government in the Council has been compelled to resign his office owing to his adhesion to the principle of this bill. A reactionary proposal is to limit the power of the Assembly to *initiating* money bills, while the Attorney-General for New Zealand purposes to reconcile both parties by vesting the election of the Governor in the people. Thus a good man would be obtained—not one who, when he arrives in the colony, has everything to learn, and is at the mercy of first advisers and “society.” There are many indications that Mr. Berry’s influence is on the decline. Dissensions are said to exist in the Cabinet. His financial measures have worked unsatisfactorily, and some instances of nepotism have attracted attention. We may note, as illustrative of the temper of colonial politics, that Mr. Casey’s recall from his duties as Commissioner at the Paris Exhibition is said to have “engendered a vague feeling in his mind that he has been ‘sold’ by Sir Charles Gavan Duffy,” who wished to get him out of Europe before the office of Agent-General in England fell vacant—a post Sir Charles wishes to fill himself.

Mr. Berry’s measures seem certain to pass the Lower House, and to be rejected by the Upper. In that case Commissioners would be deputed to ask for the intervention of the Home Government. Their

task would also be to make arrangements for the Exhibition which it has been decided to hold at Melbourne in 1880—and for a new loan. New South Wales too has decided to hold an Exhibition at Sydney in 1879, and to borrow largely. But in the case of both colonies it should be remembered that the loans are for public works. New South Wales has for some time past been constructing railways from its ordinary revenue, and has a balance of four millions in the Banks. But it fears that drawing on this would disturb the local money market, and thereby injure colonial trade. Both colonies will probably spread their borrowings over many years. Trade is said to be sound, and the diminution in land-revenue is ascribed to a most satisfactory cause—increased caution as regards the alienation of lands. For the other Australian colonies we may say that railway extension and sporadic gold discoveries seem to be the note of progress everywhere. South Australia has followed the example of Victoria in attempting legislation to reduce the power of the Upper House.

Wonderful discoveries of gold are said to have been made in New Guinea. The island is unquestionably rich, but the people and the country are alike so wild that European settlement seems difficult. But there has been and still is a "rush" for gold. A company for its colonisation has been formed at Melbourne, but has received no encouragement from the Governor of Fiji, who, as High Commissioner, exercises jurisdiction, or from the Colonial Office. A vessel of war has, however, been sent to the coast to look after British interests. In Fiji itself great discontent exists, the policy of the Governor as regards the land being extremely unpopular.

Canada.—We have left ourselves but little space to deal with the North American colonies. The riots, or threatened riots, which attended Orange celebrations in some of the cities are features of religious bigotry which are unhappily not confined to Canada. In the elections to the Parliament of the Dominion, the Conservatives, who have hitherto been in opposition, have obtained a large majority. The history of the Liberal Mackenzie Government of Canada closely resembles that of the Gladstone Administration in England. When it assumed office the Conservative party had been discredited in the country by the apparent complicity of its leader in a system of public works corruption; but the very vigour it showed undermined its popularity. The long depression of trade has inclined the people to look for salvation in a system of protection. The Conservatives adopted it as a party cry, and the result is the return of Sir J. Macdonald to power. In the United States, with its wide extent of territory and

great variety of productive capability, Protection must be confessed not to have seriously retarded the national growth. To many Americans it naturally seems the cause of their prosperity, and naturally the system has always had sympathisers in Canada. Reciprocity between the two countries has been advocated in each, but the Home Government has distinctly declared that it will veto any legislation which puts British goods at a disadvantage as compared with those of any other country. Lately it has been announced that the American Cabinet purposes to ask Canada to enter into a Customs Union. That such a measure would minimise the harm which Protection would do to a country of such limited resources as Canada, is undeniable; but it would exclude many classes of English merchandise from one of our great markets. It can hardly be matter of surprise that the aspect of Canadian politics has led English thinkers to call in question the propriety of the accepted theory of the relationship of colonies to the mother-country. We have abandoned to a small population of early settlers the entire control of vast unoccupied lands—the future homes of Englishmen. And these young populations legislate we find, not for the future or for us, but for their own advantage, as they rightly or wrongly conceive it. It is an unpleasant fact that our colonies show a tendency to adopt fiscal legislation hostile to the mother-country. The British Columbian legislature, aggrieved because the Confederation does not construct for it a system of railways it was promised, has for some time pursued a policy of separation from the other provinces. It has lately agreed to a petition to the Queen, praying for separation if its demands be not complied with, and has passed an Act disfranchising the Dominion Officials. We must defer any attempt to explain the significance of this step till we can give such an account of the politics and condition of the Dominion as we have already given of the South African and Australian group. Lord Dufferin, whose graceful discharge of the duties of Governor-General has done so much to promote the peace of Canada and its goodwill to the mother-country, is about to retire. The Marquis of Lorne escapes from the outskirts of the English royal family to a post for which his common sense, his culture, and his high sense of duty seem peculiarly to fit him. As Governor-General of India or of a Crown colony, the son-in-law of the Queen might have been brought into embarrassing relations with the Queen's responsible ministers. But where he has only to represent Royalty as Royalty is understood in England, his position will be both useful and dignified. To the Canadians he is personally welcome, but their exuberant loyalty dwells chiefly on the prospect of having the daughter of their Queen—a true woman and

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gentle lady—amongst them. Let us add here, that in all our colonies the feeling of patriotism has shown itself more clearly in prospect of the sacrifices fidelity to England in the struggle which so lately seemed imminent, was likely to impose on them. We must not interpret the declarations of the enthusiastic meetings that have everywhere been held as expressions of approval of the policy of Lord Beaconsfield as opposed to that of Mr. Gladstone. But the selfish impulse to disintegration which those who doubt the possibility of cohesive Empire have declared would appear at the first time of trial has nowhere asserted itself.

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