THE

WESTMINSTER

REVIEW.

JULY AND OCTOBER,

1862.

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

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

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THE

WESTMINSTER

AND

FOREIGN QUARTERLY

REVIEW.

JULY 1, 1862.

ART. I.—THE LIFE AND POLICY OF PITT.

Life of the Right Honourable William Pitt. By Earl STANHOPE, Author of "The History of England from the Peace of Utrecht." 4 vols. post 8vo. London: John Murray. 1861.

LORD STANHOPE'S Life of Pitt, the latest and most complete record of the career of that remarkable man, is the production of a graceful and refined rather than powerful mind. It evinces research, intelligence, and scholarship; it indicates great command of material and a conscientious use of rich documentary stores, and is distinguished by simplicity of narration and general sobriety of reflection. There is, too, a moral quality in the writing, which gives to the work a characteristic flavour or fragrance. A charm of manner, a delicacy in intimating dissent, or offering independent opinion, recalls the old knightly courtesy, and marks Lord Stanhope as the very Calidore of authors. Valuable and agreeable, however, as is the new Life of Pitt, we are far from being satisfied with it. It wants grasp and power; it betrays too ready a sympathy, it gives no sign of an intellect that doubts and questions before it believes; it does not inspire confidence by full, accurate, and attested knowledge.* As a work of art, it is deficient in vivid, distinct representation. It has not the proportion and symmetry that every true biography should exhibit.

* The account of Pitt's India legislation is very slight; his consolidation of the Customs is not, we believe, noticed at all. There is an egregious error in the statement of the Loyalty loan, vol. ii. p. 389; and vol. iii. p. 2, Pitt is said to be eight instead of eighteen years older than Miss Eden.

It gives you a vague, indistinct, wavering photographic likeness of Pitt, but it never directly makes you conceive or feel the *man* behind the picture.

Among the many interesting documents consulted by the author, are the papers now in possession of Pitt's grand-nephew, Colonel John Pringle: the letters which Pitt wrote to his mother, his brother Lord Chatham, and the Duke of Rutland, and those addressed to himself by George III. From such private sources, and from the various existing public collections, is derived all the knowledge of paramount value that we are ever likely to obtain of William Pitt.

William Pitt, the second son of the great Earl of Chatham and Lady Hester Grenville, was born, ten years after his rival, Charles Fox, at Hayes, near Bromley, in Kent, on 28th May, 1759,—the birth-year of two great poets Burns and Schiller; half-way between that of the finest literary genius of the century, Wolfgang Goethe, and that of the most energetic embodiment of military power in the very centre of civilization, that Europe has known since the splendid career of Julius Cæsar was prematurely closed by the aristocrats of the Roman Republic. Born in the most glorious and eventful period of his father's life, we find the future statesman residing, in his seventh year, at Weymouth, with his tutor, the Rev. Edward Wilson. Even at this early age the proud ambition of the "Great Commoner's" true representative disclosed itself. "I am glad," he exclaims, in conversation with Mr. Wilson, "I am glad I am not the eldest son; I want to speak in the House of Commons like papa." Somewhat later, if we may believe a rather apocryphal story, the little William Pitt was described by Lady Holland as the cleverest child she ever saw, and so well behaved, that when expostulating with her husband on his excessive indulgence to the children, and to Charles Fox in particular, she exclaimed, "Mark my words, that little boy will be a thorn in Charles's side as long as he lives." At fourteen years of age young Pitt became the friend, though, it would seem, not the critic of the poet Hayley, "whose reserve prevented his imparting to the wonderful youth the epic poem he had begun." Himself a poet, the boy had already written a blank verse tragedy in five acts, entitled "Laurentius, King of Clarinium." This dramatic production, "bad, but not worse than the tragedies of Hayley," was so favourably received by the young author's social circle, that it was twice acted at Burton Pynsent, the estate in Somersetshire so unexpectedly bequeathed to his father. Little more is recorded of the early life of William Pitt. His brilliant promise, his delicate health, his father's affection, his assiduity in study, are all noted; but there is a deficiency of personal and picturesque detail in the narrative of his boyish days. Shy and

retiring in manhood, at seven years of age Pitt is described as "eager Mr. William" by his mother, and "impetuous William" by his father. We get but two glimpses into the open-air existence of his boyhood—a famous equestrian adventure somewhat obscurely hinted at by Lord Chatham, and certain bird-nesting expeditions to the groves of his beloved Holwood.

Lord Chatham's paternal affection showed itself practically in his constant superintendence of his children's education. William, his "sweet and noble boy," was the special care of his admiring father. Action and elocution, so far as they are capable of being taught, were imparted by the elder to the younger Pitt. To recite daily from the best English poets, chiefly Shakspeare and Milton, was the expedient adopted by Chatham to cultivate the just emphasis and melodious cadence for which the youthful orator obtained a precocious celebrity.

In the autumn of 1773, the juvenile dramatist, who had been previously entered at Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, commenced his residence at the University. George Pretyman, better known as Bishop Tomline, one of the tutors of the College, soon became "his sole instructor and familiar friend." Immortalized in the "Rolliad," the future Bishop of Winchester deserves to have the alliterative praises of his recording angel, Mr. G. Ellis, inserted here:—

> "Prim preacher, prince of priests, and princes' priest,
> Pembroke's pale pride in Pitt's præcordia placed,
> Thy merits shall all future ages scan,
> And Prince be lost in parson Pretyman."

Early in his academic career the pupil of parson Pretyman, now a tall, lank stripling, fell ill. Horse exercise and liberal potations of port wine, prescribed by the family physician, Dr. Addington, with a six months' holiday spent in his father's house, soon effected a cure. At the age of eighteen Pitt was a healthy man, and remained so for many years. In 1776, in virtue of the privilege conceded to the sons of peers, Pitt was admitted to the degree of Master of Arts. During his undergraduateship the young student was celebrated for his industry, his regularity, and the purity of his life. In the wicked and profligate age of Fox and Sheridan the immaculate Mr. Pitt was ridiculed by a whole chorus of gentlemen of irreproachably easy morals in the House of Commons. Out of the House the unsaintly Peter Pindar rebuked the cruelty of the young Cambridge philosopher, who repelled "the pretty flower-girls when they came fresh from the country and only endeavoured to sell the young gentlemen their roses and lilies." Pitt comforted himself with the consciousness of his innocency in the hour of death.

Competently acquainted with the classical authors of Greece and Rome, from the grave Thucydides to the rhapsodical Lycophron, and carrying with him a creditable knowledge of mathematics, the young graduate began, in 1778, to keep his terms in Lincoln's Inn. He had already attended public lectures in civil law. He knew something of experimental philosophy; had studied Locke's "Essay on the Human Understanding," the political writings of Bolingbroke, and perhaps Adam Smith's "Wealth of Nations." This last work had a decided, if only partially operative influence on the policy of the future Minister of England. The high estimation in which Pitt held the writer is strikingly attested in the Budget speech of 1792, where he ascribes the merit of his system in no small degree to "an author . . . . whose extensive knowledge of detail and depth of philosophical research will furnish the best solution to every question connected with the history of commerce or with the systems of political economy." It is interesting to compare with the Minister's eulogium the counter panegyric of the distinguished economist: "What an extraordinary man Pitt is! he makes me understand my own ideas better than before."

With such intellectual acquirements as we have just indicated, Pitt was called to the bar on the 12th June, 1780. In August of the same year he joined, for a short time, the Western Circuit, "eating and drinking with lawyers, and finding the circuit perfectly agreeable." On the 1st September Parliament was dissolved; and Pitt, hastening to Cambridge, and contesting the election for the University with Mansfield and Townshend, found himself at the bottom of the poll. Under the auspices of the Duke of Rutland and Sir James Lowther, the well-known magnificent boroughmonger, Pitt was more fortunate in his next attempt to attain senatorial distinction. Without even the trouble of visiting his constituents, he was returned for Appleby, and on the 23rd of January, 1781, took his seat in Parliament as the representative of that borough. Twenty-five years afterwards, on the day which marked his entrance into public life, Pitt terminated his career, of triumph, failure, hope, and despair.

Bred in Whig principles, the young member commenced his parliamentary career by a bold and spirited advocacy of liberal opinions and a resolute support of liberal measures. His father before him had protested against the principle of the American War, and had proclaimed the desirableness of Parliamentary Reform. The son of Chatham worthily repeated the policy of Chatham. On the 11th February, 1780, Mr. Burke explained his elaborate scheme of Economical Reform to the House. In this scheme, directed against the abuses and solecisms of the Civil List, the statesman-philosopher "proposed the reduction and con-

solidation of offices, the diminution of the Pension List, and the payment of all pensions at the Exchequer. Of the five Bills framed to carry out this object, one only, the so-called Establishment Bill was discussed in committee in that session. Renewing his efforts, Mr. Burke advocated this measure a second time in the February of the following year. It was on this occasion that, suddenly called to reply to Lord Nugent, William Pitt rose calm and unembarrassed, and with cogent logic, compact diction, and sonorous elocution, made a prompt response, in support of a measure which tended to seat the king "in the hearts of his people, by abating from magnificence what was due to necessity." On the 31st May the young orator made his second speech, contending that the power of controlling the public expenditure was a constitutional trust reposed in the House of Commons, and that no part of that trust could, consistently with duty, be delegated to persons who were not of that body. Pitt's eloquence, however, was unavailing, for on both these occasions the Tory Government was triumphant. On the 12th June Pitt spoke a third time. The subject before the House was Fox's motion for an inquiry into the state of the war with America. Favouring this inquiry, Pitt urged some general reasons for its prosecution, vindicated his father, whose opinions had been misrepresented, and in reply to Lord Westcote, who called the contest a holy war, affirmed that, in his view, it was "a most accursed, wicked, barbarous, cruel, unnatural, unjust, and diabolical war." It is singular that the respondent to this ardent oratory should have been Henry Dundas, at that moment the uncompromising opponent, but destined ere long to be the most trusted of all Pitt's Cabinet colleagues.

In the May of the following year the young senator gave fresh proofs of his sympathy with the popular cause. Moving for a select committee to examine into the state of the representation, he boldly inveighed against the corrupt influence of the Crown, declared himself the enemy of close boroughs and decayed village constituencies, and cited, anonymously, the opinion of Lord Chatham, "that unless a more solid and equal system of representation were established, this nation, great and happy as it might have been, would come to be confounded in the mass of those whose liberties were lost in the corruption of the people." Still more: on the 17th of the same month, when Alderman Sawbridge proposed a Bill to shorten the duration of Parliaments, Pitt, equally with Fox, spoke in favour of the motion. The eager Reformer's democratic policy swiftly brought down on him the oratorical thunders of Burke. "On Friday last," writes Sheridan, "Burke acquitted himself with the most magnanimous indiscretion, attacked William Pitt in a scream of passion, and

swore that Parliament was and always had been precisely what it ought to be, and that all people who thought of reforming it, wanted to overturn the Constitution."

Such was the parliamentary *début* of William Pitt. He spoke on many other occasions during his ante-ministerial career, and earned golden opinions from friends, rivals, and opponents. His eloquence and abilities were universally recognised. Wilberforce, his friend, called him a ready-made orator, and predicted his future pre-eminence. "He promises to be one of the first men in Parliament," remarked an Opposition member. "He is so already," replied his generous competitor, Fox. "He is *not* a chip of the old block," exclaimed Burke, correcting some casual critic; "he is the old block itself."

During these days of early triumph Pitt formed many happy and valuable intimacies. Among his associates were Edward Eliot, his future brother-in-law, Richard Arden, afterwards Lord Alvanley, Robert Smith, and William Wilberforce, the dearest of all his friends. It is pleasant to read how these young men, with other congenial companions, met in the first two years of Pitt's life at Brooks's, or White's, or Goostree's, in Pall Mall; how during one winter Pitt supped at their favourite club every night; and how, among professed wits, the most amusing, the most ready, the most apt, was the boy-senator William Pitt. "He was the wittiest man," says Wilberforce, "that I ever knew." Even in maturer life there must have been something genial in the stately Pitt; a something of good fellowship in the man, who, having drunk a bottle of wine at his own house would go into Bellamy's with Dundas and help finish a couple more. "In Wraxall," says the admirable humourist who has painted the Georgian manners with a master's finish, "we find the Prime Minister himself, the redoubted William Pitt, engaged in high jinks with personages of no less importance than Lord Thurlow, the Lord Chancellor, and Mr. Dundas, the Treasurer of the Navy. Wraxall relates how these three statesmen, returning after dinner from Addiscombe, found a turnpike open and galloped through it without paying the toll. The turnpike man, fancying they were highwaymen, fired a blunderbuss after them and missed them; and the poet sang—

'How, as Pitt wandered dashing o'er the plain,
His reason drowned in Jenkinson's champagne,
A rustic's hand—but righteous fate withstood—
Had shed a premier's for a robber's blood.'

Here we have the Treasurer of the Navy, the Lord High Chancellor, and the Prime Minister, all engaged in a most undoubted lark.'"

But dropping this pleasant gossip, we must hurry back to the

scene where the "giants of debate" are to engage in the strife of words and principles.

The economical reform of Burke dwindled down into the measure of retrenchment and supervision enforced by the valuable, though less comprehensive Civil List Act of Lord Rockingham. The death of the Premier (July, 1782) dissolved the Government. It was followed by the Shelburne Administration. Fox, indignant with Lord Shelburne for his clandestine negotiation with Franklin, and outvoted on a question of foreign policy, determined to resign. Burke and eight other members of the Government followed the great Whig leader. In the new Cabinet William Pitt, now little more than twenty-three years of age, attained a position that must have satisfied even his lofty aspiration, that of Chancellor of the Exchequer. Treating Fox's opposition as a personal struggle for power, Pitt from this moment became the active and open rival of that haughty politician. In an inauspicious hour the parties of Lord North and Mr. Fox formed a Coalition, outvoted the Government, and aspired to power. In vain did the king resolve to resist their pretensions. Twice did he invite the young and ambitious ex-Chancellor to become his Premier. Pitt, awaiting a fitting opportunity, rejected the royal solicitations. North, the compliant minister, and Fox, the formidable opponent of the Crown, uniting their forces, stormed their way into power. To extenuate the error of Fox it is pleaded that he had early desired to form new combinations of party with a view to reinvigorate the mental blood of the Whig family, and it has been argued that his share in this new Coalition was no violation of principle. "The undisguised purpose of regaining power," however, is admitted by his friendly biographer and unexceptionable critic. The event proved the worse than futility of a political alliance which justified public suspicion and stultified personal precedent. The coalition, detested by the king, condemned by friends, and repudiated by the people, was denounced by Pitt with indignant vehemence. The simple, but striking figure with which he closed his famous speech in 1783 is well known: "And if this inauspicious union be not already consummated, in the name of my country I forbid the banns."

General opposition soon ripened into active and strenuous hostility. The long struggle between the king and the Whig faction was shortly to terminate in the defeat of that usurping oligarchy. The introduction of Fox's India Bill, a drastic and offensive though broad and beneficial measure, was the occasion of its fall. This Bill proposed that the authority of the East India Company should be transferred to seven commissioners, to be nominated by Parliament for four years, and afterwards to be appointed by the Crown. The principle encountered the most decisive resistance, securing,

as it was supposed to do, the ascendancy of the Ministry of the day, or, in other words, of Fox and the party of Fox. Pitt describes it in a letter to the Duke of Rutland as a most unconstitutional measure, the result of which would be to remit the immense patronage and influence of the East to Charles Fox in or out of office. Though the Government triumphed in the House, public opinion pronounced against it. The Common Council of London, followed by other municipal bodies, entreated that it might not pass into law. The Ministry was assailed with all the light artillery of wit. In particular, a notable carricature by Sayer, "Carlo Khan's Triumphal Entry into Leadenhall-street," represented Fox riding on an elephant, with a face like that of Lord North, and led to the door of the India House by Burke, blowing a trumpet. The king now determined to defeat the measure by what was then and has since been regarded as an act of treachery, imprudence, and unconstitutional interference, but what finds an apologist in the present amiable biographer of Pitt. After permitting the Bill to pass through all its stages in the Lower House, the king interposed, in a clandestine and irregular manner, to prevent its progress. Instead of summoning his Cabinet, and offering the alternative of compliance with his wishes or dismissal from his service, he authorized Lord Temple to instruct the peers that whoever voted for the India Bill would not only cease to be his friend, but would be considered by him as an enemy. The peers accordingly assumed a threatening attitude. The king's faction proclaimed his Majesty's wishes, and the Ministers were placed in a minority. It was in vain that the Commons resolved; it was in vain Fox remonstrated; the royal stratagem succeeded. The day following the rejection of the Bill in the Lords' House, the king, pushing his advantage, dismissed his Ministers, and with crowning insult sent a message to Lord North and Mr. Fox, commanding them to return their seals of office by the Under Secretary of State, as a personal interview would be disagreeable to him.

But if the conduct of the king was unconstitutional, that of the Ministry was highly reprehensible. To meet the manœuvres of the Crown, the House retaliated by a resolution that positively implied a censure of the sovereign. Pitt meanwhile took no part in the unworthy machinations of the Court. Satisfying himself with affirming that the House could not deal with rumour, and that the hereditary councillors of the Crown had a right to advise the Crown, the aspiring son of Chatham, who had not long since declared that he would never accept a subordinate place, quietly awaited his approaching elevation. On the 19th December, 1783, Pitt accepted the offices of First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer. On the 22nd Lord Temple, disappointed,

according to Lord Stanhope's probable conjecture, in some object of personal ambition, flung down the seal in anger, and set off to Stowe, leaving the young Minister to do battle alone against the tremendous array of talent and energy opposed to him. The tact, sagacity, patience, and courage which Pitt displayed in the two months' contest for power which ensued, have been allowed and eulogized even by his political opponents. Almost single-handed he contended with "a compact majority of the House of Commons, led on by chiefs of consummate oratorical ability—by Burke and Sheridan, by Fox and Lord North." The issue was fiercely contested, but gradually the numerical force of the Opposition declined, and on the 8th of March Fox was finally defeated, and the victory remained with Pitt. The Mutiny Bill was passed; the supplies were voted; and on the 25th the Parliament was dissolved.

The Opposition had ruined their cause. The Whig oligarchy, though expressing the opinions and sustaining the interests of their country, had in reality contrived to monopolize most of the functions of representative government. Their hateful alliance, their misconstrued India Bill, their factious antagonism, their unwillingness to reform abuses, and their mismanagement of the franchise question, conspired to effect the political ruin of "the Revolution families." The country, regarding the Coalition as the cabal of a domineering aristocracy, exulted in its downfall. The Tory-Whig compact had rent the *soi-disant* popular party to pieces. Through kingly friendship, through national sympathy, through public illuminations, through the paradoxical compliments of mob oratory, Pitt strode, with firm foot, onward to the possession of authentic and almost absolute power. The inheritor of a glorious name, the emancipator of royalty, the champion of parliamentary reform, the favourite of the middle classes, Pitt became in general estimation a kind of national cynosure—the inaugurator of a new and resplendent era. In all this there was a genuine and fatal element, but also an element fortuitous and factitious.

The king dissolved the Parliament. The country readily responded to the appeal. The large constituencies, exasperated with the overbearing "Revolution;" the incorporated boroughs, anxious to maintain inviolate the sanctity of their charters; the Whig county of York, uncompromising in its hostility to the pernicious doctrines of free-trade; the men of both parties, alike alienated by the ill-starred Coalition, unanimously supported the cause of Pitt, the king, and the people. When Parliament was reopened (18th May), the young Minister, who now represented the University of Cambridge, had an overpowering majority. The Crown from this moment acquired an ascendancy which lasted fifty years; royal prerogative, tempered by individual genius and will,

was long the paramount power in the State. The aristocratical usurpation was over: the popular volition coincided with the regal wish, and the intended policy of the high-minded son of Chatham was assumed to be one that would consult alike the interests of the king and the people. Oligarchy, it seemed, had perished with Charles Fox, and a national party had arisen under the auspices of William Pitt. We shall see how much of this glorious promise was realized: we shall see with what results the new adviser of the Crown presided over the destinies of a great empire for seventeen years—nine of peace, and eight of war.

When at the age of twenty-four Pitt met his first Parliament, there were two subjects that demanded immediate attention—the public finances and the affairs of the East India Company. Superior to Fox in his knowledge of fisc and commerce, Pitt commenced his career with a tact that propitiated and a boldness that disarmed opposition. The legacy left by the late war was a floating debt of fourteen millions. There was altogether a deficit of three millions, and the Three per Cents. had fallen to 56. Of the war debt, Pitt proposed to fund about half; nine hundred thousand pounds he undertook to raise by increased taxation. Some of Pitt's imposts have been long since abandoned, while others continue to hold their ground. Among the former we may notice the taxes on linen, calico, candles, bricks, and tiles; among the latter, the duties on horses, excise licences, and game certificates. Pitt also increased the tax on windows and paper, imposts which sounder views of economy have recently abolished. At this period the smuggling trade, in which forty thousand persons were said to be engaged, seems to have been reduced to a complete system. To prevent or diminish this illicit traffic, Pitt, to the great delight, we presume, of the Indian monopolists, reduced the duty on tea and spirits, the principal smuggled commodities, following the suggestion of Lord Mahon, who had recommended the reduction of duties as beneficial to the revenue. Anticipating, however, a considerable deficit as the first result of this remedial measure, he proposed to recover the difference by a graduated duty on windows—the so-called Commutation Tax.

On the 3rd June the new Chancellor of the Exchequer brought forward the Budget. The current services of the year he estimated at nearly eight millions. In deciding to fund only six millions and a half of the unfunded debt of fourteen millions, Pitt was influenced by the state of the money-market. In addition to a long annuity and lottery ticket, he offered five per cent. at present and four and a half per cent. in perpetuity to the lenders. But while thus following the vicious antecedents of his predecessors on the plea of necessity, "he did justice in his speech to the true principles of finance."

The financial question settled, the next subject that called for adjustment was that of Indian Government. Weighing with great caution the conflicting interests involved, the native incapabilities, the experience of the servants of the Company, the difficulties attending the entire assumption by the sovereign of his rights over the splendid dominion; avoiding any undue influence of the Crown on the one hand, or of parliamentary ascendancy on the other, Pitt proposed a measure that had no pretensions to large statesmanship, but which, according to Mr. Massey, was wisely framed to meet a special exigency. The Board of Control established by Pitt proved to be the foundation of that system of double government which, with some subsequent modifications, was perpetuated "till the sudden access of a terrible convulsion precipitated the change which would otherwise have been postponed for many a long year."

The historian of British India, contrasting Pitt's Bill with that of his rival, says that while the one destroyed the power of the Directors, the other professed to leave it entire, but that owing to the vagueness and ambiguity of the language, while no great deduction was ostensibly made from that power, the terms in which the functions of the Board were controlled were susceptible of an interpretation which took away the whole. Profiting by this elastic basis, Pitt, in 1786, at the suggestion of Lord Cornwallis, proceeded to diminish the influence of the Directors, by attaching to the Crown the nomination of the Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief, proposing to vest both offices in one and the same person. In 1787 the Declaratory Bill for the increase of the king's troops in India, and the appropriation by the Crown of Indian revenue to any useful service, though protested against by the indignant Directors, still further extended the operation of the original India Bill. The mask, says Earl Russell, had been worn long enough. Mr. Pitt was in haste to throw it aside, and to appear in the character of dictator which he had unjustly attributed to Mr. Fox. In one respect, however, the noble critic admits that the system of Pitt, as developed by his Scotch colleague, was preferable to that of his opponent; explaining that while Fox contended that the seat of power must be at home, Dundas maintained the expediency of the appointment of a resident Governor-General. Whether we interpret Pitt's change of opinion as sincere conversion, or decide with Mr. James Mill that he had recourse to deception, it is only just to recognise the efficiency of the Indian administration which Pitt inaugurated. Upon the whole, then, concludes Earl Russell, there is some reason for the boast of Mr. Dundas—"We never before had a government of India, both at home and abroad, acting in perfect unison together, on principles of perfect purity and integrity."

In this spirit and with these measures did the yet inexperienced statesman open his ministerial career. At the commencement of the session of 1785, while still under twenty-six, Pitt was essentially the foremost man of the kingdom: in oratory the rival or reputed equal of Fox; in finance, and perhaps in special political knowledge, his superior: with a popularity which exceeded that of Chatham: with a power that surpassed that of Walpole. But for chronological narrative we shall now substitute critical summary, taking a rapid survey of the general procedure of Pitt during his triumphant peace administration, and omitting all notice of such special topics as those of the Regency question, the trial of Hastings, the Quebec or Canada Bill, and the Colonial Employment of Convict Labour.

It was not only as the champion of the Crown, but as the champion of the people, that Pitt obtained the supreme eminence which he now occupied. Accordingly the question of an amended representation soon pressed for decision. As early as the year 1780 the accumulation of petitions in favour of reform, economical as well as parliamentary, had given rise to discussion in the Commons' House. About twelve years before this, Lord Chatham had suggested a remedy for corrupt and venal boroughs. Unhappily, to restore the purity and independence of Parliament had been no part of the Whig programme. On this subject great diversity of opinion prevailed in the Liberal camp of Pitt's day, from the absolute opposition of Burke, through the hesitation of Rockingham, the doubt of Cavendish, and the moderation of Fox, to the demand for annual parliaments and universal suffrage of the Duke of Richmond. In 1782, while the Whigs were still in power, Pitt, following in his father's track, proposed to transfer the seats forfeited by the rotten boroughs to more important places; admitting, in an occasional speech, the injurious, corrupt, and baneful influence of the Crown, while sanguinely assuming that under the new, that is, the Rockingham Administration, that influence had already ceased to exist. In the following year the young reformer advocated the adoption of measures against bribery and expense at elections; the disfranchisement of all boroughs in which the majority of voters was convicted of corruption (the unbribed minority being allowed to vote for the county); and an addition to the knights of the shire and members for the metropolis. In 1784 he supported Mr. Duncombe's petition from the freeholders of Yorkshire, complaining of the inadequate state of the representation of the people. In the session of 1785, Pitt, true to his promise, introduced a measure of parliamentary reform framed and matured in concert with the Liberal politicians of that influential county. The characteristic propositions of the new Bill were an enlargement of the county constituencies by the

admission of copyholders, the enfranchisement of eight manufacturing towns, among others Birmingham and Manchester, and the transfer of seventy-two members returned by thirty-six decayed boroughs to the counties and metropolis. By these provisions it was estimated that a total addition of ninety-nine thousand would be made to the electoral body. Mr. Massey applauds the idea, but considers the machinery simple and absurd. Pitt proposed, probably to secure the acceptance of his bill, not only to buy the boroughs in the market, but to let the sale be optional! The Bill was debated, and rejected by a majority of seventy-four. The Minister never again renewed the subject. Some years after (1790) when Mr. Flood moved for a Bill to amend the representation of the people, Pitt, though unable to assent to the motion, still professed himself a friend to the amendment of the representation.

Two questions occur here: why did Pitt utterly fail in this project of parliamentary reform; and why, after one defeat, did he never again renew the attempt? The cause of the failure lay less, we think, in the puerility of his plan than in the indifference of his Cabinet, the hostility of Parliament, and the unprepared state of the public mind. The country was not ripe for any considerable measure of reform. At that time, we must bear in mind, that our now large manufacturing towns were little more than scattered hamlets, and that the counties and metropolis were the sole centres of public spirit and patriotic effort.* The proprietors of boroughs were interested in the maintenance of a system of corruption; the king was opposed to reform; the Tories were opposed to reform; eminent Whigs were opposed to reform; and the apathy of the public, in the restored prosperity of the country, was an evidence that the popular demand had ceased. We cannot think that Pitt was insincere. The testimony of Mr. Secretary Rose, that not only in the House, but in private, Pitt pressed his plan with enthusiasm, negatives such a supposition. But why did he never again renew the attempt? Shall we say, with Earl Russell, that Pitt was satisfied with his own personal security for good measures and popular rights; or that, not unwilling to be persuaded of the present inutility of all reform movements, he postponed indefinitely all considerations of parliamentary revision? Shall we allow that Pitt continued a reformer in heart, or shall we hazard the conjecture that a bias to prerogative, very natural in his position, matured into gradual estrangement from his earlier principles? Whatever may be our decision as to Pitt's motives for silence, the discredit of inaction in the reform cause till after the outbreak of the French Revolution, must be equally shared by Mr. Fox and the Whigs.

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* Massey.

The necessity for the purification of the representative body in Ireland had long been acknowledged. Since the perversion of the patriotic association of 1779, when on the alarm of foreign invasion a hundred thousand volunteers sprang to arms, the sister island had been in a disturbed and critical state. Soon after the rejection of Flood's sweeping measure of Irish reform (1784), the state of this important constituent of the British Empire demanded the serious attention of the new Administration. Strange as some may deem it, the Irish policy of Pitt was far more liberal than that of Fox and the other Whig leaders. Fox was of opinion that concession and conciliation had gone far enough. Pitt maintained that the restoration of tranquillity and the establishment of government in Ireland were conditional on the removal of still existing grievances. The measures contemplated by Pitt for the redress of her wrongs were parliamentary reform and commercial freedom. Finding that the first was impracticable, Pitt attempted to give peace and prosperity to Ireland by an instalment of free trade; a policy which, however partial and defective, was far too just and liberal for the age. The famous eleven propositions of 1785, advocating the removal of restrictions conformably to Pitt's maxim of "community of benefits with a community of burthens," were made known to the House "in a speech which expounded the enlarged principles of a sound commercial policy." Pitt's views, imperfect as they were, were far in advance of his audience and of the country. Fox, who was ignorant of political economy; Burke, who ought to have known better; Sheridan, perhaps from mistaken patriotism; and North, blinded by selfish prejudice, employed all their rhetoric to obstruct the progress of the Bill. Out of the House the mecrhants and manufacturers rose in arms against a scheme which the great Whig orator denounced as "a tame surrender of the commerce and manufactures of the country." The propositions had been drawn up with great care. The principal members of the Irish Government had been consulted; the English Board of Trade, under Pitt's directions, had minutely investigated the subject. After numerous concessions to the manufacturing jealousy of England, abridging the promised equality of commerce, and tending materially to affect the independence of the Irish Legislature, it was successfully introduced into the British Parliament. Thus modified, it wounded still more the susceptible pride of Ireland, and though passed, was passed by so small a majority in the sister kingdom, that the Minister announced its withdrawal. Dublin, says the historian, was illuminated, and "the event was celebrated as a deliverance from a great calamity."

If Mr. Pitt's nobly conceived project for the pacification of Ireland by the enfranchisement of trade was thus rendered

abortive, a signal success attended his next attempt to initiate that freedom of commerce which it has been reserved for one great successor to establish and another to conduct towards completion. About three years after Pitt's accession to ministerial power, the King of Great Britain announced that he had concluded a treaty of navigation and commerce with the King of France. This treaty, negotiated by Mr. Eden* at Versailles, September 16, 1786, may be regarded as the precursor of a similar treaty in our own day, suggested by similar views and sentiments, and attended with similar success.† The object of Pitt's treaty, which was to continue in force twelve years, was the diminution of prohibitory duties. Conceding freedom of reciprocal intercourse, it opened new ports to the woollen, the cotton, the earthenware, the cutlery, and the brass and copper manufactures of England. On the other hand, it lowered the duties on the vinegar, the brandy, and olive oil of France. It is curious that, as in the case of its antitype, "a great concession was made" to that country, "the differential duties in favour of the wines of Portugal being abolished." But not only was the treaty calculated to benefit the commerce of both nations, it was conducive also to the ruin of the contraband traffic. In explaining its provisions, Pitt showed at once his patriotism, his humanity, and his statesmanlike grasp of great and permanent principles. While Fox constituted himself the champion of a protective policy and international hatred, declaring that France was the natural and unalterable enemy of England; while Burke could taunt the Minister with promoting "a contention for custom between the Fleur-de-lis and the Red Lion," Pitt, in his grand philosophic manner, was advocating increase by means of reduction, intimate communion and mutual benefit tending to the preservation of harmony, and explaining that the two countries having each its own and distinct staple—having each that which the other wanted, and not clashing on the leading lines of their respective riches—were like two great traders in different branches, and thus might enter into a traffic which would prove mutually beneficial to them. No wonder that Lord Stanhope's "keen observer" exclaimed, though on a different occasion, "Fox and Sheridan, and all of them put together, are nothing to Pitt."

But the spirit of reform which animated the youthful premier was exhibited not only in this effort to remove restrictions, but in other valuable and imperative measures. Thus, in spite of the resistance which he encountered, Pitt succeeded in carrying during

* Afterwards Lord Auckland.

† "The annual average export of British manufactures to France in the ten years ending with 1774 was 87,164*l.*: in the six years ending with 1792, it was 717,807*l.*"

the session of 1785 a Bill which was intended for the repression of official extravagance and peculation (Lord North had spent more than 300*l.* in one year in packthread !), and for the regulation and audit of the public accounts. Another important measure, the consolidation of the customs and excise, originated in the administration of Lord North, was received and matured by the discriminating intellect of Pitt. So complicated was then the system of indirect taxation, that no fewer than three thousand resolutions were needed to effect the required simplification. Yet such were the unquestionable merits of the proposed arrangement for charging the whole debt on the aggregate of the whole duties collected under the name of the Consolidated Fund, that it extorted the admiration of Burke, who thanked and complimented the proposer "for having in so masterly a manner brought forward a plan which gave ease and accommodation to all engaged in commerce, and advantage and increase to the revenue." Need we add that the Bill passed triumphantly in both Houses?

The enemies of Free-trade called themselves Pittites. Conversely, the singular friends of humanity in revolutionary France styled Pitt the enemy of the human race; but that Pitt, whose name we are told even the negro-drivers invoked, was no less favourable to the extension of human liberty than that of commercial freedom, is demonstrated by his own powerful and eloquent advocacy of the gradual abolition of the slave-trade, on the night of April 2, 1792, when his comprehensive mind anticipated the prospect of future civilization for Africa, in opposition to those who contended that Africa was incapable of being civilized.

Again, in regard to religious freedom, Pitt was by no means behind his age. It is true that when Beaufoy proposed the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, Pitt decided that the bulwark of Nonconformist exclusion must be kept up, but not without evident reluctance, says Mr. Massey; or, in the more emphatic language of Lord Macaulay, referring, we suspect, to a later period, "not till he had laid before George III. unanswerable reasons for abolishing it." Another instance of Pitt's predilection for honest human freedom is found in the support which he gave on the first revolutionary period of his career to Fox's Bill for placing the liberty of the press under the protection of trial by jury.

Hastily reviewing the nine years of peace which followed the overthrow of the Whig oligarchs, we may say, in a few words, that the economic progress of the nation steadily advanced. In the five years which elapsed between 1783 and 1788, the revenue received an augmentation of 5,000,000*l.*, while even in 1790, the expenditure was not greater than it had been in 1784, being under 12,000,000*l.* During the whole of this time, this preliminary

season of tranquillity, this hush before the storm, the "kingdom trusted to a schoolboy's care" continued to exhibit the same signal prosperity which, in the opinion of a great Liberal statesman, characterized the dawn of that happier period when "the infant Atlas of the State" supported his majestic burden on shoulders not unfit "to bear the weight of mightiest monarchies." Thus, says Earl Russell, "in the course of little more than three years from Mr. Pitt's acceptance of office as First Lord of the Treasury, great financial and commercial reforms had been effected. The nation, overcoming its difficulties and rising buoyant from its depression, began rapidly to increase its wealth, to revive its spirit, and to renew its strength. Such was the work of Mr. Pitt, now no longer the Minister of the Court, but of the nation. The cry of secret influence, and the imputation of his being an organ of an unseen Power, was heard less and less as the resources of his powerful understanding developed their energies and ripened their fruits."

In an eloquent and philosophical exposition of the principles of government and the sources of national prosperity, Pitt, on the 17th February, 1792, announced to the House that there never was a time in the history of the country, when, from the situation of Europe, fifteen years of peace might be more reasonably expected than at that moment. Far from anticipating the disastrous issue of the French Revolution, which Burke early regarded as inevitable, Pitt in his speech of February 9, 1790, had ventured to prophesy that the convulsions of France would sooner or later terminate in general harmony and regular order. The policy recommended by Pitt was that of strict neutrality. In June, 1792, an immediate reduction of our war establishment was contemplated. In October and November of the same year, Pitt still upheld the wisdom of non-intervention, and believed in the probability of the spontaneous restoration of order in France. On the 29th December we find him still of opinion that hostilities might be averted, and suggesting to the Russian Government a plan, unfortunately never acted upon, for the renewal of friendly intercourse between that country and the European Powers at war with her. Three weeks after a change came over the spirit of his dream. On the 20th January, 1793, Pitt appears to have arrived at the decision, that the sooner the war began the better. This is the earliest intimation we can find of a decided change of conviction on the part of Pitt. The withdrawal of Earl Gower (17th August, 1792), however impolitic, was not intended as a declaration of approaching hostility; it seems to have been an ordinary diplomatic procedure. The trial of the king did not induce Pitt to abandon his pacific policy, for we find him inviting foreign Governments, due security being given by France, to adopt a similar policy, while the result of that trial was still unknown.

The reason for Pitt's change of opinion must be conjectured from the events that intervened between December 29 and January 20. On the latter day Lord Loughborough's continued political manœuvres were at last crowned with success. He had previously attempted to promote an union of administration between Fox and Pitt, hoping, if that union were effected, to obtain for himself the Great Seal. On the failure of this attempt he endeavoured to secure the adhesion of the Portland section of the Whig party to the Pitt administration. In this project Loughborough succeeded, and on the 20th January, after an interview with Pitt, he reported to Malmesbury that the war was a decided measure. This break-up of the Whig faction annihilated the Opposition. Lord Brougham intimates that in this transaction is to be found the motive of Pitt's change of policy; and it is, as Mr. Knight observes, scarcely possible to doubt that Loughborough influenced the decision. On the same day on which Loughborough came to an understanding with Pitt, Lord Grenville informed M. Chauvelin, the now accredited Minister Plenipotentiary of the French Republic, that his Britannic Majesty refused to receive his credentials, and on the 24th he was ordered to leave England, having curiously enough on the preceding day been recalled by the French Convention. M. Maret, who succeeded him, remained in London till the 6th of February, but without receiving any instructions from his Government. Meanwhile, on the 28th January, a message from the Crown announced that the military and naval establishments in Great Britain were to be placed on a war footing, and on the 1st February, when the House was considering the king's message, and Pitt was reviewing the revolutionary policy of France, the occupation of the Netherlands, the forcible opening of the Scheldt, the decree of the 19th November, and the menacing letter of Monge, the Minister of Marine, the Convention declared war against Great Britain and the United Provinces. Was Pitt responsible for the terrible consequences of this declaration? Was Pitt the true author of the appalling strife that ensued?

On this subject opinion has been, and still is, divided. Pitt was certainly not the first to declare war, but, as Mignet remarks, "the true author of war is not he who declares it, but he who renders it necessary." Perhaps no negotiation could ultimately have prevented a war when the fiery fanaticism of French Republicans was already combining with the feverish excitement and inflammatory ardour of England's frightened landed gentry and commercial classes, to produce the eventful explosion. But even if ultimately inevitable, Mr. Pitt was preliminarily bound to do all that he could to prevent war, and to abstain from doing what was calculated to precipitate war. We think it can scarcely be maintained that Pitt fulfilled either of these obligations. Earl

Russell points out that when Chauvelin called on the British Government to stop the progress of the anti-revolutionary Confederacy, that Government refused to do so, though Lord Grenville knew that the object of the Coalition was the conquest, and at least the partial dismemberment, of France.* On the other hand, no sooner was Flanders invaded, than the Government assumed a "restless and menacing attitude." France was no doubt an aggressor, but Austria and Prussia in issuing their Royalist programme had provoked the counter-proclamation of the 19th November. England might have interposed. Instead of refusing to interfere with the Allies, England might have offered the renunciation of their project as the price of the repeal of that revolutionary decree. A second great error in Pitt's policy is also noted by Earl Russell. Lord Grenville, it is objected, demanded from France not only the repeal of the November decree, but the abandonment of all her conquests, without offering France in return any guarantee "against a renewal of the Duke of Brunswick's march, and the execution of the majority of the Convention as traitors and murderers." It was quite impossible, is Lord Russell's decision, "that any Government should accept such unequal terms."† Had, however, the despatch addressed by Pitt to Russia, but never communicated to France, and therefore never acted on, been made the basis of negotiation, we have the authority of the great constitutional statesman already mentioned, for the opinion that peace might have been restored to Europe.

But while Pitt, "never very strong upon foreign affairs," omitted to adopt any war-avoiding measures, he actually invited hostilities by his ill-advised procedure. Thus the Alien Act was passed in direct contravention of the Treaty of Commerce, though it is true that the French Government had lost the right to remonstrate. Thus the proclamation which prohibited the exportation of corn to France, during our avowed neutrality, was intended, as Dundas confessed, as a precautionary expedient for crippling the French: thus also the dismissal of Chauvelin, as previously the recall of Lord Gower, though not a *casus belli*, was at least an incentive to war. This last incident, however, is of little consequence, as Pitt seems to have already decided on that ultimate argument of kings, failing the alternative of absolute submission on the part of France.

The question still remains why did Pitt resolve on war? Sir A. Alison thinks it was principally to avert the danger arising from the diffusion of democratic principles in our own country.

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* The Correspondence of Lord Auckland shows that the contraction of the boundaries of France within the river Somme was contemplated by the Allies.

† "Life of Charles James Fox," vol. ii. p. 347.

According to Mr. Newmarch, the execution of the king "suddenly converted a previous neutrality into a state of declared war."* Lord Stanhope attributes this sudden conversion to the hostile measures of the French against Holland and their violation of vested rights in the forcible opening of the rivers Scheldt and Meuse. If the first reason assigned were really the prevailing motive, we cannot too strongly censure the decision of Pitt. If war were determined on for the second reason, not only do we consider the plea invalid, but we think it comes with a peculiarly bad grace from the rulers of a people who had brought their own king to the block less than a century and a half before. With regard to Holland and the Scheldt, the free navigation of which has long since been sanctioned by the European Powers, and which never ought to have been closed, "the conduct of Ministers," says Lord Russell, "afforded a fresh proof of their disingenuousness," for though the French *did* violate a treaty-right, the Dutch never required us to fulfil the terms of the alliance, and seemed indisposed to make the opening of the Scheldt a cause of war unless forced to do so by us.† Holland was satisfied to remain neutral. France had given a positive assurance that, provided it remained so, its conquest should not be attempted. She had also promised that Belgium, now independent, should be free to choose her own form of government.

Thus we seem compelled to admit that the true cause was the aggressive and menacing spirit of the French Revolution. It really was, as Dundas affirmed, "to prevent the spread of principles, which unless they were crushed, would necessarily occasion the destruction of this and every other country," that Pitt, yielding to popular sentiment, to "timid alarms," and "ignorant fears," embraced a policy which would have compelled a declaration of war on the part of England, if it had not been anticipated by a similar declaration on the part of France. While we hesitate to say that protracted negotiation would have averted hostilities, we cannot but censure Pitt for his prætermission of that wiser policy, which, in the emphatic language of the noble author whom we have so frequently quoted, "would 'perhaps' have preserved Europe from the devastation of conquest, and Great Britain from a weight of taxes which still enhances to every man and woman in the United Kingdom the price of ordinary articles of comfort, and aggravates the task of industry by an addition to the hours of labour."

In his determination to oppose French aggression, and to put

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* The king's execution did not take place till the 21st January, the day after Loughborough's interview with Pitt.

† "Life of Charles James Fox," vol. ii. p. 333.

down by arms French philosophy, Pitt carried the whole country with him. Republican fanaticism had called up Royalist fanaticism ; and the war-cry of Human Right raised in France was met by the Englishman's defiant shout of Church and King. In fact, something very like a war of principles arose in Europe ; a war in which the incendiary spirit of French freedom on the one hand encountered priestly selfishness, and kingly prejudice on the other, consecrated, however, by the love of that national independence which the aggressive and menacing spirit of the Revolution endangered.

In the commencement of that extraordinary Revolution—the most violent phase of an European transformation which began long before, and will continue long after it—"the sudden and successful effort of the French people to throw off the yoke of despotism, appealed to the sympathies of Englishmen, and recalled the glorious memory of similar struggles in which they had been engaged, and of the liberties which they had in like manner conquered."* In the splendid sunrise of hope that for a moment lighted up her political horizon, France "took at once the attraction of a country in romance." Statesmen, philosophers, and poets—Fox, Romilly, Priestley, Wordsworth, Southey, and Coleridge—all welcomed it as the direct dawn of a new era for oppressed humanity. Of course they were greatly wrong, but then its opponents were not wholly right. The French Revolution was, Macaulay tells us, a great blessing for mankind. "It effected," says J. S. Mill, "substantial good of immense value, at the cost of immediate and tremendous evil." It did away with a multitude of imposts ; it suppressed tithes and feudal rights ; it abolished the corvee, the gabelle, and the taille ; it redistributed the land, one-third of which, the property of the oppressed Commons, was subjected to every species of burden, the king's tax, the lord's rent, the priests' dues ; while two-thirds, the monopoly of the privileged classes, enjoyed exemption from most, if not all, public assessments. It subverted that oppressive *régime* which had maintained twenty bastilles in different parts of France, and thirty State prisons in Paris alone, where incarceration without any sentence was allowed. But the Revolution had more than one aspect. Partly, that tremendous crash may be defined as a bankruptcy. Not only was there a financial crisis equivalent to national insolvency, but there was a bankrupt feudalism, a bankrupt church, and a bankrupt royalty. Partly, it was the premature announcement of a new system of belief. Rash, cruel, and unphilosophical as it was in its abrupt rejection of all sacerdotal theology, that rejection was, nevertheless, on abstract

* Massey's "History of England," vol. iii. p. 421.

grounds, warranted by reason. Partly, to borrow the language of Lamartine, it was an effort to realize that *ultimate* prospect of humanity which consists of an equal repartition of the common heritage of mankind; and partly, it was, as Carlyle defines it, "a struggle, though a blind and at last an insane one, for the infinite divine nature of Right, of Freedom, of Country!" On the other hand, the political incapacity, the hasty precipitate legislation, the Quixotic scorn of consequences, the logical over-statements and practical excesses, the personal oppression, and the final ferocity which marked the progress of the Revolution, excited natural indignation, and justified patriotic resistance. On the other hand, we must never forget that the evils of this terrific explosion were in part aggravated, in part superinduced, first, by the "illegal violence" of the Court party before the fall of the Bastille; secondly, by the intrusion of Continental sovereigns into the internal affairs of France; and thirdly, by the invasion of the Allies, which followed the insolent and sanguinary proclamation of men who, having partitioned Poland, were perhaps desirous to partition France; which left the French no alternative but to prepare for self-defence, and which was the direct antecedent of the terrible September Massacre that ushered in the infernal Reign of Terror.

The immediate effect of the adoption of a war policy by Pitt was very disastrous to the Liberal interests and the Liberal cause in England. It broke up the great Whig party; it made the nation more than ever indifferent to reform in Parliament; it disinclined Pitt to entertain any measures for the amendment of popular representation; and it afforded a palliation—Lord Stanhope thinks a justification—of the repressive policy which Pitt had already commenced. For those who held, with more or less intelligence, doctrines favourable to social and political improvement, to the collective and personal liberty of man, to the growth of a nobler and purer creed than that which then dominated and still dominates society—to see this separation of interests, and to mark the ensuing collision of principles, must have been insupportably sad. When, at a later period, the salvation of England was really dependent on the suppression of French conquest, patriotic men could do no less than, acknowledging the present impracticability of their views, postpone their further consideration, and join the ranks of those who, in fighting for national independence, were also fighting for Legitimacy and Divine right, for wretched Continental princes, partitioners of Poland, would-be partitioners of France, for protection, for repression of opinion, and for such an impotent issue as that of the Great Congress, when certain men, with crowns on their heads, assumed the settlement of Europe and established that Austrian rule in Italy

which it has been the glory of our day, already in great part, to subvert.

If the war policy in itself be questionable, the conduct of the war is still more so. Either from want of prevision, or from untoward circumstances, Pitt seems to us to have failed lamentably. In the first place, the remedy which he sought to apply only aggravated the evil. It prolonged the Reign of Terror; it led to the bloody defeats of La Vendée; it caused the horrible vengeance of Toulon; it excited sympathy with the Revolution, and universalized it throughout Europe. Pitt had professed the intention of not interfering with the home affairs of France, but in joining the Allies he threw himself into the views and policy of the Allies. He aided them in fighting for the restoration of the French monarchy, without having any distinct understanding, pledge, or security. He committed himself to the approval, or at least the acceptance, of objects which he disavowed. The Allies were mainly bent on their own selfish aggrandizement, and on the maintenance of absolute rule. The march on Paris was abandoned: Austria was to weaken France by land, and England to take possession of her fleets and colonies. The King of Prussia refused to assist the Austrian army, and returned home to look after his new acquisitions in Poland. The Prince of Coburg took possession of Valenciennes and Condé in the name of the Emperor. The Duke of Brunswick thwarted Austria, and General Wurmser justified the previous jealousy of Prussia by his proclamation to the people of Alsace. Such was the spirit of the Allies, that Lord Grenville distinctly recognised the dismemberment of France as one of the objects contemplated by them; and Burke was so little disposed to trust to the good intentions of the champions of order, that he contends that France, if despoiled of her frontier (which was talked of for Austria), would have no security against future encroachments. The Holy War of Mr. Burke, to restore an irreligious clergy, a profligate aristocracy, and a corrupt administration, was, it is true, still more impracticable; but his disapproval of Pitt's policy seems justified by the events. Prussia withdrew from a contest which was calculated to increase the preponderance of Austria; Spain, jealous of the maritime power of England, had no wish to continue it; and at length the confederacy of the Great Powers was dissolved at Bâle. In 1796 the Revolution had spread from Belgium to Italy; and so little success attended Pitt's belligerent measures, that he, ever an earnest lover of peace, was prepared in the following year for a reconciliation with France; though the price of that reconciliation was the cession of her conquests, "with Belgium as her dominion and Holland as her dependency." The second Coalition terminated in the Peace of Amiens, and the signal augmentation of

French power under the Consulate. The third Coalition resulted in the defeat of the Allies at Austerlitz, and the triumph of Napoleon and the Empire. With the statesmanly power assumed for Pitt in the conception of a war policy, and the rare sagacity claimed for him in planning military operations, it is strange that there should be ever the same result: in Germany failure, in Holland failure, in Belgium failure. Surely, either the politician or the statesman was in fault. We have no wish to deprive Pitt of his share in the merit of the great sea victories of Nelson and our other naval heroes, or of the Egyptian expedition under Abercrombie: neither do we affirm positively that he was not an able strategist. We leave the decision of this question to the proper authorities. It is enough for us to indicate that a system which, so far as Pitt was concerned, had nearly ended in defeat and surrender, which left us with no control over our disreputable Allies, which miscalculated the strength of the enemy, wasted English gold on foreign inefficiency,* and spread the Revolution which it undertook to extinguish, is a system that does not readily approve itself to our minds. The counter-policy of Fox—"that of armed arbitration abroad and the redress of grievances at home," with mutual concessions and securities, should at least have been tried before England was committed to a war, to which only the insane ambition of Napoleon permitted an incomplete success; and that, not after *two* years but twenty-two years of exhausting and desolating conflict. Nor can this ultimate triumph of the Allies be fairly attributed to Pitt's foresight. We can accredit the Minister with but little power of prevision who anticipated so speedy a conclusion to that great fight of principles which he unwillingly helped to inaugurate, or who fancied that the destruction of French finance involved the submission of French government—a fallacy succinctly refuted by Wilberforce's ready-witted guest, when he exclaimed, "I should like to know who was Chancellor of the Exchequer to Attila."

In close connexion with the war policy of Pitt stands the financial system which he adopted for the prosecution of the war. We have no intention of penetrating here into the tangled thickets of this perplexed question. Interweaving general comment with a general presentment of Pitt's finance, we design, with the aid of Mr. Newmarch, rather to invite instructed minds to a reconsideration of Pitt's finance, than to dogmatize on its merits

* It seems unnecessary to go into the subsidy question. Few persons would now defend the plan of largely subsidizing foreign sovereigns, of whose good faith we had no guarantee. Austria, who deserted us, had 4,500,000*l.*, Prussia cheated us out of 1,200,000*l.*

or demerits.* After his accession to power, Pitt, with characteristic clearness of perception, distinctly recognised, in opposition to the practice of his predecessors, the true principles of finance in the abstract. It was, he said, his idea that a fund at a high rate of interest was preferable to a fund at a low rate; for the reason that gradually to redeem and extinguish one debt ought ever to be the wise pursuit of government. In negotiating a loan, Pitt no less distinctly recognised the importance of the rule of free competition: so distinctly, indeed, that an opponent admitted, in a resolution proposed to the House, that the principle of making loans for the public service by free and open competition, "had been uniformly professed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer." With such sound views of finance, it is not easy to understand how Mr. Pitt's money operations exhibit either inherent fatuity or wanton extravagance. If Pitt deviated from his theory, there must have been some strong external pressure to compel the deviation. Such a pressure, Mr. Newmarch shows, did really exist in the practical difficulties of the times. In the first nine years of the war, there were no fewer than six deficient harvests. Continued scarcity, ending in intense distress, was aggravated by commercial discredit and paralysed commerce, disasters abroad, rebellion at home, "a failing revenue, and increasing burthens." If from these general considerations we proceed to an examination of some of the individual loans, we obtain the following results:—

Mr. Pitt, in 1793, after a bad harvest and in the midst of an European derangement of credit, tried to raise the amount of his first loan (4,500,000*l.*) in 4 or 5 per cent. stock; but in consequence of the scarcity of money, he received offers from one set of subscribers only, and as they preferred Three per Cents., Pitt appears to have had no option but to conclude the bargain in that stock. The price given was 72, somewhat less than the current price, but as the Three per Cents., after the declaration of war, fell rapidly from 79⅞ to 70¼, the premium offered was probably necessary to reimburse the contractors for the risk accompanying the operation. Mr. Newmarch calculates that had the loan been raised in the Five per Cents., it would have cost the country not 4*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.*, but 5*l.* 2*s.* per cent.

A great practical depreciation of high-rate funds as a Stock-exchange commodity, was a monetary characteristic of the first French war. Hence the "actual difference of price between Consols and Five per Cents. as the media of new loans," justified the adoption of the low-rate method. Many years after Pitt's death a very eminent free-trader—W. Huskisson—recognising

* See Essay "On the Loans raised by Mr. Pitt during the First French War, 1793—1801," &c., by William Newmarch.

this fact, explained that "the price of the public Stocks does not depend upon the value of the dry annuity," and illustrated the statement by an example derived from his own experience—stating that when as Secretary for the Treasury, 1806 to 1808, he proposed to the bidders for the loan to make the Three per Cents. redeemable at 80 [allowing a margin of 33 per cent. on a price of 60], they would not bid at all upon the proposal.

Between March, 1793, and February, 1801, there were eighteen loans, or operations equivalent to loans. One of these was the famous Loyalty loan of December, 1796; the terms of which have in part been, by some unaccountable inadvertency, so strangely misstated by Lord Stanhope (vol. ii. p. 389). The contractors received 112*l.* 10*s.* stock Five per Cents. for every 100*l.* money, and were protected by certain "stringent safeguards against future contingencies." The indomitable will of the nation, stimulated by a strong sense of self-interest, readily responded to the patriotic appeal of the Minister. The eighteen millions demanded were raised within about fifteen hours.

This Loyalty loan, was in point of fact, a magnificent contrivance, illustrating Pitt's self-reliance, cleverness, and wonderful tact "in learning the ideas, propensities, and predilections of the 'City' genus of mankind." The Minister wanted 18,000,000*l.* in hard cash, without any abatement. For the use of 100*l.* for two years, Pitt offered the lender 11*l.* 5*s.*, with the right of getting back his 100*l.* and 12*l.* 10*s.* besides, unless he then considered it more advantageous to keep the Stock and continue to receive the annual interest of 5*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.* The amount of "extravagance" involved in the arrangement can only be justified by the coercion that rendered it inevitable. It was the act of the statesman put on his mettle, rather than that of the sober-minded Chancellor of the Exchequer—an exploit rather than an operation.

Connected with the negotiation of this loan is a noticeable peculiarity which recalls the impolicy, abstractedly considered, with which Pitt is chargeable. That resolute Chancellor of the Exchequer was determined to get the money he wanted, and to get it he *offered* very attractive terms. In this way, while Pitt thoroughly accepted the theory of open competition in practice, he, as is alleged, violated the principle, offering his loans at a given price to certain persons.

Thus, in the case of the eighteen million loan of December, 1795, we find him according a preference "to Mr. Boyd and his party;" and if not actually offering terms, yet acceding to proposals, from some presumption of obligation to the subscribers of the last loan—though it appears that he could have borrowed the money on more favourable conditions. It has been further objected, that Pitt's unconcealed settledness of intention, his

determination to have the cash at any price, by inducing the belief that the borrower was under pressure, encouraged speculators to stand out for higher terms, and thus increased the amount of national liabilities. In giving expression to these views, we do not intend to dogmatize, but to suggest. Pitt's circumstances were often very exceptional, and perhaps as a politician he not unfrequently did what, as a Minister of Finance, he would gladly have forborne.

The plea for Pitt's departure from the sound principles of finance which he was one of the first to avow and recommend, is that most potent of all pleas—necessity. He would have gladly borrowed at par, but nobody would lend at par. He would have preferred a five per cent. to a three per cent. loan, but the contractors preferred the "sweet simplicity" and transporting security of the Three per Cents. He invited competition, but competitors sometimes thought fit to anticipate Lord Palmerston's advice to an expectant duellist, and "decline the invitation." It is also argued, that as the prospective advantage of high interest at a time more or less remote is not so attractive as the immediate premium offered in a reduction from the price, so a great country with an inexhaustible future before it, and seeking relief from an exceptionally heavy burden by distributing it over incalculable periods, may find a corresponding attraction in the annual saving which the plan of borrowing at a moderate rate of interest, although at a worse price, enables it to effect.

Exception, indeed, is taken to this plan of discounting the future so systematically resorted to by Pitt. Increased expenditure, it is urged, should not be met by increased taxation, and the existing generation is not entitled to mortgage the property of posterity in order to defray its own debts. Within limits, this argument is irresistible. Yet we cannot but agree with Mr. Newmarch, that if posterity derives any benefits from the exertions of its predecessors, it is surely not unfair that it should contribute to the relief of those who transmit a more valuable inheritance to it. The only question here would be whether the obligations were equitably apportioned; whether a debt of 600,000,000*l.* is not more than a fair share of the collective burthen. The apology for this negative bequest lies again in difficulties with which Pitt had to contend during the first six years of the great conflict. In a time of dearth and distress and general depression in trade, it was perhaps impossible to increase the taxation of the country beyond the actual rate of increase. After the commercial revival, 1799, that crowning measure of finance, the merits and demerits of which a present experience enables us so sensitively to appreciate—an Income-tax—adumbrating that of Sir Robert Peel and Mr. Gladstone—amounting to no less than 10 per cent., added

upwards of 7,000,000*l.* to the imperial income. Pitt, while thus raising loans and levying taxes, must surely have had a prescience of the magnificent development of England's commercial energies, and so conceived himself justified in drawing freely and confidently on her "great expectations" in the future. In one of the speeches from the throne (November 2, 1797), the improvement of the revenue, the enlargement of national industry, and the expansion of commerce are the subjects of the royal congratulation. No wonder. It was the age of scientific invention and discovery, of the canal system, the cotton manufacture, the steam-engine, of Brindley, Arkwright, Crompton, Watt, and the other great captains of modern industry.

Hitherto we have purposely omitted all reference to Pitt's celebrated Sinking Fund—his favourite delusion and most brilliant miscarriage. In 1786 he wrote to Wilberforce: "I am half mad with a project which will give our supplies the effect almost of magic in the reduction of debt." The scheme had already imposed on the sagacious mind of Walpole, to whom it had been suggested by Lord Stanhope. The idea, revived by Price, fascinated the young Chancellor of the Exchequer seventy years after its first realization, and as the public income had exceeded the expenditure, he determined to place a million annually in the hands of Commissioners, to accumulate at compound interest, to be employed in the redemption of the national debt. The inefficacy of the scheme, which borrowed money to pay debt, is now universally acknowledged. But with the exception, so far as we know, of but two anonymous authors, no impugners of this juggling contrivance were found in the days of Pitt. The public, the pamphleteers, the Opposition no less than the Ministerial side of both Houses, were all captivated by its illusory promise. "In truth," says Mr. Newmarch, "the support of that institution by Mr. Pitt was almost the solitary merit which the Opposition admitted him to possess." This financial faith survived till the adoption by Parliament of Dr. Hamilton's views. During the war the debt had been actually increased by an addition of eleven millions. It was not till 1829 that the Sinking Fund was abolished. An Act was then passed which recognised the true principles on which alone it can be established—the application to the reduction of the national debt of the actual surplus revenue over the expenditure.

Space forbids us to enter here into the related question of currency. The run on the Bank in the eventful year 1797 was not owing to any over-issue, but grew out of political causes. No sooner was Pitt acquainted with the impending danger than he, with his customary promptitude, prepared to meet the emergency. A suspension of cash payments was the expedient, obviously justi-

fiable under the circumstances, by which the Government sought to avert a great national calamity. The continuance of the restriction till the conclusion of peace rendered the notes of the Bank of England *practically* a legal tender.* The measure was intended to be temporary. Pitt had probably no conception of its consequences. He could never have anticipated that for twenty-five years gold would be replaced by Bank-paper. It is observable that after the enactment of the restriction, the issues were so moderate, that, with a single exception in the latter part of 1800, they either kept for nearly five years on a par with gold, or actually bore a small premium; nor was it till 1808, long after Pitt's death, that the decline of their value excited much attention.† That Pitt, who, with his usual dauntlessness and fertility of resource, extemporized and afterwards deliberately accepted this escape from national insolvency, can be cited as an authority for the Vansittart doctrine of an inconvertible paper currency, because his or his Cabinet's policy promoted "the transition from gold to paper," we resolutely deny.

Passing from the finance to the statesmanship of Pitt's military period, we find it difficult to resist the impression that, early magnetized by Court influences, and bewildered by the crowding apprehensions which followed the French Revolution, Pitt was gradually alienated from his youthful prepossessions in favour of liberty and reform. To our minds, his own solemn declaration in 1800, when a question connected with the Union was before the House, is conclusive:—"I think it right to declare my most decided opinion that, *even if the times were proper* for experiments, any even the slightest change must be considered an evil." That Pitt abandoned, honestly abandoned, parliamentary reform is, we think, a sad certainty. But this is not all: he identified his name with a system of repression which is utterly indefensible. Without holding him responsible for every word or act of subordinates, we must consider him more or less amenable to public reprehension, since we do not find that he ever discouraged the excesses of his party. Is there evidence to show that Pitt even took such steps as were in his power, to put down the atrocities of the Orange Reign of Terror in Ireland? When the Traitorous Correspondence Bill passed the House of Commons—it was thrown out by the Lords—did Pitt raise his voice against the clause that enacted that a man might be hanged, drawn, and quartered, without being supplied with a copy of the indictment, or being allowed the means of defence? When Muir and Palmer were sentenced to transportation, the one for fourteen, the other for seven years, for what was scarcely, perhaps, even a misdemeanor, did Pitt express even

* See Maculloch's "Commercial Dictionary." † Ibid.

private disapprobation of this great iniquity? In those days a Lord Justice might and did maintain, that death by the gallows or exposure to wild beasts was the proper punishment of sedition—that is, the advocacy of parliamentary reform! He might and did maintain that the rabble had no right to representation, that the landed interest alone had a right to be represented. In those days resort was had—witness Lord Stanhope, Horne Tooke, Thelwall, and others—to the law of constructive treason—a measure calculated, we are assured, on the high legal authority of Lord Campbell, to extinguish all political agitation, and to leave civil war as the only chance of escaping servitude. Even George III. said to his Chancellor, "You have got us into the wrong box, my lord—you have got us into the wrong box. Constructive treason wont do, my lord."

The repressive policy of Pitt's Government has been defended as necessary for a crisis. That some precautionary and even stringent measures were occasionally necessary may be allowed; but when the great majority of the nation was resolutely loyal, when, as Coleridge tells us, "there was not a town in which a man suspected of holding democratic principles could move abroad without receiving some unpleasant proof of the hatred in which his supposed opinions were held;" when "the only instances of popular excess and indignation were on the side of the Government and the Established Church," was it really necessary to have an Alien Bill, prosecutions for libel with penalties for treason attached, a prolonged suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, a Seditious Meeting Bill, and to set furiously working all the machinery of intimidation? We may palliate or excuse part of what Pitt did, but we cannot, with Lord Stanhope, absolve him from all blame. His home policy tended to the establishment of a narrow oppressive Toryism, to the extinction of free opinion and free discussion. Occasionally wayward, fractious, and extravagant as the Opposition is said to have been, and probably was, we perhaps owe to its assertion of great principles and generous sentiments the maintenance of our free Constitution. In the evil days when patriotic anti-Gallican Toryism had a kind of right to its saturnalia, and free thought was often impracticable, and exhibited rebellious sympathies, the leaders of that little band, to borrow the eloquent language of the statesman so often quoted, continued "to keep alive the lamp of constitutional liberty, though its light often flickered in the wind or was scarcely perceptible in the surrounding darkness."*

On one question of paramount importance, however, Pitt *did* struggle, though in vain, to uphold the interests of justice and

* "Life of Fox," by Earl Russell.

freedom. One great fact had been elicited by the discussion of Pitt's commercial policy for Ireland in 1785. It brought out the national jealousy, and showed the incompatibility of an independent legislature with an Imperial unity. The measure which had been a vision with the Protector Somerset, which the genius of a far greater ruler had helped to mature,* which had been in part realized under the Government of the Third William—the union of the three kingdoms—was carried to a virtual completion by Pitt in 1800. At that time, though no actual pledge had been given to the Catholics of admission into the great council of the nation, hopes of their ultimate enfranchisement had been encouraged, for the fulfilment of which Pitt held himself morally responsible. The generous policy which the Minister advocated embraced not only the relief of the Roman Catholic laity from civil disabilities, but also a provision for the Roman Catholic clergy. The time speedily arrived when Pitt thought himself called upon to redeem the implied promise. On the 1st February, 1801, he represented to the king the expediency of repealing the laws which exclude Catholics from Parliament and offices, as well as the laws which imposed a similar exclusion on Dissenters. The king, with his narrow prejudice, and real but untutored conscientiousness, took his stand on his coronation oath, and refused the concession. The Minister, "from an unalterable sense of the line which public duty required," then requested his release from his official situation. Accepting his resignation, the king called Mr. Addington to his assistance, and Pitt promised his support. The painful excitement which the king had undergone resulted in a return of the most cruel of all maladies, speedily followed by an unexpected recovery, and by a still more unexpected incident—Mr. Pitt's wish to cancel his resignation. This paradoxical conduct requires to be explained. Of Pitt's sincerity we entertain no doubt. He intended to be magnanimous, and he was magnanimous. Canning's advice to him not to weaken the Government by further compliance with the unreasonable requisition of royalty was, we think, in perfect harmony with Pitt's sense of honour, of right, of duty. But this great man seems to have been unequal to a confusing emergency. He mismanaged the business. It was a cardinal error in him to allow the king to learn his pro-Catholic project from Loughborough, "the greatest rogue in England," but one whose ambition happily overleapt

* Sir William Petty, engaged in the survey and allotment of forfeited estates in Ireland, and Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant, Henry Cromwell, "clearly foresaw the advantages of a union of Great Britain and Ireland, and of a free commercial intercourse between the two countries."—See *Penny Cyclopædia.*

itself. It was a further mistake to pledge himself to support that small second-rate George the Third, Mr. Addington, for his successor. It was a humiliation to him to "frustrate his politics" by a premature importunacy for office. But Pitt loved power. He knew that there was a greater king in the nation than the king on the throne—the king out of office. He knew the incompetency of the commonplace heir-presumptive of his sceptre, ("Pitt is to Addington as London to Paddington"); he regretted a step which he probably now regarded as over-hasty; he was really "dutiful, humble, and contrite," for having been the occasion of the king's illness, resolved never to do it again, and finding this resolution coincide with his ambitious aspirations, he promised to give up the Catholic question, and suggested his own restoration to the Premiership. It was too late. Mr. Addington chose to retain the sceptre of ministerial power, and George III. exulted in having got *his own* Chancellor of the Exchequer. The Peace of Amiens—a mere armed compromise—intervened between his exit from and re-entrance into office. In 1804, Addington's inefficiency being thoroughly established, Pitt was borne back to power, but with abated prestige, a reduced majority, a still impracticable king. George the Third's obstinate and selfish determination to exclude Fox from the Cabinet, even at the price of a civil war, hastened, or perhaps occasioned, the death of Pitt. The excess of work that was thus imposed on the patriotic Minister was too much for his failing health. The retirement of Dundas, now Lord Melville, under circumstances peculiarly harassing to Pitt's proud and sensitive nature, increased the burthen of anxious toil already laid on him. Then came the failure of his grand alliance with Russia and Austria, and then came Ulm, Austerlitz, death. When Pitt received the tidings of that fatal defeat he was drinking the waters at Bath. The shock proved too much for his enfeebled frame. His reflections were so painful that the gout, to which he was subject, was repelled, and attacked some vital organ. Indigestion with increasing debility succeeded. In a few days the careworn man was so emaciated that he was scarcely recognisable. In a few weeks all his sufferings and anxieties were over. He died broken-hearted, with his tragic "Austerlitz look" haunting him to the grave (23rd January, 1806). "Roll up the map of Europe," he said one day; "it will not be wanted these ten years."

"His mind," says Mr. James Stanhope, who was present at his death, "seemed fixed on the affairs of the country, and he expressed his thoughts aloud, though sometimes incoherently. He spoke a good deal concerning a private letter from Lord Harrowby, and frequently inquired the direction of the wind; then said, answering himself, 'East; ah, that will do—that will bring him quick:' at other times

seemed to be in conversation with a messenger; and then cried out, 'Hear, hear,' as if in the House of Commons. During the time he did not speak, he moaned considerably, crying, 'O dear! O Lord!'

"At about half-past two Mr. Pitt ceased moaning, and did not speak, or make the slightest sound for some time. As his extremities were then growing chilly, I feared he was dying, but shortly afterwards, with a much clearer voice than he spoke in before, and in a tone I never shall forget, he exclaimed, "Oh, my country! how I leave my country." From that hour he never spoke or moved, and at half-past four expired, without a groan or struggle. His strength being quite exhausted, his life departed like a candle burning out."*

Pitt did not live to complete his forty-seventh year. The day of his death was the twenty-fifth anniversary of his entrance into Parliament. For more than seventeen years he directed, with an uninterrupted tenure of power, the political and social action of his country. For nine years he presided over a peaceful and prosperous administration; for eight years he had been the intrepid if unsuccessful champion of anti-revolutionary war; and for yet

* We have given this interesting passage from Lord Stanhope's "Life of Pitt," with the biographer's authenticated emendation (leave *for* love). A correspondent of the *Times*, D. C. L., declares, on the authority of the Right Honourable William Dundas, now dead, that shortly before his death Pitt received the sacrament, and while his friend's arm was round his neck, uttered the words, "Dundas, I die in peace with all mankind, so help me God." According to this evidence, too, Mr. Pitt never exclaimed, "Oh, my country, my poor country," or anything like it. On the other hand, Lord Stanhope's narrative excludes D. C. L.'s, just as D. C. L.'s excludes Lord Stanhope's. The Right Honourable R. N. Hamilton, in noticing the 'communication' in the *Times*, is of opinion that D. C. L.'s statement is founded on error, and asserts that Mr. Dundas, his uncle and guardian, was not present at Pitt's last moments. Lord Holland's "Memoirs of the Whig Party," vol. i. p. 208, contains the following passage, selected by a friend, to whose kindness we are indebted for other help in the preparation of this paper:—"An account of his [Pitt's] sickness and death is given in the 'Annual Register' of 1806, with singular precision. It was taken, in substance, from Dr. Bayley, who had been called in to attend him. I mention it, because a tale relating to the circumstances of his death was fabricated by Mr. Rose, and delivered in his place in Parliament. As Mr. Rose was his intimate associate and steady partisan, and his account was uncontradicted in the House, it might very reasonably obtain credit with posterity. Mr. Pitt was represented by this unscrupulous and injudicious encomiast to have exclaimed, in the agonies of death, 'Save my country, save my country!' and then to have gone through his devotions and taken the sacrament with the most fervent and edifying piety. In all this there was not one word of truth: for some days before his death his fever had rendered him nearly insensible, and during the last twenty-four hours he was actually speechless. As to religious observances, he at all times complied with the customs of the world, but neither felt nor affected any extraordinary zeal or devotion. Mr. Canning was disgusted at the effrontery of Mr. Rose, and left the House, after observing to his neighbour that the value of historical testimony was impaired by seeing that a lie could pass uncontradicted in the presence of hundreds who knew it to be false."

five years more he conducted or supported that great struggle with France which was only brought to a close when the indignant nations of Europe rose in irresistible unity against the imperial despotism of Napoleon. During this period, Pitt gave ample proof of his possession of the highest moral and intellectual qualities. Very early in his career he won a high reputation for disinterestedness, by his refusal to take the great sinecure of the Clerk of the Pells for himself. He showed a similar generosity of mind when he declined to accept the free gift of 100,000*l.*, tendered by the moneyed interest of London; and although we must condemn the negligence which seems the sole cause of a large accumulation of private debt, yet his fixed resolve to receive no aid from the public under "the present circumstances of the country and himself," affords fresh evidence of his "proud disdain" of pelf. Personally disinterested, however, as Pitt was, he appears to have been but little anxious to enforce this disinterestedness on his dependents and followers. While virtually extinguishing the old *régime* of corruption, he continued or conceded the practice of objectionable indulgences in favour of his less lofty-minded retainers. Again, while he put an end to army jobbing, and effected a saving in the Admiralty by a skilful money arrangement, he is open to rebuke for a persistent omission to audit the public accounts. It is to a similar omission in private life that we must ascribe Pitt's pecuniary embarrassments. How could a man live even on 10,000*l.* a year when his consumption of butcher's meat was nine hundred-weight a week, when that of poultry, fish, and tea was in proportion, and the sum spent on servants, for use and ornament, exceeded 2300*l.* per annum? It is no wonder, as it is no credit to Pitt, that his outstanding bills were found on his death to amount to 40,000*l.*, or that the parliamentary purse should liquidate debts which his own private exchequer should have been quite adequate to defray. This sorry conclusion of Pitt's household economy is in curious contradiction with the magnanimous integrity which was unquestionably a leading characteristic of his.

Admitting that some abatements must be made from the ideal estimate of Pitt's extreme admirers, we are still disposed to recognise his claim to the character of a true and great statesman. His intellectual and moral powers were of a very high order. When, in 1784, he contended against the formidable array opposed, he had only Dundas, and occasionally Wilberforce, to assist him. His single-handed championship of the cause and policy which he undertook to sustain, and his ubiquitous activity in the transaction of business, were admirable; the dauntless courage, "the majestic self-possession," the power of debate, the faculty of statement which he displayed, attest the superb manhood and luminous

intellect of Pitt. Lord Stanhope institutes a parallel between the position and bearing of Pitt at this time, with the position and bearing of Peel in a similar crisis in 1854-5. The same tact, forbearance, patience, and courage characterized both ministers, but with Pitt their employment resulted in victory, with Peel in defeat. It would not be difficult to continue the parallel, for Pitt was a kind of rudimentary Sir Robert Peel. Both broke up party; both were leading supporters of English institutions, English civilizing enterprises, and English policy; and both essentially understood the spirit and working of the British Constitution. The measures to which Pitt was favourable from the first, Parliamentary Reform, Catholic Emancipation, and Free Trade, were not included in Peel's earlier political programme, but under the didactic coercion of circumstance he accepted them, with a sincere and appreciative intelligence. Perhaps both were deficient in the sagacious prevision of the future; both inclined to follow events, rather than create, anticipate, or preclude them. Pitt, too, resembled Peel in uniting to a capacity for conceiving or entertaining large abstract ideas, a commonplace acquiescent orthodoxy. In general, it may be said that Pitt meant what Peel did, and living in our happier day, would have taken rank with the most loftily liberal ministers that England has ever possessed: for Pitt had a genuine original intelligence, and grand, true, thoroughly English aims. Dealing with questions of extreme perplexity and importance, with a magnificent but imperfectly-educated common sense, his tendencies were almost always right, his performance abridged and incomplete, his practice inconsistent and inconsecutive. A free-trader in principle, he supported the Indian Monopoly and the Corn Laws; a skilful financier, he added to the burdens of the country by that unlucky puzzle, the Sinking Fund, and perhaps, also, by his undisguised pre-determination to get money, and a servile adoption of the rule of offering his loans at a given price; an advocate of peace, he omitted the precautions that might possibly have secured peace, and drifted into an unmanageable war; a rigorous economist, he subsidized worthless sovereigns, and misappropriated our means to party ends; an advocate of the extension of the elective franchise, he unintentionally exalted the prerogative of the Crown or the power of the ministers into a quasi-despotic system, suppressing discussion and warring against opinion. Thus the man who subverted party lent his singular powers to whatever was anti-Gallican, anti-Buonapartist, anti-republican. He helped to strengthen the wretched "Right Divine" and "Throne and Altar" men, and to make possible the "Tadpole and Taper" Toryism of a later day.

But with all these shortcomings and retrogradings, Pitt was undeniably a great, noble-hearted man, and for many years a suc-

cessful and serviceable minister. With all these drawbacks and deductions, he was undeniably the continuator of the traditions of the peaceful and extended commercial policy suggested by a man morally and intellectually his inferior, Sir Robert Walpole; and the precursor of the statesman whom the privilege of time enabled to give effect to that great doctrine of trade liberation which has its loftiest representative in the eloquent and philosophic pupil of Sir Robert Peel, the present Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Nor was the oratory of Pitt inferior to his statesmanship. The four volumes of speeches, indeed, seem to us to preserve but little of that eloquence which compelled the admiration of such severe and competent judges as Fox and Burke. Yet we *do* see in them a kind of plain grandeur, a lucidness of statement and directness of debating power which are uncommon. For bursts of passionate poetry or simple homespun feeling like those of his illustrious father, we look in vain: the language is not racy, not strikingly beautiful, nor even beautiful at all. These reports of Pitt's speeches are dreadfully tiresome and monotonous; "the proud architectural pile" of Coleridge's criticism may indeed be seen there, but it excites little admiration. To borrow a passage from Lord Brougham's excellent description, Pitt seems to have said everything in nearly the same way, as if by some curious machine periods were rounded and flung off; as if, in like moulds, though of different sizes, ideas were shaped and brought out. Still the "lucid arrangement," the "clearness of statement," the "appeal to strict reason and strong feeling," which the same critic eulogizes, may be detected even in these insipid reproductions, and with their aid we may still form some faint conception of the magical effect of that unbroken flow which, when accompanied with the interpreting declamation, the resounding voice, and the imperial manner, reminded men that they were "in the presence of more than an advocate or debater—that there stood before 'them' a ruler of the people."

In private life Pitt was valued for his many good and noble qualities: his sincerity, his self-command, his steady friendship, his sweetness of temper, his humanity and kindness to the poor, are all recorded by his sympathizing biographer. Pitt liked to do little benefactions in a quiet, unobtrusive way, and had no wish to have them noticed. "Mind, you are not to go and thank master, he does not want to be thanked," was the agent's advice to a child whose uncle Pitt had served. On the other hand, the ogre-like anecdote told by Michelet, and repeated by M. Jules Simon, has no testimony to support it. The English manufacturers *never* came to Mr. Pitt and complained that they were not making money enough, and Mr. Pitt never said that *mot effroyable* which weighs upon his memory, "TAKE THE CHILDREN."

To whatever cause it may be assigned, Pitt was eminently a pure and blameless man. No stories of profligacy or intrigue, so common in the evil days of Fox and the Prince Regent, are associated with his name. The wits, as we have seen, laughed at him for that innocency the consciousness of which gave him peace at the last; Dr. Lawrence, for instance, has some capital lines in the "Rolliad" on the thin proprieties of Pitt, contrasted with the robust jovialities of his rival:—

> "Crown the frothed porter, slay the fatted ox,
> And give the British meal to British Fox;
> But for an Indian minister more fit,
> Ten cups of purest Padre pour for Pitt,
> Pure as himself: add sugar too, and cream," &c.

Pitt was never married. Tenderly attached, Lord Stanhope thinks, to the Hon. Eleanor Eden, he never proceeded to a proposal and a marriage. His withdrawal is attributed to pecuniary embarrassment: but it is difficult to understand that a man with 10,000*l.* a year could not make some arrangement that would ensure a provision for a wife. Lord Auckland, it seems, approved of the match, and offered suggestions. "A long and painful correspondence," says Lord Auckland's recent editor, "ensued"—a statement somewhat in contradiction to the "two further letters" of social explanation specified by Lord Stanhope. The latter tells us that Pitt denied that the blame, if any, should be borne wholly by himself. The correspondence between Pitt and Lord Auckland has never been published.

In later life the bachelor statesman's home was graced by the presence of his niece, the celebrated Hester Stanhope, whom he generously welcomed when at a loss for a home. This lady's sprightly sallies served to brighten, and sometimes to discompose, her dignified uncle, for she did not always spare his own Cabinet colleagues. Her answer to Lord Mulgrave, who was disconcerted by a broken egg-spoon, when breakfasting with Pitt, is an instance of the lively lady's satirical talent. "How can Pitt have such a spoon as this?" asked the irritable guest. "Don't you know that Mr. Pitt sometimes uses very slight and weak instruments to effect his ends?" was the reply.

Pitt's misfortune was that he was too dependent on these slight and weak instruments. In consequence, he was enormously overworked. Thus, at one time he transacted the business of all the Government departments but two. It was a happiness for the much-enduring man that he had an indisputable talent for sleeping. Twice only do we find that the "sweet restorer" forsook him. Once, immediately after his assumption of office in 1783; and a second time, after the battle of Trafalgar. With the

numerous demands which the absence of fit agents and the disjointedness of the times made on his powers of endurance, we hear without surprise that when a discussion arose on the quality most wanted in a prime minister, and one said eloquence, another knowledge, and a third toil, Pitt exclaimed, "No! patience."

It is pleasant in bringing our paper to a close to be able to record that Pitt, if he was ambitious, if he was arrogant, was also tender-hearted, hopeful, and charitable. With all his disenchanting experience of the world, he continued to think well of his fellow-men. When Lord Eldon asked him, a little before his death, whether his intercourse with them led him to think that the greater part of them were governed by reasonably honourable principles or by corrupt motives, his answer was, that he had a favourable opinion of mankind upon the whole, and that he believed that the majority was really actuated by fair meaning and intention.

Of Pitt's personal tastes and private habits we have little to report. Yet what is known is not without interest. For instance, we may follow him into the thickets of Holwood,* strolling with Wilberforce on a ministerial holiday, and employed, like his friend, in cutting walks from tree to tree with a billhook; or we may hear him quote from his favourite Lucan, with quite the style and manner of an accomplished idler; or consult with Canning and Mulgrave on a selection of epithets for their Trafalgar poems; or admire "Scot's wha hae wi' Wallace bled;" or repeat the lines describing the old harper's embarrassment, from the "Lay of the Last Minstrel," with the comment, "This is a sort of thing which I might have expected in painting, but could never have fancied capable of being given in poetry."

In person, Pitt was tall and slender, dignified, but not graceful. The portrait in Lord Stanhope's third volume represents him with drooping or sloping shoulders; proud, silent composure is the pervading expression of the smooth oval face; there is a fixed, searching, contemptuous look about the eyes; the forehead is evenly and boldly developed, both in breadth and height; the nose, straight and well formed; the mouth compressed, with that length of upper lip which is said to indicate strength of purpose; the chin is round, and in general harmony with the rest of the features. His manners, according to Wraxall, were cold, if

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* Holwood, in Kent, near Hayes, where Pitt was born, passed from Pitt to Sir George Pocock, and thence into other hands. Pitt's house was pulled down. The sole relic probably preserved of him is the writing-table that he once owned. "But in the domain," adds Lord Stanhope, "'the Pitt Oak' still marks the spot where he often sat; and the 'Wilberforce Oak' remains as a record of his own, conjointly with another's fame."

not repulsive, and "without suavity or amenity. He seemed never to invite approach or encourage acquaintance, though when addressed he could be polite, communicative, and even gracious. Smiles were not natural to him, even when seated on the Treasury Bench." The same writer describes very graphically Pitt's entrance into the House, his quick, firm step as he advanced up the floor, with the head erect and thrown back, looking neither to the right nor to the left, and favouring no one with a glance or a nod. From Lord Fitzharris we get a sketch which helps us to picture the man with some considerable approach to reality. Pitt had moved the previous question, after Whitbread had brought forward a motion of censure on Lord Melville. The Speaker gave the casting vote for Whitbread's motion. "Pitt immediately put on the little cocked-hat that he was in the habit of wearing when dressed for the evening, and jammed it deeply over his forehead, and I distinctly saw the tears trickling down his cheeks. We had overheard one or two, such as Colonel Wardle (of notorious memory), say they would see how Billy looked after it. A few young, ardent followers of Pitt, with myself, locked their arms together, and formed a circle, in which he moved, I believe unconsciously, out of the House; and neither the colonel nor his friends could approach him."

This was a sad defeat for a man already broken by bodily suffering and sore trial. In less than a year a greater defeat awaited him. The sun of Austerlitz rose on Napoleon, to make that once "armed soldier of democracy" the military despot of Europe; and the most powerful statesman, perhaps, that England ever had, the skilled financier, the able advocate of commercial freedom, the intrepid antagonist of French principles, the splendid parliamentary tactician, the consummate orator, succumbed to that last heart-breaking calamity; his martial hopes defeated, his political ambition disappointed, his commercial policy mutilated, frustrated, or reversed, but nevertheless bequeathing a noble memory of great aims, of excellent if partial performance, of dauntless if misdirected endeavour to sustain the proud tradition of a patriotic and heroic English statesmanship.

Art. II.—Dr. Davidson's Introduction to the Old Testament.

An Introduction to the Old Testament, Critical, Historical, and Theological, containing a Discussion of the most important Questions belonging to the several Books. By Samuel Davidson, D.D. of the University of Halle, and LL.D. London: Williams and Norgate, 1862.

THE appearance of the present work of Dr. Davidson on the Scriptures of the Old Testament is not much less significant, if at all, though the work of a single author, than was the publication of the volume of "Essays and Reviews," now about two years old. The collective volume was the production of liberal Churchmen, the more elaborate one is due to a liberal Nonconformist; and there is food for reflection in this fact, that from independent standing-points very similar conclusions should have been reached. Dr. Davidson, indeed, as has before been noticed in these pages—perhaps the most learned person of whom Dissenters in the present day could boast—was ousted from his Professorship at Manchester by an irresponsible committee, hounded on by a notorious evangelical newspaper. But, as this volume will sufficiently show, he has not swerved, under any ensuing difficulties, from his path of Biblical research, in the cause, as he conscientiously believes it, of religion and truth. The other authors to whom we have referred are members of a legal institution; if they feel its restraints they can avail themselves of its privileges; no committee of six, or even bench of six-and-twenty, can expel them from their positions at the bidding of fanatical periodicals—yet we must not underrate the severity of the storm of clerical obloquy to which they have been exposed.

But for the reason above indicated, we are rejoiced that the present work is not a production of the Church of England. Even a timid charity will find openings, as by stealth, in the artificial boundaries which separate Churches: learning, thought, and a vigorous theology laugh at and overleap them. There is a true brotherhood between all honest labourers in the critical field, and the work before us might almost serve as an express vindication of some of the opinions for which the "Essayists" have been most assailed. In it are expounded, defined, illustrated, and guarded, many things briefly propounded by them on the subjects of Inspiration of Scripture, Miracle, Prophecy, and on the place of the Hebrew people in the religious history of man. They spoke

tersely, often, and epigrammatically; throwing out, as they thought, words to the wise, but receiving the treatment of such as cast pearls before undiscerning animals. Dr. Davidson gives processes as well as results, and adverse critics will not be able so well as in the other case to denounce him for the consequences, real or supposed, to which his positions lead, without examining the premisses on which they are founded. Not that we expect those who have been so loud against the Churchmen will give themselves much trouble with the Nonconformist: it was easy to raise a clamour against the former, on the assumption that the formularies of the Church by which they are bound forbid the expression of such views as theirs, which was a mere *argumentum ad homines*: it will not be so easy to deal with the question of the truth or falsehood of the opinions of the independent Dissenter, as it was to twit the clergymen with their subscriptions. And as the war of personalities has proved ineffectual in the one case, we may be sure that direct polemics, if resorted to, will be powerless in the other.*

The defenders of the traditional opinions have betrayed the weakness of their cause in nothing more than in the nonsense which they have talked about Germany: at first it was rather the fashion to comprehend all German philosophers and theologians in an undistinguishable horror—Hegel, Strauss, Feuerbach, Baur, Ewald, Bunsen—exhibiting especial ignorance as to the antagonism between the two last and the critics of Tübingen.

More recently, but in a manner equally ridiculous, the opponents of Biblical inquiry have represented that what they are pleased to term "Rationalism" has been put down "in the land of its birth." No doubt a Church-and-State policy of promoting narrow and safe men to ecclesiastical preferments and professorships has now been followed out for many years in Prussia, and with the effect, for a time, which may be judged of in other countries. But Hengstenberg and his disciples, Hävernick and Keil, are not the permanent representatives of European theology. Nor is this at all a question of *Germanism*, as it is so sillily called. It is a question, whether the same methods of investigation which have been amply rewarded in all other departments of human knowledge, may or may not be lawfully applied to theology, and especially to the criticism of the Biblical records. The deductive

* The present Article, it will be understood, is not written from the same point of view as that of an able contributor in our Number for October, 1860, which was made use of to damage the authors above referred to, with a meanness unsurpassed in theological warfare—only to be accounted for by extremest rage and fear. A wounded soldier has been known before now, after receiving quarter, to take up a spent arrow, shot by a stronger arm than his own, to stab his victor in the back.

method in theology, as in all sciences, has been unfruitful of truth, while it has been most fruitful of Christian division. The Divine Will can only be known through the Divine manifestations; the Divine manifestations can only be known by observation and induction. It is agreed on all hands that the Hebrew and Greek Scriptures are the most important records of the religious history of man; but they will not yield up the truths they really contain unless to those who study them in an inductive spirit. So that our conservative theologians must not fancy they have vindicated their deductive dogmatism by demolishing some caricature of the Hegelian philosophy; or indeed that they will long be able to throw dust in the eyes of the English public, by representing the debate as one that can only be fought out in the thin air of metaphysics, or within the closed lists of the Three Creeds or the Thirty-nine Articles. When like tendencies, though with differences, show themselves without concert on many points—as now towards a reconstruction of theology—the most obtuse must suspect there is a power at work which cannot long be repressed—"expellas furcâ tamen usque recurret." It is not by reason of a conspiracy against the Bible that, omitting Germany altogether, there have arisen a Scherer at Geneva, a Colani at Strasburg, a Coquerel, a Rénan at Paris, a Réville at Rotterdam, and last, by no means least, a Scholten and a Kuenen at Leiden.*

It is evident that some new force is operating throughout all those parts of Christendom which can lay claim to the higher civilization and intelligence; and—which brings the diffusiveness

* The Dutch theologians write sometimes in Latin, sometimes in Dutch, so that their influence upon English divinity has been much less than it might have been if Latin had still been a medium of communication among all educated persons. This is precisely the amount of influence which those liberals would prefer who like to keep a monopoly of liberality to themselves, and have a horror of communicating to the English public any information which can possibly be retained as the *peculium* of scholars. It is, however, very much to be desired that some competent person would make known in England the real condition of theology in Holland—a country to which, at various periods, and in common with the rest of Europe, we have owed so much—to mention only the names of Erasmus, Arminius, and Episcopius. An excellent article on the subject of modern Dutch theology, by M. Réville, was given in the "Revue des deux Mondes," 15 Juin, 1860; and further information, in a less pleasant form, and communicated with less sympathy for the party of movement, is to be met with in "La Crise Religieuse en Hollande," par M. Chantepie de la Saussaye. The following are some of the minor publications of Professor J. H. Scholten, in Latin:—"Oratio de religione christiana suæ ipsa divinitatis in animo humano vindice." "Oratio de vitando in Jesu Christi historia interpretanda docetismo, nobili, ad rem christianam promovendam, hodierno theologiæ munere." "Oratio de pugna theologiam inter atque philosophiam recto utriusque studio tollenda." "Oratio de sacris literis

of this agency unmistakeably before us—that it is at work among Nonconformists as well as among Churchmen in our own country.

Dr. Davidson's volume contributed to the tenth edition of "Horne's Introduction," contained enough to alarm the Literalists; but the critical views advanced in it were certainly moderate in comparison of those which meet us in the present publication. No doubt those who denounced him for what he then said, will triumph in their foresight—"We told you what it would all lead to." In a certain sense these prophets were right. For Dr. Davidson states that the further dispassionate examination of the Old Testament records in the original language, which he has carried on for the last five or six years, has led him to abandon many traditional opinions, which he has surrendered with great reluctance.

But that which the extreme theologians of whom we are speaking would assert likewise has not followed. In surrendering the literal inspiration of the Old Testament, the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, and the historical truth of many at least of the supernatural narratives contained in it, Dr. Davidson has not surrendered Religion. His sincere purpose, on the contrary, appears to be, to liberate the spirit of religion—the consciousness of a relation between God and man, both personal and historical—from the shackles imposed on it by tradition, which have hardened for most Christians into Articles of Faith concerning the authorship of the Biblical books, the extent of their authority, their value, and truth.

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theologiæ nostra ætate liberæ excultæ fonte." "Dogmatices christianæ initia." A larger work has been translated from the Dutch by M. Réville, "Manuel d'histoire comparée de philosophie et de la religion;" a translation, by the same, of "The Fundamental Principles of the Reformed Church," is hoped for; and the latter book may appear in English at the Cape. By Prof. A. Kuenen are:—"Oratio de accurato antiquitatis Hebraicæ studio theologo christiano magnopere commendando." "Critices et hermeneutices librorum Novi Foederis lineamenta." Prof. Kuenen is now engaged on a work not very dissimilar in design to that of Dr. Davidson, but in Dutch, and to be completed in three volumes, "An historico-critical inquiry into the origin and collection of the books of the Old Testament." The following, if more easily obtainable, might be referred to, as giving the English reader some general notion of the present state of theological discussion in Holland,—"The Pastor of Vliethuizen, or Conversations about the Groninger School, the Doctrine of the Church, the Science of Theology, and the Bible." By P. J. Diest Lorgion, D.D., Minister of the Gospel at Groningen. (Translated from the Dutch.) Cape Town: Van de Sandt de Villiers, 1861. The translation has been executed and published in the colony, and very few copies have found their way to England. The three principal subjects discussed are the doctrines of the "Trinity," of the "Atonement," of the "Infallibility of Scripture," which are shown, in their generally received sense, to be unscriptural. The colloquies, of which the work consists, are very spirited and dramatic.

In more senses than one, a commencement of such a Critical Introduction to the Old Testament as Dr. Davidson's with the Pentateuch is a beginning at the beginning. The Pentateuch lies at the foundation both of the Jewish and Christian religions; and according to the interpretation and value set upon many of its parts, the interpretation of the Gospel itself will be modified or affected. The settlement of some questions discussed in the present volume for the place in which they first arise may involve a like settlement in subsequent parts of the Bible, and may reach even into the New Testament.

In the time of Jesus and his Apostles, there can be little reasonable doubt of the Pentateuch having been received as the work of Moses; it probably was so from the time of Ezra and Nehemiah (Nehem. viii. 1, 2). Yet the references to "Moses" and the "Law", which we meet with in the New Testament, do not imply a definite notion of *authorship* as we understand the word; nor would even such high authority be conclusive on the subject, for Jesus and his Apostles did not undertake to teach criticism, and only allude to Moses incidentally, and of course in terms adapted to the popular understanding and credence. The authorship of the Pentateuch never became an Article of Faith in the Christian Church; and Jerome even considered it as a matter of indifference whether Moses be called the author of the Pentateuch, or Ezra its restorer.* Protestants generally have laid more stress than Roman Catholics on the authorship of the Biblical books by the "inspired" writers whose names they bear; but among the Reformers, Carlstadt allowed it as a tenable opinion that Moses was not the author of the Pentateuch.† Of the mediæval Jews, Aben Ezra appears to have doubted whether some portions of the Pentateuch could belong to Moses. Nevertheless, these earlier opinions did not go beyond the acknowledgment that some kind of revision of the Pentateuch was probably made by Ezra; that Moses himself could not have been the author of the passage (Deut. xxxiv. 5—12) which describes his own death; and that interpolations or insertions of marginal notes might be detected in a few places. Spinoza, however, ventured to maintain that the Pentateuch, together with the whole of the succeeding historical books, were a compilation accomplished by Ezra; and yet the facts he cites do not of themselves warrant a conclusion going much beyond that of Aben Ezra; they would be consistent with a Mosaic authorship substantially, and in an

* "Hieron. *ad Helvidium.*"

† "Defendi potest Mosen non fuisse scriptorem quinque librorum."—*De Can. Script.*

admissible sense of the expression, though not consistent with it according to the doctrine of the extreme Literalists. Richard Simon considered the Pentateuch not to be in its present form the work of Moses, inferring the necessity of *Catholic* tradition from the uncertainty attaching to parts of the Old Testament history when judged according to ordinary rules of evidence. The celebrated Dutch Remonstrant theologian, Le Clerc, went further than Simon as to the lateness of the compilation of the present Pentateuch, while he repelled the claim to supplement any uncertainty in the Biblical history by means of tradition still more uncertain. But a fresh impulse was given to critical inquiry on this subject, and it was turned in a definite direction by the observation of Astruc concerning the distinct employment of the names Jehovah (LORD) and Elohim (God) as designations of the Supreme Being in different parts of the Pentateuch.* He pointed out that the employment of these designations indicated the existence of ancient documents of which Moses had availed himself; and his design in so doing was a conservative one—namely, to account for the appearance of fragmentary, incomplete, and in some respects contradictory, materials in the book of Genesis, consistently with its essential genuineness. He did not, however, trace the observation or evidence of these separate documents beyond Exod. i., ii. Eichhorn gave greater precision to the theory of Astruc, and showed that the portions of Genesis in which the different designations of the Deity occur are also distinguishable from each other by peculiarities of language and other characteristics. Ilgen supposed a second Elohistic writer; De Wette, that the basis of the present book of Genesis is Elohist—running through to the remarkable passage, Exod. vi. 3, "I appeared unto Abraham, unto Isaac, and unto Jacob by the name of God Almighty, but by my name Jehovah was I not known to them"—with which the compiler has interwoven portions from one or more Jehovist sources. Various modifications of these views have been advanced by Tuch, Knobel, Delitzsch, Ewald, Stähelin, Hupfeld, Bleek, Lengerke. In opposition to these, Hengstenberg, Hävernick, Ranke, Drechsler, Baumgarten, Kurtz, Keil, endeavour to maintain the unity and Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch. Others, admitting the Mosaic authorship generally, allow that it comprises some earlier and independent documents, as I. D. Michaelis, Jahn, Vater, Hartmann.

Some of the critics before mentioned, as Astruc and Eichhorn, confined their observations or theory concerning Elohist and

* Astruc was a physician, a Roman Catholic (died 1766); his work, "Conjectures sur les mémoires originaux, dont il paroit que Moyse s'est servi pour composer le livre de la Genèse," appeared at Brussels in 1753.

Jehovist authors to the pre-Mosaic part of the history. It is evidently a much more important inquiry whether, in the rest of the Pentateuch, there are to be found traces of a plurality of authors; for it involves the question whether, for the period when Moses appears on the scene of the history, we do or do not possess the record of a contemporary.

It is not altogether fortunate that the names Elohist and Jehovist have become so fundamental in the discussion of the authorship of the Pentateuch, that it would not be easy to disturb them —nor are we prepared to suggest any more convenient designations; although Dr. Davidson agrees with all recent critics who take similar views generally, in saying that the employment of these different names as titles of the Supreme Being is not the only mark of difference between the primitive authors. It is moreover allowed that the name Jehovah is found in Elohist documents, and *vice versâ*. But it is maintained that such interchanges are due to various revisions or compilations, and we have with Dr. Davidson a second Jehovist, besides the Deuteronomist, while others undertake to find traces of even more hands engaged upon the work. Now however well founded such hypotheses may be esteemed by those who have the opportunity of carefully examining them, the discussion is thereby carried into a region where the general reader will not easily follow it; and unless the critic carefully guards himself, an advantage will be given to the maintainers of a strict unity of authorship. It will be said—"This hypothesis of Dr. Davidson's, or of Ewald's, or of Bleek's, is so complicated, and requires so much to be taken upon trust by the ordinary reader, that he will find it a less strain upon his credulity to accept the old doctrine of a single inspired author; besides, none of these critics agree with each other, and at subsequent periods of their lives they disagree even with their own former conclusions." But judicious critics do not undertake, and cannot reasonably be expected, to substitute for the old theories of infallibility and Mosaic authorship any other theory of equal pretension to completeness; they must acknowledge that they are engaged in inquiries which admit only of probable conclusions. Their labours have two aspects—1. To show that there are such discrepancies, and even such sufficient evidence of different hands in the composition of the Pentateuch, as to render the traditional doctrine concerning the pure Mosaic authorship untenable. 2. To ascertain, if possible, how the actual phenomena have been brought about, or at least to suggest some hypothesis more or less probable, which would account for the appearances really presented. And however little may be accomplished with success in this latter department, from want of sufficient confirmatory external evidence,—however critics may differ as to the conclusions they draw in detail from internal evi-

dence of conjecture, the former or negative conclusion will not be affected; the miraculous inspiration-dogma will have been effectually destroyed, however successfully or unsuccessfully the reconstructive process may be accomplished.

The following will be sufficient instances to give of passages which imply diverse origin from what are called Elohist and Jehovist sources :—

1. The two accounts of the creation. The first of these terminates at the third verse of the second chapter; in this the name of the Creator is God (Elohim) throughout. The second commences with the formula—"These are the generations," and employs the name of Lord (Jehovah) God. In the first account the world and all its creatures are produced out of chaos by successive acts of creation; the man, male and female, created last, with no mention of Eden; in the second, the earth and its plants are first created, which last are made to grow by means of a mist, then man is formed, then the beasts and fowls, and lastly, the woman out of the man.

2. The generations of Adam. With the third verse of the second chapter, which terminates the first (Elohist) account of the creation, coheres the fifth chapter, which proceeds to give the descendants of Adam down to Noah. This genealogy makes no mention of Cain and Abel. The other account, commencing with ii. 4 (Jehovist), contains the description of the garden of Eden, of the temptation of Eve by the serpent, of the expulsion from paradise, and the history of Cain and Abel; and enumerates the descendants of Cain down to Lamech, the father of Jubal and Tubal-cain.

3. The accounts of the deluge are more complicated, but there are evidences of different sources; according to the Elohist, pairs of all animals are to be preserved; according to the Jehovist, seven pairs of clean animals and one pair of unclean; with the former, earth and heaven contribute to the waters, which increase for 150 days before they begin to abate; with the latter, the flood is caused by forty days and nights' continual rain; and besides these obvious differences, the Jehovist account is characterized by its *human* point of view, and by its correspondence with Levitical institutions.

4. The declaration in Exod. vi. being borne in mind, that "Jehovah was not known by that name to the Patriarchs," it must follow that while those portions of the earlier history which speak of him as God (El, or Elohim), are consistent with that statement; those which describe him as Jehovah belong to another series of documents or traditions. The contradiction between this statement in Exod. vi., and many previous passages, is as direct as it can be; and is not to be explained away on the supposition

of the historian having used the designation of Jehovah by anticipation. The Lord (Jehovah) God of Abraham is constantly mentioned, as at the "burning bush," as at "Jehovah-jireh;" and even so early as Gen. iv. 26, "then began men to call on the name of the Lord" (Jehovah), passages which are not reconcileable with the hypothesis of a single author of the Pentateuch, but perfectly so with the supposition of a combination or compilation of documents.* The investigation can be pursued further by the help of Dr. Davidson's "table" at pp. 58-61.

Of much greater consequence, however, is the question whether Moses can be considered the author of the whole of that portion of the history which dates from the Exodus, and throughout which he appears as more or less an actor. And therefore we need not refer, except in the briefest manner, to the impossibility of supposing that any one original author could have recorded the histories of Sarah at the court of Pharaoh and at that of Abimelech of Gerar after what is related of her age at the birth of Isaac, and of Rebekah at Gerar likewise (Gen. xii. 11-20; Gen. xx.; Gen. xxvi. 7); or to the taking by Abraham of another wife, Keturah, by whom he had children after the death of Sarah; or to the many inconsistencies in the story of Joseph, not startling in an Oriental tale, but inadmissible as history. Nor at present shall we take exception to those parts of the narrative which are evidently *intended* to describe supernatural interpositions. But we shall here notice instances of enormous exaggeration

* We are not to suppose these parallel accounts to have been the *creation of two writers;* they must have existed originally in the form of two distinct currents of tradition, out of which, documents had been formed before the composition of the Pentateuch. The process of welding them together must have been not unlike that of forming a *diatessaron* out of our existing Gospels, and may be exemplified in the book known as "Townsend's Arrangement;" sometimes one, sometimes another of the original documents is taken for the basis of the narrative, and the rest supply additional features. In any such patchwork there must be rejected and unused portions. Of course, in the case we are supposing as to the composition of the Pentateuch, the rejected portions of the documents employed have not been preserved, as they are at the bottom of Townsend's pages. It scarcely needs to be remarked that the Jehovist element assumes continually an increasing preponderance; the conception of God as the Self-existent One (Jehovah) is subsequent in time, even according to the documents themselves, to the knowledge of him as God Almighty. And as the national consciousness of the Jews becomes developed, He is regarded as choosing them to Himself for a peculiar people. He is worshipped with a special sacrificial ritual; a priesthood is constituted in His honour; the priests have the custody of the sacred books, and at each successive revision, of which the last was made by Ezra, some traits of the older and weaker religion are overlaid. Although we think M. Nicolas pushes too far his hypothesis concerning a continued struggle of Elohism and Jehovism throughout the Jewish history, Dr. Davidson has dismissed it too summarily. The Elohist and Jehovist distinctions meet us again plainly in the Psalms.

in some particulars of the history not professing to be supernatural, which it is inconceivable that an eye-witness should have set down.

The number of the Israelites at the Exodus is stated to have amounted to "600,000 on foot that were men, beside children. And a mixed multitude went up also with them; and flocks, and herds, even very much cattle." (Exod. xii. 37, 38.) And yet all these are represented as having crossed the Red Sea in a night.* Moreover, afterwards they move and encamp with as much facility as if they were an ordinary caravan. Considering the miles of ground which they must have covered, no eye-witness of the bivouac of such a host would have described so naïvely the murmuring at Marah, and the sweetening its waters, or their pitching at "Elim, where were twelve wells of water, and threescore and ten palm trees: and they encamped there by the waters;" or the supply of water for them by striking a rock in Horeb; or have been silent as to their provision of water at other times; or concerning the food and management of their flocks and herds, and why they did not consume some of them when they murmured for food. The laws concerning sacrifices apparently took effect upon their promulgation, and provision is made for the bringing to the door of the tabernacle, while the people were in the wilderness, of the blood of all slain beasts, and the fat to be burnt, whenever any one killed an ox, or lamb, or goat, in the camp, or out of the camp (Lev. xvii. 3—6); but no mention is anywhere made of the providing of fodder for all these cattle—which it is not said either were to be fed upon the manna. Moreover, among the Levitical offerings are cakes of fine flour and oil, which would be unattainable if the wanderers were dependent on the manna for their sustenance. (Lev. ii. 1, comp. Numb. vii.) There is an indefiniteness and want of coherence in the whole history of the sojourn in the wilderness incompatible with its being the production of an eye-witness: thus the recital in Numb. xxi.—xxxiii. of the names of the stations of the Israelites, looks like the insertion of some caravan itinerary; and the stations in those two chapters neither agree with each other, nor are confirmed by the more detailed account of the early part of the route in Exod. xii.—xix. And Dr. Davidson well observes:—

* If the account in Herodotus is to be relied on of the passage of the Hellespont by the army of Xerxes, the king's Asiatic forces amounted to 1,700,000, the attendants and followers may have been as many more; they are stated to have occupied seven days and nights in crossing by the two bridges, marching without intermission: the numbers of the Israelites themselves, with their families, could not have been less than 3,000,000, to which is to be added the "mixed multitude," and the "flocks and herds," of which not a "hoof was left behind," a mass altogether much more difficult to transport and provide for than that which is said to have accompanied Xerxes.

"How is it that there is a blank in the history respecting thirty-eight years of the sojourn in the wilderness? Is it not a striking thing that total silence prevails regarding them? Let us see how this long interval of years is treated. In the twentieth chapter of Numbers we read that the whole congregation of the children of Israel came into the desert of Zin in the first month; and the people abode in Kadesh, and Miriam died there (verse 1). In the twenty-second verse we find them removing from Kadesh, and coming to Mount Hor. The former relates to the first month of the third year after the Exodus. The latter, however, relates to the fifth month of the fortieth year after the Exodus. Thus thirty-eight years are passed over within the compass of a few verses, as if there had been no such interval. One would suppose that the occurrences related in the chapter happened in immediate succession. The omission of many events would not be thought of by the reader, till he had compared a *subsequent* chapter of Numbers (xxxiii.). Surely neither Moses nor a contemporary would have written in that manner."—(p. 15.)

There is also a dramatic manner of reciting the colloquies between Moses and the congregation which can afford no true representation of the mode in which communications between the leaders of the host and a multitude of millions of people could possibly have been carried on. We are obliged to confine ourselves to such general illustrations, and may conclude, without entering into the copious details supplied by Dr. Davidson, that there is sufficient internal evidence, even in the non-miraculous portion of the last four books of the Pentateuch, of their not having been composed in their present shape by an eye-witness of the events which they relate.

In further investigation into the mode whereby the earlier Biblical records assumed their present form and dress, Dr. Davidson has the courage not to be frightened at the words *legend* and *myth*. He notices the great prejudice which exists against these terms—the feeling approaching to horror with which the application of the word *mythical* to any portion of the Bible is regarded in England. We believe that many persons consider the word as signifying profane fiction—they immediately think of the Greek mythology, and of the wicked stories about Jupiter and the rest. Ewald and Bunsen, Dr. Davidson observes, have avoided the word myth; but with all their praiseworthy endeavours to find a historical basis in the Hebrew history wherever possible, they are forced to acknowledge that the facts of the earlier period are enveloped in a drapery ornate, exaggerated, fictitious. Myths are divided into historical and philosophical or speculative; at the root of the former there lies a *fact*, at the root of the latter a *truth*. It would be strange if the Hebrew people alone exhibited no trace of the mythical in a natural

seeking after origins and causes, which is common to all nations in their earliest history, or in their first attempts to clothe abstract and spiritual truth in an intelligible dress.

"It would be especially singular, amid the coincidences between the Biblical traditions and those of other eastern nations, which are so prominent in the early chapters of Genesis, to deny a mythology to the Israelites. The traditions are remarkably alike; why should a different mode of interpretation be applied to them? Those in the Bible are ennobled and purified by the monotheism of the people whom God chose as the depositaries of higher truth. They are therefore superior to the parallel traditions of others. The process of creation in successive days, the temptation of the first human beings by the serpent, the forbidden tree, the loss of Paradise, the longevity of the patriarchs, the deluge and re-peopling of the earth, belong to one circle of ideas common to all the most ancient oriental peoples; each nation shaping them according to its genius and culture. The Hebrew mind has given them a higher moral character, as well as a more practical interest."—(p. 147.)

The necessity for *mythical* solution of some of the Biblical histories is exemplified in that of Jacob's wrestling, described Gen. xxxii. 24—32. If the passage were taken literally, the Almighty Himself must be understood to have striven corporeally with the patriarch, which is utterly contradictory to reason: then some have supposed the supernatural wrestler to have been an angel; but, if the wrestling was real and corporeal, the antagonist must have been corporeal—a man; if the antagonist were a *spirit,* the struggle cannot have been a corporeal one; besides there are expressions which can only apply to a Being superior to angels. Some, again, have considered that the transaction was represented in a vision; but this is inconsistent with "he touched the hollow of his thigh in the sinew which shrank," &c; others have held that the supernatural wrestler was the "Son of God," who took a human form for the occasion: if this were merely a phantasmal form, it would be incompatible, as before, with a true corporeal wrestling, and the supposition of his taking a phantasmal body is the more unworthy, the higher his Nature is conceived of: or if he took a real body—what body? not that wherein he was afterwards born—the very rudiments of which were yet in the loins of Jacob himself—or if any body, what became of it? It is difficult to treat a question of this kind without giving offence; but it must not be conceded for an instant, that there is less piety in stripping off the anthropomorphic and mythical drapery under which the Hebrews presented the manifestations of the Divine Being, than in retaining them as the authority for a self-contradictory theology; on the contrary, if the mode of supernatural operation in the Jewish history be admitted to be legendary or

mythical, there is nothing in it to hinder and much to suggest the most elevated conceptions of the Supreme Being: if the mythical be taken as literal, notions will be formed of Him base, incongruous, and profane.

Undoubtedly, when we have arrived at the conclusions, of the embodiment in the Pentateuch of ancient documents and traditions, the origin of which it is impossible to trace—of its not being the work, or in its present form even the compilation of Moses—of the admissibility of myth, legend, and poetical amplification as sources of the substance of some of its narratives, and of the accessories of others—we are far advanced towards the removal from it altogether of the miraculous element. For without entering into the abstract or *à priori* question of miracle, no reasonable person would be satisfied with the same evidence for a miraculous story as for an ordinary transaction; nor admit some at least of the miracles recorded in the Old Testament, unless the evidence for them were altogether cogent and complete. Now it is frequently represented that if the supernatural element were to be omitted from the Pentateuch, the whole history of the Jewish people would crumble to pieces; that the miraculous is altogether essential to it; that we could not suppose the Hebrews to have been what we know them to have been, unless that miraculous basis of their history be presupposed. On examination, however, this is not found to be the case. We may believe Noah to have had three sons, and yet suppose the Scriptural deluge to be an exaggeration of some local flood; the interest of the oldest ethnographical table extant (Gen. x.) would not suffer, nor its general correspondence with the distribution of peoples over a certain geographical area be at all denied, even if the account of the confusion of tongues (Gen xi. 1—9) were cut out altogether. Differences of language are found throughout known history to have succeeded, not to have preceded colonizations and dispersions. Homophonous tribes separate from various causes. Abram and Lot parted asunder when the land became too narrow for them (Gen. xiii. 6—11); Greeks, Germans, and English exemplify within the range of classical and modern history strong tendencies in men of the same language to disperse themselves over the face of the whole earth. All recent researches in Indo-Germanic philology combine to show the extent to which human speech has diversified itself in consequence of migrations and separations, not as a cause of them. Then, again, the history of Abraham's migration—whatever its particular value—will not be affected by our ceasing to understand in a literal sense such expressions as, "The Lord said unto Abraham." Many an emigrant of our own feels called, as by the voice of God, and truly so in a certain sense, to seek a new home

in a strange land, and goes out across the wilderness of waters, not knowing whither. Abraham has not been the last, as we may be sure he was not the first, of Pilgrim Fathers. In like manner, the providential mission of the Jewish people is still seen in their history, although there were nothing miraculous, in the modern sense of the word, in the manner of their being brought into Egypt, or delivered from it. So, again, many wonderful particulars which are said to have attended their transit into Canaan may be entirely omitted from the account, without detracting from the authenticity of the Mosaic legislation itself. For this legislation retains its wisdom and divine character without our supposing, according to the letter, that "God spake all these words" audibly in the air. The higher we set the character even of Moses himself, the less disposed must we be to admit that he could have had such rude conceptions of the Deity as many parts of the narrative would imply: the more we elevate him as lawgiver, the less can we conceive him to have been his own historian.

"He would not," says Dr. Davidson, "have encouraged the belief that such and such *words directly proceeded* from God—words often trivial and mean, conveying no moral or religious sentiment, but tending rather to fix the mind on objects of superstition. Who can suppose, for example, that after all the solemn preparation described in the twenty-fourth chapter of Exodus, when the elders of Israel are summoned into the presence of Deity, see Him, and live, Jehovah spake to Moses outwardly in the air in this strain? 'Tell the children of Israel to bring me an offering. From every one whose heart is willing to give, ye shall take my offering. And these are the offerings which ye shall take from them: gold, and silver, and brass, and blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine linen, and goats' hair, and rams' skins dyed red, and badgers' skins, and shittim wood, oil for the light, spices for anointing oil, and for sweet incense, onyx stones, and stones to be set in the ephod, and in the breastplates,' &c. With such trifling directions no less than seven chapters are filled—directions which can neither have literally and directly proceeded from God Himself, nor can have been supposed by Moses to have done so."—(p. 240.)

In a previous passage, Dr. Davidson had laid down as an inevitable inference from many instances, that we must not take the use of the formula, *God said*, or, *God commanded*, as stamping what is so spoken of for indubitably right, just, or true. "Such formula indicates nothing more than the ideas of the narrator or actors at the time, which may have imperfectly represented the eternal principles of justice and morality." And whether this supposed express divine sanction of some proceeding immoral in itself is indicated by a brief formula, or by an extended speech or description, makes no difference in our judgment.

"It is of primary importance towards acquiring just ideas of the Supreme Being, that our statement should be admitted, otherwise the most holy, merciful, loving Father of mankind will fail to be apprehended aright; and things will be attributed to His direct agency, which are abhorrent to His nature. It will also be supposed that He required the sacrifice of bloody victims on His altar to propitiate His favour, and even enjoined the particular animals to be offered up; whereas all nations presented similar victims from a superstitious feeling. It will be believed that *God* would not lead the Israelites through the way of the land of the Philistines, lest seeing war they might repent and return to Egypt (Exod. xiii. 17). It will be believed that *Jehovah met* Moses on the way from Midian to Egypt, and sought to kill him. In short, it will be believed, that the Almighty was continually interfering with the affairs of men even in trivial matters; that He commanded the destruction of His own creatures by the hands of others, contrary to His immutable law of moral equity implanted in the human mind, *not to do to another what you would not have another do to you.*"—(p. 238.)

Paradoxical defenders of orthodoxy indeed maintain that it is within the omnipotence of Deity to work *moral miracles:* yet if morality has its root in the Divine nature, it is unchangeable even by a miracle; or if what we understand by morality is relative to humanity, it is relatively to humanity unchangeable, so long as humanity remains essentially the same. Other animals have not our conceptions of right and wrong, of true and false; nor even the same perceptions with ourselves of sweet and bitter, good and evil: the other constituents of their nature remaining unchanged, they could not have notions of right and wrong which attach to actions beyond their power to perform, and depend upon relations into which it is not given to them to enter: a lion could not have a sense of murder or wicked killing, nor a dog be guilty of adultery, nor a rat of theft. On the other hand, the human being could not be divested of his sense of right and wrong, the other constituents of his nature remaining as before. And an ass remaining an ass, could no more reason and speak, than a man digest thistles while he remained a man: nor could it be right for a man to offer up his son as a sacrifice to the Deity, any more than it could be cruel or wrong for a lion or a spider to lie in wait for its prey. It is merely an invidious way of stating it, to say that the omnipotence of the Creator is disputed, when the credibility of a narrative is denied which represents Him as commanding—not stones to be made bread—but wrong to become right. His omnipotence is no more disputed than by maintaining that two and two cannot make five, even by a miracle, or a triangle have four angles: to suppose a moral miracle is as absurd as to suppose an arithmetical or mathematical one. To beings who are incapable of arithmetical abstractions any proposition concerning $2 + 2 = 4$,

would be as unmeaning as 2 + 2 = 5 ; but where the arithmetical faculty is present it cannot be made to form a contradictory conception. In like manner, were the moral faculty absent or utterly depraved, it would be no more to a man to slay his son than to kill a goat ; being a man it is contradictory to his true nature, and he could not fancy it to be right except under the influence of some delusion or superstition. A verbal inference from the word "omnipotence" must not be suffered to contradict our necessary conception of Deity itself, or to lead to a denial of Divine order in the universe. It is not, in fact, a question of power on the part of the Creator, but of clearness of perception and insight into the constitution of the universe on our part, which arises when any such narrative is presented to us as that of the speaking of Balaam's ass, or of a Divine voice bidding Abraham slay his son. Delusions and superstitions have persuaded men of the acceptableness to the Deity of human sacrifices; but as their religious conceptions have become more refined, they have perceived that they must be abhorrent to Him. Superstition and example might struggle with reason and conscience in the Hebrew people; they might be tempted to make their sons and their daughters pass through the fire to Moloch ; they might ask, "Shall I give my firstborn for my transgression—the fruit of my body for the sin of my soul ?" a historian might record with more or less correctness the doing of such an act, or a willingness to do such an act (as on the part of Abraham), without expressing his abhorrence. But though it is possible for one man to be deluded, or deceived, or doubtful, for another to be incapable of a clear, independent judgment upon the acts of great men of his race—it would not be possible for the Deity to contradict Himself.

Now, without pursuing our learned and conscientious critic in his detailed examination of the several books of the Pentateuch, we would make one or two observations on the fruitfulness of some of the principles which he has applied to the criticism of this part of the Bible, but which are legitimately applicable also to other portions of it. First, there is no authority external to the Bible itself which can settle for us beforehand how much of it is to be understood literally, how much poetically or figuratively; how much narrative describes actual history, how much is mythical or legendary. There is no such thing as saying, so much of the Bible *ought* to be believed according to the letter, it is our *duty* to believe such and such narratives without further examination : *ought* does not enter into a question of fact. And as to the Old Testament, even the highest authority of all to the Christian lays him under no obligation to believe or accept according to the letter those parts of it which appear to him deficient in evidence, or

inherently incredible. For in the first place, it cannot be assumed, even according to the most orthodox definition of the person of Jesus, that he spoke of such things otherwise than in his nature of man, according to the knowledge and opinions of his age and country—perfect, we will say, in their kind, but still human and Jewish. In the next place, we have no such absolute certainty as to the precise words he actually did use in citing or alluding to the Old Testament and its supernatural histories, as can enable us to apply this authority to particular narratives. The passages of the New Testament which appear to vouch for the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch are given at length at pp. 128, 129 of Dr. Davidson's work. The strongest of them are the following:—Leviticus is assigned by St. Paul to the authorship of Moses (Rom. x. 5); in Mark xii. 26, Exodus seems assigned to him; in John v. 46, 47, Matt. xix. 7, Deuteronomy is referred to as his writing. Now it will be observed that all the passages of this kind which can be cited are more or less argumentative and controversial. Neither Jesus or His Apostles lay down any "Canon of Scripture," beyond the general divisions of "Law and Prophets," or "Law, Prophets, and Psalms," nor touch at all upon such subjects as genuineness or authenticity of books; and Dr. Davidson quotes the celebrated lectures of Dr. Hey, Norrisian Professor at Cambridge, who says:—"Men are particularly attentive to any reasoning upon their own principles; and when they are convinced of their own inconsistency (which they are by the *argumentum ad hominem*), they grow humble and reasonable attentive to truth, and willing to admit it. The arguing of which we are speaking, in quotation from, or allusion to, the Old Testament, is generally of the nature of the *argumentum ad hominem* if not always." And from the same author:—"We have now reason to think that no text, or scarcely any, was ever either cited or alluded to by our Saviour, but according to the notions of the *Jews* then *present*. . . . It gave no *authority* to any sense of a passage of Scripture, because it was not understood to do so," &c.—(Davidson, p. 127.)

When, therefore, upon internal evidence, we find a disproof or strong reason for doubt of the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, and thereby feel ourselves left without any contemporaneous voucher for the miraculous events in which Moses is said to have taken a part, or to have been necessarily cognizant of,—some of which are internally incredible, as at variance with the physical laws of the Divine universe, others as contradicting essential characteristics (as far as we can infer them) of the Deity Himself, others as inconsistent with Moses' own character; and when the New Testament, relied on to supplement by external testimony or infallible authority this defect in the

evidence of authorship, does not do so, or, in fact, undertake to do any such thing, we have another step to make, or question to ask,—Does the authority of the New Testament, though it may not vouch for the authorship of the books of the Old Testament, vouch expressly for the literal historical truth of their *contents*, in such particulars as we refer to?—does it accomplish *directly* what it has not done *indirectly?*—does it declare those events to be authentic, which we should otherwise resolve into legend or poetry, in the absence of trustworthy contemporaneous witness to their occurrence?

No doubt the supernatural histories which we meet with in the earlier books of the Bible are many of them referred to in the New Testament.* It will be instructive to place the principal of these passages together, and at length, in order to see clearly what they amount to:—1. The Serpent in Gen. iii. is referred to in 2 Cor. xi. 3, "But I fear, lest by any means, as the serpent beguiled Eve through his subtilty, so your minds should be corrupted from the simplicity which is in Christ." 2. The Deluge in Matt. xxiv. 38, 39, "For as in the days that were before the flood they were eating and drinking, marrying and giving in marriage, until the day that Noe entered into the ark, and knew not until the flood came, and took them all away; so shall also the coming of the Son of Man be." (Comp. Luke xvii. 27.) Also, in 2 Pet. ii. 5, "And spared not the old world, but saved Noah the eighth person, a preacher of righteousness, bringing in the flood upon the world of the ungodly." 3. Sodom and Gomorrha. Luke xvii. 29, "The same day that Lot went out of Sodom it rained fire and brimstone, and destroyed them all;" ver. 32, "Remember Lot's wife." 2 Pet. ii. 6, "And turning the cities of Sodom and Gomorrha into ashes condemned them with an overthrow, making them an ensample unto those which after should live ungodly." (Comp. Jude 7.) 4. The Exodus and some accompanying or subsequent wonders in 1 Cor. x. 1—4, "Moreover, brethren, I would not that ye should be ignorant, how that all our fathers were under the cloud, and all passed through the sea;

* A remarkable exception is that of the astronomical miracle in Josh. x. 13, which had, however, entered thoroughly into the Jewish mind, and is recognised in Ecclus. xlvi. 4. The reason of our not meeting with any allusion to it in the New Testament may be, that it is intimately connected in the history with the extermination of the Canaanites, and the Christian religion, in the purity of its origin, gave no encouragement to the angry passions. At least this would be a sufficient account of the omission as far as the Lord's own teaching is concerned, who rebukes His disciples for desiring a repetition of the destructive miracle of Elijah (2 Kings i. 10—12; Luke ix. 54—56); but it would not have been altogether surprising to have met with a reference to it in a Petrine epistle, or in the Epistle to the Hebrews.

and were all baptized unto Moses in the cloud and in the sea; and did all eat the same spiritual meat; and did all drink the same spiritual drink: for they drank of that spiritual Rock that followed them: and that Rock was Christ;" and verses 8, 9, "Neither let us commit fornication, as some of them committed, and fell in one day three and twenty thousand; neither let us tempt Christ, as some of them also tempted, and were destroyed of serpents." And in Heb. xi. 29, "By faith they passed through the Red Sea as by dry land: which the Egyptians assaying to do were drowned." 5. The manna. John vi. 32, 49, 50, "Moses gave you not that bread from heaven; but my Father giveth you the true bread from heaven. Your fathers did eat manna in the wilderness, and are dead. This is the bread which cometh down from heaven, that a man may eat thereof, and not die." 6. The giving of the Law is described in Heb. xii. 18—21, "For ye are not come unto the mount that might be touched, and that burned with fire, nor unto blackness, and darkness, and tempest, and the sound of a trumpet, and the voice of words," &c. 7. The catastrophe of Korah is mentioned as the "perishing in the gainsaying of Core," in Jude, verse 11. 8. The story of Balaam is referred to, 2 Pet. ii. 15, 16, "The dumb ass speaking with man's voice forbad the madness of the prophet;" and the "error of Balaam for reward" in Jude, verse 7. 9. Lastly, are to be noticed two passages respecting Jonah, which we place side by side:—

Matt. xii. 39—41.

"But he answered and said unto them, An evil and adulterous generation seeketh after a sign; and there shall no sign be given to it, but the sign of the prophet Jonas. For as Jonas was three days and three nights in the whale's belly; so shall the Son of man be three days and three nights in the heart of the earth. The men of Nineveh shall rise in judgment with this generation, and shall condemn it: because they repented at the preaching of Jonas; and, behold, a greater than Jonas is here."

Luke xi. 29—32.

"And when the people were gathered thick together, he began to say, This is an evil generation: they seek a sign; and there shall no sign be given it, but the sign of Jonas the prophet. For as Jonas was a sign unto the Ninevites, so shall also the Son of man be to this generation. The queen of the south shall rise up in the judgment, &c. . . . The men of Nineve shall rise up in the judgment with the men of this generation, and shall condemn it: for they repented at the preaching of Jonas; and, behold, a greater than Jonas is here."

In all these cases it will be seen that the wonder or supernatural event is not set forth as an object of faith or matter of

instruction; it is introduced by way of allusion, suggested as an "example," or rather "emblem" (τύποι, 1 Cor. x.; ὑποδείγματα, 2 Pet. ii.) The comparisons are far fetched, as in 2 Cor. xi. 3; or mystical, as in 1 Cor. x., also in John vi.; that is not the way in which miracles would be propounded as articles of faith. No stress should be laid, it is true, or objection raised by reason of the probable spuriousness of the second Petrine Epistle, or of the anonymousness of the Epistle to the Hebrews; for they are early Christian writings, exhibiting primitive Christian thought, and the other writings do no more. Their authors were not wiser in all things than the rest of their contemporaries, though they applied in a better way such knowledge and wisdom as they had. The Petrine author extracts from the received accounts of cataclysms and catastrophes, the hope of a new heaven and a new earth wherein dwelleth righteousness; the author to the Hebrews illustrates his definition of faith as a realization of good unseen, by citing passages of history which to those without the prejudices of his race would have exemplified distrust rather than faith, as with Sarah and the Israelites at the Exodus. St. Paul, we know, draws an argument for the Resurrection from the dying of the seed; if he had known it, the life of the seed would have supplied him with a more striking analogy. Is he infallible, then, in his history of Eden, or of the events in the Wilderness, when he is subject to mistake in his physical facts? or is it any more discredit to him to be mistaken in the one case than in the other? The Master employs—but very rarely—these references to the ancient history in the same way as the Apostles, for the enforcement or illustration of some moral truth; nor is there anything to take these citations or allusions, by whomsoever made throughout the New Testament, out of the general rule laid down by Hey, that they were made according to the notions of the Jews then present. And we prefer to think that this was not by condescension or κατ' ἐιρωνείαν, but by reason of the general limitation of the thoughts and knowledge of the speakers or writers as to such matters within the same range as that of their contemporaries.

With respect to dogmatic objections which may be raised to the supposition of such limitation in Jesus himself, it should be observed, that if with the Patripassians, Apollinaris, and others, the νοῦς θεῖος were supposed to have taken the place of a soul in the person of Jesus, it might be more difficult to suppose a human lack of knowledge in him than it is according to the orthodox doctrine of the union of two whole and perfect natures; for an indwelling omniscient reason in the place of a human soul would be irreconcileable with "increased in wisdom" (Luke ii. 52); with "Jesus wept" (John xi. 35); with "groaned in spirit" (John xi. 33); with the "agony," and with "learned he obedience," and "was

heard in that he feared" (Heb. v. 7, 8); with the "lama sabachthani;" also with "in all things made like unto his brethren," and "in all points tempted like as we are, yet without sin" (Heb. ii. 17; iv. 15); for there is no sin in defect of knowledge, or in being intellectually bounded by the conditions of one's own age and country. On the other hand, according to the orthodox view, the Divinity in the person of Jesus was not always active; yet it would be impossible to draw the line so as to say, that concerning the Day of Judgment the Saviour was *humanly* ignorant, but in affirming the miracle of Jonah he was *divinely* infallible.

Moreover, the only sign or wonder of the Old Testament, recognised in the words of Jesus himself, which occasions any real difficulty, is that of "Jonas the prophet;" and with reference to this, it may be a relief to some to point out the reasons there are for doubting whether we can be absolutely sure of the precise words made use of. In the first place, the words actually employed cannot have been, "As Jonah was three days and three nights in the whale's belly; *so shall the Son of man be three days and three nights in the heart of the earth;*" because the Son of Man *was not three days and three nights in the heart of the earth.* Secondly, because the sign of the risen Son of Man was *not given* to the generation which sought after it, but only to chosen witnesses (Acts x. 41); it would have been a contradiction to promise the people a particular sign and then to confine it to a chosen number; also it would have been at variance with the moral from the parable of the rich man and Lazarus, "neither will they be persuaded though one rose from the dead," to direct the popular expectation to such an event *as a sign* at all. Thirdly, it appears that the Scribes and Pharisees, or the people, were frequently rebuked for seeking after a sign, and that Jonas was mentioned more than once (Matt. xii. 40, 41; xvi. 4); but it is only in Matt. xii. 40, that any mention is made of the imprisonment in the whale's belly.

There cannot be perfect accuracy in the words as given in the first and third Gospels; for in St. Matthew they occur in answer to the demand of certain of the Scribes and Pharisees, in St. Luke on occasion of the people being "gathered thick together." Also the mention of the queen of the south in the one Gospel precedes that of Jonah, in the other succeeds it. But if the 40th verse of Matth. xii. be left out as an interpolation, the narratives in the two Gospels would substantially agree, in representing Jesus as discouraging the expectation of any supernatural sign or portent whatever but enforcing the necessity of taking heed to his preaching of repentance. And the interpolation is easily accounted for by supposing some scribe, who did not understand that the sign of Jonah to the Ninevites was the sign of his preaching to

them, to have inserted the mention of the whale's belly, and then, in order to make the parallel complete, to have misrepresented the "three days and three nights in the heart of the earth."

There is, therefore, no sufficient reason from any supposed authority of the New Testament, why the freest criticism upon the genuineness and authenticity of all parts of the Old Testament should not be persevered in. And we are now able to see what the importance is of establishing or negativing the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch. Dr. Davidson says it has been overrated; and in one sense of the word, or rather with respect to certain portions of the Pentateuch, the question of authorship is of slight or of no importance whatsoever; with respect to other portions it is of the very greatest.

The religious truths to be met with in the Pentateuch are the Revelation, in the real sense of the word, which it contains; truths, for instance, concerning the unity of the Divine Nature, and the order of the Divine government of the universe; or truths concerning the human being, his best interests, his growing moral perceptions, his aspirations after good. Such truths as these, whether enunciated or illustrated by Moses or any other, are equally valuable in themselves, for they serve to awaken a corresponding sense in the hearts and minds of the best and purest of all future generations. To this extent it is unimportant whether Moses did or did not compose the Pentateuch; whether it be the production of one author or of several; whether it be one work or a growth of generations. So far it is as unimportant to the truly religious person, whether these books be the work of Moses, as to the admirer of the poetical beauties of the Iliad, whether Homer were a real person and its author; or to the lover of philosophy, whether all the Platonic Dialogues are Plato's, or whether all which is put by Plato into the mouth of Socrates was spoken by Socrates. Any realization and enunciation of truth by those who are in advance of their generation, is a revelation for the less-gifted of their own and future ages. A late Oxford examiner, in his edition of the "Nicomachean Ethics," undertook to show, that upon a review of the internal and external evidence as to the authorship of the book, it certainly could not as a whole be considered the work of Aristotle; but the practical utility of certain rules of conduct which may be elicited from it is the same, whether it be his genuine production or not. The book which all school-boys know as "Euclid" undoubtedly contains many propositions which are not Euclid's—they are not the less true on that account. The doctrine of the formation of habits in the one case and the relation of the squares of the sides to that of the hypotenuse in the other, would lose none of their value as an inheritance for all ages, even if Aristotle and Euclid were merely mythical persons.

The power of the press is none the greater because we may know the name of the European inventor of the art of printing; nor is the artificer in brass or iron less useful to those who lay little stress upon the record of Tubal-cain having been the father of the great family of the *Smiths.*

On the other hand, if Moses is not a voucher for all which is related in the Pentateuch, neither is he responsible for it. And the reader is thus relieved of many stumbling-blocks which the Mosaic authorship would set before him; difficulties not so great perhaps as to the prodigies narrated as concerning the moral tone of many passages in the history. And when the work of such labourers in the critical field as we have now before us is duly estimated, it will be found their design is by no means to rob the Englishman of his Bible; on the contrary, they are the friends both of the Bible and of the people; though they do not, it is true, set the Bible on a pinnacle for which it is not fitted, nor teach their countrymen to forego their reason, or to silence their conscience, when they read it. Those, on the contrary, are the enemies both of the Bible and of the people, who tie the Bible together in all its parts, poetry and prose, psalm and ceremonial, legend, myth, history, and proverb, in an undistinguishable mass; and bid the people worship it blindfolded, as a book which fell down from heaven, and then come humbly to their clergy to receive from them such explanation as they may choose to give of its contents.

Art. III.—Election Expenses.

1. *Corrupt Practices at Elections Bill.* 1862.
2. *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates.*
3. *Reports of the Gloucester and Wakefield Commissions.*

FOR the present the question of Parliamentary Reform (using the phrase in its popular sense) is completely withdrawn from our public discussions. No democratic eloquence, no pertinacity of popular agitation, could make it just now an acive influence. Popular agitators themselves recognise the fact and accept the situation. No one who has the slightest observation of public affairs, no one who is accustomed to watch the changes of public feeling, can suppose that this condition of tranquillity is destined to be permanent, or can even last for any considerable time. We are likely to have Reform agitations again and again, until a change in the whole character and arrangements of the suffrage; much greater than, and perhaps quite different from

that which the Radical party in the House of Commons now claim, shall have been completely effected. The present quiescence of politicians and people alike, does not by any means indicate a perfect satisfaction with the present arrangements, and an unwillingness to have them ever disturbed. It partly indicates that the public did not much care about the particular alterations which were officially proposed, and that they rather shrank from the more extreme and radical changes which were supposed to be kept in the background. But it indicates still more that the vast majority of the community did not believe any elaborate alteration to be a work of immediate and imperative necessity, and that they did not care to have their attention distracted for the moment from objects and considerations of deep and thrilling interest. A man goes out to watch a conflagration in a neighbouring street, and becomes for the moment indifferent to the fact that his own parlour chimney is smoking; but we do not suppose him thus to indicate that he likes smoky chimneys in general, and would rather not have his own swept and purified. Thus the attention of the people of England has of late been called away from matters of mere domestic detail by a succession of the most exciting events abroad which have occurred since the days of the First Empire. The unbroken series of wars, which began in the Crimea and is now sustained in America, must have distracted the minds of the calmest spectators from the consideration of any other topics not actually imperative in their claims. But whenever the world is happy enough to see a restoration of general peace, we shall find all our old domestic disputations wakening up with renewed energy. We shall have our Reform bills and our Reform agitations once more. For to suppose that the existing electoral system, whatever its merits, however it may have worked thus far, can remain the system of many succeeding generations, is to evince an entire misconception of the very conditions which alone have given it any effectiveness and applicability up to the present time. The system which has been found tolerable in 1860, may be fairly regarded as destined to be declared intolerable in 1900.

But electoral reform involves a great many other considerations besides mere extension of the suffrage. In a certain sense, the latter question may be deemed comparatively unimportant. The number of persons who vote is a matter of very much less moment than the question whether those who do vote represent fairly the various interests of the community, and whether their combined choice represents the national interest in general. Reform in this direction seems to be at once the most needful, the most generally demanded, and, at the same time, the most difficult. We must all have met scores of persons who maintained that the

present theory of the franchise was perfection, and that any meddling with it for the purpose of alteration would be fatal. But we never heard any individual contend that the present system of election did not require improvement. Perhaps, on the whole, those who the most stoutly oppose all change in the one direction, are the most eager for some reform in the other. Every one complains of bribery, of treating, of intimidation, of landlord interference, of priestly dictation, of vestry despotism, of public-house oligarchy, of the immense expense of electioneering contests, of the petition system, or of some other of the disagreeable and defective incidents which surround the choice of a parliamentary representative. Every session, some attempt, more or less bungling, and almost invariably abortive, is made to devise a scheme for the abatement of evils which every one recognises and deplores. One man has a ballot scheme; another has a bill about the conveyance of voters; a third is strong upon some terrible form of oath to be imposed beforehand upon candidates; a fourth is for disfranchising every borough where anything objectionable is proved to have taken place; a fifth is for making the suffrage so extended as to prevent all possibility of bribery; a sixth is for restricting it to those who have sufficient means to place them above the reach of corruption by money; but all agree that some immediate steps are actually imperative to abate the evils which at present cling around the process of parliamentary election. The legislature is placed in a somewhat peculiar dilemma. To devise any scheme capable of being applied to the diminution of all the sources of complaint seems almost wholly impossible. On the other hand, the introduction of measures applied to single branches of the evil is always sure to appear, even if it should not really be so, inexpedient and useless in the eyes of the great majority of legislators. Such a mode of legislation may, too, possess, and indeed often does possess, the positive disadvantage that it only suppresses or diminishes one source of complaint by allowing freer and broader scope for another. The House of Commons is often blamed for a want of earnestness in dealing with these subjects. But if any such want of earnestness does exist, it is chiefly because the House looks with something like despair to the possibility of any legislative improvement whatever. There is so much in the present condition of things which the constituencies themselves can alone ameliorate, and it is so difficult to distinguish between the evils which an act of parliament can remove and those which it cannot approach, that the House of Commons may well be excused if it evinces no great ardour in the discussion and adoption of experimental schemes, which at best only seek to stop up some small issue from a deep and wide-spreading source.

The most obvious and the most heinous grievances are of course those which spring from corruption and from intimidation. If the charge of want of earnestness applies fairly to the House of Commons at all, it is in regard to the first of these evils. It seems almost impossible to believe that bribery, even in the most subtle form, could not be prevented, or at all events rendered futile, by some legislative enactment. But if the House is chargeable with a want of earnestness on this score, surely the charge applies with much greater force to the public opinion of the country. Where the House itself is most culpably lax upon this head is, moreover, not in its legislative capacity, but as a body or club of individual members. It is a painful truth that a wealthy man, known to have bribed, nay, actually convicted of bribery, is not a whit the less respected by the majority of members of the House. He may be looked upon with coldness or aversion by a very few holding what are perhaps considered prudishly advanced opinions, just as, even in the days of Rochester or of Dubois, there must have been some men who demurred to the companionship of a professed profligate; but that a candidate spent ten thousand pounds in the corruption of a borough will no more exclude him from the general society of the House of Commons, than a man of fashion would have been tabooed, in the age of Congreve, because he had laid out a similar sum to corrupt a friend's wife. The offence of bribery now holds exactly the same place in public opinion which duelling did a couple of generations back, or professed seduction a generation still earlier. No one admits that he thinks it morally right: a very few act as if they really thought it morally wrong; but to the great body of society the offence operates practically rather as a recommendation than an exclusion. This is the case in the House, and we need scarcely add that it is the feeling of the country. In such a condition of public opinion, seeing that the offence is not one which can be openly avowed and defended, it is indeed possible that a sharp and strict enactment, or series of enactments, might avail to put down bribery. But in such a condition of public opinion, too, it is perfectly futile to expect that the House of Commons will ever seriously and earnestly go to work to devise any such enactment. Were it actually devised and enacted we may regard it as certain that it would never be carried into practical effect. The recent experience we have had of the operation of measures against bribers may satisfy the most sanguine individual upon this point. So far as bribery is concerned, then, we may as well quietly make up our minds to the recognition of the fact that it can be suppressed by law whenever the House of Commons is in earnest on the subject; it can be got rid of without a law whenever the country is in earnest; but until one or the other, or both, become

really earnest, as at the present moment neither is, it is hopeless to look for any abolition of the bribery system, either by the force of statute or the power of public opinion.

Intimidation can hardly be termed any longer an active influence in perverting the results of an election. In England it hardly exists at all; and even in Ireland we very much doubt whether many votes are ever given in obedience to such a species of intimidation as the law could reach. That a riot, or any number of riots, takes place in the vicinity of the polling-booths proves a turbulent crowd and an inefficient police force, and perhaps that the election is disgracefully conducted, but does not by any means prove that a single vote has been given otherwise than as the voter was personally willing to give it. As a rule, Irish voters are not a timid class of persons, nor in the country districts altogether unaccustomed to witness turbulent scenes; and we have always felt considerable doubt whether physical terror really has of late years operated much to compel reluctant electors into the ranks they disliked. There are, indeed, two kinds of intimidation which operate gravely, and even grievously, in Ireland—the intimidation of the landlord and that of the priest. There is good reason to hope that both are fast diminishing in influence. The Irish famine and the Encumbered Estates Act helped to break down the dominion of the landlord, and but for the recent influence of the Papal question upon our home politics, that of the priest might have equally dwindled. At all events, improved education is the sure and the only remedy for either species of intimidation. Law can do nothing; and public opinion in Ireland is at present an agency to the direct operation of which it would be vain to appeal. There is not in Ireland a sufficiently large body of persons, independent alike of Ultramontane, Roman Catholic, or extreme Tory, to form a public opinion which, while impartial, would be also influential. Upon the grievance of intimidation, then, the public need not give itself much trouble; the evil has altogether disappeared in most places, and where it exists at all is found in a form which cannot last, and the extinction of which can scarcely be accelerated by any direct application either of law or of opinion.

But there is another evil which operates at present far more prejudicially to the general results of elections than either bribery or intimidation; we mean the expense attendant upon a contest. To this subject in especial we desire to direct our observations; first, because we believe this influence to be the most general and the most injurious of all the evil influences now affecting the results of the elections; next, because it does not seem likely to disappear of itself or in the natural progress of affairs; and finally, because it seems to us that it would not be difficult to banish it

by a permanent and an effective remedy. It acts most injuriously and directly upon the House itself, for it often limits the choice of the electors to a class of persons who, upon the whole, are by no means likely to be the best representatives of the nation's intellects or interests. Moreover, it is an evil which many members of parliament, sitting on both sides of the House, are not at all anxious to see abolished. There is a sort of impression very generally existing, especially among those who have a kind of vested interest in a parliamentary seat, that the higher the expense of getting into the House the more it will be reserved as a luxury for the aristocracy; or, to put the matter in a less odious light, as a privilege for the educated and the independent. It is presumed that if the expense of a contest were reduced to something merely nominal, every hustings would be crowded with candidates offering themselves for the mere sake of notoriety, or in the vague hope of getting in through some confusion and collision of more powerful claims; that the competition would be reduced to a mere demagogic struggle, in which the prize would be carried off by the man who could most audaciously and successfully pander to the whim or passion of the hour; that a seat in the House of Commons would then become the ambition and the reward only of the professional adventurer, and that, as a result, all men of character, intellect, and independence would gradually abandon entirely that political life which had degenerated into a vulgar, ignoble, and demoralizing trade. Any one who believes in the advantage of expense in elections, if he considers the question in any large and general way at all, and does not view it merely as a monopolist views his own vested interest, is certain to sustain his opinion by arguments such as we have stated. Now we wish to point out that as the classes of the country are at present formed, the high cost of an election has a direct tendency to produce exactly those results which the lovers of a protective duty on parliamentary seats believe it qualified to prevent.

A constituency where a contest is expensive—and there is scarcely any constituency which may not work itself into this position—finds its choice limited generally to one of two classes. It may either elect an independent rich man, or a poor man who is content to sell himself to a party. There is a third class, indeed, of which we shall hereafter speak—a class which can scarcely be called rich, but which is generally ready to spend its money as freely as the wealthy, spending it, however, as a mere investment, as a purchase-money by which to secure a lucrative position afterwards. The first glance of the constituency is of course towards some resident rich man. If it ever was true that political education and wealth commonly went together, it certainly is true in England no longer. The wealthiest persons in most of

our boroughs, at least, are almost invariably persons who have made their money in a constant and close pursuit of business which almost as a matter of necessity precludes any wide and comprehensive acquirement of political knowledge. Let us take as an instance the metropolitan constituencies generally. We have no intention to join in the common and vulgar sarcasm which is usually directed against the representatives of those constituencies. They are on the whole respectable and sensible men, and probably the best men the constituencies could have had under the circumstances. But we do not suppose any human being in England imagines that they are, as a group, the class of men who ought to represent such constituencies in the greatest political assembly of the world. Except Mr. Layard and Sir De Lacy Evans (who are men of mark, chosen under special circumstances) we do not know that there is any one of the members for Westminster, Lambeth, Southwark, the Tower Hamlets, or Finsbury, who has ever addressed himself to any great political question; who has ever spoken in the House upon any subject beyond the range of a parish vestry topic. The great constituency of Marylebone is represented by a nobleman from the South of Ireland, who was only known previously as an intelligent and moderate advocate of the Irish popular cause, and by a Dublin gentleman not previously known in any political cause at all. Now, whatever the merits of these two gentlemen (and of Lord Fermoy we know that he is an able man, much esteemed and very useful in his own locality), it can hardly be contended that they are exactly the two representatives whom the electors of Marylebone, left absolutely free to choose, would have selected. But the electors were not free to choose. They had in the first instance to find men who were willing to spend very large sums of money on the chance of being elected. It is not easy, at the present moment, to find many persons of high character and high talents willing to throw thousands of pounds away for the mere chance of being permitted patriotically to serve their country. Where the choice happens to be limited to residents, the chances of finding a man fit for the post and willing to pay for it are still fewer. A man of independence and ability will probably think that if he gives his services and talents to a constituency he ought not to be called upon to give six or seven thousand pounds as well. At the late Finsbury election it was quite notorious that the leaders of the constituency were literally hunting for candidates. We know ourselves of men who were begged and implored to stand, and assured that they could win if they would only try, and who were forced to decline on the sole ground that the expense, computed on the most moderate calculation, would be beyond the reach of any but a wealthy man. In many of these

instances not half the constituency vote at all, even where there is a close and sharp contest. In Lambeth the other day not a quarter of the constituency came to the polling-booths. We do not know of any conceivable argument which could better prove that the men returned in such boroughs are not elected because the constituency in general have the slightest notion that they are really the men best qualified to represent them. In fact, the constituencies are precluded from making the merits of a candidate the first consideration. The first consideration must be as to the willingness of a candidate to sacrifice a large sum of money. Of course this difficulty may be met by the constituency themselves subscribing to return the men whom they consider best fitted to represent them. Some large constituencies—Manchester among the rest—have often done this. The Tower Hamlets, although not a borough which generally comes in for much eulogium on the ground of its public spirit, have, we believe, when necessary, taken the same course. But public men do not always like being thus indebted, as it were, to the spontaneous bounty of their constituents. The fact that a subscription is being raised in half guineas and shillings to pay his way for him, is not felt by a sensitive candidate a satisfactory preliminary to the undertaking of duties in which he ought to be independent of his constituents as well as of any private influence. Besides, it must be owned that a man's chances of success are diminished by the fact that those who vote for him are expected also to pay for him. It would be a severe trial of the virtue of (let us say) a Preston or Great Grimsby elector to be shown the candidate whom he ought on principle to support, but whom if he supports he is expected also to pay for; and on the other hand, to be invited to consider the merits of the opposing claimant who offers quite a different arrangement of terms, in which the elector will have all the gain.

Those whom we have already supposed as arguing in favour of the high cost of elections, contend that this system shuts out the mere adventurer class. But, unfortunately, it excludes only the independent and the high principled. It is a perfectly notorious fact that no political adventurer, endowed with any of the qualities of talent, energy, and audacity which make such a character possible, finds the slightest difficulty in obtaining a seat in Parliament. Only the scrupulous man is shut out by the present protective system. Let an aspirant make it obvious that he is able and willing to serve a mob, a political clique, or even in certain instances a great private interest, and he will find a way into Parliament opened up to him by some agency. During the existence of the stupid system of property qualification, there were whole rows of men in the House who did not own, and never, except as an election formula, professed or pretended to own, a

single acre of land. At present, we may say without fear of being thought to give scandal, that there are many men in the House of Commons who did not and could not pay their election expenses, and for whom their constituents never raised any public or private subscription. These gentlemen appeared on a borough or county hustings, and to the amazement of all their private friends, seemed suddenly to have come into the inexplicable possession of plenty of money, and having borne freely and liberally all the expense of electioneering, obtained their reward by being returned to Parliament. The plain truth is that any pushing, clever man, who has a private interest to serve by entering Parliament, and who is not scrupulous about means, can always obtain money to pay his election charges. Very much increasing, too, in the House of Commons are the class of rising and ambitious lawyers. These men are not, for the most part, to be confounded with the mere adventurer class. They generally pay their way with their own money, and take the side of the House which their political convictions and conscience point out. But they enter Parliament almost invariably for the sake of advancing themselves in their professional career. The odious system which secures the place of Solicitor or Attorney-General to any lawyer who distinguishes and makes himself useful as a Government partisan, tempts into Parliament scores of lawyers, who hope thus to mount by an easy spring over the heads of their toiling brethren of the bar. We do not say that an indifferent lawyer is very often made Attorney-General simply because he has been an eloquent or persevering partisan; but we do say that such appointments are sometimes made, and that they are made often enough to render them a chance worthy of consideration in the eyes of any young and ambitious barrister who thinks life short and the routine of the bar long. Such men will not mind spending a few hundreds of pounds for a seat in Parliament, which they purchase very much on the same principle as that which influences a man to buy a commission in a crack regiment. It may cost a good deal in the beginning, but it is likely to prove worth the money in the end. Sometimes indeed the chances of a lawyer's obtaining office have been matters of calm and methodical calculation, not alone to himself, his family, and his friends, but to his creditors as well. We are aware of a case in which a brilliant and eloquent barrister, very little acquainted with law, was returned to Parliament by arrangement of his creditors, in order that he might quickly become a judge and arrange all claims—and he did quickly become a judge, and no doubt did arrange the claims. We are aware of another case in which a lawyer of the same general character obtained a seat for the same purpose, and speedily mounted to a judicial post of a different kind, which answered his ends and those of

his creditors nearly as well. Every one is aware of the notorious case of the popular advocate who recently entered Parliament animated by an equally honourable ambition, and who beyond all doubt would have gained his end, had he not been somewhat suddenly compelled to abandon his incomplete career. In none of these instances did the preliminary expense operate as the slightest protection to the House of Commons against the worst form of adventuring. Any one who believes that the heavy expenses of an election secure to the constituencies the candidature of wealthy and independent men, may also believe that the difficulty of obtaining a license and the expense of fitting up a public-house render it certain that every publican in London must be a man of large independent means and of stainless private character. The best general remedy which can be devised to meet the evils of the political adventurer system, is to render the election hustings so far as possible free to all comers. Where the first and indispensable condition of candidature is that a man shall be able somehow to raise and freely to spend a very considerable sum of money, it is idle to talk about obtaining men of the highest qualifications. A constituency must too often put up with anybody who will fulfil the first condition, no matter what his other qualifications. The people of Marylebone did themselves no honour by electing Mr. Edwin James. But what could they have done? It was very difficult to get any one to bear the expense, and there was a man ready to pay anything and vote any way his supporters pleased. The majority of the electors of Marylebone never vote at all. Had the expenses been as modest as they might easily be made, there would have been found plenty of men of high intellect and high character ready to oppose Mr. Edwin James, and some one of whom would inevitably have defeated him. But such men as these had not the same personal need of a seat in Parliament, and could not be expected to pay so high a price for the mere sake of rendering troublesome and disinterested service to an exacting constituency.

The fear, which is more often felt than expressed, that the complete establishment of free competition for parliamentary seats would fill the House with mere political adventurers of the pauper class—*chevaliers d'industrie* of the political world—is almost entirely a chimera. Except to the lawyer class, and in the few instances of political ability so great as to command a very high post, there is little temptation offered by the House of Commons which is likely to increase the number of poor adventurers. There are great temptations to the wealthy man without social position, who hopes to obtain a sort of rank among a higher class, or even an entrance into the world of fashion, by the aid of a representative vote. There are great temptations to what may be termed,

for want of a better general phrase, the local or resident member—the rising great man of a country town or a metropolitan borough, who desires to culminate his greatness by representing his fellow-townsmen in Parliament. There are great temptations to the influential and aristocratic but dull country gentleman, who, by obtaining the representation of some county constituency, may find his ambition one day gratified with a seat in a short-lived Cabinet, and the title of Right Honourable for the remainder of his life. There are wealthy and stupid as well as poor and clever adventurers; and the House of Commons has always had far more of the former class inflicted on it than the latter. Your poor adventurer, too, is got rid of by an easy sacrifice. A colonial judgeship, a small commissionership, will satisfy him; and he cannot do very much harm in the exercise of functions where ordinary common sense is the main qualification, and a knowledge of Blackstone quite a superfluity. But the adventurer of rank and wealth must be allowed to exercise his ambition at the expense of a whole administrative department. A Cabinet cannot be made up if some ambitious and influential person do not consent to lend, what Mr. Disraeli once happily termed, "the weight of his gravity to the councils of his Sovereign." Therefore, such a gentleman must have one of the offices which do not seem to require any specific preliminary qualification assigned to him. He cannot be Chancellor of the Exchequer, because, at least, a rudimentary knowledge of addition and subtraction is desirable for that office. A Foreign Secretaryship is inconvenient, because it sometimes subjects the occupant to the embarrassing necessity of communicating with persons in a language not his own. But there is the Home Office, there is the Colonial Office, there is the Chancellorship of the Duchy of Lancaster, there is the War Office, there is the Admiralty—all occupations which are supposed to require no qualifications of any kind on the part of the minister under whose care they are placed, or in which, at all events, incapacity is not immediately and inevitably made conspicuous. It is a common reproach to the Whigs that they have always had a whole stock or tribe of influential and incapable retainers who had to be thus provided for at the expense of various administrative departments. It would be the very extravagance of Conservative partisanship to deny the fact that whenever the Tories held office they have always evinced a remarkable faculty for discovering among themselves and their friends extraordinary administrative aptitudes, which rendered previous knowledge or previous training entirely superfluous. What temptation is there to a poor adventurer compared with these? and what is the harm his career can do compared with the injurious results which an ignorant Colonial Secretary or a blundering Home Secretary

may develope from even a six months' exercise of his administrative incapacity? Indeed, the great defect of the present costly system is, that it makes the House of Commons a place which few men care to enter unless they have some personal motive of interest or ambition to gratify. The labour is very great to a man resolved to do his duty. Constituencies are exacting; there is an immense amount of private service and attention required, there are vast numbers of letters to be answered, and of small favours to be granted or refused; sittings are long, and for the most part dreary; committee work is heavy and fatiguing. Add to all these discouragements a very large preliminary fine in the shape of election expenses, and it seems no longer surprising that some large constituencies are literally forced to go begging for some one to meet the expense and incur the labour of serving their interests in the House of Commons.

We are far from saying that the expense of an election, heavy as it still is, has not considerably diminished. Of course no such sums are now expended as were lavished in the days of Sir Francis Burdett. Any instance will suffice to show how the expense has diminished. To be elected for the city of Gloucester cost Colonel Webb, in 1816, 27,500*l.*; in 1818 it cost Admiral Berkeley upwards of 16,000*l.*; in 1857 it cost Sir R. Carden about 1700*l.*; in 1859 it was estimated that the joint expenses of two Liberal candidates ought not to be more than 1500*l.* The change in the whole method of conducting an election in our times necessitates a great reduction of expense since the good old days. There is not the time and there are not the means now to throw away the same amount of money as before, let the candidate be ever so lavish. But while the outlay is absolutely reduced, the principle remains unaltered, and its operation is relatively the same. There is not the slightest reason why the cost of contesting such a place as Gloucester should be 1500*l.*, or anything like that sum; and, which is more directly to our point, there is not the slightest reason why such a cost, supposing it to be necessary, should be imposed as a burthen or penalty upon the candidates. It is not, or at least it ought not to be, the personal concern or interest of the candidate to enter Parliament. It ought not to be a privilege which he purchases, but a duty which he undertakes. There is no rational excuse to be given for not having the common expenses of an election made a charge upon the constituency. It is difficult to understand why a man who represents a borough in Parliament should be required to pay the cost of hustings and polling-places any more than one who comes forward to contest the representation of a ward of the same borough in the local town council. As far as possible, all paying ought, in election contests, to be taken out of the hands of the candi-

dates and their friends. This ought to be not merely for the sake of the candidate, but for that of the constituency. There are, of course, certain expenses which each candidate has a right to pay for himself, inasmuch as they are within his own option and control. He may, for instance, feel inclined to cover columns of all the local newspapers daily with his address to the constituents; and it would be rather hard to call upon any one but himself to bear an expense which it is within his own power to make great or small as he pleases; but such expenses as the erection of hustings and the employment of the official assessors and poll-clerks are surely for the constituency and not the candidate to pay. The amount of this expenditure would then be under a public control, which it cannot have otherwise. The representatives of the local ratepayers on whom the burthen would fall, would, for their own sakes, endeavour to make it as light as possible. At present nobody, except the unfortunate candidates, who are generally powerless, has the slightest interest in reducing the cost; and a great many people have objects direct and indirect in swelling it to the utmost. It is the habit of looking to the candidates as the source of all expenditure which debauches constituencies, and renders corruption and treating apparently part of a recognised and tolerated system. From making an overcharge for labour done or services rendered up to receiving or helping to distribute a bribe is a very short and easy step. The candidate who appears in a borough or county is like the traditional Englishman at the continental inn of our fathers' days, or the tourist among the Arabs round the Pyramids to-day. He is the Heaven-sent opportunity or boon, which it would be folly not to enjoy. He is the wreck ashore, which if one man does not rush to plunder somebody else will. Accordingly, he is swarmed upon the moment he enters the limits of the electoral district. The amount he will spend is a matter of hopeful calculation to many of his constituents, and a matter which his friends and supporters know must seriously affect his own chances. Nothing seems so contemptible in the eyes of certain portions of particular constituencies as a suitor for their suffrages who is inclined to count pounds and shillings in meeting his expenses. Every one who has a claim against him feels not only at liberty to overcharge, but actually bound as a public and personal duty to do so. It requires a strong determination and a courageous heart to resist steadily all such attempts at imposition: and even the candidate's best friends are not anxious to recommend such a resistance, knowing well that it may seriously damage his chances. All this we would, to the utmost possible extent, remove out of the hands of the competing parties and their friends, and give it to be dealt with by somebody coming directly under the control

of the local ratepayers, at whose expense much of it would be carried on. Even the publication in local newspapers and in placards of the names and political pretensions of the candidates would be much better done through the agency, at least, of the official authority, leaving the aspirants, of course, to set forth more elaborately their self-presumed qualifications after what flourish their natures would. The system of election-audit (abolished in the new Bill) is, as regards the amount of expense, perfectly futile. The auditor takes care, so far as he can, that the nature of the expense is legal; but with the amount of individual items he does not concern himself. He strives to protect the law of election against the encroachments of a bribing candidate, but he does not attempt to protect the candidate against the encroachments of a fleecing community. It is not easy to see how he could do so. Even where the expense is a notorious overcharge, the auditor could scarcely attempt to control its amount so long as it happened to be legal. Many newspapers—most indeed of the journals published in provincial towns—make it a sort of rule to charge a much higher scale for advertising the addresses of an election candidate than for any other species of announcement. This is not upon the mere and just principle that increased demand enhances the value of the article supplied, and that the overcrowding of the columns renders a raised price necessary; for the candidate, if he chooses to try the experiment, may fill the whole advertising pages of the paper at the most busy season with ordinary announcements upon a much lower rate of charge. It is simply one of the bad customs which has grown up out of the whole system, and which it would be impossible for any plan of election audit to control. Indeed, the election auditor was an entirely superfluous functionary, and his disappearance could injure no one. His control over the legality of expenditure was a purely imaginary security. Money was almost invariably paid away without any reference whatever to him or his office. It could have been thus paid away almost to any extent. The value of the Corrupt Practices Prevention Act was very correctly estimated by Sir William Hayter before the Gloucester Commission. No one will deny that Sir William Hayter understands as well as most men living the practical working of the electoral system. If we remember rightly, Sir William modestly disclaimed, during his examination, the possession of as much scientific and practical acquaintance with the subject as the late Mr. Coppock; but, passing over the name of this renowned master of the art of obtaining a seat in Parliament, we are inclined to accept the *ci-devant* Whig whip as the nearest approach to a supreme authority. Sir William Hayter frankly acknowledged that, although one of those who passed the Corrupt Practices Prevention Act, he really

knew nothing about it. "I confess," he said, "that I ought to be acquainted with it; but practically I have always considered it to be a dead letter. No doubt," added this candid law-maker, "it is wrong not to obey an Act of Parliament, but practically this Act of Parliament is useless, and it is uniformly disobeyed." Any Act constructed on the same principle is certain to meet exactly the same fate.

The necessary expenses of an election are merely those of the official arrangements for the taking of the votes, and the cost of hiring rooms for meetings, placarding notices, and issuing addresses. The first of these sources of expense we would remove from the candidates altogether. It is, in principle, no part of their business or duty at all; it is purely a matter for the local authorities of the place which is to be represented. It may be imagined that if the cost were thus lessened, great numbers of sham candidates would start for the mere sake of notoriety, or might be put up with the view of diverting a few votes from a *bonâ fide* candidate. So far as the obtaining of notoriety goes, all objects of that kind may be and are secured at the present moment without going to the poll; but the taste for such celebrity is very much diminishing. At the best, it is a troublesome and expensive way of advertising one's pretensions; for the hiring of rooms and issuing of placards and newspaper announcements are indispensable requisites; and, in the next place, the notoriety obtained is rather of a ludicrous kind. To have failed repeatedly even as a *bonâ fide* candidate, is esteemed an unpleasant sort of fame; to have come forward often as a sham competitor is always now held to make an individual ridiculous. Accordingly the practice is of late falling very much away, and it could in no case do much harm to anybody, except to the self-conceited individual who thus chose to obtrude himself upon public notice. As to the other possibility, that of men being put up merely to draw away votes from a dangerous adversary, this is a kind of trick which has been very often played under the present system, but very rarely with any success. The stratagem is quickly detected, and only, for the most part, recoils upon those who set it in motion. The additional expense afforded no protection against it. Any one who had a sufficient interest in practising such a trick upon his antagonist, and who was foolish enough to believe it could really avail, would not be deterred from trying it by the sum it added to his electioneering bills. In other countries, where the expense of a contest is merely nominal to the candidate, no such stratagems are tried. Among our own municipalities—and the annual elections to the corporate body of a town are often quite as much a matter of local anxiety and competition as the parliamentary representation—we do not hear of such tricks being commonly tried

or producing any successful results to those who practise them. Mr. Hare, indeed, in his scheme of parliamentary representation, recommends that, in order to guard against the adoption of such discreditable machinations, a sum of 50*l.* should be required from every one who places his name on the list of candidates as a guarantee for his *bona fides.* But this would really be no guarantee whatever. The intruder to be guarded against is not the sham candidate himself, but the substantial person or party who puts him up; and if it were worth while having recourse to such a trick at all, it would be worth paying a sum of 50*l.* to put it into execution. The more free the competition is made the more secure will the public be against all such dangers. No conceivable system of legislative machinery could render electioneering stratagems wholly impossible. We must rely upon the growing good sense and judgment of the constituencies to guard against them; and the best thing we can do is to leave that sense and judgment free as far as possible in the selection of candidates, instead of encumbering ourselves with clauses and acts which would inevitably become as much a dead letter as Sir William Hayter pronounced the Corrupt Practices Prevention measure to be. In reference to Mr. Hare's proposal, Mr. J. S. Mill remarks (in his "Representative Government"), "If the friends of the candidate choose to go to expense on committees and canvassing there are no means of preventing them; but such expenses out of the candidate's own pocket, or any expenses whatever beyond the deposit, should be illegal and punishable." But we doubt very much whether it would be possible in practice to distinguish between the money of the candidates and the money of their friends. A partisan could always expend money for his candidate, and literally without the candidate's knowledge, in the certainty of being repaid in some way afterwards. The only possible mode of preventing certain kinds of expenditure is by making them illegal and punishable, no matter from what source they come. If you make it illegal for a candidate to do something which is supposed serviceable to him, but leave it lawful for any of his friends to do it, you really only add one more to all the other discreditable dodges of an election. We do not believe at all in preliminary or subsequent declarations or oaths to be exacted, as Mr. Mill suggests, from members. We know by experience what barren formularies such pledges become. This declaration would before long be regarded as that which the Roman Catholic called to the English Bar has to sign, which he never takes the trouble to read, and which, if he did conscientiously read and appreciate, he could scarcely venture to accept. It would not be held disgraceful to spend money in the hiring of committee rooms, and it would therefore not be regarded as dis-

graceful to swallow or evade a formal declaration against the practice. If money can thus be spent at all it really had better be spent openly by the candidate and in his name. It might be a judicious and a practicable measure to prohibit any candidate from having more than one committee room, or one in a district of a certain extent; but to attempt preventing all expense on committees or canvassing would, we fear, be a futile effort. We can hardly strip superior wealth of all its practical advantages. A great deal would have been done were it rendered possible for men to compete and win without any serious expense to anybody.

The expense of conveying voters to the polling places is one which, if not strictly and absolutely abolished altogether, might at least be reduced within such limits as to render it but a very trifling addition to the outlay. In any case it ought to be an expense not directly paid by the candidate, or anybody connected with him. With polling places established in a great many districts there really is no occasion, except in the very rarest instances, to pay the cost of conveying any one to record his vote.

Even if the transference of so many pecuniary burthens from the shoulders of the candidate to those of the ratepayers would entail a very heavy expense upon the latter, the expense ought, nevertheless, to be borne by those who alone are supposed to derive advantage from it. But it would not entail any heavy burthen, or anything more than a merely nominal expense. As we have already stated, three-fourths of the present outlay are lavished merely for the sake of display, and in order to affect the prospects of the election. Throw the bulk of the cost upon those who have nothing to gain from extravagance, and it will speedily reduce itself to its due level. Such a system would make electors and candidates independent of each other. The temptation to the poorer part of an electoral body at present is made almost irresistible by the manner of conducting the election. The candidate, who is in theory supposed to be conferring an obligation by undertaking heavy duties for nothing, is seen lavishing money in all directions to purchase the fatiguing responsibility. It is impossible for some of the constituency to believe that the individual who solicits their votes is not seeking some end of his own. They cannot think that a wealthy man, perhaps of high position, comes, cap in hand, to beg their suffrages, and is willing to lavish any amount of money on useless objects of expense, merely that he may be allowed to serve them by the discharge of laborious and irksome duties; therefore they look upon the whole thing as a sort of scramble, in which everybody of any sense runs after his own interest. The voter has something to sell which the candidate is willing to buy, and the transaction assumes a merely

commercial or speculative aspect altogether. Until this idea can be thoroughly eradicated the corrupting influence of money will always be at least tolerated. To eradicate the notion the first step must be to change the relations of elector and elected, and to make it clear that the latter is not sueing for a privilege, but consenting to undertake an unrewarded duty. In other countries, even where the general legislative system is far inferior to ours, this is felt. Few things are more rare in England than for a man to be elected without any solicitation from himself or his friends. Nothing is more common in some Continental countries. At every general election in France, in Prussia, at the elections which have taken place in Italy, it is a very ordinary occurrence for a public man to be elected without any sueing on his part, for two or three or more districts, and to have to choose which he will represent. The electors compete for the services of a useful or distinguished man, fully understanding that he confers a favour in accepting the task. Men of mark are constantly elected without their own knowledge, and have nothing to do but to take their seats. The system of election in France has at present its serious, indeed its monstrous, defects. The influence of Government is exerted so as to pervade every district, and to make the representation too often a mere mockery. But in this one respect to which we at present refer, it is immensely superior to our own. It costs the candidate nothing. An independent constituency may choose a candidate to oppose the Government without having to consider how many hundred thousand francs he can afford to spend for the purpose of serving his country. Were our system of expense in existence there, it would, of course, only furnish one other weapon to the Government, who could always afford to outbid any competitor in lavishness. In Prussia, too, the cost to the candidate is merely nominal. If he be a well-known public man, it is scarcely necessary for him to lay out one thaler. The result of such a system is that the Prussian Parliament is a singularly independent body. We have seen its character exemplified within the last month or two. The Prussian representative body was elected in last November. A proposal referring to the structure of the budget—a proposal most sensible and rational—was urged by the majority early in the spring. Dissolution was threatened as the consequence of pressing the motion. We all know what a threat of dissolution can do in England: we feel perfectly satisfied that such a motion as that brought forward in the Prussian Chamber would never have been pressed in our own House, with a dissolution promised as the immediate consequence. The Prussian Chamber pressed the motion, carried it, and was dissolved. The country returned a parliament even more decidedly liberal and independent than before. Threats

of dissolution are therefore felt to be of no avail. Now, it is not at all to be supposed that Prussian representatives are naturally more independent than those of Great Britain, but the dissolution of an English parliament would have involved very large personal expense to every single member; and it is out of all reason to suppose that a considerable proportion of persons will not be influenced by, and even shrink from, the prospect of a serious personal sacrifice. Many prominent Liberals in the Prussian Chamber are, to our own knowledge, poor men, that is, men who could not afford a large personal outlay twice repeated in the course of a few months. We venture to think that the Prussian Government would have had their own way in the contest without much difficulty if every member who voted against the ministry were conscious that a dissolution and a new election would mean a fine of some thousands of thalers to himself. In England a man has to dread not merely the expense, but its uncertainty. Any amount of money may be spent; and it depends upon his enemies as well as on his friends whether the sum in which he is mulcted in a week's contest may stop at a few hundreds or swell to some thousands.

We are strongly inclined to agree with those, and they are very few as yet, who hold that every elector should be required to vote. Despite the arguments of a certain party in England, the suffrage cannot now be either practically or theoretically treated as a right. It is a trust, and every man ought to be required to perform its functions. The people of Marylebone have a right to insist that those who hold the franchise for them shall be compelled to discharge their duty, and that a man shall not be returned to the House as representative of the borough by an election in which the majority of the constituents took no part at all. Men who knew they would have to vote would soon begin to feel some interest in understanding whom they voted for. Such a regulation would operate, too, as a serious check upon bribery. A considerable proportion of the corrupt influence exercised at elections is employed to induce certain voters to absent themselves from the polling-booths. This part of the evil would be at once abolished. We see no practical difficulty in making a vote obligatory any more than in compelling men to perform the incalculably more troublesome duty of serving on a jury. Some voters might evade the obligation, as some persons contrive to evade every legal requirement, but the great bulk of a constituency—we may say, in general terms, the whole constituency—could be compelled to record their votes just as they are compelled to return their income-tax papers or to inscribe their names and ages in the census documents. It is certainly rather hard upon the non-electors to be told, "You are not fitted to have the franchise;

you do not understand its requirements or its importance; you have not a stake in the country sufficient to ensure your independent exercise of it, therefore we will give it as a trust, to be administered on your behalf by those who are wiser, more independent than you," and then to find out that the trust is confided to a body of persons a great proportion of whom never fulfil its obligation and never can be constrained to fulfil it. Is there any other instance in our social system of an important trust being handed over to persons who are in nowise bound to discharge any of the duties they undertake? The members of the smallest charitable committee can deprive of his trust-functions any one who systematically neglects his duties; but men who are endowed with the franchise, and who never choose to exercise it, who will see the stupidest or even the most disgraceful choice of a representative made without troubling themselves to prevent it, are allowed to hold all their lives long the trust which they habitually and avowedly neglect and abuse. When the advocates of the Ballot contend that a vote is the right of every elector, the argument in reply is, that the franchise is a trust, and that therefore those on whose behalf it is held have a right to insist upon knowing in what manner it is exercised. But have they not a still stronger claim to insist upon its being exercised in some way, and not invariably neglected? We have often wondered why some champion of the Ballot does not demand how it happens that if the vote be not a right, those who hold it are allowed to exercise it or not, exactly as they please; how it comes about, that if it be a trust, the party to whom it is confided may neglect and abandon his duty for years without those whose interests he is supposed to have in charge being permitted even to object in any effective way to the most serious and systematic dereliction.

It would be idle to expect at the present moment any radical alteration or reform in any part of the electoral system. We have, therefore, dwelt all the more strongly upon the importance of adopting some new basis for the levying of election expenses, because, although very decided improvements might be the result, it does not involve any radical change. Many very valuable and philosophical suggestions have lately been offered for a rearrangement of our electoral system; but so far as the House of Commons is concerned, they have not produced the slightest effect, and may, as regards our present purpose, be placed entirely out of consideration. The horror with which the House regards any manner of change is only exceeded by the alarm aroused if it be suggested that the proposed improvement originated with some thinking person out of doors. A great many members of the House of Commons believe that the heaviest stigma which can be cast upon any man is to proclaim him a Radical, and the bitterest

phrase of contempt is to dub him a philosopher. It was amusing, during the Reform discussions of late sessions, to observe the scorn with which "philosophic theories" were put aside as unworthy the notice of rational and practical men. The stupidest of country gentlemen, the most uneducated of resident members, believed that the moment he had been, by any process of election, sent across the bar of the House of Commons, he became thereby converted into a practical statesman, as a man may be made a baronet or a lord mayor; and thus endowed with a right to evince the noble scorn of superiority for any suggestion coming from a mere writer or thinker. The bare citation of the name of a philosophic historian of the present day, produced in the House, a few weeks back, a shout of derisive laughter from the intelligent persons who occupy the back benches of Conservatism. For such schemes as that so ably set forth by Mr. Hare it would be hopeless to attempt obtaining even a discussion in the House of Commons at present. When the people of this country feel a sufficient interest in those questions to give to such proposals a wide and commanding importance and effect, they will then be taken up by our representative body. In the phraseology of the House, an impracticable proposition means any scheme which, however wise, just, and ultimately inevitable, is not at this very moment vehemently demanded by the country; a practical suggestion means anything whatever which the majority of the country have set their hearts upon gaining, and on which the fate of political parties and the result of elections depend. No plan proposing to affect the basis of the whole electoral system interests the country just now, and none therefore can obtain even a momentary attention from the House of Commons. But it would be quite possible for a proposition merely affecting the amount and apportionment of electioneering expenses to secure a place in the category of subjects which the House deems endowed with a practical interest. It is felt by everybody that some change in this direction is absolutely needed, and that no Government for some time to come can refuse to try its hand at some form of amendment. The act of the present session is only such a performance as Diogenes' famous rolling of his tub; just something done in order not to appear absolutely idle when one ought to be at work. All the various shapes of vexation, evil, and disgrace which haunt our electoral marshes will remain unbanished by this sham process of purification. A proposal, having a direct reference simply to the cost of elections and the mode of apportioning the cost, would have a good chance of being seriously considered in the coming session. It would certainly have the sympathy of many men on both sides of the house, and would receive the approval and encouragement

of the rational public opinion of the country. Perhaps, instead of tinkering at worn-out measures for the abolition of bribery and the purifying of boroughs, some direct and energetic action may be aimed at a system which is in itself no feeble auxiliary of electoral corruption. Certain statesmen are fond of boasting that the last remnants of the protective system have been swept away by recent legislation. But we have the system still in full force arrayed as a rampart around our electoral divisions. There is an enormous protective duty still levied upon those who attempt to enter Parliament. We would have our parliamentary seats as free for the competition of all comers as our ports. We are far from desiring to disparage any just influence which property and station may have in securing the choice of a constituency. It is neither possible nor desirable that that influence should altogether cease. But we would arm it with no protective or prohibitory powers. Property may at present bring to its aid all possible qualities of talent, acquirement, and merit which could of themselves ensure and deserve victory. But it ought not to be allowed to make the one qualification in which it has an advantage over all competitors the indispensable condition of a right even to enter the lists. This preponderating privilege which the property qualification professed to give, but in reality did not secure, is conferred, as nearly as under a system like ours it could be conferred, by the present expenses of elections and the manner in which those expenses are ordained to fall upon the candidates. In this direction we should look for a first instalment of electoral reform, which would be at once not difficult to obtain, and not dangerous when brought into operation.

Art. IV.—Sir William Hamilton: his Doctrines of Perception and Judgment.

Lectures on Metaphysics and Logic. By Sir William Hamilton, Bart.; edited by the Rev. H. L. Mansel, B.D., LL.D., and John Veitch, M.A. In 4 vols. Blackwood and Sons: 1860.

THERE has for some time past been a growing tendency to psychological studies. Of the many subjects which are attracting attention, it has been evidently felt that the human mind is not the least interesting, and that all the triumphs of physical science would scarcely prove us to be a highly civilized and enlightened people if we were content to remain in ignorance regarding the chemistry of thought and the marvellous mechanism

of the soul. Accordingly, this path of research has happily been adorned in our day by many eminent names—Stuart Mill, Bain, Spencer, Mansel, and Morrel—but occupying a foremost place stands Sir William Hamilton. His prodigious learning, which had left no field of literature, ancient, mediæval, or modern, unexplored; his synthetic genius, which gathered up every random thought, and gave it its proper place in his system; his weighty eloquence, his philosophic fire, imparted dignity to the study to which he had devoted himself, while they compelled respect for the lessons which he taught. His influence was not confined to his class-room, it permeated England. It was felt in Germany and France, and Scotland proudly hailed him as the restorer of her ancient fame. Many of the best thinkers of the day are glad to tell how they sat at his feet.

One of the great works which he set himself to do was to prove that we have an immediate intuition of the external world. The manner in which we have arrived at our knowledge of outness has, in fact, been the pivot upon which all psychological speculation has turned since the days of Berkeley and Hume. To solve this really great problem has been the labour of many lives. Reid, like Kant, was roused from his dogmatic lethargy by the scepticism of Hume, and led to inquire into the truth of those principles in which he had hitherto confided, and which were now shown, by an unanswerable logic, to leave nothing but ideas and impressions within the sphere of knowledge, if not also of existence. The steps by which this result was reached may be easily traced. From a very remote period it was held as an indubitable truth that ideas were the only objects of which the mind was cognizant. What these ideas were was always debated, some holding them material emanations; others, spiritual images of material realities; others, mere mental modifications; but of these only, it was thought, could the mind be conscious, as these only came within the mind's grasp. In these doctrines lay an undeveloped idealism, and its development was easy. If our knowledge was confined to ideas, what reason had we to believe in aught else? Was not our supposed knowledge of an external world our reason for believing in its supposed existence? If we had no such knowledge, why should we longer believe in any such existence? A faith founded upon a delusion should be instantly abandoned.

Reid vigorously attacked these idealistic systems, but with what weapons and with what success is still a matter of doubt. Brown declared that he had misunderstood the philosophy of those who had gone before him; that he had fancied them to believe that ideas were something different from the mind, and not modifications of it; that his own teaching amounted to no

more than this, and consequently that he claimed as discoveries of his own truths which were the common property of the age in which he lived: in short, his philosophy was a blunder. Hamilton, on the other hand, maintains that Reid was much nearer the truth than Brown in his estimate of a preceding philosophy; that he taught not merely that ideas are modifications of mind, but that the mind is immediately conscious of an external world; and is thus well entitled to be regarded as the founder of a new school of metaphysics.

Hamilton's devotion to Reid is something wonderful. One of his earliest efforts was an elaborate defence of his system. One of his life-long works was an annotated edition of his works; and everywhere he insists upon giving him a glory which he might justly have claimed as his own. It is certain there are many passages in Reid's works in which he speaks of the mind as immediately cognizant of the outer world; but it is doubtful if he gave the same significance to the language which was afterwards given it by his illustrious pupil, and certain that if he did so he did not understand the full scope of his own doctrines. He speaks with stammering lips: he contradicts himself: he teaches that memory is an immediate knowledge of the past, which is simply impossible in the sense which is now attached to the phrase, and which creates the suspicion that he used it with a looser meaning. He confines consciousness to mental operations, and declares that we are conscious only of these, and not of their objects—a statement which is flatly in the face of the philosophy imputed to him. In short, he is like one groping in the dark, and only at intervals getting a glimpse of the true light.

Hamilton has collected the scattered hints to be found in the pages of Reid, and reduced them to a system—compact, complete, consistent. He is unquestionably the first in modern times (if not in all time) to have taught clearly and unequivocally that the mental consciousness embraces the material world. In no other way did he see how the mind could reach beyond itself, and arrive at a knowledge and conviction of outness; this is his bold solution of the difficulty. It will perhaps appear before our discussion is ended that he has cut the knot rather than untied it.

It is admitted on all hands that there is a universal belief in an outer world. Beside self, there is a non-self. Hume admits this as frankly as any. The difficulty is, how do we arrive at the belief? What is the source of this conviction? How does self compass non-self? How does the conscious ego attain to a knowledge of what lies beyond it? Sir William Hamilton says that we are immediately conscious of the external world. Let us see on what grounds the doctrine rests.

Happily we have now the philosophy of Hamilton fully before us Till recently the public could gather his opinions only from his two elaborate articles in the *Edinburgh Review*, published more than thirty years ago, and the notes appended to his annotated edition of Reid. But now, his "Lectures on Metaphysics and Logic," published since his death, and carefully edited by his friend, Professor Mansel, furnish us with a fuller and more authoritative exposition of his views. The corner-stone of his doctrine of Perception is the alleged evidence of consciousness. The response of consciousness, it is said, is clear; we do immediately know the material world. But it may be said, and we think truly, that this is to assume the whole question at issue. The revelations of consciousness must be unconditionally admitted—admitted as ultimate facts which need no proof. But is this a fact revealed by consciousness? Can our mental consciousness reach that which is not mental? is the problem to be solved, and not the truth to be taken for granted. It will not do to say that every one really believes in an external world, that even the most sceptical philosophers admit this. Nor will it do to argue that we see with our eyes and hear with our ears; that we see the trees which grow in the park, that we hear the notes which come from the flute; the question still remains, what is the nature of these sensations?—what is the nature of the knowledge which they give?

Till the time of Hamilton, consciousness was regarded simply as the mind's knowledge of its own modes. If it was thought by Reid that the mind could perceive external things, neither he nor any other ever dreamed of its being conscious of external things. To have said so would have been thought an abuse of terms; but in the "Lectures on Metaphysics" Perception is defined to be the "consciousness of external objects" (vol. ii. p. 28), and in this definition we have not merely a departure from an ancient phraseology, but the cardinal point of a new system.

It has long ago been placed beyond dispute that material objects are not identical with our perceptions of them. We look at the desk upon which we write, and perceive its size and shape. We recede from it, and it grows less; we advance toward it, and it recovers its original size; we move round about it, and with every step we take it alters its form; but during all these variations, in our mental perceptions the material object remains invariably the same. Sir William Hamilton attempts to explain this difficulty by saying that the argument is based upon a mistake as to the true object of perception. The object of perception is not the desk, but the picture painted upon the retina of the eye by the pencils of light which issue from it. This is truly said, but is it not a virtual abandonment of the argument from

consciousness? The multitude may fancy themselves conscious of houses and trees, and mountains and fields; but they have never even imagined the existence of pictures on the retina. It requires a demonstrative argument and a strong effort of mind to believe that we see the world only as pictured in the eye. We cannot get rid of the notion that we see the objects surrounding us at certain distances from us, and not as mere impressions on the visual organ. Not only our habits of observation, but our mental constitution compels us to regard the objects of sight as something different from patches of light on the retinal expansion of the optic nerve.

But when it is said that the object of sight is not the material object itself, but the rays of light which proceed from it, and which are focused on the retina, is not the immediate and real intuition of external things yielded up and a material idealistic system introduced? If it be so, we do not really see the objects which encompass us on every side. We do not see the lamp, but the rays of light which emanate from it; we do not see the ink-stand, but the light which it reflects. We are surrounded by illusions; for though we fancy ourselves to see tables, chairs, mirrors, books, all we really see, and are really conscious of, are certain little paintings of a twentieth part of an inch diameter on the retina of our eye. Are not the material images introduced by Descartes into the brain quite as much a true reflection of the material world as these images which flicker on the retina? Are not the *imagines*, the *simulacra rerum*, which the Epicureans supposed to be incessantly flying like pellicles from material things, diffusing themselves everywhere in the air, and reaching the organs of sight, as good representatives of the outer world as bundles of luminous rays? Did not the existence of the ancient images afford as good a proof of the existence of that which they imagined as the new? Or rather, is the evidence not logically defective in the one case as well as the other? Yet most true it is that we know visual objects only in so far as they are mirrored in the eye.

It has hitherto never been doubted but that the mind is conscious of its own modifications. Sir William Hamilton admits this as fully as any, but maintains that besides this, in perception, it is also conscious of an external world. From this it would seem to follow that there must be a double consciousness—a consciousness of the external thing and a consciousness of its mental impression. He indeed affirms that in immediate knowledge the object in consciousness and the object in existence are the same. But this increases the difficulty rather than lessens it. It seems to convert the mind into a literal microcosm, and make the mental a receptacle for the material, if it do not confound

and identify them. But waiving this objection, let us see if we can discover this identity between objects in consciousness and in existence. We smell the odour of a rose—is the perfume in our consciousness the same as the perfume that floats in the atmosphere? We hear the notes of an organ—is there anything in the outer world corresponding to the sensation in our mind? We put our hand on the table, and feel it to be hard—is the hardness in the table and in our hand identical? We look out at the window and see a horse—is the horse in the street and the horse in our mind one and the same? We apprehend it is impossible thus to identify the material and the mental. There ever must be the difference between them which there is between carbon and heat. The outer object creates the sensation, but it is not the sensation—it produces the mental impression, but it is not the mental impression. That mental impression, however, is the thought answering to the material thing. The one is the immediate product of the other; and the very fact of the one being the product of the other proves them to be not identical but different. The language used by Sir William Hamilton leads one to suspect that though he has forced his way into the outer world he has not in his possession the key which opens the door to it.

But perhaps the cardinal point in the system is the distinction which is made between sensation and perception. Let us inquire if there be any such distinction in fact. Till last century "perception" was used with a very wide and indeterminate signification. Reid, so far as we know, was the first to give it a restricted and technical meaning. He discriminates it from sensation, and sets the two before us at once in conjunction and in contrast. "When I smell a rose," says he, "there is in this operation both sensation and perception. The agreeable odour I feel, considered by itself, without relation to any external object, is merely a sensation. . . . Perception has always an external object, and the object of my perception in this case is that quality in the rose which I discern by the sense of smell." "Sensation taken by itself, implies neither the conception nor belief of any external objects. . . . Perception implies an immediate conviction and belief of something external; something different both from the mind that perceives and from the act of perception." "Perception proper," says Sir William Hamilton, "is the consciousness through the senses of the qualities of an object known as different from self; sensation proper is the consciousness of the subjective affection of pleasure or pain which accompanies that act of knowledge. Perception is thus the objective element, in the complex state—the elementary cognition; sensation is the subjective element—the element of feeling."—(*Lectures on Metaphysics*, vol. ii. p. 99).

We shall take the last definitions as the most clear and specific, and inquire if the contrast which is presented in them has any real foundation in fact. At the outset it will not be impertinent to remark that hitherto our senses were regarded as the channels by which we obtained our knowledge of the outer world. It was supposed they were given us for this very purpose; that by our eyes we obtained a knowledge of colours, by our ears of sounds, by our nostrils of smells. In the language alike of the philosophical and of the vulgar world the impressions produced on our minds through the agency of the senses were appropriately called sensations. But now it is discovered that in sensation is no knowledge; that all the impressions we receive of the external world through eyes and ears give us no information of it; and a new faculty is invented to do what the old senses have left undone. "God has not been so sparing to men," says Locke, "as to make them barely two-legged animals, and left it to Aristotle to make them rational." Neither, we may imagine, has He given us eyes which do not see and ears which do not hear, and left it to modern philosophers to provide another gateway of knowledge. Sensation, it is affirmed, is only a subjective feeling of pleasure or pain, affording no knowledge whatever of external things. It is perception that makes us acquainted with sight and sounds, with taste and odours, with hardness and shape. If it be so, it is obvious that our senses have been given us in vain—that they are not, as we had supposed them to be, the windows by which the soul looked out at the world—that we attributed to them functions which did not belong to them—and that without them we might have had all our present knowledge of external nature, only purified from the little alloy of pleasure or pain which at present belongs to it.

Sensation, we are told, is merely feeling—a feeling of pleasure or pain. Now it is undoubtedly true that every sensation must be felt. But this is true also of every idea—in short, of every mood of mind. It is probably true also that every mood of mind must afford either pleasure or pain, however slight, in the feeling. But the pleasure or pain which accompanies the idea is not the idea—neither is the pleasure or pain which accompanies the sensation the sensation. We look at a statue, and see its colour and form—these sensations are quite different from the pleasure or pain which springs from them. The sensation of colour is neither pleasure nor pain, though it may be pleasurable or painful. It will hardly be disputed that colour is a sensation: that rays of light produce a certain impression upon the mind through the organs of vision, and that that impression is the sensation of colour. Our sensation of colour is our knowledge of colour; and we can conceive of no other knowledge of it, nor of any means by which we could acqulre it.

Every feeling involves a knowledge of what it is. Every sensation reveals itself in knowledge. Every sensation is knowledge. A blade of grass is presented to us and we see it to be green. The sensation we have is a sensation of its greenness, and that is our knowledge of it too. The clock strikes, and we hear its stroke, and in the sensation is our only knowledge of sound. The knowledge and the sensation are one. If objects of sense are not known in sensation how else are they known? What other inlets to the mind have we besides our senses, and is not the knowledge we derive from our senses what we call sensation? If colours, smells, tastes, sounds, be sensations, what is the peculiar knowledge which perception gives? We know nothing of these except as sensations. The hearing of sounds, the seeing of sights, is a simple indivisible act—and the sound being heard, the sight being seen, nothing else remains to be done. All the knowledge is got that can be got. How far the material quality corresponds with the mental feeling we can never determine till we can determine how far matter and mind agree. There is thus no place for perception.

But it is said that perception and sensation, though always coexisting, are always in the inverse ratio of one another—that when sensation is weak perception is strong, and that when sensation is strong, perception is weak; and that thus we have a decisive proof of a real difference between them.* When submitted to this test they separate from one another. Let us see if it be so. If the law holds, the minimum of sensation will be the maximum of perception. We shall perceive colours best in the faintest possible light. We shall discriminate perfumes most distinctly when the smallest possible odour reaches our nostrils. Is it so? Undoubtedly not. But it is said that the law holds good only within certain limits. Now, without urging the remark that this is a virtual abandonment of the law, we ask what are these limits? We think it is in accordance with the experience of most men that within all ordinary limits, as light increases our perceptions of surrounding objects increase in vividness—that as sounds grow louder we hear them more distinctly. It is true that light may be so brilliant as to dazzle our eyesight—that sound may be so loud as to stun our ears; but in explanation of that it can be said that it happens only when the light or the sound is in excess of what our organs are fitted to receive, or rather are accustomed to receive; and further, that even in such cases it is universally true, the more vivid the light the more vivid our perception of it—the more thundering the

* Hamilton's "Lectures on Metaphysics," vol. ii. pp. 99—101; also Mansel's "Metaphysics," p. 66.

noise the more clearly do we hear it. What is loudness apart from our hearing? what is vividness apart from our seeing? A dazzling flash of lightning may prevent us for a moment from seeing surrounding objects by throwing them into the shade; but of the lightning itself we have the clearest possible perception; and pure light, apart from distance and shape, is the primary object of vision. It is not a mere feeling of pleasure or of pain which we have, but a sensation of light. To this perception can add nothing, though our experience may teach us that certain shades of light are signs of distance and of shape, and thus the most manifold knowledge may reach the mind through the eyes.

But it has been argued that the senses which give most information give the least sensational pleasure or pain: and that those which give the least information give the most sensational pleasure or pain. Sight, it is said, presents to us a greater variety of objects and qualities than any other of the senses. In this sense, therefore, the objective element—perception—is at its maximum; and the subjective element—sensation—at its minimum, as we experience little organic pleasure from colours. In hearing, taste, smell, there is less information but more feeling. Now, we think that no one after reflection will agree with these propositions. Sight may be the noblest of our senses, and may have the widest range; but every other sense gives as clear and full information of its own objects as sight gives of its. Sounds are different from sights, and tastes from both, but surely we have no reason to complain that we have not as accurate a knowledge of the one as of the other. The nose is as trustworthy as either the ears or the eyes. It is certain that a man might be deprived of his pituitary membrane, and his consequent capability of enjoying perfumes, with less inconvenience than his eyesight, for vision is conversant with objects the most necessary for man to know, and besides, has been trained to do other work besides its own; but it might be made matter of interesting inquiry whether there are most odours or colours in the world. Acquaintance with a new perfume is as truly knowledge as acquaintance with a new shade of light, though it may not be so dignified or useful.

The second limb of the proposition is as doubtful as the first. As sight does not give us more perfect information within its sphere than taste or smell within theirs, neither is its sensational pleasure less. Are colours less pleasant to the eye than taste to the palate? Are sounds less delightful than smells? None but gluttons and wine-bibbers will say so. But it is said that in those cases in which sensation predominates, in which pleasure is most intense, the feeling soon palls upon us; whereas in those in which perception predominates, and intelligence is most con-

cerned, there is a less exclusive and a more enduring gratification. Thus, it is argued, how soon are we cloyed with the pleasures of the palate compared with those of the eye; and among the objects of the former the viands that please the most become soonest objects of disgust. Now, we apprehend the cause of this is physical rather than spiritual, and to be sought for in a stomach liable to disorder rather than in a mind raised above such a weakness. Even the organ of vision may be destroyed by dazzling sights and the organ of hearing by violent sounds; and sights and sounds which were once agreeable become painful.

But it is still further argued in defence of the law that perception and sensation, though co-existent, are always found in an inverse ratio to each other, that in painting the sensational pleasure derived from brilliant colouring is far inferior to that intellectual pleasure which flows from the skilful grouping of the figures. Let this be granted, and it proves nothing. The pure sensation of brilliant colouring is unquestionably agreeable, and some of the enjoyment we draw from painting comes from this source: but the chief pleasure we derive from harmonious grouping is not connected with sense or perception at all, but is dependent upon those strange associations of ideas in the mind upon which almost all the beauty and sublimity of the external world depend. Every person with healthy organs perceives the picture alike—has the same perceptions of its colouring, grouping, drawing—but all do not feel its beauty alike. The child and the savage are most enchanted with the gaudiest tints; the connoisseur with the happiest combinations. One man sees beauty where another sees deformity; but with this neither sensation nor perception has anything to do. Their responses in all minds are uniform and unvarying.

But we have hitherto said nothing of the sense of touch; and it is thought to afford the most striking evidence of the law which regulates sensation and perception. In those parts of the body it is affirmed where sensation predominates, perception is feeble; in those where perception is vigorous sensation is obtuse. In the points of the fingers, tactile perception is at its height, but in every other part of the body sensation is more acute. In answer to this, we think it sufficient to remark that if the finger points have more discrimination than other parts of the body, they owe this in a great measure to their training for this peculiar kind of work. In cases in which the fingers have been diseased or amputated, other parts of the body—the lips, the toes—have been disciplined to do their work, and have done it well, acquiring as great delicacy of touch as the fingers. But it is very questionable if the fingers, which from their prehensile power and training

have such a nice perception of shape and size, have less capability of sensation than other parts of the body. Physiologists tell us that a larger number of nerves are gathered there than in other parts, and nerves are generally supposed to be helpful to sensation. But beyond this, the old question still remains, what are these perceptions of hardness and softness—of shape and size—but sensations? And so the whole matter resolves itself into this very simple truth, that sensations are strongest where they are strongest.

Baseless distinctions are quite as frequently a source of error as the confusion of things which are different. The difficulties in the controversy regarding the external world are not to be dissipated by the separation of sensation and perception, as it was from no confusion of these that they arose. On the contrary, we apprehend that the chief difficulties have arisen from the distinction which is tacitly made between consciousness and thought, and that it is only by utterly abolishing that baseless distinction that this mystery will be made plain. It is true that psychologists in general have been careful to explain that consciousness is not a special faculty of mind, but a condition of all thought and feeling; but they have, nevertheless, on every occasion spoken and argued as if thought and consciousness were different. Hume says we are conscious only of impressions and ideas. Brown says the mind is conscious only of its own modifications. Every writer on mental philosophy with whom we are acquainted uses a similar phraseology. It has, in fact, become stereotyped in the philosophical vocabulary. Sir William Hamilton differs from this language in so far only as he maintains that in perception we are conscious at once of the mental mood and the material quality—the cognition and its object. Professor Mansel follows in his footsteps. Now, in all such language, there is a distinction made between consciousness and thought. The one is made the object of the other's apprehension. We are said to be conscious of ideas just as we are said to see pictures: in truth, consciousness is regarded as the mind's eye by which it becomes cognisant of what goes on within it. In this there lurks a radical error, the cause of countless other errors. We can no more be conscious of mental modifications than we can be conscious of the mind itself, inasmuch as a mental modification is just the mind modified.

It will be seen that in this last sentence we have carried the scepticism of Berkeley and Hume further than they themselves ventured to do. Berkeley discarded the material world, because he supposed himself to have no direct knowledge of its existence. Hume discarded mind for the same reason, but retained impressions and ideas, as of them he affirmed we are conscious. But if it is a mistake to speak of ourselves as being conscious of either

impressions or ideas, if the mind can no more be conscious of its own modifications than it can of itself, we must, according to the philosophy which has been in vogue, renounce our belief in all mental as in all material things, and resign ourselves to utter scepticism.

But there is no need of landing ourselves in such a conclusion. The whole argument is based upon a blunder. We have been misled by a phrase. We have made thought the object of consciousness instead of identifying them, or rather regarding thought as one of the exemplifications of consciousness.

All thought is consciousness, and even it may be said that all consciousness is thought, as passion and desire are not generically different from thought. Thought is thought by virtue of consciousness. We are not conscious of thought, but thought implies consciousness. It is self-conscious. In truth it is to be regretted that the word consciousness has come into such extensive use, as it conveys no new idea, gives no new light, and indeed cannot make us understand our own thoughts better than we necessarily do. On the contrary, ingenious minds have woven a web out of it in the meshes of which they have got inextricably entangled. Words soon acquire a marvellous mastery over the mind, and lead even the choicest reasoners into devious tracks. We unwittingly become their slaves.

Sir William Hamilton's analysis of thought is much more searching and correct than Dr. Reid's, who regarded consciousness as a distinct faculty of mind, the peculiar object of which was the operations of the other faculties; but still he is far from having discovered the exact truth. "It is impossible," says he, "in the first place, to discriminate consciousness from all the other cognitive faculties, or to discriminate any one of them from consciousness; and, in the second, to conceive a faculty cognizant of the various mental operations without being also cognizant of their several objects. *We know*, and *we know that we know*: these propositions, logically distinct, are really identical, each implies the other. We *know* (*i.e.*, feel, perceive, imagine, remember, &c.) only as we know that we thus know; and we *know that we know* only as we know in some particular manner (*i.e.*, feel, perceive, &c.). So true is the scholastic brocard:—Non sentimus nisi sentiamus nos sentire; non sentimus nos sentire nisi sentiamus. The attempt to analyse the cognition *I know*, and the cognition I know that I know into the separate energies of distinct faculties is therefore vain."*

This passage, from the pen of Hamilton, is quoted with approbation by Professor Mansel, and may therefore be regarded as having their joint signatures appended to it. They have advanced

* "Edinburgh Review," Art. on Perception, Oct., 1830.

a step in the right direction, but they have not proceeded far enough to reach to the truth. The great error of the analysis consists in admitting the formula *I know that I know.* We might with equal propriety admit the formula *I know that I know that I know,* or indeed multiply these "*knows*" to an indefinite extent, each being regarded as the revealer of the one that follows. It is absurd to suppose *knowledge without knowledge,* and the simple formula *I know* states the whole truth. The scholastic axiom is more than faulty—it is false. *Non sentimus nisi sentiamus nos sentire.* If it were so, we could never be conscious at all. No man is conscious that he is conscious. He is simply conscious. Consciousness does not take cognizance of consciousness. There is no need of a second act of sentiency to make known a first. We know, we feel, we are conscious—that is the whole fact.

Consciousness, to which we must appeal, corroborates these views. We are not conscious of the mind's operations; we are conscious only of their objects. All thinking is objective. We cannot think without thinking of something, and that something must be thought of as out of the mind—for the mind cannot be at once the subject and the object of thought. We see a tree: that tree and nothing else is the object of our consciousness. We remember St. Paul's: in that case St. Paul's is the object of our consciousness. Let us analyse our consciousness as minutely as we may, we shall discover no trace of anything beyond what is here indicated. We have a thought, but that thought is not the object of consciousness; the object of consciousness is the thing thought of. Accordingly, all our thoughts of visible objects are pictorial: we see them with the mind's eye. They appear before us at the summons of memory or imagination. Our absent friends come to us with their familiar faces. Those whom we never saw, but of whom we think, rise up before us in the form and drapery which fancy furnishes. It is impossible to think otherwise; and thus our minds are, in one sense, chambers of imagery.

The object of thought, we repeat, is the thing thought of. The object of consciousness is not ideas and impressions—not mental modifications—not anything in the mind at all, but the thing of which we are conscious; in other words, the thing of which we are thinking, whatever it may be. The two sentences are synonymous. The language is different, but the interpretation is the same. Let us, then, use these simple truths as a thread to assist us out of the labyrinth which has been formed between the inner and the outer worlds, and in which so many have hopelessly wandered.

Let us suppose a man to open his eyes and see the light of day: it follows from what has been said that seeing the light he is conscious of the light. His sensation and his consciousness of it are not different, but the same. He has not a sensation of the

light and then a consciousness of that sensation, but he has simply a sensational consciousness, or a conscious sensation of the light. The mind has thus an immediate knowledge of outness, and no place is found for the Representative Theories of Knowing, which are based upon the assumption that we have first sensations, and then a consciousness of these sensations—first mental representations of material things, and then a cognition of these representations—an assumption which is not only groundless but self-contradictory, inasmuch as it divides the mind from itself, and implies that sensations are insensate things requiring consciousness to bring them before the mind's view.

We constantly speak of the mind béing impressed by surrounding objects. Even Hume would not hesitate to employ such language; but he would add that it is of the impression only we are conscious, as it only is mental. We have already shown that Hume's assumption is an unwarranted one, and now ask, can the mind be impressed by surrounding objects without being conscious of surrounding objects? What is the meaning of a mental impression if it is not a conscious state produced by such objects? And if the mind be in any way affected by outside objects, are we not necessarily conscious of them? The impression is simply the consciousness. We must not even imagine there is first an impression and then a consciousness of that impression; for if we do so we shall interpose our mental moods as a wall betwixt consciousness and externality, over which consciousness will be unable to climb so as to catch a glimpse of what is going on without. Remove the wall, and consciousness and externality stand face to face.

It must be borne in mind that consciousness is the radical idea involved in everything mental. Everything within the sphere of mind is in itself conscious, or rather conscient. It comes in a self-evidencing form. It carries its own lamp with it. It is its own revealer. It is this characteristic which divides the mental from the material. If, therefore, we receive through any of our senses, sensations from the material world, to that extent are we conscious of the material world, for it is not of our sensations that we are conscious, but of their objects. To see colours, to hear sounds, to smell odours, is to be conscious of these things; for sight, hearing, and smelling, apart from consciousness, are nothing.

Let us glance for a moment at the general belief that we are conscious only of mental modification, and see the contradictions in which it inevitably involves us. A mental modification can be nothing but the mind modified; and when it is said that *we* are conscious of a mental modification, by *we* can be meant only the mind, so that the belief amounts to this, that the mind is conscious of itself. Subject and object are thus confounded. But

further, we cannot suppose the mind to be modified as matter is: a mental modification is a thought, a sensation, a feeling, and these do not require any other consciousness than they possess in themselves. To say that we are conscious of a sensation, is to say that we are conscious of an act of consciousness. It is tantamount to saying, that our minds are so clumsily constructed that they hold up a light to that which is in itself light. If, then, we are not conscious of sensations, of what are we conscious? The answer is easy and obvious. We are conscious of sights, of sounds, of tastes, of smells, in as far as we smell, taste, hear, and see. Thus our knowledge of the external world is direct and immediate.

But though our knowledge is immediate, it is not absolute; it is relative to our senses, to our brain, to the knowing mind. We do not see the external world as it is in itself, but as it is presented to us by our organs of vision. If we look through a yellow glass, all nature appears bathed in the rich tints of sunset. A trace of yellow in the lenses of our eye would have produced a similar effect. An alteration of a different kind in the structure of the eye would have presented everything distorted. As it is, we know that the pictures of objects painted by light on the retina are inverted: they might have reached the mind in that way; but happily they are set right again before they are developed into sensations. It is a trite but true remark, that with more senses we might have a knowledge of qualities of which we are at present as ignorant as the blind are of colours. It is as true that with different senses we might have a different knowledge. Our senses not only limit but condition our acquaintance with the external world.

The mode in which we arrive at a knowledge of surrounding objects, so far as we can trace it, is very simple, as all the operations of nature are. An object of sense is presented to our organs of sense, and the impression it leaves is by them carried to the mind, and there in some mysterious way it is developed into a sensation, and in that sensation is our knowledge of the object. A patch of blue colour is presented to the eye; it is painted on the retina; it is propagated to the mind, and we feel the sensation which we call blue. A horn is blown in the field, the sonorous vibrations strike the tympanum of the ear; they, in some way unknown to us, affect the mind, and we are conscious of sound. But it may be said that the sound and the colour, according to this statement, are nothing but modifications of mind, and therefore, after all, we live in a purely idealistic world. It is undoubtedly true that everything which reaches us from the outer world comes in the form of sensation, and that sensations are only modes of mind; but it is a mode of mind produced by the

presence of an outside object. It is the outside object affecting us in this way, and than this, no more immediate knowledge is possible or even conceivable. Thought must still be thought. We know the object as it is knowable, and in no other way can it be known.

If it should be asked how the material merges into the mental—how physical impressions expand into thoughts—we must confess our ignorance. We may point to analogies. We may speak of electricity rushing along the wire and bursting into flame when it reaches the gunpowder; and darkly conjecture that, in like manner, the needful influence may be propagated along the nerve and burst into consciousness when it reaches the brain. But this is a point which science has not yet reached, and probably never will reach.

What has been said in regard to sensations applies with equal force to ideas. Every idea is a phase of consciousness. The sensation comes from without; the idea springs up within—thought begetting thought. We have not first the idea and then the consciousness of it—the idea is itself the consciousness. Sensation sets before us the present; memory brings up the past; but our recollections equally with our sensations are simply conscious moods of mind. If it should be asked how we distinguish the one from the other, the answer is, that we do not require to distinguish them, seeing they distinguish themselves. Being different, they are recognised as different. Every sensation brings the outer world before us—it is the mental reflection of a material object; but in memory there is no such external element. Our sensations imply that their objects are present, just as our memories imply that their objects are past. In the first there is a recognition of an object present and producing the mental mood, just as in the other there is a recognition of the events remembered as things belonging to a bygone time. It is almost demonstrably certain, however, that no mood of mind is perfectly pure and uncompounded. As sensation must have begun with the first dawn of consciousness, so it can never afterwards be absent from a spirit wrapped in a robe of flesh; and every thinking man knows how difficult, if not impossible, it is to separate his sensations from those ideas which have inseparably wedded themselves to them. Who can dissociate his sensations of colour from the associated ideas of distance and shape?

The conclusion at which we have arrived regarding our knowledge of the outer world is not greatly different from that advocated by Sir William Hamilton, but we have arrived at it by a different road. Sir William Hamilton constantly speaks of a man being conscious or immediately cognizant of the modifications of his own mind; whereas we hold that our mental modifications contain

consciousness in themselves, and that it is only by remembering this that we can possibly bring the mental and material worlds face to face. If we separate consciousness from thought, and regard it as a something which takes cognizance of thought, we shall never consciously reach the external world. The thought, the idea, will ever raise itself as a barrier between consciousness and externality. But give consciousness to the idea, and then it touches the outside world.

The theory of knowing and thinking which we have thus explained, is not inconsistent with the ideas and language of the vulgar, and these in every-day matters are generally founded upon fact. We really and truly see surrounding objects, but we see them only as they are photographed on our minds. We touch, we taste, we smell, we hear; but sounds, tastes, smells, touches, (if we may so speak,) are sensations, and sensations are mental and not material. In all such cases there is an outside object mirrored in the mind. We know the external world only in so far as its qualities develope themselves in our consciousness—changing in the process from the material to the spiritual; but why should we complain of this, or think that our knowledge of externality might be more perfect and true than it is? Would we surrender our present sensations for any other knowledge of the external world of which we can conceive? Would we give up the mental for the material? Would we insist upon the absurdity of knowing matter apart from our own thoughts of it? The conscious and the unconscious meet, but they cannot be confounded.

A distinction is frequently made between immediate and mediate knowledge, but there is no real distinction of the kind; or if it be artificially made, all our knowledge is at once immediate and mediate. "I call up," says Sir William Hamilton, "an image of the high church. Now, in the act what do I know immediately or intuitively, what mediately or by representation? It is manifest that I am conscious or immediately cognizant of all that is known as an act or modification of my mind, and consequently of the modification or act which constitutes the mental image of the cathedral. But, as in the operation, it is evident that I am conscious or immediately cognizant of the cathedral, as imaged in my mind; so it is equally manifest that I am not conscious or immediately cognizant of the cathedral as existing." (*Lectures on Metaphysics*, vol. ii. p. 68.) Taking this example as an illustration, we think it is evident that in one sense all our knowledge is immediate. When the cathedral is present we have a sensation of it; when it is not present we have a reminiscence of it; but our reminiscences are as direct as our sensations. In neither case is the mind conscious merely of its

own mood. Sensation and memory are different; but memory gives as immediate a knowledge of its objects as the senses do of theirs. The cathedral, as an object of memory, is as immediately present to the memory as it can be to the eye as an object of sight. In the one case, memory holds up the object to view; in the other, vision. The knowledge in both cases is immediate and direct, though there is the difference which there ever must be between memory and sight. In another sense, however, all our knowledge is mediate, in as far as, both in sensation and memory, we know material objects only in their mental counterparts. When we look at the high church, our sensation is not identical with the edifice—it is the conscious state produced by the presence of the edifice; when we remember the high church, our reminiscence is in like manner a mental mood produced by the recollection of the material fabric formerly seen.

We have thus arrived at a knowledge of outness. It is no discovery, for all men have known it from the beginning. Our labour has consisted simply in getting rid of the entanglements in which the subject has been involved, in brushing away th cobwebs which have gathered around it. We have exhibited the processes of mind in their simplicity, and thus removed the painted screen placed by philosophers, but not by Nature, between consciousness and externality.

We turn now from the processes of mind to its faculties, with the conviction that we shall discover reason for simplification in regard to the one as well as the other. In its intellectual phasis the mind has very generally been divided into sensation, memory, and judgment. By sensation, it is said, we receive our knowledge; by memory, we retain it; and by judgment we elaborate it. Some psychologists have added to these faculties others—as perception, imagination, attention, abstraction; but almost never, at least in our own country, has a serious effort been made to diminish them. Sir William Hamilton has altered their names, but he has not reduced their number. The belief in a trinity of original faculties has formed a part of our philosophical creed for a hundred and fifty years.

In the beginning of the eighteenth century, however, the celebrated French philosopher, Condillac, following in the footsteps of his master, Locke, and advancing beyond him, attempted to show, not merely that all our knowledge is derived from sense, but that all our faculties are derived from sensation. By an ingenious but delusive analysis, he endeavoured to prove that memory and judgment, that even affection, feeling, and desire, are but different forms of sensation, and may be distinctly traced back to their original. The only element he calls to his assistance is attention; but even attention, he declares, is but a certain

degree of sensation—the primary mental state out of which all the others are generated. Of this generation he aspires to lay open the process and the mystery. A sensation, he says, is attention if it be alone present to the mind, or if it be more vivid than any others which happen to be present too. In other words, a sensation which is so strong as to concentrate the mind upon itself is attention. Attention being thus elicited from sensation, all the faculties and feelings of the mind are shown to be compounds of these two; as the most varied substances are found by the chemist to be made up of elements more simple than themselves combined in different proportions. Our sensations, he says, are of two kinds—those which we have, and those which we have had. In common phrase, the former are called sensations, the latter memories; but there is no radical difference between them. Memory is only sensation transformed. Again, we are able to attend to two objects at once; but to attend to two objects at once is to compare them, and to compare them is to discern their agreement or difference; in short, to judge of them. Thus judgment comes into being. It is not a primary faculty, but only a form of that form of sensation which we call attention. But still further, our sensations are either agreeable or disagreeable, either pleasant or painful—none of them are absolutely indifferent; and of this is born desire. To desire is simply to judge that the agreeable is necessary to us. From desire, as from a first parent in the realm of feeling, are descended all the passions—love, hatred, hope, fear. All these then are but transmuted sensations. Though in some respects changed in the course of successive generations, as a remote posterity differs in form and feature from its original parentage, their pedigree is certain, and can be followed up to the rudimental form of all thought and feeling—the simple cell of the mental world.

Condillac has, with admirable art, illustrated his theory by supposing a statue, internally organized like ourselves, with capabilities of thought and feeling, but in the meantime shut out from the external world by its envelope of marble—unconscious, but capable of consciousness; inanimate, but ready to spring into life. He then removes part after part of the envelope, lets the outer world stream in upon the organization within, and invites us to behold how knowledge and passion are generated; as we are enabled, by means of an anatomical Venus or Apollo, to behold how the heart pumps out its blood, how the sinews bind together the bones, and how the whole nervous system communicates with the brain. But, notwithstanding the ingenuity and even the beauty with which Condillac has developed his theory, he has failed to found an enduring school of psychology. He had followers among his own countrymen, but his system can

scarcely be said to have penetrated either into Germany or Britain, and even in France it may now be regarded as almost extinct. He attempted too much, and he accomplished nothing. Only too solicitous to discover unity in the midst of complexity, he has confounded things which are different. Among other errors, he is frequently guilty of confounding an individual mode with a faculty of mind. Thus it may be that the ideas recalled by memory are but revivified sensations; and yet the mind's capability of recalling the past be something quite distinct from its capability of being impressed by the present. The decision of the controversy regarding sensations and ideas, does not decide the other controversy regarding sensation and memory. Condillac assumes that it does. In like manner, when Condillac affirms that a sensation of a certain degree of intensity is attention, he does not discriminate between a solitary state of mind and a faculty or capability of mind. He has been misled by words. Both in the French language and in our own, sensation and attention are ambiguous, being sometimes applied to mental states and sometimes to mental faculties.

But is a mental state really different from a mental faculty? It clearly is; and that whether we regard the mind as active or passive. The one is evanescent, the other is permanent. The one is a temporary modification, the other an enduring attribute. The mind is so constituted as to be susceptible of certain impressions, and capable of certain efforts, and these we classify and call by particular names. In like manner, by generalizing facts in the material world, we arrive at physical laws. Relative to our knowledge, a physical law is only a generalized fact; yet the falling of a stone is not gravitation: it is an instance of gravitation, but it is not gravitation. In precisely the same way, a particular mood of mind is not a faculty of mind; it is merely one of its manifestations.

But though the French analyst has failed to show that all the various moods of mind are but disguised sensations, and that all the varied faculties may be reduced to one, he has, we apprehend, spoken only the truth when he has refused to Judgment an independent existence. Here, we think it will be found, he has enunciated a fact, though he has not distinctly proved it. If it can now be shown that judgment and sensation are not distinct—that the one is essentially involved in the other—the threefold division of the intellectual faculties will be reduced to a twofold one. Only sensation and memory will be left to us—a faculty of the present and a faculty of the past.

It is necessary, in order to prevent misconception, that we should, in an inquiry like this, accurately define our terms. Sensation is the mind's capability of being affected by external things through the channel of the senses. Judgment is the faculty

of the mind by which we perceive relations; in other words, by which we discern the agreement and disagreement of things. Whenever we predicate one thing of another, we judge; so that judgment is necessary to the forming of even the simplest proposition. Let us, then, take some such simple proposition, and see if there be anything more implied in it than is furnished us by sensation. Let us take, for example, the proposition, "Snow is white." Now, to us it appears very evident that when we say, "Snow is white," we only embody in words the sensation which we have when snow is presented to our organs of sight. When snow is presented to our senses, we have not first a sensation of its whiteness and then a judgment of its whiteness; in other words, we do not first feel it to be white, and then judge it to be white; for this were to give the mind double work, making it do the same thing twice over. Nor will it be denied that sensation gives us the knowledge of whiteness without the aid of judgment: for it is by sensation, and sensation alone, that we learn the qualities of objects; and by the sense of sight, and the sense of sight alone, that we become acquainted with the various colours which are spread over external nature. It can only be, then, from the information we receive from the sense of sight, that we are able to affirm that snow is white; and if by means of this sense we have this knowledge, and are consequently able to embody it in a proposition, there is no need of conjuring into existence a new faculty to do for us what has been done already without it.

Nor will it avail to say that when we predicate "Snow is white," we distinguish the colour of snow from every other colour, and therefore require a mental process not implied in sensation, to make the distinction; for a very little reflection will convince us, that though there was nothing but snow in existence, the mind would have the very same notion of it which it now has. There might not be a word invented to signify its whiteness, for that would be unnecessary; but when presented to the senses it would produce the very same sensation in the mind, so that if it were not said that snow is white, it would at least be sensationally felt that snow is white, which, for the purpose of our argument, is the same thing. When, therefore, a piece of snow is presented to our organs of sense, and we say that it is white, we merely state in words the sensation which we have at the time: when, again, we say that snow is white, although it be not at the time present to our senses, we merely mention a quality which we *remember* it to have had when it was present to our mind as a sensation. In other words, when we enunciate any simple proposition, such as "Ice is cold," "Grass is green," "Honey is sweet," we do nothing more than form the present complex idea belonging to any of

these objects into a proposition; that is, we merely state in words the sensation which we feel or which we remember.

But let us now take another instance in which the operation of a distinct and independent faculty appears at least to be more evident. Let us suppose that two objects are presented to our organs of sense, one of which is red, the other blue. In such a case our vision at once conveys to our mind a knowledge of these colours; and therefore we immediately know the one to be red and the other blue, without the intervention of any other faculty. In such a testing instance, where shall room be found for the independent faculty called Judgment—what is its vocation—what its work—what can it do which has not been done already? It may be said, and it often has been said, that it tells us there is *a difference* between the two objects of sense;—that to discover agreements and differences is its special function. But it is manifest that if we already know the one object to be red, and the other object to be blue, we also know they are different. If it should be argued that we may know the one to be red and the other blue, and yet not compare them so as to know they are different; we reply that this is impossible and contradictory; that it implies we may know them to be different, and yet not know them to be different. In truth, in the case supposed, comparison does not require to be superadded to what has already been done. In virtue of sensation, we already know the one to be red and the other blue, and therefore different, and all further processes are unnecessary.

It will be observed that we have assumed that both objects are present to the mind at the same instant of time; in other words, that the mind is conscious of them both at once. It is conscious that the one is blue at the same instant that it is conscious that the other is red, and therefore it is conscious that there is a difference between them. In taking it for granted that two or more objects may be present to the mind at once, we are not making an unwarranted assumption; for beside the circumstance that this is allowed by almost all metaphysicians, those who hold judgment to be an independent faculty are obliged to assume the same thing; for how could the mind judge concerning the relations of two objects, if only one of them were present to it? Relation implies plurality.

According to Sir William Hamilton, who in this matter follows the usual doctrine of the Schools, the recognition of agreements and differences is the result of a much more operose process of mind. "As a judgment," says he, "supposes a relation, it necessarily implies a plurality of thoughts, but conversely a plurality of thoughts does not necessarily imply a judgment. . . . The thoughts *water, iron,* and *rusting,* may follow each other in the mental

train; they may even be viewed together in a simultaneous act of consciousness, and this without our considering them in an act of comparison, and without therefore conjoining or disjoining them in an act of judgment. But when two or more thoughts are given in consciousness, there is in general an endeavour on our part to discover in them, and to develope a relation of congruence or confliction; that is, we endeavour to find out whether these thoughts will or will not coincide;—may or may not be blended into one. If they coincide, we judge, we enounce their congruence or compatibility; if they do not coincide, we judge, we enounce their confliction or incompatibility. Thus if we compare the thoughts—*water, iron,* and *rusting*—find them congruent and connect them into a single thought, thus—*water rusts iron*—in that case we form a Judgment."—(*Lectures on Metaphysics and Logic*, vol. iii. pp. 226-7).

From this exposition of the mental process implied in Judgment we venture to dissent. With almost every statement contained in it we disagree. We hold that a plurality of thoughts does necessarily imply a judgment, for there could not be a plurality unless the one were discriminated from the other. We hold that *water, iron, rusting*, cannot be viewed together in a simultaneous act of consciousness, without our considering them in an act of comparison, without conjoining or disjoining them in an act of judgment. For in order consciously to conceive water as water, iron as iron, rust as rust, we must consciously discriminate these ideas from one another, and from every other idea present to the mind; and this implies comparison, and disjunction in an act of judgment. The continuous mental struggle to discover the confliction or congruence of thoughts, referred to by Sir William, is not borne witness to by ordinary consciousness. Every thought which enters the mind is at once recognised as having a personality of its own which separates it from all other thoughts. But supposing the reality of this mental hunt after relations, it is said that if we discover our thoughts to coincide or not to coincide, we judge accordingly. But what is the need of judging accordingly, seeing judgment has been passed already, inasmuch as we have, according to the supposition, already consciously perceived the coincidence or otherwise of our thoughts?

The example of a Judgment given by our great modern metaphysician does not mend matters: "If we compare," says he, "the thoughts—*water, iron,* and *rusting*—find them congruent, and connect them into a single thought, thus—*water rusts iron*—in that case we form a judgment." Now, it appears to us, that we never could by any mere mental comparison evolve out of the three thoughts, water, iron, and rust, the one thought, water rusts iron, and that when we do form this thought, we do so either on

account of what we have seen or what we have heard. In either case, the thought is the issue of memory and not of any independent power.

But though Sir William Hamilton has in this case spoken unadvisedly with his lips, from his desire to show that judgment depends upon an exercise of mind distinct from sensation and memory, he has elsewhere furnished the strongest arguments to prove the contrary. In his profound lectures upon Consciousness, and upon the Discursive or Elaborative Faculty (by which names he prefers calling Judgment), he has shown that the most rudimental act of thought implies comparison; that without comparison consciousness is impossible. His reasoning is simple and demonstrative. In the first act of consciousness we affirm the existence of something; we thus discriminate between existence and non-existence; the *ego* and *non-ego*: or, again, we cannot be conscious without being conscious of something, and we cannot be conscious of that something without discriminating it from everything else. To put the same fact otherwise: every mental impression must have a character of its own, and the mind must be conscious of that, and so separate it from every other mental impression. The law of the thinkable is, that the thing thought must be separated from the thing which is not thought. To think otherwise would be to think of nothing—to have an impression with no distinguishing mark would be to have no impression.

But it may be said that this only proves that judgment enters into every act of thought—even the most rudimental. We think it proves not only that, but that these judgments are not the result of a faculty separate from sensation and memory. If comparison, judgment, is involved in the simplest act of mind, there is neither room nor necessity for the operation of a faculty specially so called. The judgment emerges from the very action of the mind. Let us attend to what happens in one of the simplest mental processes we can conceive. Let us conceive the mind to pass from a state of pleasure into a state of pain (and we may, if we please, suppose these to be its two first acts of consciousness); it feels the pain and remembers the pleasure, and so necessarily distinguishes between them, immediately and without the intervention of any special faculty of comparison.

From what has been said, it is obvious that memory as well as sensation enters into many of those acts which we call judgment. In truth, very many of those mental acts which we call acts of the judgment are altogether acts of the memory. It is generally so in regard to numbers. Thus, when we say six times twelve are seventy-two, we do not judge, as is commonly supposed to be the case; we merely remember. When we say six times twelve are seventy-two, we do not feel a necessary agreement between six

times twelve and seventy-two: we only remember that seventy-two is marked in our multiplication table as the result of six multiplied by twelve. Not one in a thousand goes over the steps necessary to verify the table. If $6 \times 12 = 73$ were marked in our multiplication-tables, we should not necessarily and at once perceive the disagreement of the factors and their product. If it should be said that the science of numbers is not founded upon sensation, and would be true though there were not an object of sense in the universe; that though there were not seventy-two, twelve, or even six atoms in existence, still six times twelve would be seventy-two, the answer is easy. The science of numbers has an abstract and universal truth, because it is founded upon definition—it is in all its results simply an expression of identities. What is four? twice two.

Our task is not complete till we have stated and answered some of the objections which have been brought against the views which we have been advocating. Dr. Thomas Brown, one of the best mental analysts which this or any country has produced, has minutely examined the system which strikes judgment from the rank of an original and independent mental power. Let us see with what success. "Innumerable objects," says he, "may be and are continually present to us at once, so as to produce one complex affection of mind—fields, groves, mountains, streams; but the mere co-existence of these so as to form in our thought one scene, involves no feeling of comparison; and if the mind had not been susceptible of other affections than those of sense, or of mere remembrance of the past objects of sense, either in whole or in part, it might, when such a scene was presented, have continued for ever in the state which forms the complex perception of the scene, without the slightest notion of the relation of its points to the whole or to each other."* It will be observed that there is here only an affirmation, without even the shadow of an argument to support it. The response of the oracle of consciousness will, we think, contradict the statement of Dr. Brown. Consulting our own consciousness, we conceive it impossible to observe at the same time fields, groves, mountains, and streams without perceiving them to be different. If we recognise the fields as fields, and the groves as groves, we recognise their dissimilarity. It is impossible for a man to see two different objects, or to have two differing sensations, without consciously knowing them to be different. Different objects must affect the mind differently, which is equivalent to saying that the mind is conscious of their difference.

Again. "We may see, and often do see, objects together," says

* Brown's "Lectures on the Philosophy of Mind." Lecture xxxiii.

Dr. Brown, "without forming uniformly the same comparison; which could not be the case if the mere coexistence of the two perceptions constituted or involved the comparison itself. In the case of a horse and a sheep, for example, though these in the sensations which they excite cannot at different times be very different, we compare at different times their colours, their forms, their magnitudes, their functions, and the uses to which we put them, and we consider them as related in various ways." In answer to this it is sufficient to say that if a number of different qualities in two or more objects affect the mind at the same instant of time, the mind must consciously know them to be different; though it is very possible its attention, for some reason or other, may be directed to some of these more than to the others. Thus, in the example given, when we perceive a horse and a sheep at the same time, we always perceive them both to agree and to disagree, and that in as many particulars as our organs of sense comprehend. Thus, if we perceive their colour, as we generally or always do, we perceive that in that respect they differ; if we perceive their magnitude, we perceive that in that also they differ; and so in respect of their shape or any other property to which our attention happens to be turned. We believe we never see these two animals together without perceiving them to differ in all these respects and in others besides, in addition to our recognition of many points of resemblance; for the mind is more comprehensive in its comparisons than we are apt to suspect. In regard to the functions and uses of the horse and the sheep, it will readily occur to every one that these are not the objects of sense, and accordingly that we may see the animals without these occurring to the mind; but if they should occur, we shall as certainly recognise them to differ in these respects as in those mentioned before.

The only other argument urged by Dr. Brown is the following:—"Were we to show to a peasant, absolutely unacquainted with the very elements of geometry, diagrams representing two right angles, and a plane triangle, he might certainly, though he could not give them names, perceive these figures as clearly as the most expert mathematician. Everything which mere sensation could do in this case would be the same in both; and nothing could be added to the primary sensation, since everything is said to be actually involved in the sensation itself. Yet, with all his accurate perception of the figures, however clear and vivid and lasting, the peasant would not find, in the immediate perception, the equality of the two right angles taken together to the three angles of the triangle, or any other geometrical relation. The comparison, then, and the belief of an universal truth of proportion which results from that comparison, are certainly something more than the mere sensation." This argument does not really touch the question at

issue. Judgment may be resolved into its original elements of sensation and memory; and yet a peasant, with good eyesight, may not be able to demonstrate every possible mathematical proposition. Though all knowledge be traceable to sense, and comparison be involved in the mind's consciousness of different objects, it does not follow that we shall, by simply looking at any object, instantly discover all its properties and relations. Let us turn the point of Dr. Brown's argument towards himself. Let us suppose his peasant to be gifted with a faculty of judgment as clear and penetrating as that of the mathematician: though thus gifted he does not at once discover the equality of the three angles of a triangle to two right angles. An ingenious and intricate process of reasoning is necessary to the discovery. Yet the failure of the peasant does not prove that reason is a faculty different from judgment, and neither does his failure in the other case prove that judgment is different from sensation.

But let us examine the argument still more minutely. The equality of the three angles of a triangle to two right angles may be considered either as true only with reference to the figures present to the senses, or as universally true. In the former case the senses alone are adequate to the discovery. A very simple series of material comparisons will reveal the truth. Comparison may be assisted by collocation; for in many cases where either resemblances or differences are not very apparent, the senses require to be thus assisted. But if the senses, by any method and with any appliances, can discover—we do not say demonstrate—the equality referred to, there is no room for another and higher faculty.

In the latter case it must be remembered that the mathematics are not a science of real truth, but merely of consistency. They are not based upon asserted facts, but upon certain axioms and definitions which are taken for granted. The axioms and definitions being held as true, all the problems and theorems are shown to be consistent with them. The axioms and definitions being universal, the conclusions deduced from them are universal too. The source of the universal truth of every mathematical demonstration is to be found in the axioms and definitions from which it flows, and these are not proved but assumed. Every mathematical demonstration, even the most lengthened and intricate, is only a consecutive series of simple comparisons resting upon primary assumptions. These comparisons are not of sensations, but of ideas furnished by memory; for memory plays a conspicuous part in mathematical demonstration; but as with sensations, so with ideas: when they differ, the mind necessarily knows them to differ in the very act of consciousness. In every step of a rigid demonstration there is a reference to some axiom, some definition, or some proposition already proved; in other words, there is an ap-

peal to memory. The meaning of the appeal is—You have granted the truth of this already, you will grant it again. A B and C D are each of them equal to E F, and therefore (Ax. I.) they are equal to one another. In short, in mathematical demonstration, there is an incessant mental measurement of things to be proved with things which have been proved, and the consciousness, taking both in its grasp, perceives their equality or inequality.

This explication may, in fact, be deemed superfluous, for mathematical reasoning is not different in kind from logical reasoning; and psychologists are now united in regarding Reason as reducible to Judgment. "Reasoning," says Dr. Brown, "is found, when analysed, to be nothing more than a series of judgments." "In regard to the act of reasoning," says Sir William Hamilton, "nothing can be more erroneous than the ordinary distinction of this process, as the operation of a faculty different in kind from those of judgment and conception. Conception, judgment, and reasoning, are in reality only various applications of the same simple faculty—that of comparison or judgment." These great masters in metaphysics have thus cleared the ground for us, and made the way to our conclusion open and easy. We have already shown that simple comparison is involved in the most rudimental acts of consciousness—that when the mind is possessed of two differing or two resembling ideas, it is necessarily conscious of their difference or resemblance; and Brown and Hamilton, though disagreeing in almost everything else, have agreed in declaring that by a series of the most simple comparisons we may arrive at the most profound conclusions. They have reduced reason into judgment; we have reduced judgment into its simpler elements of sensation and memory.

The conclusion to which we have come does not impinge upon man's power of reasoning and judging—does not deny the reality of these acts of the mind. Such a conclusion were in the face of all fact. It were an absurd philosophical fulfilment of Antony's declamation over the dead body of Cæsar—

> "O Judgment, thou art fled to brutish beasts,
> And men have lost their reason."

The existence of reason and judgment is not denied: it is only denied that they are the produce of a special faculty. They are involved in sensation and memory. These two simple faculties are competent to the most elaborate processes of argumentation, and it is useless to evoke another faculty to perform functions which are performed without it. In the obvious proposition, that different objects must affect the mind differently, a deathblow is struck at the old orthodox doctrine, for here is comparison without the interposition of a faculty of judgment.

The intellect of man is thus greatly simplified. It is a duality in unity. It has a power of receiving new knowledge, and a power of reproducing the old. The one faculty furnishes it with sensations, the other with ideas; and all man's knowledge is either of the one kind or the other, though it is necessarily presented to him under the conditions to which thought is made subject by the constitution of the thinking mind. Our ideas are evidently nothing but our sensations raised up in an immaterial form. But though now disconnected from the physical world—elevated above sense—spiritualized, they bear a perfect resemblance to their former selves, insomuch that in many states of mind we fail to discriminate between the one and the other. Perhaps it were well if we could abolish altogether the word "idea," as the source of much perplexity, and call the two classes of phenomena of which the mind is susceptible, after the two faculties which give them birth—sensations and memories.

We have thus finished our task, the great object of which has been to show that the mechanism of the mind is more simple than philosophers have represented it. Though dealing with the deep things of psychology, we have endeavoured to be intelligible even to those readers who do not peculiarly delight themselves in the mists of metaphysics. We have been constrained to dissent from many of the fashionable tenets of Sir William Hamilton and his school. We have shown there is no ground for the distinction drawn between sensation and perception. We have maintained that the mind is not conscious of its own modifications, of its own ideas or impressions, and thus have carried scepticism to its extreme limit; but at this very point we have discovered a secure landing-place for faith. Though the mind is not conscious of thought, it is conscious of the thing thought of, and thus consciousness and externality confront each other. Berkeley and Hume declared we had no consciousness of an outer world: Hamilton teaches we are conscious both of an outer and an inner world. We have ventured to seek for truth at the opposite pole of Speculation, and to show that we are conscious not of an inner but only of an outer world. Finally, we have adjudged man to have no judgment; but in thus somewhat rudely stripping off this faculty, we have shown he has no need of it, as he is capable without it of the highest efforts of judging and reasoning. We have resolved the faculty without denying the power, and thus have left man in possession of all his high prerogatives as a rational being. In the true eclectic spirit, we have sought light alike from Condillac and Hamilton, both great names, though as opposite in their intellectual development as they are in their philosophical systems.

Art. V.—English Rule in India.

1. *A Comprehensive History of India.* 3 large vols. By Henry Beveridge, Esq. Glasgow, Edinburgh, and London: Blackie and Son. 1862.
2. *Papers on Indigo Cultivation in Lower Bengal.* By a Ryot. Calcutta. 1860.
3. *University Education in England for Natives of India.* By Hodgson Pratt, of the Bengal Civil Service. London: Ridgway. 1860.
4. *British Indian Association of Oudh: Papers of November,* 1861.
5. *Tenth Annual Report of the British Indian Association of Bengal,* 1862.
6. *Mr. Laing's Budget of April,* 1862.

INDIAN History in the last five years has moved so rapidly as not a little to embarrass our steadiness and clearness of view. When the great convulsion of the mutiny overthrew, not in India, but in London, the government of the Company, for a while it was not clear *what* had been done, or *why*: whether the change was real or nominal, great or small; and why the Ministers proposed a revolution which four or five years earlier they deprecated. In the retrospect we cannot doubt that the Charter was renewed to the Company in 1853, principally or solely because the Queen's Ministry in that year feared that Parliament would refuse to vest the whole patronage in the Crown. Public calamity involves a loss of credit and strips off votes; and whatever the defenders of the Company had to say, either plausibly or with real weight, the Ministry with true practical instinct felt that an opportunity had arrived which must not be lost. For, *on the one hand,* such an anomaly as the Company was not fitted for permanence: it certainly could not reconcile the patriotism of India with loyalty to England, or satisfy the pride of Indian princes. *On the other hand,* it is only in some crisis of convulsion, or after new and terrible mismanagement, that a revolutionary vote can be counted on from Parliament. Thus the Company was displaced, and the screen of a double government annihilated, not as early as was desirable, but as soon as was possible; and the change, which for two years may have seemed infinitesimal or nominal, in the third and fourth year manifests itself to be great indeed, and likely to be greater.

In the debates of 1833, Mr. Macaulay, speaking in the name of Lord Grey's Cabinet, avowed that the King's Ministers bore the full responsibility of every public measure in India, small or great.

"According to the honourable member for Sheffield" (Mr. Silk Buckingham), says he, "India is ill-governed, and the whole fault is with the Company, ... and the inference is, that all their power ought to be transferred to the Crown. But, for all the evils which he has recounted, the Ministers of the Crown are as much to blame as the Company; nay, much more so. . . . . Take the case of the slowness of the mail. If the President of our Board thought fit, he might direct me to write to the Court, and require them to frame a dispatch on that subject, &c. &c. For all measures of *internal* policy the servants of the King are at least as deeply responsible as the Company. For all measures of *foreign* policy the servants of the King, and they alone, are responsible."

In spite of this, the Home Ministry, so long as it was screened by the double Government, acted as if it had not been responsible. It dealt with the finances of India as an amateur director with those of a Joint Stock Bank. In spending against the will of the Company it was merciless; in war and in conquest it was insatiable; but it left to the Company, whose funds it squandered, the task of replenishing them (if that might be) by wise administration. The Crown, like many other violent conquerors, has taken advantage of its own wrong, as against the Company: nevertheless we trust the change is fraught with benefit to the people of India, and through them to ourselves. The immediate result was to bring home to the Queen's servants the sense, and to Parliament the conviction, that the English treasury will and must be in fact (whatever it may be in theory) responsible for Indian deficits. There is no longer one Government to spend, and another with the pleasing duty of filling the void. Those who enjoin war, or keep up vast armies, must now take to heart the state of the exchequer. Mr. Wilson could not prevail to lessen the great military establishment, and from this his financial measures suffered; yet they were conceived in an earnest and bold spirit, and we have only to regret that it devolved on another to improve them. Most decisive and important is the masculine energy with which public works are now pressed forward. We do not forget nor undervalue what was done under Lord Dalhousie for the three-halfpenny post and electric telegraph; but the effeminate principle which thinks more of saving than of earning, continued to cripple the railway system which was planned. An eminently industrious people, whose glorious soil and climate teem with all riches, when once security is granted, ought to abound in general opulence, and easily maintain a splendid administration. That,

under the stimulus of a spirited Government, which should impart to them the best means of locomotion, a sound and light currency, a good police, and honest, cheap law-courts, Indian finance was certain to rally, has (we presume) all along been an axiom to Europeans who looked on India with fresh eyes. But that the rally would be so rapid as it has been, that Lord Canning before quitting India would remit the License-tax and the two per cent. on small incomes, that Mr. Laing would be able in the spring of 1862 to announce a surplus of a million and a half sterling, is more than the most sanguine would have predicted: in fact, it is the more remarkable, because there was great famine in 1861, nor has there yet been time for any considerable judicial or police reforms, nor for railways to bear fruit. It is no longer possible for the English Parliament to be insensible of how deep interest to ourselves is the welfare of one hundred and seventy millions of fellow-subjects united under the same Crown. If our people is insensible to it, this is from unacquaintance with facts; and we beg to press on all journalists who may chance to read our pages, how important a duty rests on them of instructing the public as to what India is, and what it may be to us,—for evil, if not for good.

We regard as very timely the publication of Mr. Beveridge's elegant and comprehensive work, which we have set at the head of this article. It seeks not only to impart needful knowledge, but to satisfy all intelligent curiosity. It does not ignore antiquities, mythology, and Indian philosophy. It has more than five hundred illustrative engravings, and a large number of beautifully executed maps. It gives full accounts of the previous dynasties, so far as known, from the earliest times down to Aurungzebe and the chaos which followed him; but the mass of the work is of course devoted to that eventful century which is strictly British history in India, from the battle of Plassey (1757) to the great mutiny (1857); the *raj* or reign of the Company. We dare not set ourselves up as competent judges of so great a mass of details; but the writer certainly commends himself to us as a moderate but conscientious critic of the deeds of our countrymen. On Clive, on Warren Hastings, on Lords Auckland and Dalhousie, his strictures are firm and fair. On Cornwallis and William Bentinck the praise is generous, but discriminating. If in his account of the rightfulness of our annexations he sometimes justifies British dealing beyond measure, his decisive condemnation of it on other occasions shows that it is from no want of honourable impartiality. In most affairs very ample details are given, such as enable readers to form their own judgment.

In the practical conclusion with which the author closes, we cannot pretend to feel any satisfaction. It does not affect the general value of the book, yet we must claim to protest against

it. Mr. Beveridge in his three last pages proposes and answers the question: "In what way can the affections of the Hindoo be gained, and *his fidelity to British rule placed beyond jeopardy?* The answer is: By making him a Christian. A common faith will give him a common interest, and form a bond of union which not even violence will be able to sever." We had already ventured to guess that Mr. Beveridge (pious as we doubt him not to be), is not a very accurate inquirer in religion, when we read in him (vol. iii. p. 211) the following strange words concerning Ram-mohun Roy: "After throwing off the yoke of Hindoo superstition, he exerted himself with some success in Calcutta in diffusing among his countrymen the knowledge of One God. Unfortunately he stopped short in his inquiries, and not advancing further than that bastard form of Christianity known by the name of Unitarianism, was never able to be a successful Christian teacher." This is as though one were to say that Rabbi Adler or Sir Moses Montefiore are but bastard Christians, and "unfortunately" not very successful Christian teachers. Ram-mohun Roy never professed allegiance to Jesus as Messiah, Prophet, or anything else; but felt a reverence for him, such as many Christians feel for Socrates or Plato: no more. But on turning from p. 707 to p. 708, we find Mr. Beveridge thus to wind up:—

"To the attempts made to Christianize India, it has been objected, that the inevitable result of their success would be to destroy the British rule; the inhabitants, made aware of their natural rights and become capable of self-government, would throw off our yoke, and declare their independence. *Unquestionably they would:* but what then? Is it meant, that for the purpose of perpetuating our empire in the East we must endeavour to keep our subjects there in a state of semi-barbarism, &c. . . . ."

We congratulate Mr. Beveridge on the noble spirit in which he contemplates the time at which England might proudly rejoice in having fitted India for freedom and let her go free: but when he has prescribed Christianity as the recipe which will ensure India's loyalty to England, it is very odd to find him immediately after declare, that *unquestionably* success in proselytism would be the destruction of the British rule. We have read the passage again and again, and assure our readers that there is no ambiguity and no qualification. The whole argument is unworthy of a man who can put together such a history. The assertions that Christianity would secure the loyalty of the Indians, and that it would naturally entail their revolt, are both alike gratuitous, untrue, and disproved by endless notorious facts. The Christianity of Ireland has not secured its loyalty to England; nor is Canada driven by Christianity into revolt. Judaism does not make Jews less faithful citizens to Poland, Hungary, the United States, or to England

herself. Mr. Beveridge is right in saying that Christian Hindoos are generally loyal to England; but this is not because they are Christians, but because they have come close enough to us to understand what is English freedom, and what our state of sentiment towards fellow-citizens. Loyalty in India, as everywhere else, is to be won by even-handed justice, and by that only.

The outline of the conquest of India, even as drawn by our own partial pen, has very much in it which we all lament and condemn; and who can expect that these things should not be bitterly remembered by the conquered, and often transmitted in the blackest colours? Few great empires have been founded by peaceful and equitable means: they generally are the fruit of ambitious purpose, which can seldom be separated from crime, and always deals largely in violence. It is our firm belief that ambitious conquest is necessarily a blunder as well as a crime, and that to defend it by the doctrine of "manifest destiny" is simply impious. Where the superiority of one race and one set of institutions to all those around is marked and undeniable, so that its supremacy may reasonably be desired, this not only is no reason for its aggression, but is the strongest of all reasons why it should not sully its purity by a single doubtful act. Let human sin be painted as blackly as any choose, the fact remains that no nation is so dark but it discerns and honours justice, uprightness, truthfulness; and whenever these qualities are joined with signal strength, it desires to be subject. Such a power is a magnet, attracting all the weak to it. One sees, in a world of petty republics, if there be among them one which is at once strong and just, how quickly it becomes a centre of union and acknowledged head of an extensive league. If the English conquerors of India had had tenfold of virtue and conscience, preserving all other qualities unimpaired, the English power would certainly have spread, if not quite as far, yet nearly as far: the cohesion to it would be organic, as a fruit of alliance more than of conquest; the happiness of the people and wealth of the State would have been far greater. But English virtue was only what it was; higher than that of most Asiatic rulers, yet often unscrupulous in aggrandizement. Where the conquest which results is not in itself unreasonable, crime in the mode of conquest is soon forgiven and forgotten, after the benefits of the new dynasty begin to be felt. The important question is: What dowry has it to bestow? If it come down like a horde of Tartars, with sharp swords and swift horses, to despoil industrious nations, treating them as vassals, and retaining exclusive rights for its own race at the expense of the conquered, no other end is to be expected, than the unhappy state in which we see the empire of Turkey now to be. After four centuries of rule, the rulers are still a mere army of occupation, encamped on the soil, with a chasm between them-

selves and the subjects which cannot be filled up. If the conquerors, however rude, are freemen who readily impart their own freedom to the conquered, numerous examples of powers great and small, ancient and modern, show that early coalition and vigorous national life follow. We see it alike in the marauding Ætolians of declining Greece, in the old Roman republic, in many an old German league, in the outburst of Mohammedan conquest, in the astonishing vigour of the Normans in middle-age Europe, and in the intense nationalism of the more recent possessions of France. Nor can we, as Englishmen, forget the rude cruelties with which Wales was conquered, and Scotland frequently overrun; in spite of which, we are all now proud of a single nationality. If Ireland is not entirely and finally reconciled to the English sceptre, we know why that is: because the English Tories and the House of Lords rejected in 1837 Lord Morpeth's Bill for proportioning the Irish Church Establishment to the reasonable wants of its congregations. No such foolish injustice has the English Parliament committed elsewhere, nor will commit in India. There we have hitherto erred on the opposite side,—that of tenderness to immoralities when sanctioned by superstition. Against this the tide has happily turned; yet there is no ground to fear that we shall alienate the Indians by unfairness to them on religious grounds. Lord Canning, whose first years in India were agitated by horrible disruption, has had the happiness to leave it with the most hopeful auspices, loyalty beginning to pervade the very seats of the worst disaffection.

Lord Canning entered his high office as a servant of the Company, though appointed by the Crown: he quitted it as Viceroy. On his arrival in India he found deep discontent among the natives, on account of his predecessor's violent measures, and was presently visited with the intense displeasure of the British settlers, because of his policy towards them. A war with Persia was enjoined on him by word of command from London, at a crisis when every trustworthy regiment was needed in India itself. The great mutiny followed; and because Lord Canning to the utmost of his power forbade punishing the innocent for the crimes of the guilty, the British settlers had the infatuation to petition for his recal, in passionate words such as the terror of the crisis dictated. The petitioners are themselves now sorry for this; but in truth *we* hardly know how to be sorry: for the fact has greatly endeared Lord Canning to the Indians, and shed a halo of glory over the Queen's First Viceroy (Canning the Just!) which is highly auspicious for the future. The vast expenses of a great intestine war leave a difficult task to the financier: but here also, out of evil has come good. Since Mr. Wilson was set over Indian finance, a public annual budget is established as the rule of administration, and the confusion which reigned in the

accounts is dispelled. The unrestricted right of adoption—which to the chiefs and princes was nothing short of a religious duty, and without which they were all destined to early absorption by Lord Dalhousie's proclaimed principles—has been frankly and definitively conceded by Lord Canning. This is of the utmost interest to the highest class of the natives; but the minor landholders also breathe now more freely than ever, and no longer fear that the English policy is to extirpate them. The late Colonel Baird Smith was appointed Special Commissioner to investigate the causes of the dreadful famine in the north-west, and arrived at the very remarkable fact, that a body of wealthy landholders is essential to the well-being of the people. In those districts where the landholders had been uprooted, the poor suffered without relief, but were elsewhere so supported by their liberality as not to need public aid. The variable assessment of land was also denounced by him, as so discouraging ample cultivation as to leave no adequate margin in bad seasons. The consequence has been, that Lord Canning in council has promulgated a memorable resolution, fraught with endless important results, which permits, on very moderate terms, the sale of waste lands in fee simple and the redemption of the landtax on old lands.* In connexion with the railway system this measure is already beginning to influence largely the prospects of genuine English colonization.

It must be confessed, that English economists justly press the importance of connecting the redemption of the landtax with a positive command to apply the proceeds of the fund, as fast as they arise, to the reduction of the public debt. Adam Smith long since denounced the facility of dissipating a sinking fund in purposes for which it was never designed. The public debt of India is legally fixed on the land, and the creditor has a right to claim that the fund on which he depends shall not be alienated. The note of warning has already been sounded on this matter in Calcutta, and indeed during the solemnities of the great native meeting in honour of the departing Viceroy. It may therefore be hoped, that Lord Elgin will herein complete what is lacking in Lord Canning's measure.

But to the enactment which promulgates the sale of waste lands in fee simple, no such objection can attach; and it is delightful to contemplate the now certain results. We are aware that

* For reasons adduced in an Article which we published in July, 1859 (see *Westminster Review*, New Series, No. XXXI.), we are of opinion that it would be exceedingly desirable if the right of taxing future possible accessions to the rent of land in India could be reserved by the Government. But the immediate advantage likely to accrue from the settlement of Englishmen in India are so great as to justify the privilege now granted to them of acquiring a freehold tenure of the estates they may occupy. And, after all, the amount of land they are likely to purchase will probably not form more than a five-hundredth part of that actually in cultivation.—Editor.

intelligent men in high office at the India Board were at first anxious and doubtful whether much would come of the measure. They feared that natives would be too distrustful to purchase, and that English capitalists would be deterred, partly by the want of a jury system, partly by the absence of roads towards the hilly districts, which alone can give us a congenial climate. But, we think, all such fears are now dissipated by the positive news from Hope Town, near Darjeeling. And this may deserve to be dwelt upon.

It is about six years since Hope Town, aloft in the mountains north of Calcutta, was established as a small colony by three enterprising travellers. The district had become a British possession by treaty, during Lord William Bentinck's rule, but was very little known or thought of during a quarter of a century: for some time, however, Darjeeling had been frequented as a sanatorium, and two years back it began to be estimated at Calcutta that it would soon be within 150 miles of the rail—a short distance in Indian computation. But Lord Canning's recent measure has at once given a vast and unexpected impulse to colonization, as will appear by the following extract from a private letter which has been published in India.*

"You would not know the place you had once set your heart upon, and which I yet hope will be your resting-place. The sale of the fee-simple lands is having a rapid effect in these hills. Tea plantations are fast increasing: I wish you could see ours *now*. Every square yard in Hope Town is sold, and you will not be surprised to hear that I have bought all Pinchingtong too, for different parties. Some short time ago, there was nothing on it but my son's plantation: at present there are, Mr. D. 1000 acres; Mr. A. T. 1000 acres; Major P. 2000; Mr. J. D. B. 200 acres; Balasun Tea Company, 1160 acres; and all the rest is taken by Dr. C., who wrote me from Lahore for it. Dr. Campbell, whilst staying with me a short time back, received an application from a Delhi officer for 2000 acres; in fact, almost all the available tea land is bought up. A Government man is coming up to plant the *cinchona* (Peruvian bark). The cart-road is fast progressing, and will be a splendid work when finished, which it will be to Hope Town by June next [1862]. There are also forty or fifty miles of branch roads in Hope Town itself, all in excellent order. Mr. [Sir J. P.] Grant, our late Bengal Governor, when here, took great interest in these hills, which is likely to continue after he leaves India, as he promises to take tea-shares and buy lands. He is now projecting a cart-road to open all the tea-lands up to the Nepaul frontier. The trace is ordered to be at once cut, and the land in that direction is very fine. I and my sons intend applying for some near the Mechi river, so as to make a commencement and attract others. Mr. B. owns Nagri, Mr. Halifax, of Dooturrea, is making a permanent bridge

* We quote from the *Indian Mirror* (a native paper of Calcutta), April 15, 1862.

over the Balasun, with a bridle-path to the frontier. These hills are fit for anything. The time will come when they will be like England in its productions, besides producing tea, coffee, opium, cinchona, oils, &c. Persevering trials have shown and continue to show me this. The road to Thibet is open, and wool will become a staple. Let us but have the rail, and it will come in good time. Stock farming I have always said would succeed. My experiments are on a small scale, but in field productions you should see my success! I have fully succeeded in turnips and cabbages of all kinds, carrots and mangel-wurzel, all splendid food for stock. Then there are potatoes and Indian corn for stock too; and I have grown wheat, barley, and oats with sufficient success to show that the hills will produce them in perfection. Last year my garden got the most prizes at the Darjeeling show. Besides the above, I sent to the show lettuces, beet, onions, pumpkins, squash, artichokes, tea and tea-plants, rhubarb, peas, asparagus, celery, young Indian corn of the American species, and all very fine. . . . . As for carrots, ... for three years I could not get any but stunted things; but this year I have four kinds, most magnificent, equal to Covent Garden market. I have ten kinds of turnips, eight kinds of cabbages, fields of them for my horses, cows, and pigs. If one man can do this, hundreds will come and benefit by my experience.

"In a very short time, three days will take a traveller from Calcutta to Darjeeling. Rail to Sahibgunj, steam ferry to Carrigola, Greenway's carriages and waggons to Punkabaree. . . . . We have had visits from almost everybody [at Darjeeling?] since the rains ended, and have every hope that a lasting impression has been made," &c. &c.

Wherever wheat will ripen, the English constitution will thrive, but peculiarly on open hill sides. Need of easy access by roads will for a time very much limit the choice of English settlers, and may indeed usefully condense our small population into masses large enough to develop all the characteristics of English life. But we regard it as certain, that, with the extension of railroads and the opening of cart-roads or tram-roads, every five years will disclose fresh and fresh districts of immense extent, now mere wildernesses, yet admirably suited for English colonies. Two, or even three, ranges of moderately high mountains, forming the valleys of the Nerbudda and of the Taptee, traverse India from west to east. Along the whole of the west coast, at short distance from the sea, is lofty tableland; and all Mysore abounds with elevated regions. Thus it is not only on the extreme north, along the lower ranges of the great Himalaya, but the whole of India affords us at moderate distances sanatoria, centres for education and for military colonies. If a few such become peopled by the industrial processes of ordinary commerce without any great exercise of high policy, it will give every assurance, not only of permanence, but of indefinite repetition. To the Government belongs the function of opening the communications, and to this it is addressing itself with an energy and success that inspire the most delightful hopes.

It is not possible to give here any accurate account of the completed railways of India; yet we must attempt roughly to sketch the railway system actually in progress or open. The great *northern* line will be, at least, from Lahore, in the Punjaub, to Calcutta; passing through Delhi, Coel, Agra, Allahabad, Benares, Patna, Rajmahal, and Burdwan. The portion from Allahabad to Agra, probably two hundred miles, was advertised to be opened on April 15th. The train was to leave Allahabad at 6.45 a.m. and reach Agra at 7.30 p.m. The line to Patna, it is expected, will be opened by the 1st of November. A *second* grand line will connect Bombay with Allahabad, at the critical point where the Ganges and Jumna unite. This rail will run to Mulligaun on the Guirna, an affluent of the Taptee; will cross from the Taptee valley to that of the Nerbudda, and will pass through Jubbulpore. From Mulligaun a shorter rail proceeds almost due east to Nagpore. A *third* grand line will join Bombay to Madras. Its course is through Poonah, Sholapore, and Bejapore: thence it will go on by the valley of the Pennar through Ballary. A fourth line from sea to sea, but much shorter, passes from Madras to Vellore and Salem, then across the valley of the Cauvery to Coimbatoor, and thence to Baypore on the west coast, a little south of Calicut.

Among shorter yet very important lines, is one from Bombay northward to Baroda and Ahmedabad; another from Kurrachee to Hyderabad; another from Calcutta to Pubna and Dacca; another from Trichinopoly to the east coast. We are informed that the main lines will be really all open from end to end before 1863 closes. Already a great moral effect is visibly beginning from these works, which are in themselves an education to the native mind, shaking it out of the torpor of ages.

An Indian newspaper lately described the people of Lahore and Umritsur as "railway mad." Even the sight of the trains is so exciting as to gather spectators from a distance; and the experience of the benefit for travelling and for transmission of goods so overwhelms all other considerations, that it may, ere long, be counted among the agents of religious revolution. Whatever may be pleaded by zealous antiquaries or proud Indian pharisees, *caste* has little chance of maintaining itself against railway influences. Men of all castes huddle together in one carriage, and in long journeys eat their food side by side. Nor will sacred places long remain sacred in the minds of travellers. The people of Benares who have journeyed to Calcutta, and filled their eyes and minds with new sights, will find Benares less holy on their return. Within two years, we understand, immense lengths of rail will be open, and, even if other agencies were not to increase in intensity, a great revolution of mind impends from this cause alone.

Where the scheme of the Government railways is deficient, it has a twofold supplement from private companies, especially by steam flotillas and by tramways. The Indus is the first great river on which flotillas have been attempted, and not with immediate success; for the force of the current was harder to stem than the engineers had expected. A flotilla was in conception wholly new, nor is it wonderful that the first attempt should fail. In place of a steam-tug, drawing three or even four vessels, as is done in the St. Lawrence, an arrangement was imagined more like to a locomotive and its train, which should avoid the necessity of a captain and crew to every separate luggage vessel. The boats are all closely connected, like the carriages of a train, and can wind with the stream like the tail of a serpent, independently, we believe, of steering. The original depth was limited in the prospectus to four feet of water, since the rivers vary much with the season. It would appear that this did not allow sufficient power to the leading engine. However, when a great British company is once engaged in the project, and the Government is eager to encourage it, all must see that in such a country its success is certain, and cannot be distant. A steam flotilla on the Indus and its affluents is that which Scinde most urgently needs, for the banks of the rivers contain the sole centres of population. It moreover completes the chain of relation in the north between the East and West Seas; but of course the connexion between Calcutta and England, so long as the mail goes by Aden, will be through Allahabad and Bombay. If ever a Euphrates-valley railway be realized, it will inevitably press forward a scheme for direct communication through Malwa and Bundelcund to Allahabad. Nor must it be forgotten that India abounds with noble rivers suited for steam flotillas, except so far as the navigation is artificially interrupted by dams built to keep up the water; and under the energy which the Queen's Government for the last two years has displayed, success on one river will soon be imitated on others.

"Tramways" are a still younger birth than steam flotillas, and we know of them as yet only through prospectus. Already, it would appear that the earliest of these have changed into branch railways; for they adopt the locomotive in preference to horse or bullock power. They nevertheless profess to do things in the most inexpensive way. If they will sternly persevere in this, setting ten or twelve miles an hour as their utmost limit of speed, they may return such certain and large gain that they will spread with great rapidity through all parts of India. We confess to much misgiving, that when once the locomotives are at work, secondary officials of the Government, and other impatient influential travellers, will cry out for express trains, and if the company be highly successful (as if it pay ten per cent., with a large

reserve,) instead of seeing this to be a reason for "leaving well alone," and understanding that large profit is the stimulus to universal imitation, with great blessing to India, they will use it as an argument why the Company should bestow some of their gains on the public—should reconstruct their whole line to bear heavier and far more expensive engines, multiply by two or three their staff of guards, and reduce their gains from ten to four per cent. The danger of this, we fear, is extreme; and it is hard to expect that the Government will ever try to arrest it. Meanwhile, we observe that the Company for Indian Branch Railways, which is to begin with a line of twenty-seven miles, connecting Moorshedabad (the ancient capital of Bengal, still said to possess 200,000 inhabitants) with the main East Indian line at Nulhatee, has received the most liberal sanction and welcome from the Government—a vast change since the days of the Company. Nor is this a solitary mark of the new spirit that is now at last able to arise. We observe that a daily four-horse stage-coach is announced between Lucknow and Cawnpore. The *Allahabad Gazette* states that "Mr. Gower will shortly run his traction-engine" between the same two towns! More important, however, than any single or local effort is the great establishment of Greenway's, at Calcutta, which is to Bengal and the North-west like a Pickford's agency superadded to that of a passengers' conveyance company. It sends luggage by goods train or by bullocks, passengers by *horse* "dawks," where roads admit, in supplement to the rail, from Raneegunj to Peshawur; and just now it is of much importance, as the Government is entering into compromise with the zemindars (or landholders) to free them from the liability to transmit letters by "dawk" through their respective estates, which inflicted a great burden with no commensurate public advantage.

Among the indirect advantages of the change to a new dynasty may be noticed the comparative ease with which public officers can now confess the gross neglects and injustices of the past, than which nothing can more bind them over to reform, or more convince the Indians of their sincerity. We were really surprised at the frankness of confession, almost needless, with which the secretary of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal writes to the British-Indian Association of that province—a body consisting chiefly or solely of native Indian landholders. His subject (Dec. 17th, 1860) was the projected tobacco-tax; his object, to ask advice as to the best *mode* of collecting it; yet he manages to deviate from tobacco into the following remarkable statement:—

"The Lieutenant-Governor is sure that the Association is fully alive to the *crying wants* of these Provinces in roads, bridges, canals, water-

works, public buildings, and public works *of every description*, and he thinks it probable that you have a general knowledge that there is *no* part of India which is *nearly* so backward in these respects as are the Bengal Provinces, whilst *there is no other part of India which responds* to any outlay upon public works, *great or small, so promptly, so surely, and so effectively as these Provinces do*, by reason of their great natural resources . . . . At this moment there is *only one really good road* of any considerable extent complete in all Bengal, Behar, Orissa, Chota, Nagpore, Assam, Arracan, and Cachar (which may be taken as *one-third part* of British India), namely, the Grand Trunk road; and *it is not too much to say that this single work would not have existed if it had not been, by geographical necessity, an inseparable part of the line through the North-West Provinces.*"*

When the London India Reform Society made statements such as this, they were decried as exaggerated and false; but now we have them volunteered by the Government itself. The secretary of the Association not unreasonably replies, that inasmuch as the least bad of the methods of raising any large revenue by tobacco will waste a large part of it by the way, and give rise to endless fraud and oppression, the best plan is to lessen the "systematic" injustice which the Lieutenant-Governor laments in the past; to trust to that "response" which the industry of man and fertility of nature "promptly, surely, and effectively" make to the wise outlay on public works, but to impose no tax at all on tobacco. By the last accounts the Government is likely to act on this advice.

We must here explain that this Association in Bengal has existed ten years as a private body, comparable in some respects to the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, except that the wealth of the members arises from agriculture, not from manufactures or foreign commerce. Its political influence is in some measure neutralized by the counter-association of British settlers; nevertheless, the tone in which the Government consults it shows how much power it has already attained from its intimate acquaintance with the wants and feelings of the country, and the immense value of its co-operation and loyal sympathy. There is no topic of public interest too high or too low to engage its debates and its petitions to the Legislative Council. The Bills introduced into the Council itself are criticised by it, and often petitioned against while passing, and when passed are either applauded, and, as it were, ratified or condemned. In the report of the present year they record their petitions to the Council on the License Bill, the Police Bill (in both of which some of their suggestions were acted on), the Breach of Contract Bill, the Criminal Procedure Bill, the Cattle Trespass Bill, the Stamp Law, the Flogging Bill, the

* Of course the italics are ours.

Rent Bill, besides the questions of finance, the law of libel, and the defective administration of the Calcutta municipality. We cannot but see in the reasoning of these gentlemen how keenly the Bengal mind has taken up the whole subject of political economy—a study in which, as in jurisprudence and legal procedure, it seems eminently made to excel.

Bengal has so long been subject to British rule, and her people are proverbially so unwarlike, that no one has looked for military difficulties to us from this province. The native princes have been the great alarm to such statesmen as Lord Dalhousie, who, apparently despairing of their loyalty, have wished to absorb and pauperize them; hereby converting them into enemies. Perhaps it may soon appear that in no respect whatever is the change from the Company's rule to the Queen's more auspicious than in that which concerns the fundamental relation of the Sovereign power to the native chiefs.

The presentation to the Indian princes of a *personal* sovereign, instead of an impersonal "company," is in itself a most valuable change. To pay homage to Queen Victoria instead of the Great Mogul as *suzerain*, is no humiliation to a Hindoo prince. All are aware that the power of the Mogul, when it was at its highest, was far less than is that of England; and if the permanence of their position is assured—if they are delivered from the suspicion that, one after another, they are destined to be ejected from their dignities and made beggars—a loyal union is by no means impossible. But towards an *anonymous* government (as the French call republics and corporate dynasties) sentiment is difficult to excite. The religious idea of the Sovereign, as a Vicegerent of God, is wholly excluded; as is also the solemn compact of a periodically renewed coronation-oath. The union of the parties, being thus bereft of religious sanction or public oath, may be compared to a matrimonial connexion without nuptial engagements. A dynasty, permanent in a family, is with Indians a familiar object of reverence; but a corporate body is too abstract to excite emotions. Sir John Malcolm has, jocosely or truly, described an Englishman who has vainly tried to explain to an oriental what was the "Deputy Chairman" of the Hon. E. I. C., at last, in despair, to have sought illustration by pointing first to a chair and then to a stool. Whatever the actual power of Sir James Hogg, if the death of Lady Hogg had been announced, no deep feeling could possibly have pervaded India on account of the chairman's wife: but the death of Prince Albert affected the Indian nobles with a sympathy which we cannot see reason for doubting to be sincere. In a chairman, who may be displaced at any time, and who is succeeded by a stranger, there is nothing venerable; and when a company ceases to be mythical, and is

more distinctly understood to consist of proprietors of mercantile shares, no prince is able to expect from them sympathy with his princely rights and dignity, nor can feel loyal submission appropriate. This evil under the Company's rule was lessened by the high rank of our Governors-General, who were ordinarily peers of the British Parliament, and since 1784 direct nominees of the Crown. Yet even so, the entanglement was mischievous: for, to *whom* or *what* were the princes to be loyal? If to the Queen, what was the Company to them? If to the Company, how was the Queen to be their suzerain? Moreover, up to 1857, the Company itself held its right of collecting taxes by a grant from the Great Mogul, who was still its legal suzerain, and therefore, apparently, that of the princes also. That India has been delivered from such a complication, by a convulsion however violent and in itself lamentable, assuredly gives better hopes for the future.

Oude, or (as the natives write it in English letters) *Oudh,* was the most momentous victim to Lord Dalhousie's system of unscrupulous annexation, and joined the war of the mutineers with an enthusiasm entirely national. The task of subduing Oudh was morally dreadful. One might have expected this province to be the permanent hotbed of disaffection, and a future centre of revolt. The good news seems almost too much to believe, that, on the contrary, this very district is likely to vie in loyalty with the most loyal, if indeed it do not prove also the earliest to win political institutions analogous to those of free Europe. We shall lay before our readers such facts as we know concerning it, especially since our public prints, preoccupied with America, Italy, or Turkey, do not seem to have given them publicity. All must remember Lord Canning's proclamation and Lord Ellenborough's censure of it. It is very odd to be now assured, that (so terrible was the tangle of affairs from previous arbitrary measures of Lord Dalhousie) Lord Canning found a sweeping *nominal* confiscation of estates in Oudh to be a step necessary prior to effective restitution; that he wholly agreed with Lord Ellenborough in what some called the ultra-liberalism of the latter, and was bent on achieving a great act of justice. The fact appears to be, that the Talooqdars of Oudh have now regained the position of which Lord Dalhousie, not Lord Canning, deprived them; and are learning with surprise and pleasure what are the constitutional liberties of landholders under the British Crown. Under their native king, they were compared by General Sir W. Sleeman to the barons of our Plantagenets, tumultuous and often able to control the king, yet liable also to many arbitrary proceedings from him. On the 26th March, 1861, they agreed to form themselves into a society which, imitating that of Bengal, they named the

British Indian Association of Oudh. About two hundred Talooqdars (apparently the entire body of the greater landholders), have joined it; and on the 5th November of last year Lord Canning, in replying to an address from them, closed by officially surrendering to them the *Palace of the Kaisar Bagh*, at Lucknow, not only as a place of meeting for the Association, but as a sort of clubhouse, "for their accommodation in visiting the capital." This was coupled only with the condition that they would keep it in repair; a condition without which it could scarcely have been regarded as given to them. That Lord Canning distinctly looked forward to this Association as the germ of a high political chamber, can hardly be doubted by any one who reads his accompanying declaration:—

"It is very desirable that intercourse between the Talooqdars of Oudh and the Local Government should be facilitated. You will derive benefit from the wise and friendly counsels of the Chief Commissioner, and he will have advantage in frequent communication with you."

According to the rules of the Association, every Talooqdar of an undivided estate in Oudh, paying an annual revenue to Government of five thousand rupees and upward, is *ipso facto* reckoned a member. Any native Indian is admissible to joint membership, if elected by a majority of the members. An absent member is allowed to vote and speak (!) by proxy. A committee of thirty, with a quorum of ten, is to carry on current business; but a general extraordinary meeting must be summoned whenever required by twelve members of the Association. For the general expenses, the members are taxed in proportion to their estates.

The first great practical question which they have taken in hand is the suppression of infanticide; and the arguments used naturally turn in part on Hindoo religion; the punishment also which they threaten for the crime is "excommunication from Hindoo society." It is certainly possible that some purification of the national religion, by ejecting vices which have gathered round it in later ages, may give it a new credit, and may seem likely to win a longer life for less obviously immoral or baneful parts of the system. They open their meeting, "according to immemorial usage, by chanting passages from the Vedas in praise of Almighty God;" and they are evidently zealous for caste. These things seem to give us a clue to the contemptuous animosity displayed towards the Association by the *Oudh Gazette*, which perhaps is afraid lest the "excommunications" and the traditional influence of "the mighty Hindoo chiefs of old," whose memory the Association invokes, may become undesirably powerful. But it is evident Lord Canning does not share such fears. We observe that the Association has been moved by the dissent of

one of its eminent members, Rajah Hunmunt Singh, to discuss at large the question of adoption in Talooqas, as recently settled by the Governor-General in council; the result was, the very satisfactory one of approving and ratifying the Government measure. They also at that meeting sent up to the Government four "petitions," which are little else than *bills*, on practical matters, appertaining to law and administration in Oudh. Even without experience of European history, it is easy to see to what such a beginning points.

It is rather curious to observe the very high titles of several of the Talooqdars. The closing title *Singh* is itself grand; but besides, there is *Rajah* in various instances, as in the Bengal Association, and even *Moha Rajah* (great king). Thus there is Rajah Jugmohun Singh, Rajah Prithipal Singh, Rajah Hunmunt Singh, Moharajah Maun Singh, Rajah Hindpal Singh, Moharajah Digbijey Singh, &c. . . . . But most interesting to us is the moral tone of some of the addresses, especially of the Hon. Secretary, Baboo Dukhinarunjun Mookerjee, who speaks as if long and intimately acquainted with the English, and as having a right to instruct and indoctrinate his countrymen concerning us. We learn that he is a highly distinguished man, and has received rewards for services in 1857.

"During the last two years (said he, in the Kaisar Bagh, Nov. 7th, 1861) that I have had the pleasure to sojourn among you, it has been my aim and effort to impress upon you this truth [that 'it boots not *who* holds the sceptre, provided that the chiefs and people are secured in their rights']; as also the fact, that the nation to whom *Ishwar* has entrusted the land of lotus is the most distinguished among the family of *Moonoosha* for heroism and moral excellences of character." . . . . [After quoting their high appreciation of Lord Canning, he adds:] "Where, O my friends, would you have had the good fortune to live under such a Viceroy and such Chief Commissioners . . . . if you had not the proud satisfaction of being British subjects, *which means*, FREEMEN? The annexation of Oudh to Her Majesty's territories made you heirs to the British Constitution; and as being the oldest British subject here present, it devolves upon me to explain to you the benefits of the *raj* we live under. I assure you, brothers, that the gist and purport of the British Constitution is, that the Sovereign is the protector of the life and liberty of the subject; that every officer of the Government . . . . is in duty bound to do his best to fulfil this purpose; and that the Monarch prides [herself] in ruling over freemen. In fact, British law is so zealous to protect the liberty of the people, that it would not permit even the highest subject to injure or molest the lowest. The Sovereign, at the time of Coronation, before the holy ministers of religion and assembled peers of the realm, when he or she is anointed as the Vicegerent of God, takes a solemn oath to protect the lives and liberties of the subject. Hindoostan being a component part of the empire, *our interests*, brethren, *are as dear to our Sovereign*,

to her responsible advisers, and to the Imperial Parliament, as those of the people of the United Kingdom : for in the eye of our Sovereign all subjects are equal. *This,* brethren! *is the great mystery of the prosperity of the British nation.* Wherever its flag asserts its footing (and by the grace of God it has done so in the richest and fairest portion of the globe) this is the invariable rule of governance."

How is it possible to overvalue the importance to us of such a political missionary—an honorary secretary to the Association of the nobles of a province, to whom they listen with respect? The very fact that the Talooqdars of Oudh accept as their Honorary Secretary one eminently loyal to England, one who was rewarded for services in 1857, is very suggestive as to their feelings. If they felt that bitter resentment to the English Government which might naturally have been feared from their enmity in 1857-9, they would abhor Dukhina-runjun as a traitor, and could with perfect safety excommunicate him from their society. Evidently, therefore, a most auspicious commencement has been made. Now is the precious time to confirm the good opinion of Queen Victoria's rule, which is growing up under the influence of Lord Canning's administration. Among its many substantial benefits to the northern provinces (besides its great negative merit of clemency, when so many shrieked for indiscriminate vengeance), possibly none are felt more deeply than the course of policy which it pursued, principally through the steady uprightness of Sir J. P. Grant, Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, towards the British settlers, manufacturers of indigo, wrongly called indigo-planters. Until of late the facts have been so obscured by the misrepresentation of interested parties which the English press (quite innocently, as we believe,) adopted, that it was all but impossible to learn the truth. The deliberate decision of the Home Government, after hearing all that the British settlers had to say in their defence, has finally removed all reasonable doubt: but, in truth, the previous difficulty was, that the conduct ascribed to the indigo-factors, even by missionaries, was too lawless to seem credible. Nor do we now at all imply that *all* were implicated in violence and injustice, such as is unimpeachably attested against *some ;* but it is clear that their system was fundamentally unsound, and could have none but a violent end.

A sugar refiner in India buys the canes of the producers at the market price, and is always welcome; nor has any native ever complained of being "forced" to cultivate sugar. If the indigo-factor did the same, he would have been equally popular. But his procedure was to make contracts beforehand, which stipulated how much indigo was to be delivered to him, and at what price; and if he observed that it was not growing, or not on the best land, he often sent his own servants to plough up the peasant's

land and sow the indigo *by force!* Out of this arose fights, wounds, and slaughter. Sir J. P. Grant, to the astonishment and indignation of the indigo-factors, laid down, that if the peasant had violated a civil contract, he must be sued for it in the civil court; but in no case must the indigo purchaser become himself a *planter* by violence on the lands of another. This was the more urgent, on moral as well as technical grounds, because the peasants alleged,—some of them, that they had made *no* contract and received *no* advance of money; but a bag of money was thrown into their house, or a fraudulent arrear of debt was imputed to them as money advanced; others said, that they had made the contract under compulsion, having been kidnapped, and starved and beaten till they consented. As in the case of torture for Government revenue, the great Englishman of course knew nothing of the details. The servants were wise enough not to tell the master too much: he learned that the peasant had somehow been induced to make the contract, and he was satisfied. The general fact, so very notable, was, that the collective peasantry cried out, *not* to be allowed to break their contracts, as the British settlers alleged, *but,* not to be forced to make contracts, a thing difficult to us to conceive occurring. Sir J. P. Grant, early in 1860, proposed and carried in the Legislative Council, "An Act to enforce the fulfilment of Indigo Contracts," in the immediate interest of the British settlers; which, though regarded by the natives as arbitrary and unjust, was yet accepted with a certain satisfaction as part of the process which is for ever to free them from this oppression. Their unwillingness to plant indigo has been on the increase for eight years, through a remarkable rise of price in food and in oil-seeds, which makes other cultivation more profitable. But until Sir J. P. Grant stood up so stanchly for them—a conduct which the English press at the time totally misunderstood and unjustly vilified—they did not know that justice was to be had of the magistrates, this being a thing quite out of their experience!!

We fear that the controversy is not yet at an end; for we read in Indian papers of December last, that under an old law, those who "abetted" breach of indigo contracts are made liable to pay the full amount of damages for others; and Sir J. P. Grant is quoted as having himself recommended that a whole village should be held answerable for breach of indigo contract by any of its members. That Lord Elgin and the Home Government, by pertinacious justice, will at last break through all these difficulties, we cannot find it in our hearts to question.—Since writing the above, we have received an April paper, in which we read with pleasure, that the deputation from the Chamber of Commerce in Calcutta (*i.e.*, from the British settlers) which waited on Lord

Elgin to welcome him, pointedly avowed, glancing at the indigo question,—"Nothing that injures the well-being of the people at large can benefit *us*; and we ask for no privileges for ourselves which we are not prepared to advocate as well for *them*." Lord Elgin's reply was in the enlightened, firm, and impartial tone worthy of himself, and of her Majesty's representative.

All India is in a transition state, and the changes are likely to be very rapid. The three-halfpenny post, introduced by Lord Dalhousie, will be more effective hereafter, when more people can write and when the mail is quickened by railroads. Nevertheless to the commercial community it is already a great boon, and it is made greater by the recent issuing of Government bank-notes. Whether these will wholly supersede the need of a gold currency, for which Sir Charles Trevelyan was anxious, we are not able to judge; but a system of notes would rather seem to call for gold currency as their complement, in order to secure that the paper shall be convertible in a large number of principal towns, silver being too cumbrous for all but small amounts. Everything that denotes the Government to be sparing its resources, will aid to sustain confidence on the part of the Indian public; which also adds new importance to Mr. Laing's procedure,—his having remitted taxes the moment it appeared that they were not essential to the treasury. Every step in this direction facilitates after progress, and happily the Queen's Government both here and in India understand the conditions of success. If they do but refrain from war and overcome that nightmare of Perso-Russian invasion, all is in excellent train for the future.

Mr. Hodgson Pratt, who writes earnestly on a special subject,—that of University Education *in England* for natives of India,—uses strong expressions concerning some most crying evils: the enormous deficiency of magistrates, and the dreadful state of the police; which he calls, "the worst police in the world." Inasmuch as this has been confessed and deposed to the Committee of the House of Lords, and is beyond contradiction, there is no more direct benefit which private members of Parliament can render to India than by often and closely interrogating what measures have been used and what success attained in improving the police and the magistracy: for, so grave and deep-seated is the difficulty, the tendency with every Government will be to postpone it indefinitely.* This very matter exposes the monstrous

* We leave the above as we wrote it (Mr. H. P.'s pamphlet was dated 1860). But we have since received the congratulatory words of the British Indian Association on the New Police Bill, which we have pleasure in here quoting. "One of the most important measures passed by the Legislative Council last session was the Bill for the reorganization of the police throughout the

fallacy of inveighing against the wickedness of the natives as a reason for not putting natives into high office. If it were possible to administer the government without natives, the argument, however false, would not break down of itself. But we have *always* invested natives with fearful power, and precisely under circumstances which have pushed to a maximum the temptation to abuse it. The natives who have wielded the enormous executive power of the British Government, are mean persons, invisible through their smallness, miserably paid, yet able to bind and to loose, to torment in shocking and nameless ways, to harass, to threaten, and by all such means to extort money for themselves. No nation, however depraved, *can* have an interest in the injustices of the Executive; the free press of India is sure to be a vigilant controller of the police, and can never fail of success, except when that police is supported by some incompetent Englishman, who is powerful to obstruct, and dreads inquiry into the conduct of his subordinates. Incompetent men, as we well know in England, cannot always be avoided; but to eject them is easy, *except* when they have aristocratic support: so in India, where every Englishman is one of a high aristocracy, the ejection of incompetent natives is easy, of incompetent Englishmen very difficult. Nothing is clearer than that the detection of crime and unravelling of truth in conflicting testimony is the task of which, all the world over, foreigners are least capable. The direction therefore in which the Indian administration ought here to move is clear.

But this topic leads us to remark on the grave deficiency introduced into the Indian Civil Service Examinations, by moulding them on the Cambridge pattern, and confining them to "paper-work." If the object were to ascertain which among the candidates would prove able to write dispatches in the most elegant or forcible style, there might be sense in the method; but what we most need is the living use of languages in hearing and speaking. Every one who has ever so small experience in the matter is aware that some young men have much aptitude with the pen and book, but great deficiency in ear and tongue; and conversely, that very many who will gain no honours in a paper examination, who need to be drawn out by a practical case, have superior facility and acuteness in the acquisition of a living tongue. One who is to become a magistrate, or a judge of evidence, needs to be quick in catching the various tones of provincial speech, which

country. The committee hailed it as an important instalment of administrative reform; but, referring to that part of the Bill which related to Bengal, they made certain suggestions for the preservation and integrity of the Village Watch, which, they are glad to add, were duly embodied."

is an entirely different talent from that of the learned editor of a corrupt Sanscrit or Greek poem. To display the very highest powers of the *littérateur* gives no promise whatever of the practical ability wanted by a magistrate. Mr. Macaulay, in his great speech of 1833, does indeed hint that he is dissatisfied with English education for English purposes; yet he shows an astonishing want of perception that the "superiority" of mind which is tested by an abstract examination is not the same thing as superiority for the public service. He says:—

"If the Ptolemaic system were taught at Cambridge instead of the Newtonian, the senior wrangler would nevertheless be in general a superior man to the wooden spoon. If, instead of learning Greek, we learned Cherokee, the man who understood the Cherokee best, who made the most correct and melodious Cherokee verses, who comprehended most accurately the effect of the Cherokee particles, would generally be a superior man to him who was destitute of these accomplishments."

His frank comparison of Greek to Cherokee, of an examination in high mathematics or in chemistry to an examination in astrology and alchymy, might with greater force have been used by one who was seriously refuting instead of defending the method. If no examination into the candidate's acquisition of an Indian language, or his power of acquiring *some* living language, were possible; then, and then only, would there be room for the argument which Macaulay used in 1833, and deliberately reprinted in 1854. But, we ask, why may not a candidate be examined before a native, in the language required of him, by word of mouth? Why may not the examiner imitate the tones and words of peasants in one or another province, and try what quickness is discovered in understanding, as well as what power of speech is attained? The highest of all difficulties to the foreigner is to distinguish words spoken ill, carelessly, provincially; to be keen-eared and quick-minded for this, may not denote that "superiority" which would have made a man eminent as an astrologer or alchymist, but (if men *will* go abroad to be magistrates) is here far more to the purpose than any acquaintance with Sanscrit or Arabian poems. In fact, it may reasonably be held, that an English youth who has attained a really living knowledge of *French* in all its provincialities (considering how different are its sounds from ours) exhibits a cultivation of ear far more valuable for one whose future course is that of an Indian judge or magistrate than all the lore, not only of mathematics but even of languages, which can possibly be tested by a mere paper-examination.

We cannot leave the subject without a complaint of the cruel perversity which solicits Indian youths to study *Chaucer* and the

English literature before Shakspeare, with a view to satisfy the Civil Service Examination. It might seem incredible that examiners can seriously intend to carry out the object designed by Parliament: such pedantry may seem impossible. Surely they must be secretly trying to undermine the system by making it ridiculous! A young Indian who talks English beautifully, understands it when spoken or written, and can write a letter without a pause or a fault, arrives in London, desiring to compete for a post in the Indian Service, and asks advice what studies he had better add to his two or three native languages, his elementary political economy and mathematics. He is told that to get marks, he must acquit himself well in Greek, Latin, the Calculus, Arabic, or Sanscrit; but as to English, he must be able to pass an examination in Chaucer, &c. The result is, that instead of throwing his strength into jurisprudence, political economy, the rules of administration, and the recent history of the English Empire, he is tempted to study Sanscrit and perhaps Arabic, neither of which will add anything whatever of practical efficiency to one who is already perfect in Hindoostanee and Bengalee or Mahratee, and plunges himself into the antiquities of the English language or long past history, which are a profound mystery to nine-tenths of the English Parliament and Cabinet. This competition moreover, it was pretended, would judiciously fulfil the pledge of Parliament in 1833, to admit natives into the high ranks of the Civil Service.

To pronounce the number, *one hundred and seventy millions* (!) suffices to assure us that India must, in fact, be administered by Indians: England can only afford the high policy, the guiding principles, the modes of control. For success in our task, the education of India is vitally important; the Government in fact knows this, and the intelligent natives call aloud for it. On the arrival of Lord Elgin in India, the native press, after the first salutations and civilities, pronounced national education on a greater scale to be the measure by which the new Viceroy ought to signalize his career. Mr. Laing has distinctly promised an increase of the Government grant, and where such is the goodwill in high quarters no more words may seem needful. Nevertheless, so different is the state of England, so timid and poor is our domestic idea of national education, (not as to the amount of things taught, but as to the extent of persons taught,) that we wish to press the topic. Far bolder and more ambitious schemes ought to be taken in hand than modern Europe dreams of. We must look across the Atlantic, to Yankeeland or to California, if we would find a type of the public education which India needs. The religious quarrel cripples us in England. In India, as in America, no sane man would think of advising any but what is called secular

instruction in Government schools; and this very circumstance clears the field, and removes a thousand practical difficulties involved in the mixed system of Ireland. As in Massachusetts or in California (a state about twelve years old), so in India, every child should have a *right* of free instruction. The topics taught in primary schools would of course be very few: we should define the principal to be, reading and writing the native language *in English characters*, political geography, and the simplest laws of political economy. The object should not be to impart much knowledge, but to infuse a belief in the worth of knowledge, and impart a power to receive it in after-life. It is not the *treasure* which we are to give, but the *key*, and the will to use it. Native literature, founded upon the English, will everywhere abound in the form of very cheap weekly papers, if only there is once a vast body of natives able to read them. Evidently, any system should be introduced tentatively, in district after district, beginning with those where population is dense and the local community not unable to pay: for *it must ultimately rest on local taxation or on local benefactions*. The case of America demonstrates that every community will willingly pay for this purpose when the instruction is of such a kind as the people feel to be of value, and where it is so arranged as to cheapen mental attainment to every rank. More on the subject would not be here in place, except to add that normal schools for governesses and female school-teachers are an urgent want of India, which the Government, if ever so desirous, probably could not supply from India itself: but if the Queen's Ministers would here take the initiative of urging the English public to meet this want of India by a voluntary society, a great work, in our belief, might be accomplished. It is the backward state of the women which chiefly detains Bengal in deplorable superstition.

Of course we shall be told by Mr. Beveridge, and by others in great multitude, that there is no cure for Indian superstition but Christianity. To this, on our side, we have nothing to say, but that *if* the Indians would become Christians, we should heartily rejoice. At the same time, the information which we get from the missionaries themselves results in this—that no great effect is produced by them on the natives, *except* by their secular instruction, which is often very efficient and highly valued. We add, that if India ever do become Christian, it will in all probability startle Europe by some portentous heresy, perhaps by reproducing something already stigmatized in ecclesiastical history, say, as Gnosticism or Valentinianism. Single converts may be absorbed by the vortex of Anglican orthodoxy; but if the intellect of Bengal came over in mass into the Christian name (of course by the influence of native teachers), it would inevitably

shape for itself widely different dogmas from those of Luther or Cranmer.

In this connexion we ought perhaps briefly to state, that the movement of mind which English literature and science have begun in India, distinctly shows itself already in religious thought. The Parsees in Bombay are shaking off, not only the superstitions they had picked up in India, but some of their truly ancestral weaknesses. They fall back on their ancient and noble monotheism, which is in many respects parallel to that of the Hebrew nation, but begin to drop its burdensome ceremonial observances. The cultivation of their women is recognised as right, and is practically commenced, though they are sorely crippled by the want of female teachers. In the North-west and in Madras, we understand, there is much patriotic desire of cultivation; but in Bengal, over and above, a religious movement is at work in the society or churches founded by Ram-mohun Roy, called *Brahmo Somaj*, (Church of God?). Bareilly in Rohilcund is the westernmost city in which a monotheistic church of this order has arisen. In January last a like institution was planted in Lucknow, with initiatory ceremonies of a noble simplicity which called forth high eulogy from the (English) editor of the *Oudh Gazette* :—

"A public renunciation of Brahminism," says he, "designating the Brahmin's asserted powers and authorities as Brahminical deceits—*and from this élite Hindoo society too*—is a most important epoch in the current history of Oudh. If we could dot all India over with a man here and there, true to believe, and bold enough to avouch, the simple, yet beautiful doctrines of the Lucknow Brahmo Somaj, the work of evangelization in India would be comparatively an easy one."

We will try to define more pointedly what is the most widespread national advantage which *England* may reap from her governmental connexion with India. The general benefits of commerce with India may be enjoyed by France, if she please, as much as by England: we shall not dwell on this. But there is one form of commerce (if so it may be called), one exchange of *quid pro quo*, of which England stands in great need, yet which is always hard to keep up with any country which is under a foreign government. England is emphatically a producer of *new capital* year by year; and she greatly needs profitable investments. Let our readers beware of being misled into the notion that low interest denotes prosperity, as the phraseology of "City articles" may imply. As reasonably may one believe that a "flat," "sinking," "dull" market (*i.e.* a low price) of corn is to be regretted. The more profitable is human industry (other things remaining the same), the higher the profits of capital, and the higher the interest of money. We need hardly add, that a high interest

occasioned by risk has nothing desirable; let the allowance for the risk be deducted before you estimate what is the real return. But it is a fact, that when a marriage settlement is made in Massachusetts, where risk is as carefully excluded as in a like transaction with us, six per cent. is as familiarly counted on as four per cent. with us. The difference to a community is immense. A chief reason which keeps classes of men improvident is the insufficient reward of abstinence. The great reason why a factory girl or household servant in Manchester will not save, and a "young lady" of the Lowell mills saves as of course, is, that the former does not find the self-denial to be worth her while, the margin for saving being small, and the interest very low. If wages were doubled, and workmen were unable to get above three to four per cent. for their savings, they would still save but litle. The middle classes, which by trade can get higher interest, have a motive for saving: so have the richer, whose savings can be considerable, though their interest is at a low rate. The rate of interest, as the rate of wages, is often said to tend to uniformity; but this *tendency* is practically thwarted by numerous impediments, and especially by the dread of foreign agents and law courts and hostile governments, besides the greatly increased difficulty of discriminating in a foreign country what investments are safe. A part of the English community has invested large funds in American railways, without which interest might be still lower than it is. It is possible that the recent panic as to war with the United States may discourage investers, or the rise of taxation may hurtfully restrict industry. At this moment it is already beneficial to the English public that the Government entices investments into Indian rails by its guarantees. India is a field almost unlimited, offering prodigious rewards to judicious enterprise; and may for a long time take up for use all that England can lend her, as well as all that she can produce herself. From the density of her population, the profit resulting from great works is higher than can accrue in new colonies; also the nature of her climate, if only irrigation be afforded, puts her on a par with the possessors of a virgin soil. India does not want immigrants from England, except as directors of her industry: she wants our capital and our knowledge. Through the facilities now offered for the purchase of waste lands, Indian officials will be tempted rather to invest their savings in India itself than to send them to Europe. On the moral benefits of this we have not space to dwell; but these residents will be the pioneers to more extensive and powerful English companies, over and above the works which the Government may see reason to guarantee. The vast backcountry of America has given to the United States *two* industrial benefits—new "homesteads" for their population—

and a perpetual spring of profitable returns from any possible amount of new capital. Of these two benefits, India can give us the latter. If she become a field into which the overflowings of English capital systematically determine themselves, not only will India rise into unprecedented prosperity, but it is possible that the "proletarians" of England will have the means of vying in prosperity with the workmen of the United States. Happily, we have more strings than one to our bow. The Co-operative Societies, such as Rochdale and Leeds originated, have shown a new road to the British workman: nor do we for a moment suppose that complex evils have a single cure. Nay; but because our evils are deep and complex, we cannot afford to despise any relief, moral or industrial. Hitherto India has poured in upon England, in the shape of pensions and miscellaneous payments, more capital than can be proved ever to have been advanced to her. If now an opposite current set in—such as would not be possible were not Queen Victoria Empress of Hindostan—the new process will be more natural and reasonable, more beneficial to both countries.

Although we may somewhat have overrun our limits, we are unwilling to close without a word against a doctrine of spurious liberalism (such we venture to pronounce it) which commands us to surrender "India to the Indians;" as if we had no duties to India as yet unfulfilled and waiting their completion. Until lately, this might have seemed the fond fancy of a few eccentric men only; but during the American struggle the doctrine has been repeated dogmatically over the breadth of the land, and been so echoed by the press and in company, as to put us out of breath with amazement—that widely extended dominion is unnatural, artificial, untenable; that a seacoast 2000 miles long under one power is an injurious monopoly; that a State containing nations of very diverse temperament can only be held together by force, and is not worth holding; and more to the same effect. Of course, if any of this is true, our Indian Empire is a portentous and guilty folly. The whole question might deserve a full development. We here can only say, that centralization of Austrian type, which tries to make a clean sweep of all local and national diversities, is pernicious and suicidal of course, and is not here concerned. But where local freedom is honourably cherished, and only so much is yielded up to the central power as will secure the parts of an empire from intestine war, and enable it to present to the foreigner a single front of defence, its benefits are most precious to the citizens of that empire. Great and small are relative words: to those who live under railways and electric telegraphs, what *was* the unwieldiness of a vast dominion vanishes entirely. It is not large and compact territories, like India, Russia, and America,

that are fitly called unwieldy, but outlying dominions, whether on land, as with Prussia, or as the insular possessions of England. These are a constant anxiety, and vast source of expense and of weakness, as indeed are all petty sovereignties. Nor only so; but the vaster and the more diverse in character are the parts of a great empire, the less is its policy to be feared, as possibly unjust, by other great powers, if only its own members possess a fully developed freedom. A despotism like that of Old Spain might remorselessly sacrifice in some ambitious war the welfare of a remote province; but when this can no longer be done, war will not only be taken out of the hand of cabinets and of secret diplomacy, but will be regarded—as it ought to be—as the execution of a *judicial* process. A partial homogeneous local community has partial interests: a war for its interests is very apt to be a war for injustice, or to be carried beyond what justice requires or admits. But the parts of a complex and wide empire have no interests whatever in common, except the interests of justice. It cannot in general be just to its own members, except by practising justice to the world without: hence its growth in magnitude, if accompanied by internal freedom in all the parts, gives to it (taken for all in all) a more and more friendly aspect to the world at large.

There is something sublime and godlike in the idea of a power so great that it can never have any interest except in justice. Whatever is infinite works out its own harmony: and in human affairs it appears to be ordained, that vastness, in struggling to exist, must struggle for moral law, if it have any intelligence. We are far from venturing to assert that England has attained this majestic position; we know, alas, that towards weak states, whose hostility does not convulse the empire, her rulers can again and again plunge into unjust war at their private will. But in her aspect towards all first-rate powers, the very diverse interests of our most heterogeneous empire bind over the central administration, under the heaviest responsibilities, to maintain a moderate, impartial, peaceful conduct, except when the honour of the whole absolutely demands war. It is by the growth of such world-wide powers that intestine and futile wars are stopped, peaceful relations are multiplied a hundredfold, and a foundation is prepared for the ultimate rise of tribunals which shall authoritatively decide the disputes of nations.*

* The afflicting news of Lord Canning's death comes suddenly upon us. Time and space forbid more at present than in one line to record our grief, in which the whole empire will share.

Art. VI.—Celebrated Literary Friendships.

Celebrated Friendships. By Mrs. Thompson, Author of "Memoirs of the Duchess of Marlborough," "Life of George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham," &c. &c. 2 vols. London: James Hogg and Sons. 1861.

THERE is a certain healthy parasitic element in human nature. Few men, and fewer women, can remain contentedly within the limits of their own personality. That serenely self-complacent, self-righteous, and self-central humanity, of which we hear so much from a certain class of people, has had scarcely ever a dead ideal or a complete living representative in the history of the civilized world. Men are perpetually growing and clinging upon others, and submitting to be overgrown and embraced in their turn. Borrow and lend, receive and bestow, is the silent and subtle law that makes even society itself possible. We sacrifice our individuality to become citizens, and in the confluence and attrition of social life, the atom becomes a nucleus, the rough block a bas-relief, and the Herma an Apollo. Some men are moved to do this by their instinct, others by their philosophy, and all by their humanity. No sooner are we thrown off, as it were, into the universe, than we seek for points of attachment and centres of radiation. Home, birthplace, race, nationality, friends, are so many external necessities in maintaining our nature, identity, and happiness. The imagination of endless space seems so crushing that we seek beyond ourselves for forces of resistance, and time so transient that we continually wander after objects which may respond to our longing for the permanent. We make landmarks wherever we journey; we shelter behind persons, phrases, and abstractions, and bind down and beautify each other with the graceful festoons of affectionate association. To overcome our tendency to speciality we grow universal, catholic, and cosmopolitan; to maintain our identity we are forced into narrowness, centripetence, and limitation. The slim letter I that denotes our personality stands more securely, we think, when its base is extended into the initial letter of love, and spreads itself more majestically when it shapes the symbol of a friend. Regarded in this light, there is a certain beautiful necessity in genuine human attachments. We say genuine, because every one, no matter how weak and foolish, will have formed some, and every witling seems to feel himself entitled to rhapsodize upon their bane and

beneficence. We can never be, to misuse a military phrase, in the state called "unattached," for we are too often glad enough to link ourselves one to another, and take life-trips in any given direction. The tendency is so obvious that few will deny it, and often so vehement that few can resist it. We rush into solitude, but it only throws us back upon the points we have forsaken, and as there are many things which we can never properly estimate until we are without them, it is in the silence of our voluntary exile that we most genuinely appreciate the din of the agora and the converse of our friends. The antagonism is very healthy. Solitude and society are always endeavouring to checkmate each other, and never succeed. Men have secluded themselves in desert, cave, and city, and cheated themselves into an illusive friendlessness, when lo, they have either made a friend of some entity, or transformed into a familiar for themselves a fawn, pigeon, or poodle! Even Jean Paul found his studies in the *Fichtelgebirge* get on better when he had *Spitz*—his "dog-star"—with him, and Goethe's drama of Faust would be dreary enough without the transmigrated quadruped.

We cannot separate these two conditions without harm. Rousseau, in the Val de Montmorenci, gnawing out his own heart by piecemeal, and growing suspicious of every one, or glaring at Hume one moment, to be embracing him in tears the next; and the typical American, shattered by business cares and social follies, who seeks at last what his countryman calls the "fool's paradise" of travelling, "carrying ruins to ruins,"—are extremes which nature teaches us to avoid. To establish our sanity we must blend the two medium and healthy conditions. By solitude we do not necessarily mean anything ascetically extravagant, but a studious privacy or solitary apartment; and when we speak of society, we use the word in its most comprehensive sense, as a communion with others, be they equals or inferiors. From "my own apartment," our early essayists dated their best compositions, and the wise man makes it his *centrum centrorum*. Jean Paul said it was to him a "spiritual Brunnen hall, full of medicinal water;" Pythagoras crushed down a whole book into a sentence, when he said, "In the morning—solitude;" and Emerson is not far from the truth when he states that, "the high advantage of university life is often the mere mechanical one of a separate chamber and fire." In society we are puzzled to discriminate between acquaintances and friends; in solitude we make our distinctions and elect our peers. We are always in danger of being disintegrated by one or the other. If William Gilbert, who lost his sanity in an outburst of universal sociality, had never written a finer thought than that a man who might be a "mock at Tattersall's" and a "sneer at St. James's," and "swallowed alive by the

first Pizarro that crossed him," could still feel an "imperial exaltation" by the Amazon, the Andes, and the Pacific, he had established his claim to be remembered as something more than the son of a philanthropist, the author of the "Hurricane," and the friend of Cottle, Southey, and Coleridge. It has been well said, that to be contented with unbroken solitude a man must be either a wild beast or a god; but we should also add, that he who is supremely contented with society as it is, is either an idiot or a dolt. We are nurtured and polished by these healthy alternations; one is necessary to completeness of purpose and symmetry of character, and the other is helpful in restraining our aberrations, recovering our practicality, and stimulating our intelligence. Solitude has many mirrors, in which, perhaps, we only repeat and magnify ourselves, and society many faces, in most of which we may discern the lineaments of a friend.

Common men are good exemplars of these correlative forces, but great men are better. We may dabble in geology in a garden, but we must study it in the mine and by the hill. Great men are the recurring standards of the possibilities of human nature, and lift up the general line of level with every sweep and swell. They are not mere microscopical exaggerations of particular qualities and gifts, but outgrowths that help us to comprehend the general features of humanity. It is to these men, therefore, in their universal relatedness, that we must look for the noblest solution of the problem of social and individual life, and the most harmonious adjustment of the tragic powers of solitude and the humanizing claims of society. All great men are eminently solitary and eminently sociable. We admit the paradox, but we cannot afford to miss the truth. They move in an upper world, whither few can reach them, and whence they rarely descend. Yet even the solitude of a great man is a kind of society, and his society a kind of solitude. In the one he draws other minds into the sphere of his own attraction, and in the other he throws them back again upon their own. When asked to go to Rome, Dante said, "If I stay, who will go? if I go, who will stay?" The shallow man, busied in the common affairs of life, and looking at every thing through the slit that communicates with his till, has no time to balance these twin forces, and is perpetually drifting away anywhither in an ice-pack of petty circumstantialities. But the man who passes a good deal of his life in the sadness of his own companionship and the exaltations of his own mind, is no sooner surprised into society than he brims over with the largesse of kindly sympathy, and sheds an influence around him that would people the dimmest void with his own kith and kin. As he feels more strongly the influence of one force, so he yields more graciously to the benignity of the other. He relates the two facts to

each other at their proper focus, and discovers for us that what we miss in company we gain alone, and that what we gather to ourselves makes us richer the more we spend it upon our fellows.

The friendships of great men are their truest autobiographies. Here is no gloss, no flattery, no speciousness, no jesuitical reservation. "Every painter draws himself well," said Michael Angelo, with fine irony, to a painter in whose picture there was an ox painted better than anything else. We can see the harshness, trifling, and tricksicalities of Socrates without alarm in the impressions of Alcibiades, and discern in Pope a more genuine man as he leans on the arm of the warm-hearted, versatile Bolingbroke. There have of late been many adventures in the way of single portraits in various styles, either drawn by an admiring friend, or sat for and etched by the writer himself in the cloudy verbosities of a diary. Literature has suddenly arrived at a spurious self-consciousness, and a weak kind of Plutarchism is the fashion of the hour. History looks well in these niches and colonnades, but only when some master-mind is evident in their boldness and beauty. But to let men write their lives without telling us where they were born, who were their fathers, grandmothers, and schoolmasters—to set them before us without an inventory or entomological collection of any kind, is a novelty which deserves the highest commendation and demands the most thorough accomplishments. To the friend who originated the idea of the "Celebrated Friendships" our best thanks are due, although no such an intent as we have glanced at is in any way apparent; and to Mrs. Thompson, who has done her best to follow it out, we are still more indebted, even if we should question whether she has proved herself equal to the task, or declare that she has only served to show upon points where she evidently fails how much there is yet to be done by those who will accept her leadership and can supply her deficiencies. In the compass of a few pages it is impossible we should do this, were we able, willing, or even ambitious of trying, and we shall therefore acknowledge her guidance and assistance, and endeavour to touch upon one of the more interesting aspects opened by such a comprehensive subject. Already we have hinted at certain common conditions and forces, and established a sort of ground-plan for what there is to follow, although we are sensible of having by no means seized upon all the approaches to so great a theme.

In the outset we may premise that there is yet no complete theory of friendship, nor do we see that there can well be any. Friendship is in that like insanity, which betrays you into inconsistencies the moment you endeavour to frame a definition that shall comprehend all its varieties, but is intelligible enough when

viewed in its individual specialities. Many writers, in most countries, have endeavoured to catch the fleeting shades of character and sentiment that might assist in forming something like a complete image of it, and with variable results. It was left to Greece to produce the most splendid examples and elaborate the nearest theoretical approximations. Nowhere can we find such heroic, tender, and truthful friendships, as in the life of that noble race and the history of that glorious country. A drama of Calderon and a tragedy of Æschylus are not greater in their contrasts than the natural and manly unions of Greece when compared with the soberer ones of modern times. Much might be owing to the condition of women, but more certainly to the noble virtue of the men, who seem to have been born in pairs and fostered into heroic companionship. We need not mention names: let them be for us as the unnamed demigods of the vestibule. We owe to Plato the most successful endeavour to grasp the idea of friendship in its highest form, and in the Banquet, by the aid of his dramatic art, he has caught up some of the most important elements in the general idea. Phædrus attempts to express the relations of the passion, and esteems the lover more godlike than the loved. Pausanias takes up another part, and discriminates between the love which is base and that which should be gratified. It is not to the interest of rulers, he says, that strong friendships should be formed, lest in creating a high state of virtue their own authority should be dissolved. Eryximachus follows in the same strain, comparing love, or friendship, to the rhythm and harmony of music. The mythological view is stated by Aristophanes, who, laying down as a first principle that we should first know the nature of man, gravely narrates the story of the Hermaphrodites who were bisected for their ambition. Love is, therefore, the longing for re-union, or original entirety, and he hints that those who are still further disobedient, run the risk of being again cleft in twain, so as to go about with noses split down, like those who are modelled on pillars in profile. Agatho diverts the current, and says love is like approaching like, and a yearning for the beautiful and the best. Socrates succeeds, and with his usual irony, plays with Agatho's speech. If love desire love, the strong man strength, the swift man swiftness, and the healthy man health, is it not absurd? He then relates his instructions from Diotima, wherein love is unimpersonated, and shown to be a common term for many different species. We make it a god, but it is rather, she says, the longing to create and generate through other minds and persons, so as to preserve ourselves, our name, and even ensure our immortality. It is the interpretive power in the mind, whereby we perceive and ascend from one beautiful object to another, from beauty of body to

beauty of soul, and hence to beauty of pursuit and doctrine, until we arrive at the single one relating to beauty in the abstract. The dialogue is concluded by Alcibiades, who details the power of his friend Socrates over himself.

A friend is, therefore, a lover. Plato knew of no such degraded rendering as we are too apt to give it, nor do we even find it used in the modern sense by our own older writers. Shakspeare makes Brutus use the term lovers with the strictest propriety in his address, although he puts into the mouth of Antony the synonyme, friends. When he confesses that he slew Cæsar, as his body is brought past, he also says, "I slew my best *lover* for the good of Rome." Etymologically, this use of the word is really a right one. In the Anglo-Saxon the word friend (from *frian* or *freon*, to love) means a lover, and expresses an affection which is pure, unsexual, and worthily bestowed; and our word love, like the Latin *diligere*, is derived from a root (AS. *hlif-ian*, to take up, or prefer), which implies selection, and in neither of them is there any hint of the distinction commonly made between love for a woman and friendship for a man. The degradation of the term is significant of the degradation of the state. So long as we keep the standard low a very dwarf can reach it, and so long as we cannot be civil without being friendly, and have never the the courage to say "I do desire we may be better strangers," as Orlando said to Jacques, the decadence is inevitable. The Romans had a phrase, *exquisitissimæ comitatis cœnam dare* (treating one frankly and courteously at supper), which might very well pass current for the more common estimate made of friendship by those who lower it into a mere house, meat, and fire arrangement, a commercial compact, or a state of consanguinity. Nay, there are others who would establish their claim to your friendship by that giving of good advice when it is too late—that cuffing you in misfortune, and that love which pities but does not help, which the Hindus very wittily call monkey-sympathy. But real friendship is something nobler and holier. It is no mere efflorescence of sentiment. There is both intellect and virtue in it; we may call it the correction of the head and the expansion of the heart, the culture of the beautiful and the pursuit of the best. Perhaps we cannot fathom all Plato's thought in the matter, if it were indeed necessary that we should run to the other extreme, and be transcendental because others are descendental; but in that he has given, as we think, the death-blow to many vulgar notions and the incessant harping upon like and like, he has done us good service. There are so many elements in a genuine friendship that we cannot name them. Where there is a great similarity of tastes, we frequently find differences of character, and where the moral and mental disposi-

ions are the same, the tastes are antagonistic. Some degree of healthy contrast seems thoroughly essential in sustaining any degree of balance and dignity, and some common plane or common direction of life in preventing too wide a divergence. Rousseau's definition of friendship is, the same sentiments, different opinions. A man can view himself almost objectively through the medium of his friend, and correct eccentricities, restore the poise of his individuality, and come forth from this incessant chip of the hammer and the chisel, free from the nodes of accident and the deformities of ignorance. There is not only a union of counterparts but a grafting of opposites. Each thinks he holds the other, yet they are two foci with a common revolution. Hence the relations of friendship exhibit many a paradox, parallel, and parabola. Friendship, in fine, is not proved by amount of correspondence or even conversation. It may exist without very numerous occasions of showing it, and many endearing relations may be sustained with little more than the unique South American salutation of 'Thou?' 'Yes.' A man's best friends come to him without bell or advertisement.

> To the feast of the good, will go
> The good of their own accord.

Friendship is best shown by examples. Our first shall be that of Socrates and Alcibiades. Surely here is a great contrast. A brave, handsome, vain, dressy, impulsive, and fast young Grecian, and an ugly, stoical, logical, plain-spoken, austere, and semi-sceptical philosopher. How they came to be upon terms of equality, we do not know, but it was during the campaign against Potidæa, in which both bore arms, that they messed together and became firm friends, Socrates afterwards saving the life of Alcibiades at great risk of his own. Alcibiades was changeful, giddy, and irresolute; and yet Socrates never taunts him with a disclosure of his vices, and only assails him on the question of his beauty, to show him that intellect is more beautiful than person, and that to obtain beautiful things instead of a reputation for them is to exchange brass for gold. Charmed by these golden images, as he calls them, Alcibiades thought that he must soon do whatever Socrates ordained, but he left him only to run astray as before, and flit like a ghost between noble resolves and bitter repentances. The contrast of his friend operated most strongly upon him, and how he managed to become what he was, remains rather mysterious after his own declarations. "For when I hear him," he is made to say in the Banquet, "my heart leaps much more than that of the Corybantes; and my tears flow through his discourses. I see too many others suffering in the same way. . . . But by this Marsyas here (a celebrated musical

satyr to whom Alcibiades had compared Socrates), I am so often affected, that it appears to me I ought not to live while I am in such a state. You will not, Socrates, say this is not true; and even now I feel conscious that, were I willing to lend him my ears, I could not bear it, but should suffer in the very same way, for he would compel me to confess that, being yet very deficient, I neglect my own affairs, but attend to those of the Athenians. By violence, therefore, restraining myself as to my ears, I depart from him, flying, as it were, from the Sirens, lest I should sit there by him until I grew old." To view their intercourse aright, however, the reader should carefully peruse the first and second Alcibiades, where more is given than we can find room for here. As an illustration of Diotima's teaching, this friendship is very remarkable; nevertheless, how Socrates should have done so much for his friend, and should have yet done no more, is very inexplicable: the answer must of course be sought for in the unstable character of Alcibiades. We will not attempt to fathom it; yet let it stand as a high specimen of its kind—of the solitary philosopher and the brilliant man of society—a refutation of the slander that friendship cannot exist except with equals—a demonstration of the fact that intellect is a necessary element in a magnanimous companionship, and fidelity a trait that may exist side by side with the most unlovable contrast.

But there is a grander figure by the side of Socrates. We are familiar with that broad brow and divine countenance: it is Plato, whose reign as king of philosophers and men has long continued undisputed. We behold him first as a modest, silent, virtuous-minded youth, full of unutterable thoughts which possess him like gods, and drive him whithersoever they will. He is born to be great, but cannot find his own. Painting, gymnastics, dithyrambs, songs, and tragedies, are so many media through which his divine discontentment endeavours to find expression and repose. An enigma to himself, he is not less a wonder and a mystery to others. His father is perplexed, uneasy, distracted. He remembers the ugly, unsandalled, poorly-clad, and half-crazed man he has met so often in the workshops, the streets, and the market, talking, arguing, and divining the characters of those about him—he will make his son one of his pupils. Just as they arrive, Socrates is narrating a dream he had had the previous night, in which, according to Apuleius, he had seen a cygnet fly from the altar of Love in the Academia, and alight on his knees, and then sweep aloft, full-fledged, and singing sweetly. "This is the bird!" Socrates exclaims. "Behold the Academic Swan!" Plato had now found his teacher of the mysteries and his prophet of the soul. All is now light, rosy morning light. "Come hither, Vulcan," he cried out soon after, as he burnt his

poems before the temple of Dionysus, "Plato has need of thee!" At length he has found the man who can help him to be himself. For eleven years the solitary, smileless man, and the noble, disinterested philosopher, lead a blessed, united, and divine life. Imagination can fill it as she pleases with city-walks, solemn teachings, and silent grandeurs. There are no details, and they would be tamer than this reach of blue heaven if we had them. The babble of an historian is vacuity itself when contrasted with such an infinite sublimity of silence. There is only one picture for us, and it is that of the memorable trial, of which Plato has given us, it is believed, the original, entire, and undraperied address of his master.* The death-scene follows, and henceforth the mission of Plato is clearer and brighter. Casting off the political aspirations of earlier years, he devotes himself to philosophy, gathers up the sayings and conversations of his great spiritual father, and leaves behind him a monument of their loves and lives that pierces the heaven of every after age, like the white top of Olympus. He finds a friend in the noble Dion, a relative of Dionysius I., the tyrant of Syracuse, who will have him endeavour to reform the tyrant himself. Here we get a glimpse at the noble truthfulness of Plato's mind, and his deep remembrance of his divine master. "Who is the happiest man?" asks the tyrant, wishing to turn the conversation into the praise of himself. "Socrates," answers Plato. The tyrant tries politics with the same intent. "Is it not a brave thing to be a tyrant?" "The most cowardly, since he fears even the razor of the barber," is the stinging response. "Thy language is that of a dotard," shrieks the discomfited man. "Thine is that of a tyrant," retorts the calm philosopher. From such a friend Dion derives the noblest impulses and the sagest counsels. Plato would see his friend develope in Syracuse the ideal of political government, the bettering of the people, to which he had himself formerly given his mind. He feels his own exalted position, and writes of himself, "Now I am great, through rendering myself a follower of the dictates of my reason." He would lift up his friend Dion to a similar elevation in his own sphere. We have fortunately some of his own words to Dion. "But that which is now existing about you is such, so that persons from the whole of the inhabited earth, if one may speak in rather an arrogant style, are looking in one spot, and in that spot to yourself especially. Since, then, you are beheld by all men, prepare to exhibit yourself as that celebrated Lycurgus of the olden time, and Cyrus, and any one else who has been thought to excel in moral and

* See Schleiermacher's Introduction to the Apology, where the matter is satisfactorily settled.

political virtues." It may be ridiculous, he says, to mention these matters; but do not even the children, as well as their friends, incite the combatants in the theatre? Plato imperilled his own life to save his friend's; he refuted the slanders of his enemies; praised him as a man holy, temperate, and prudent; tells the second Dionysius himself, when Dion is assassinated, that because his friend tripped and stumbled in his ignorance of the greedy villany of others, and now lies dead, that Sicily wraps herself in infinite sorrow; and counsels his friends and relations touching themselves and their enemies. When Plato met Dion at the Olympic games, all the Greeks beheld him with admiration; and when he left him stark and cold and unavenged, all the world looked on in sadness and reverential silence. But Plato had one other friend, of whom we know still less. They met in studying astronomy, and his name was Aster. In two beautiful epigrams Plato has left the rapturous history of their friendship. The first we may call Life, and the second Death. In the first—we give the rendering of Longfellow as most rhythmical—he rapturously exclaims:—

> Thou gazest on the stars, my love. Ah, gladly would I be
> Yon starry skies, with thousand eyes, that I might gaze on thee!

The second is in the version of Shelley:—

> Thou wert the morning star among the living,
> Ere thy fair light had fled;
> Now, having died, thou art as Hesperus, giving
> New splendour to the dead.

We must now, unwillingly, take a long leap, and come to more modern times, lest enchanted by so many beautiful examples of heroism and fidelity, we become spell-bound, like Alcibiades at the foot of his instructor, and forget those examples nearer home which we should not be forgiven for omitting. Let us leave the gods and the giants, and come down to men, premising that we cannot give much detail, or pretend to a careful regard of chronology.

In the attachment of John Evelyn and Robert Boyle, we observe a similarity of character with a divergence of mind. Both were of noble birth, good education, and gentlemanly disposition. Before Boyle had attained his twentieth year, he had written his "Seraphic Love," and begun life in earnest. His acquaintance with Evelyn was commenced by himself, which is not a little singular in one so generally reserved and modest. He sought out Evelyn at Sayes Court, and after many complimentary skirmishings in the witty, affected letters common to the time, they came closer together, and tried each other's strength in

a genuine, brotherly friendship. Boyle was a singular man. In person slender and tall, with weak eyes, and a nervous hesitation in his speech, he was so sensitive to meteorological changes that he invariably consulted the thermometer before he assumed any one of his numerous garments in going out of doors. Evelyn, indeed, compared him to a Venice glass, which, in spite of its fineness, would outlast the hardest metals. Rejecting the philosophy of Aristotle, regarded by him as a system of words instead of things, he owed much of the direction of his mind to Descartes, notwithstanding that he refrained reading him for some time lest he should be unduly captivated. His very greatness was concealed by his simple modesty. He experimented carefully and vigorously, and opened a new era in experimental science, but confessed that he had only kept his eyes open reverently towards Nature, and drawn a very imperfect outline of science which he charged posterity to fill up. Of a choleric disposition and a very abstracted habit, he was still warm and affable in intercourse when he felt himself familiar with those about him. "Though this untamed heart," he says, "be thus insensible of the thing itself called love, it is yet very sensible of things very near of kin to that passion; and esteem, friendship, respect, and even admiration, are things that their proper objects fail not to exact of one." In fine, in the language of his friend, to draw a just character of him, we must run through all the virtues and all the sciences. The prevailing characteristic of his friend Evelyn was one of joyous domesticity. He lived, wrote, travelled, and became a parent, like one who had strong roots in the earth, and was determined to make it his home. Gardens, ponds, trees, orchards, and pictures, had more attractions for him than the sovereignty of reason, the claim of royalty, or the dangers of patriotism. There was a good deal of the untamed faun and dryad in his nature, with a dash of unconquered superstition that made the whole more piquant. His very books have an aroma of freshly-turned mould. He was a tolerably good linguist, and was a man who enjoyed everything, from mezzotint engraving, which Prince Rupert had taught him, down to a gossip with his wife on lecture-nights, as he styled Wednesdays and Saturdays, over the latest news from town. Several times made a public commissioner, although no man loved a leafy solitude better than himself, he felt it his duty to answer the panegyric of Sir G. Mackenzie on Solitude, by an advocacy of the usefulness of Public Employments. To his friendship with Boyle we owe the idea and the realization of the Royal Society; or, as Boyle preferred to style it, the Invisible, or Philosophic College. Evelyn outlived Boyle many years, but did not outlive the memory of his friend. Nature and science

were impersonated in their friendship, and the garden and the laboratory helped to keep alive the tendernesses of each. Evelyn has made many a country mansion attractive, and many a country squire a happy man, whilst Boyle has made keen observers and men of science. Their intercourse was ever true, playful, and tender. They wrought their own characters, but the one moderated the other. We have in them an ideal of friendship both lofty and pure. "I perceive," says Jeremy Taylor, "that there is a friendship beyond what I have fancied, and a real material worthiness beyond the height of the most perfect ideas," and when he falls short in his own essay on the subject, he says that he will send his readers to see the substance and be the spectators of their lives and theories.

The names of Pope and Bolingbroke present us with many rich contrasts, outwardly and inwardly. Bolingbroke was born a favourite of fortune, and had every quality that would command success. He was handsome and commanding in person, accomplished and learned in mind, and joyous and affectionate in heart. If ever the words of Shakspeare were true of any one, it was of him: "they who went on crutches ere he was born, desire yet their life to see him a man." Much of the uncertainty of his after life was owing to an absurd system of religious training. A Puritan without their strong sense, and a well-meaning woman devoid of discretion, his grandmother, the daughter of Oliver St. John, brought him up with the aid of one Doctor Burgess, and seems to have confined the youth's studies to a thick volume of dreary sermons by Dr. Manton, the prolix divine who wrote one hundred and nineteen sermons on the one hundred and nineteenth Psalm. The young man was not to be ground into goodness by any such process, and if he was not born with a twist in his character he ever after exhibited one. College, gay excesses, marriage, travel, and the cares of public office, did their part in fashioning his mind, and misrepresentation, slander, and abuse their worst in souring an amiable disposition. Solitude found him studious, hard-working, brilliant, and capable of any possible achievement, but society left him weak, irresolute, and profligate. Even his politics were tempered by retirement. "When I am here," he writes to Swift from the country, "I forget I was ever of any party myself. I am ready to imagine there never was any such monster as party." Here he was cured of his fears respecting popular opinion, and discovered the impotence of popular malice; and here, as his philosophic habits were confirmed, he confesses his regret at having lost so much time. It was in his hermitage at La Source, near Orleans, that Voltaire came to consult with him about the "Henriade," and many a witty and philosophical tilt and tourney they must have had over their bagatelle. Bolingbroke

was passionately fond of Pope, with whom there appears so little in common except their philosophy. Spence and he hung over the bedside of the dying poet, when he said, "I never knew a man that had so tender a heart for his particular friends, or more general friendship for mankind. I have known Pope these thirty years, and value myself more on his friendship than—" he could add no more. Puny, sickly, irascible, and full of those weaknesses and whimsicalities that are common to confirmed invalids, there was much in Pope that might disgust many, prejudice others, and disconcert all. Perhaps he did not parade his bodily ailments like some men, but he was nevertheless so preternaturally sensitive, and so much like a petted womanish man, that few would have desired to know more of him than his externals, had he not surprised his friends by his talents, alarmed his enemies by his satire, and won over the public by his performances. A warm heart, refined manners, and flowing spirits made Pope an agreeable friend, and Bolingbroke forgot his rank and his ambition in their pleasant intercourse. It is more than possible that we have misjudged both these men, and wasted more pity upon them than has been necessary where there is really so much to admire. Their mutual testimony, at any rate, militates against many common notions. Pope said of Bolingbroke that he was the greatest man and one of the best friends he ever knew, and that he had known him "so long and so truly as not possibly to be deceived." Bolingbroke's opinion of Pope may be supplemented by what he says further: "His heart was not like a great warehouse, stored only with his own goods, or with empty spaces to be supplied as fast as interest or ambition could fill them, but it was every inch of it let out in lodgings for his friends." To their reciprocalities we owe a fine, polished, and philosophic essay, and a modified and corrected opinion of their separate characters. In his home and studies Pope found Bolingbroke a useful companion, a polished scholar, and a bold philosopher; and in his political reverses Pope was to Bolingbroke a genial comforter, a diverting wit, and a humanizing friend. The picture of their courtesies is very charming. Here is an idyll sketched by Pope in a letter to Swift: "I now hold the pen for my Lord Bolingbroke, who is reading your letter between two haycocks; but his attention is somewhat diverted by casting his eyes on the clouds, not in admiration of what you say, but for fear of a shower. He is pleased with your placing him in the triumvirate, between you and me, while one of us runs away with all the power, like Augustus, and another with all the pleasures, like Antony. It is upon a foresight of this that he has fitted up his farm." A friendship so firm, manly, and beneficent is seldom witnessed. It made Pope more noble and Bolingbroke less bitter. Well might Pope say, as

he reviewed his life upon his deathbed, and remembered all he had done for his friend, and all his friend had done for him, "There is nothing that is meritorious but virtue and friendship; and indeed, friendship itself is only a part of virtue."

Johnson said of Garrick that he had too many friends. There was much truth in the remark; too many friends are almost worse than none. Newton forbad Collins to insert his name with his own solution of the scientific problem connected with the moon; for he urges, "it would perhaps increase my acquaintance, the thing which I chiefly study to decline." But Garrick was not a philosopher. As a scholar of the Lichfield grammar-school he made the acquaintance of Johnson, and attracted the favourable notice of Gilbert Walmesley, the Registrar of the Ecclesiastical Court. Intended for the bar, he scribbled play scenes, represented Farquhar's Sergeant Kite in some amateur theatricals, and did anything and everything but what his good parents desired. It was thought that he would improve better under the sober care of Johnson, who had now taken pupils, and so he was put to the nascent writer, to be tamed down to conventional propriety. Here he met Sir Joshua Reynolds, and found a friend in his master such as he had not expected. It was soon planned that they should try their destiny in London. How they journeyed thither, how David would endeavour to forget this freak, and how later critics have essayed to strip the story into shreds—we all know full well. Johnson introduced Garrick to Cave, who consented to witness a part of Fielding's *Mock Doctor* in his room over St. John's Gate, and was warmed into humorous delight. At Ipswich Garrick made his first effort as a public actor, and with such marked success that he determined to confront a London audience. Rejected at Drury Lane and Covent Garden, he was accepted by Gifford, and made his *début* at the theatre in Goodman's Fields, as Richard III. Pope came to see him, and Garrick said, "His look shot and thrilled like lightning through my frame, and I had some hesitation in proceeding, from anxiety and from joy. As Richard gradually blazed forth, the house was in a roar of applause, and the *conspiring hand of Pope shadowed me with laurels.*" Pope even affirmed that he had never had an equal, and would never have a rival. His subsequent successes are matters of dramatic history, with which we have nothing to do here. Let us turn to Mrs. Clive. Whilst Garrick had been making a school of acting of his own, Miss Catherine Raftor, afterwards Mrs. Clive, had been astonishing many an audience by her fine singing and natural deportment. Garrick became her friend; and the happiness which she missed in domestic life she found in an intercourse with a man who was at once her master, tutor, and guardian. Escaped the toils of Mrs. Woffing-

ton, Garrick had espoused Miss Viegel, otherwise known as *La Violette*, from her assumption of the synonyme. She was a gentle, brilliant, and pure-minded woman, and did not in any way intrude between her husband and his 'Pivy,' as he called Kitty Clive. "How does my dear Mrs. Garrick do?" Pivy asked once: "for I will love her, because I am very sure she would me, if you would let her; but you are a Rudesby yourself, and it is your fault that she does not take notice of me." There is more playfulness than truth in this complaint. Poor Pivy was by no means an elegant and refined woman, but she charmed by her quaint and naïve manners. If contemporaries are to be believed, she even swore occasionally. She regarded Garrick with great awe, in spite of their familiar intercourse; for there was a sort of glamour about the man that acted King Richard, that made many much more afraid of him than of Johnson. Kitty was always reminding him how much she owed to him, and creeping into his heart under cover of his magnanimous treatment of others. She writes from Twickenham:—"Wonderful Sir! We have been for thirty years contradicting an old-established proverb, that you cannot make bricks without straw; but you have done what is infinitely more difficult, for you have made actors and actresses without genius: that is, you have made them pass for such, which has answered your end, though it has given you infinite trouble." In another letter she indulges in the same strain, and says: "They think themselves very great; now let them go on in their new parts without your leading-strings, and they will soon convince the world what their genius is." Just before her retirement, she playfully coaxed the old actor with a fine bit of wit. "What signifies fifty-two. They had rather see the Garrick and the Clive at a hundred and four, than *any* of the moderns. The *ancients*, you know, have *always* been admired." Pivy was a sensible, generous-hearted, clever woman. She had little genius herself, but compensated for it by a fine power of interpreting it in others. "Clive, sir, Clive," Johnson used to say, referring to his experiences behind the scenes, "is a good thing to sit by; she always understands what you say." "I like to sit near Dr. Johnson," she said, in her turn; "he always entertains me." On their retirement, their friendship had its paroxysms, but was not suffered to wane. Mrs. Clive, it is true, had her jealous moods. She says once, like the coquette that she was, "There is no such being now in the world as *Pivy*. She has been killed by the cruelty of the *Garrick*; and the Clive (thank *God!*) is still alive, and alive like to be." There had been, it seems, a grand picnic in which she had been forgotten or neglected. Garrick replies characteristically. We quote the last few words. "In short, your misconceptions about that fatal *champêtre* (the

devil take the word!) have made me so cross about everything belonging to it, that I curse all squibs, crackers, rockets, air-balloons, mines, serpents, and Catherine-wheels, and can think of nothing, and wish for nothing, but laugh, gig, humour, pun, conundrum, carri-witchet, and Catherine Clive. I am, my Pivy's most constant and loving friend, D. GARRICK." Garrick, it is seen, was not transmuted into flint because his labours had turned into gold. He was still the same impulsive, miscalculating fellow. Foote said that when he walked out to do a generous action, he turned the corner of a street and met with the ghost of a half-penny, which frightened him. His conceptions of acting were based upon the most acute and psychological analysis of human nature. "There must," he said, "be comedy in the perfect actor of tragedy." It is true that Plato hints the same thing, and Coleridge has made the most of the hint, but Garrick arrived at the same conclusion in quite a different sphere of speculation.

The names of Addison and Steele can never be dissociated. Posterity never grows weary of their writings or their lives. We forget their rubs, and jars, and final quarrel, and remember only their easy wit and bewitching pleasantry. They were by no means profound thinkers or bold forcers of the penetralia of man and nature; but they stripped the mask from folly and vice, and have given us so many thumb-nail pictures, that we are more pleased to praise them for what they were than chide them for what they were not. They first met at the Charterhouse as boys, and their friendship was continued unbroken until the memorable discussion on the Peerage Bill. Steele opposed it in a Saturday paper called the *Plebeian*, and Addison replied in the *Old Whig*. It was impossible they should mistake each other's style and treatment, and in their second papers both indulged in little personalities that formally disclosed their authors, and estranged them for ever.* Throughout the whole of their intercourse Addison had had much to incense him against Steele: his profligacy, thriftlessness, and repeated asseverations of repentance, broken like so many cobwebs on the very first temptation, were enough to have damped the ardour of their attachment much earlier but for the wonderful forbearance of Addison. Upon Steele's part there had been a dignified coldness a little earlier than this *rencontre*. "I ask no favour of Mr. Secretary Addison," he wrote to his wife in 1717. It would have been better for him had he never had occasion to ask any; for a friend is surely not put to his highest use when he is repeatedly made a banker of by a spendthrift associate. Impulsive, vivacious, and

* As both sides of the question may be now seen in the papers themselves, in Vol. v. of Addison's works (Bohn), we refrain from further particulars.

satirical, the character of Steele is softened very much by his association with Addison, whose good sense, forbearance, and industry are brought out into brighter relief by the contrast. The leading element in Addison's character was a kind-hearted humour that could find everywhere materials for its sustenance, and objects for its criticism: it was the play-impulse of a strong, healthy nature, and is in considerable contrast to the dashing, devil-may-care satire of Steele. Literature and an indefinite similarity was their common bond. Steele was more chivalric, eccentric, and intensely-minded. Addison was sober, fastidious, and self-possessed, while Steele was rollicking, negligent, and always at his wits' end. He was always crying out for the necessaries of life, yet never seemed to be in want of any. He carried out to a nicety Addison's idea of a Frenchman, as a being who sings, laughs, and starves, and like the mute in his own play of *The Funeral, or Grief à la Mode*, who looked gladder the more shillings he received to be sorrowful, the more loans and gratuities Steele received to make him a wise man, the more determined he seems to have been to play the fool. At times they shunned each other, but met again to be more friendly, each acknowledging the virtues of the other. After Addison's death, Steele seems to have felt all his former love revive, and has written a panegyric on their friendship, which would appear to exculpate Addison from any charges of bitterness and animosity.

To Tickell, Addison was not less a friend, although their companionship began later in life. Soon after the publication of his opera of *Rosamond*, Addison received a short commendatory poem upon it from an unknown writer. He at once made inquiries, and discovered it to be Thomas Tickell. A very close intimacy was soon formed. Tickell became Addison's constant companion, his under-secretary, and his amanuensis; and though there was a little brush with Pope when the rival translations of the "Iliad" came out, Addison himself appears to have acted with the greatest impartiality, and given an opinion upon Tickell's first book, in which critics generally have now coincided. The friendship of Addison with Steele has many details, that with Tickell scarcely any. The closet scholar and the humorous peripatetical essayist spent many happy hours in reciprocating each other's kindness, and supplying each other's deficiencies, of which we have not so much as a solitary scrap in the shape of a written record. The elegy of Tickell, however, fills up all our vacant spaces, and builds a bridge of light over their unwritten loves. We read in silence, and stay our pen in admiration.

There is another trio of friends not less remarkable—Samuel Johnson, Oliver Goldsmith, and Mrs. Thrale. When Johnson and Goldsmith met, one was fifty-two, and the other thirty.

Goldsmith had acquired some fame as a periodical writer in the *Monthly Ledger*, and the *Bee*, but was yet unknown as a poet, a novelist, and a dramatist. It was May, 1761; and he invited Johnson to meet other literary celebrities for supper, in his lodgings in Wine-Office Court. Attired in a new suit of clothes, and a new wig decorously powdered, the author of "Rasselas," and the *contra*-Dictionary-maker, as Hood would certainly have called him, accepted the invitation, in order to do three things—make the young man's acquaintance, set him an example in dress, and enjoy a good meal and good talk.' Bishop Percy, who tells the story, was amazed at this sudden blossoming into dandyism. "Why, Sir," answered Johnson,—fat men, strong men, and witty men always "Sir" their hearers and opponents,—"I hear that Goldsmith, who is a very great sloven, justifies his disregard of cleanliness and decency by quoting my practice, and I am desirous this night to show him a better example." The event more than recompensed the effort, and the pupil had afterwards good reason to retort, had he chosen, by teaching his master. Remembering Swift's couplet—

> Always pull a peach
> When it is within your reach,

the account-books of Mr. William Filby are a proof that Goldsmith retained a lively recollection of this wonderful evening. Between himself and Johnson there were at least two things in common—a certain coarseness and a marvellous generosity; one had the greatest sensibility, and the other the deepest mind. Their intimacy was deep, genuine, and without affectation. They always parted as rivals and met as friends. Those who blamed the heaviness of the one, praised the sprightliness of the other. It was a friendship founded on a common pursuit by different natures—a strong one and a weak one finding genial life together. They remind us very much of Addison and Steele, with the differences of time and circumstances. Goldsmith was a bundle of oddities, and Johnson a bundle of contradictions, and both seem to have recognised in each other a common singularity, angularity, and polarity. In her Streatham portraits, Mrs. Thrale aptly compares Johnson to the giant of the company, whereas Goldsmith is likened to

> Those anamorphôses,
> Which for lectures to ladies the optician proposes;
> All deformity seeming, in some points of view,
> In others quite accurate, regular, true:
> Till the student no more sees the figure that shock'd her,
> But all in his likeness—our odd little doctor.

We are rather disposed to think that some injustice has been

done to Goldsmith's conversational powers, and that wit has been mistaken for truth. Of course, we would not for one moment compare him to Johnson, but he is not therefore to be despised. Johnson was born to talk, and preferred talking, next to eating, to everything else in the world, sleep and writing included. Perhaps Goldsmith was what a German student would call a bit of a *Dummkopf*—what then? He has you on his own ground. He lays down as his theory, in *Retaliation*, that, in writing, men are obliged to please others, but in talking, they may be permitted to please themselves. Occasionally, even Goldsmith was eloquent in a simple, naïve manner, and if he had had the impudence of Johnson, he would have excelled him in fine distinctions and unprejudiced views. At times he was ambitious of trying to talk well and finely, and only failed because his knowledge was not level with his wit, and then Boswell would flop down upon him with incivilities, like a jester turned into the shape of a great man's *aside;* at others he would be silent, and then, he says, people thought he meant to be impudent. Never, surely, was human being so bullied, bantered, and battered, as this diffident, sensitive, transmigrated Spectator.

Dr. Barnard was the only man who did justice to Johnson's good breeding and scrupulous politeness in female society; at least, so said Johnson himself. Miss Seward has even gone farther than the Provost of Eton. He had always some "metaphysic passion for one person or another," she says; "first, the rustic Lucy Porter, before he married her nauseous mother; next, the handsome but haughty Molly Aston; next, the sublimated, methodistic Hill Boothby, who read her Bible in Hebrew; and lastly, the more charming Mrs. Thrale, with the beauty of the first, the learning of the second, and with more worth than a bushel of such sinners and such saints. It is ridiculously diverting to see the old elephant forsaking his nature before these princesses:—

> To make them mirth, use all his might, and writhe,
> His mighty form disporting."

As a contrast to Streatham, we should not forget the gloomy court, and its queer inmates on the north of Fleet-street, from the continued barbarism and misery of which Johnson was kindly rescued by Mrs. Thrale. An old blind woman, named Williams, was at the head of this original establishment; a second one, Desmoulins, from Staffordshire, with a destitute daughter, named Carmichael, whom Johnson always called "Poll," officiated as general purveyor of advice; and a fussy old Doctor Levett, and the black footman, Franz, made up the tailpiece. "Williams," said Johnson, "hates everybody; Levett hates Desmoulins, and

does not love Williams; Desmoulins hates them both: Poll loves none of them." And as for the black man, he got more kicks than halfpence in their everlasting bickerings. It seems that, at first, Johnson took a liking to Miss Carmichael, and used to help her on in her tussles with Williams by shouting out, "At her again, Poll! Never flinch, Poll!" but that, on a closer acquaintance, he disliked her, because, when he talked to her, he could make nothing of her: "She was wiggle-waggle, and I could never persuade her to be categorical!" Were these wild specimens, then, objects the good man kept to talk to? Was his "categorical imperative" a conversational matter?

It was a fortunate day when Johnson made the acquaintance of the brewer's family at Streatham, and had comfortable apartments always at his service. He was then fifty-six, and beyond the flexible period when any great change could be effected in his habits. He ate fast and dressed slovenly. Mrs. Thrale's valet used to meet him at the parlour door, with a decent wig when dinner was announced, and when he retired for the night he used to exchange it for another. No man is a hero to his valet, says the old saw. No, Hegel has finely replied; not because the one is *not* a hero, but because the other *is* a valet. Could Johnson possibly be a hero to his wig-bearer? Johnson would never go to bed—he never called it *rest*—so long as he could find any one to question and cross question in his ceaseless gropings after ideas and characters. Invariably late down for breakfast, he did once happen to be so soon as to have to wait for others, and when Mrs. Thrale afterwards twitted him for his lateness, he replied, "Madam, I do not like to come down to vacuity." He had praised Miss Aston excessively, and called her a beauty, a scholar, a wit, and a Whig; but he did not like Mrs. Thrale any the less, though he said no such fine thing about her. A pert, witty, and homely woman, her conversation was rich, racy, and flowing. She allowed her guest every possible favour, and submitted to his dictation, dogmatism, and browbeating, although she always put forth her own views with modesty, in spite of his thundering verbiage. She loved the odd, eloquent man, and did a kind woman's best to make him comfortable and happy. But it was something more than a cupboard love that kept Johnson so long in Mrs. Thrale's company. We like those who can appreciate us, and we cannot blame him for an attachment which was not Platonic because it was so homely, and might have been romantic but for the mingled good sense and discretion of both parties. Originally the result, on Mrs. Thrale's part, of a motherly regard for him in his "particularly disordered health and spirits," their intimacy continued after the death of Mr. Thrale, with whom she did not live very happily,

until her marriage with Mr. Piozzi, when Johnson presumed too much upon his friendship, and indulged in an amount of coarse rebuke and dictatorial pride that his friend could not and was not likely to bear. Henceforth there were no more love-passages between them, although each retained some kindly feelings towards the other. Johnson did not leave Streatham without a dash of romantic emotion, notwithstanding that he and Mrs. Thrale were good friends for some time after, and travelled about together; nor could he for ever part from the companion of so many lively and joyous hours without compunction and regret. A Latin entry in one of his memorandum-books, in which he says of the church, *Templo valedixi cum osculo,* and after particularizing his last dinner, exclaims, *Streathamiam quando revisam?* is our evidence for the former, and his sensitiveness and extraordinary conduct whenever Mrs. Thrale was subsequently referred to, is our basis for the latter. The virtues and failings of Johnson are apparent in this homely friendship. When Mrs. Piozzi published her "Letters to and from the late Samuel Johnson, LL.D.," Madame D'Arblay considered it the death-blow to his memory; but Horace Walpole, who never liked the grave, sententious man, and thought him a little wise and a good deal cracked, was obliged to modify his opinion, and estimate him with a larger generosity. It is, indeed, only through his friendships that we come at the real character of Johnson, stripped of its irregularity, flightiness, and irritability. Goldsmith said a witty thing, when he said that Johnson was a bear in nothing but his skin. His roughness, dogmatism, and literary dictatorship are least offensive when seen through the warmer atmosphere of his friendly congenialities. Of Boswell we have said nothing, and we think justly; for has not the man who told Hannah More he was building Johnson's pyramid, taken care to get astride of it himself?

Boy-friendships are often carelessly contracted, but sometimes curiously continued. If it be true that in youth we expect all our acquaintances to become heroes, it is not surprising that the attachment should be continued when, upon both sides, it is found they have become famous. Coleridge, Southey, and Lamb, were boy-friends and boy-heroes. The two former were of that ideal fraternity who were soaring on Dædalian wings, they scarcely knew whither, until they came down with a good solid thud against the lowly common earth, when they heard a female voice. It was the landlady's, asking the money for their lodgings! Was ever bright scheme so speedily snuffed out? It was in the summer of 1794 that Coleridge and Southey first met; Coleridge was on his way to Wales for a pedestrian tour, and paid a passing visit to an old schoolfellow at Oxford, where he was accidentally

introduced to Southey. In religion and politics the young men agreed wonderfully. In the first blush of their intimacy Southey wrote to Grosvenor Bedford: "He is of uncommon merit, of the strongest genius, the clearest judgment, the best heart. My friend he already is, and must hereafter be yours." The famous scheme was soon broached, and every one concerned was caught up into a wild rhapsodic fervour. Southey tells Coleridge that his mother says he is mad, but she was at any rate as mad in the matter as himself. We can afford to smile at the aberrations of these young world-walkers and *scholastici vagantes* in patriarchal polity, but there was something noble in their moods and fancies. Southey is at Bath, and confesses that their names are written in the book of destiny on the same page, and Coleridge gushes out into expansive emotion. In a letter, bristling with notes of admiration, bursting with fine frenzy, and emblazoned with mighty caligraphy, he pours out his divine fervour of love and hope. "I am longing to be with you," he says: "make Edith my sister. Surely, Southey, we shall be frendotati meta frendons—most friendly where all are friends. She must, therefore, be emphatically my sister." There was, however, little in common between Coleridge and Southey but their literary aspirations. In character they were diametrically opposite. Set Southey anything to do, and it was done and done with ease; but get Coleridge to promise to do a thing, and he was pretty sure not to do it. He was to have met Southey at Marlborough, on their way to Bath, but the wagon came without him; he was to have lectured on the Decline of the Roman Empire, but sat smoking in his room in perfect oblivion of both audience and subject; he was to dine, but never went; he promised Cottle copy which was never ready in time; and he promised himself to write books which were never written. He was, in fact, a man of infinite promises. Southey's notions of right and decency were disturbed by these delinquencies. They came to words, they quarrelled, and were reconciled only to quarrel again over the final extinction of the idea of the Susquehanna Republic, and become firmer friends than ever in a meeting that had something in it like stage effect. In all Coleridge's misfortunes Southey lent him a helping hand and gave him a sympathizing heart. He took care of his wife and family during his absence at Malta; he advised with him when the "Friend" fell tame; he collected money to send Hartley to college; and in his darkest days he did his best to lift him up from his killing sloth and terrible gloom. Even Coleridge's enemies bore testimony to the fact, and the "Anti-Jacobin," after abusing him and stigmatizing his conduct, mentions the names of his friends Southey and Lamb. Yet we cannot rid our minds of a certain coldness, self-centering, and affectation of superior mundane wisdom on the part of Southey,

in all his chidings and correspondence, that hint at a nature primarily cool and calculating, whose compassion for the weaknesses of others was not proportionate to his estimate of their greatness. Coleridge felt this, and it can be detected both in his correspondence and in the many gaps which he suffered to break it. To Southey, however, he confesses his indebtedness for an awakening to a sense of the duty and dignity of making his actions accord with his principles.

Between Coleridge and Charles Lamb there was a love more gentle, more impassioned, and more ideal. We know of no love, unless it be that of Jean Paul and Christian Otto, to be mentioned presently, that came nearer to the fine ascensions of Socrates. And yet there is a more tragic glow in it than is consistent with the calmly ideal. It is almost splendid in its overshadowing by the terrors of Destiny, and the struggles of the misguided and unfortunate. If ever, in coming centuries, the spirit of Attic tragedy be transmuted into some Æschylus of a new world and a new race, side by side and fate by fate their histories may figure in grand ideal breadth and bold colossal form. There will be both a Prometheus and an Epimetheus. Madness will be there in the place of Strength, Murder in the place of Force, and Thought in the garb of Vulcan, whilst unrelenting Jove shall frown from above as Fate, and the daughters of Oceanus send their sweet voices from below in the sweet fancies of their youth. The story of their lives, of their hungerings, temptations, and bewilderments, needs no repetition here: it is known, or it ought to be known, wherever eyes can read and hearts can feel. Let it be ours to get a hurried glimpse through the thin curtain of facts at the truth they conceal. "Coleridge!" writes Lamb, from London, "I know not what suffering scenes you have gone through at Bristol. My life has been somewhat diversified of late. The six weeks that finished last year and began this (1796), your very humble servant spent very agreeably in a madhouse at Hoxton. I am got rational and don't bite any one. But mad I was! and many a vagary my imagination played with me. Coleridge!" he again exclaims, "it may convince you of my regard for you when I tell you my head ran on you in my madness, as much almost as on another person (Lamb's sister), who, I am inclined to think, was the more immediate cause of my temporary frenzy." Elsewhere he tells him that he loves him in all the naked honesty of truth; and when Coleridge would persist in referring to a favour Lamb had done him, Lamb asks, "Are we not flocci-nanci-what-d'ye-call-'em-ists?" There was Lamb, and here was Coleridge, married upon poetry, and beset by difficulties on every hand. "My happiest moments for composition are broken in upon by

the reflection that I must make haste. I am too late! I am already months behind! I have received my pay months beforehand! O wayward and desultory spirit of genius! Ill canst thou brook a taskmaster! The tenderest touch from the hand of obligation wounds thee like a scourge of scorpions!" Well might Lamb say, "We are in a manner marked." They consoled each other as only friends can, and they loved each other through cloud and shine, and simoom, as is only possible to heroic hearts. We are all familiar with Coleridge's touching lines wherein he shows how tenderly he loved his gentle-hearted Charles. They had their sadnesses, but they had also their triumphs. Descending from their tragic moods, they held Olympian courts and ambrosial feasts. The philosophy of Coleridge linked with the fine humour of Lamb. They both talked better than they wrote. The jests of Lamb, Hazlitt said, "scald like tears, and he probes a question with a play upon words." The conversation of Coleridge was rapt, oracular, and transcendental; it was not talk, it was not common speech—it was inspiration itself. It sent dullards to sleep, and no wonder; but it left an influence upon others that has not ceased now, even though men like Dr. Dibdin and Thomas de Quincey have scarcely caught its fine impalpable essence. Like mighty fragments of quartz, granite, and marble, it remains in his wonderful "Table-Talk," weird, mysterious, and unapproachable. Lamb and Coleridge were united in their sensibilities, pursuits, and fates, but they were still in many respects dissimilar. The moral and intellectual were their antipodes. "Nothing ever left a stain on that gentle creature's mind. . . . All things are shadows to him except those which move his affections," said Coleridge of Lamb. Coleridge was by nature a man constituted for high and lonely thought; he was the high-priest of solitude. But Lamb was impelled in another direction. He had fine talents for display in the amenities of social life, and a kindly knowledge of many of the most intricate recesses in the human heart, that have to be set over against his friend's philosophy and speculation. Coleridge went groping amongst the ghosts of ancient ideas, but Lamb was a very Bacchid in the city, sporting and gambolling wherever his fancy led him, and the touch of his thyrsus had more pleasantness and the murmur of his ditties more homeliness than came from the wand of the magician or the terrible spell of the exorcist. To those who believe in good haters as their model-men, who, because they have no sensibilities themselves, never make them an element in any estimate of others; to those who are weak enough to despise the unfortunate, strong enough to withstand every temptation, and wise enough to be firm in what is right—we commend these

wayward heroisms thus flung astray into our modern world, that they may learn from them a lesson of reproach, humility, compassion, and aspiration.

Few friendships are more genuinely instructive than that of Goethe and Schiller. A new lesson in human life may be learned from their disinterested intercourse, and when the gods are moved to be friendly, it behoves all men to be thankful spectators. In the action and reaction of these two minds, in their solitary labours and united achievements, their loves, joys, and sorrows, we forget all that it is irksome to remember, and remember only what we ought never to forget. There is something unique even in their early approaches to each other. They did not rush together directly they saw one another, clasp hands, babble sentiment, and vow eternal friendship. Known to each other by repute before they met, the works of one impressed the other unfavourably. On his return from Italy, whither he had been for general and æsthetical cultivation, Goethe found the "Ardinghello" of Heinse, and Schiller's "Robbers," in very high repute. The first he hated for its sensuality and mysticism, and the second for its passionate display of the same moral and dramatic paradoxes from which he himself was struggling to be freed. Schiller was at Weimar, but Goethe avoided him. On Schiller's second visit, in the summer of 1788, they met in the house of the Lengefelds at Rudolstadt. Schiller was then in his twenty-ninth and Goethe in his thirty-ninth year. Goethe was full of Italy, its scenes, its pictures, and works of art, and his brilliant mind poured forth its ideas and criticisms in rich and rapid succession. When a good talker once gets the whole of the conversation to himself, his auditors listen as they would do to an overheard soliloquy, and there is no chance for lesser minds and men. There were many points upon which Schiller differed from him, although he had little prospect of contending with him on either fair terms or level ground. So differently constituted were they both, that we find Schiller giving vent to a plaintive sadness. "I don't know whether we shall ever come into a close communion with each other. Much that interests me has already had its epoch with him. His whole nature is, from its very origin, differently constituted from mine; *his world is not my world; our modes of conceiving things appear to be essentially different.* From such a combination, no secure, substantial intimacy can result. Time will try." On his own part, Goethe was still less attracted by Schiller. For a time they dwelt apart, as "spiritual antipodes." Their intimacy seemed even less likely to become established. Certain passages in Schiller's essay on "Grace and Dignity," seemed to aim at Goethe himself, and misrepresent his confession of faith. Goethe felt that if written without special reference to himself, they only served to

show the impossibility of their friendship. Dalberg used all his conciliating arts in vain, for the hour of destiny must come at its own time. They met again at Jena, in one of the periodical meetings of a Natural History Society, established by Batsch, and fell into a conversation about the study of natural science. We must now let Goethe himself narrate what followed, as setting forth some distinctive traits of character and the goodness of his own heart.

"We reached his house; the talk induced me to go in. I then expounded to him with as much vivacity as possible, the metamorphosis of plants, drawing out on paper, with many characteristic strokes, a symbolic plant for him, as I proceeded. He heard and saw all this with much interest and distinct comprehension; but when I had done, he shook his head, and said: 'This is no experiment; this is an idea.' I stopt with some degree of irritation; for the point which separated us was most luminously marked by this expression. The opinions in 'Grace and Dignity' again occurred to me; the old grudge was just awakening; but I smothered it, and merely said, 'I was happy to find that I had got ideas without knowing it; nay, that I saw them before my eyes.' Schiller had much more prudence and dexterity of management than I: he was also thinking of his periodical, the 'Horen,' about this time, and of course rather wished to attract than repel me. Accordingly he answered like an accomplished Kantite; and as my stiff-necked Realism gave occasion to many contradictions, much battling took place between us, and at last a truce, in which neither party would consent to yield the victory, but each held himself invincible. Positions like the following grieved me to the very soul. *How can there ever be an experiment that shall correspond with an idea? The specific quality of an idea is, that no experiment can reach it or agree with it.* Yet if he held as an idea, the same thing which I looked upon as an experiment, there must certainly, I thought, be some community between us, some ground whereon both of us might meet, ... and thus, by means of that mighty and interminable controversy between *object* and *subject*, we two concluded an alliance, which remained unbroken, and produced much benefit to ourselves and others."

Prior to this happy mutual understanding Goethe had nobly used his interest on Schiller's behalf, and helped to procure him election to the Historical Chair at the University of Jena. He now became still more ardent in his efforts for his friend, and along the whole line of Schiller's life are scattered those little tokens of affectionate regard that are more truly eloquent than the most rhetorical flourishes or heaven-storming exclamations. They helped each other. In the "Horen" they were as the two sides of one mind, and when, in 1797, Schiller brought out his first "Musen-almanach," they were able to retaliate upon the small-minded Philistines who regarded their connexion with so much foul-mouthed malice. Journalism has nowhere reached a higher

position than it did in Germany at the boundary line of the last and the present century. There is nothing like it amongst ourselves, and even now, when almost every writer of eminence has his bema and his clique, we look in vain for anything like an approximation, much less superiority. The "Xenien," so called from a series of personal epigrams in the 13th Book of Martial, was part of the "Musen-almanach," and consisted of detached satirical couplets, written by separate authors upon distinct subjects, yet all intended to have coherency and a determinate end. They were wild satires, flashing everywhere, and piercing through shams, shadows, and every possible form of conceited dulness, like a shower of Toledo blades. It was a war of the giants, not with the gods, but with that pachydermatous stupidity against which Schiller said even the gods warred in vain. All Germany was moved by them: "since the age of Luther," Carlyle declares, "there has scarcely been such strife and stir in the intellect of Europe." Schiller and Goethe were now very *intimate*. They visited each other's houses, and were often seen at Triesnitz, half a mile from Jena, sitting together at a table beneath an overspreading tree, in conversation and friendly intercourse. In 1799, Schiller removed to Weimar, in consequence of indisposition, and there obtained a pension from the Grand Duke, for which his friend exerted considerable influence. He had now closed his "Philosophy-Shop," and was busy with the dramas that followed "Wallenstein." Together these friends directed the management of the theatre,—"the pulpit and the stage," said Schiller, "are the only places for us"—and together they worked in adapting their writings to more expanded views and more practical representation, Schiller suggesting improvements in "Count Egmont," and Goethe in "Don Carlos." But we must hasten to the closing scene. It is May 9, 1805. The theatre is closed, and there is evidence of some common sorrow in Weimar. Henry Meyer, who was with Goethe at the time, hears the news, and hurries from the house to hide his grief. Goethe, himself unwell, perceives a general embarrassment, and at length says, "I see,—Schiller must be very ill." And the calm man was mightily moved; yea, he who was serene when Duke Karl died, who worked the harder when his own son was smitten, whose stern doctrine was *dass wir entsagen mussen*, even he wept in the hours of the lonely night. In the morning he inquired of a woman whether Schiller had not been very ill yesterday. The woman sobbed audibly. "He is dead!" said Goethe, faintly. "You have said it," she replied. "He is dead!" repeated Goethe, covering his eyes with his hands.

The distinctive differences in the character of these two heroic men may be seen in their poems, and even their conceptions of

history, but comes out truest in the qualities we observe in their intercourse. A few words must suffice to show this. The two common words, real and ideal, may be packed with all their minutest differences. In his life, Schiller was ever reaching after an ethereal elevation, and imagined that when he had denied the existence of evil, meanness, and limitation, they had ceased to exist except as ideas beyond the dusty region of every-day life. His mind was full of the wonder of a child and the enthusiasm of a youth. He never grew old, and dame Nature might have said of him, even in his ripest maturity, "Is he not a promising child?" His whole life, he once said, was the interpretation of the oracles of his childhood. Goethe, who aimed rather at the artistic grouping of objects in which he imaged the real and the universal, never betrayed himself into this splendid region of idealities, and disliked everything that would surprise him out of that calm equipoise which was in him at once a necessity and a virtue. He had no spring-heats in his blood; all was the quiet mellow warmth of an autumn day. All feeling in his nature became intellectualized; whereas, in Schiller, all intellect was transfused into his æsthetic sense, and spirited away into a grand kind of sensibility. Of Schiller, Madame de Staël said truly, *Sa conscience étoit sa Muse.* Goethe admired in Spinoza that stoical disinterestedness, which says, "If I love you, what is that to you?" These differences continually cropped out in their intercourse, though they never alienated them; and when Goethe told Eckermann that there was no necessity for a special friendship between them, as their common efforts made their noblest bond, and confessed, in his correspondence, that he did not know what might have become of him without the impulse received from Schiller, he did more to show the deep character of their communion than if he had written a whole volume of their mutual metaphysical impulsions. Walled up in their individualities, they nevertheless broke open an entrance through their environments, that one might commune with the other, as the Greek citizens broke down their walls to admit a brother who came victorious from the Olympic games. We cannot call their friendship a deep and absorbing one, yet it is not the less noble and magnanimous. It was hardly a marriage of true minds, but rather a most beautiful inosculation, a perpetual *Verlobung.*

There was a moral transparency in the nature of Jean Paul that singularly fitted him for an exalted and beautiful friendship. He was so pure in mind and heart that he unconsciously poured his own brightness over others, and then loved them for their own light. With some this systole of self was misunderstood: they could see in it nought save vanity, egotism, and shallowness. Goethe, with all his insight, was, unfortunately, one of these

misreaders of Jean Paul. No man had more true friends of both sexes who followed him with their hearts in all he did and said, gained wit and wisdom in their intercourse, and, excepting the love-mad Maria Forster, not one suffered in any way on his account. But we have only room for one of them. "When my brother died," wrote Jean Paul, "I believed a day would not come when my heart would be more crushed. But the day came! My friend Hermann died of a quickly-destroying hypochondria, beloved by nature, hated by fortune! Then I read Klopstock's 'Ode to Death,' and changed my question, 'Of three friends, wherefore hast thou lost two?' into 'Why, in this sad waste of humanity, hast thou *found* three friends?' and I could make no other than a grateful answer." This remaining friend, this new and other *thou*, was Christian Otto, the son of the Vesper preacher at Hof, whose acquaintance Jean Paul made after his flight from Leipsic, in his twenty-first year. Otto and Jean Paul had both been destined for theology, but had turned aside to follow an inner and a truer destiny, one for general science and the other for literature. They had many aspects in common—a deep love of nature, a childlike simplicity and fervour, a moral foresight and humility, and a keen intellectual perception. Through each other's society and correspondence, they arrived at a higher and nobler self-consciousness, and Otto only wanted the same imaginative genius to have made him a genuine twin-soul. Jean Paul told him everything,—his loves, his schemes, his household secrets, his aspirations—and Otto did the same in return. They looked at each other and became transparent, they touched each other and became godlike. In the early part of their intimacy, when Jean Paul was schoolmaster at Schwarzenbach, Otto came to meet him every week from Hof, and accompanied him home. The *tessera* fit, and Jean Paul had found his counterpart. Here was sound sense (*un*common sense), impartiality, rare discrimination, and tender prophetic whisperings of fame. Otto was canonized in a very catholic manner, without even a devil's advocate. "I pray thee," exclaims Richter, "to be my public, my reading world, my critic, my reviewer." And very genuinely Otto was. The first work that came under his supervision was the "History of the Contented Little Schoolmaster, Maria Wuz." Otto was faithful to him, and advised him to attempt a serious romance, which was begun at the expiration of a fortnight from the completion of the first. When Richter sent this second production to Hof—it was the "Invisible Lodge"—his very pleading shows the severe impartiality he expected. The publishing of the book, and Jean Paul's walk home to his mother with the first thirty ducats, are almost matters of romance. "Hesperus" succeeded, and the young author made friends much faster than he made

money. Goethe, Herder, Wieland, and Schiller, became known to him. With Herder and his wife, he was perfectly familiar and happy—nay, not *perfectly* happy. As they sat talking together, he said, "If only my Otto were here, and heard us;" and he bursts out into innocent simplicity, as he narrates all his delightful experiences. "I have not told you one third part; but the bitterest drop, Otto, swims in my Heidelberg cup of joy. What Jean Paul wins, humanity loses in his eyes. Ah! my idea of great men! All my acquaintance with them only increases the value of my beloved brother Otto." In all their scenes and changes they corresponded daily for fourteen years, until they were both established at Bayreuth as married men. They were to have been wed together, Jean Paul to Caroline Meyer, and Otto to Amone Herold, an old pupil of his friend's; but somehow Jean Paul got the start. All that belonged to her husband, Catherine claimed as her own, and so at once ingratiated herself with Otto; and when their third child, a daughter, was born, to commemorate their love and partly to soften their friend's misfortune, he being childless, they called it by the liquid poetic name of Odilia.

Their very daily intercourse was simple, beautiful, and noble. Jean Paul could almost have lived without the fame that grew and gathered around him in the fellowship of so sweet and confiding a nature as Otto's. He read and revised all Richter's writings before they went to press, softened to him every misfortune, and hung over him in silent admiration with bright and spiritual eyes. He was near him at the closing scene, and felt keenly every insidious approach of death. An affection so deep and absorbing could end in nothing less than a rapid transmigration. Otto only survived his friend a few months, arranged the loose manuscript of the unfinished "Selina," and then drooped away in silent unutterable sorrow. It was not until the publication of their letters that the world knew of their devotion and holy greatness. Indeed so tenderly and platonically did Otto love his friend, that he was perpetually afraid that others should rob him of his treasure, and manifested at times a wounded, jealous spirit, that was met on the part of Jean Paul by the most gentle and manly forbearance. We give a short extract of a reply to a letter written in this querulous mood:—

"Every stroke of the clock is to me the funeral-bell of a past emotion, but also the baptismal-bell of a new one. Ah, the twenty years' delight of love are past, and will enjoy no earthly morning; but as the old stars go down new ones rise. No emotion remains the same, but the newborn are sweeter; and the heart, if it is more unhappy, is not colder than of old. Upon this subject I could write a book. Nothing fades! The growing plant throws off its leaves in harvest, but it

blossoms again, and at length is a perfect tree. Man has many springs and no winter."

Jean Paul's was a happy domestic nature. He made him a snug nest in the universe, and then, as he says, "hung his writing fingers out to the world." Ere he had reached manhood, he vowed that he would not pour into the cup of humanity a single drop of gall, and he had kept his word. But Otto's gentleness was dashed with a little sadness and repining. Life was to him not a burden but a shadow. He was not himself. He lived only in the life of his friend, and when he could not feel that pulsing within him, he was melancholy and fearful. It was an old mystic's self-annihilation that possessed him; and when he returned to himself, as return he must, he felt painful the boundaries of his own personality. Jean Paul would scarcely have been what he was without him, and Otto might possibly have been an original genius had he never known his life-long companion. But conjectures, like regrets, are mostly useless, since it is so easy to be after-wise. We have their noble and beautiful lives, and in these we have the better blessing for humanity.

Such are a few of the great friendships we have on record, with their solutions, heroisms, and beautiful gradations. When Tiberius Cæsar and Sejanus presented such a splendid example of friendship, the whole Roman senate dedicated an altar to Friendship as to a goddess; it will be well if we have established her claim to be thought worthy of a continuance of this honour. Possibly, we may have grown enthusiastic over our subject, but we could not help it, and would not have written on it at all if we could, though we have seemed rather to play with it than deal with it as it deserves. We have only glanced at the aspect in which it comes before us in a few of our great literary men; chiefly because, as they so often make the public their confidant, the materials are more extensive and the truth is more easily reached, whilst, although they may be oftener misjudged, the facilities are greater for the correction of prejudices and the formation of enlightened and accurate opinions; and partly also that we might be able to do some little towards crushing the weak every-day notion that literary men must necessarily be more envious and jealous of one another than any other members of a learned or professional fraternity. To others who are willing to gather in the same wide harvest-field, there is ample room for large discourse upon religious, artistic, and political friendships; and every side of the altar may be sculptured with beautiful figures, and every lover of the goddess may bring rich and acceptable offerings.

ART. VII.—THE DAWN OF ANIMAL LIFE.

1. *A Manual of the Sub-kingdom Protozoa; with a general Introduction on the Principles of Zoology.* By JOSEPH REAY GREENE, B.A. London: Longman and Co. 1859.
2. *Études sur les Infusoires et les Rhizopodes.* Par EDOUARD CLAPAREDE et JOHANNES LACHMANN. 2 Vols. Genève: 1858-1859, 1860-1861.
3. *On the Recent Foraminifera of Great Britain.* By WILLIAM CRAWFORD WILLIAMSON, F.R.S. London: Printed for the Ray Society. 1858.
4. *Introduction to the Study of the Foraminifera.* By William B. CARPENTER, M.D., F.R.S., F.L.S., F.G.S., &c. &c. Assisted by WILLIAM K. PARKER, Esq., and T. RUPERT JONES, Esq., F.G.S. London: Published for the Ray Society, by Robert Hardwicke. 1862.
5. *The Student's Manual of Geology.* By J. BEETE JUKES, M.A., F.R.S. A New Edition, partially re-cast, and supplied with Lists of Figures of Characteristic Fossils. Edinburgh: A. and C. Black. 1862.

OF the five sub-kingdoms into which zoologists now divide the animal world, that comprising the simplest structures is called the sub-kingdom of *Protozoa* (first animals). The creatures of this group, though the most primitive in structure, and probably in time, and though having the widest distribution of all animals, are those of which even scientific investigators know least. Only a few years ago, many of them were wholly unknown; while others, owing to ignorance of their real character, were classed, even as late as 1835, with groups far higher than themselves, and with which they have no natural affinity. Much attention has, however, been given of late to these simple and interesting organisms. Among their most distinguished continental investigators are Professors Müller and Schultze, and more especially Messrs. Claparède and Lachmann, whose elaborate and admirable work in two volumes quarto, richly illustrated by a large number of carefully executed plates, is a mine of information. The second volume contains several exceedingly interesting disquisitions on the vexed question of spontaneous generation, the alleged alternation of vegetable and animal phases of life in one and the same organism, and the various methods of

reproduction which obtain among the lowest creatures. The sober scientific spirit in which these discussions are conducted cannot be too highly praised, and claim for them the respectful attention of every philosophical naturalist. Professor Williamson's work, having already been published four years, has doubtless made English students of the *Foraminifera* familiar with the beautiful microscopic shells discoverable along the coasts of our island. But to all still unacquainted with it, though interested in contemplating the exquisite objects it describes, we heartily commend it, not only as a faithful record of long and laborious observation, but especially on account of the numerous and admirably executed plates which embellish it. The chief fault of Professor Greene's excellent "Manual" is its brevity; but though the notable meagreness of some parts, and the arrangement in others, leave room for improvement in a second edition, we hope it will still continue to enable non-scientific readers to acquire a general, and, so far as it descends into particulars, an accurate knowledge of the "sub-kingdom of *Protozoa*" for the small sum of two shillings. Dr. Carpenter has devoted much time during several years to a minute investigation of the structure, mode of growth, mutual relation and affinities of the most characteristic types of Foraminiferous shells, and incidentally of the whole group of organisms by which these shells are formed. The results of his studies have been communicated, from time to time, to the Royal Society, which, by awarding him the Royal Medal, has testified how highly it estimates the value of his labours. His papers, which have successively appeared in the "Philosophical Transactions," and to which we are greatly indebted, he has now embodied in a quarto volume, containing upwards of three hundred pages, profusely illustrated both by plates and woodcuts, and about to be published by the Ray Society. Dr. Carpenter has kindly placed the proof-sheets of this very valuable work at our disposal. We cannot acknowledge too fully how much we have drawn from it. We are also indebted to the new edition of Mr. Jukes's able and comprehensive "Manual of Geology"—especially with reference to the formation of limestone rocks by *protozoic* agency. Availing ourselves of these various works, we shall now endeavour to present to our readers some of the more remarkable results of recent investigations concerning the lowest or simplest forms of animal life.

The great majority of the *Protozoa* are so small as to be incapable of examination by the naked eye, and consist of seemingly structureless jelly. Nearly all are aquatic: some inhabit fresh water, but by far the greatest number live in the sea. In no one of them has the slightest trace of any organs of sense, or of a nervous system, been, found; and in only a few has true sexual

reproduction been proved to occur. If the entire sub-kingdom be divided into four classes as hereinafter described, the whole of the animals in three of these classes perform, as Dr. Carpenter observes, "those vital operations which we are accustomed to see carried on by an elaborate apparatus, without any special instruments whatever,—a little particle of apparently homogeneous jelly changing itself into a greater variety of forms than the fabled Proteus, laying hold of its food without members, swallowing without a mouth, digesting it without a stomach, appropriating its nutritious material without absorbent vessels or a circulatory system, moving from place to place without muscles, feeling (if it has any power to do so) without nerves, multiplying itself without eggs; and not only this, but in many instances forming shelly coverings of a symmetry and complexity not surpassed by those of any testaceous animals."

Notwithstanding the general minuteness, the simplicity of structure, and the humble capacity of these creatures, they have performed, and continue to perform, one of the chief parts in the world's history; and to all who look on Nature's wonders, whether in the mere spirit of curiosity or with the more earnest desire to unveil her mysteries, they may become objects of extraordinary interest. Viewing the whole animal world, from its lowest to its highest forms, as a vast ascending series of organic structures, gradually increasing in complexity of organization and perfection of development, we are led to regard the *Protozoa* as the most primitive and most primæval of animals. Descending from the highest to the lowest types, and assuming that we have at least obtained some obscure insight into, if not as yet any positive knowledge of the method by which the different forms have been developed, we at length arrive at that mysterious border-land which divides, and yet seemingly blends, the organic and inorganic worlds, where the simplest vegetable and animal structures, scarcely distinguishable from each other, seem alike to arise, and beyond which, in our search for the beginnings of life, we are powerless to penetrate. On the side of animal existence, this border-land consists, so far as we know, of the *Protozoa*. These may be reasonably looked upon as the aboriginal creations, the beginnings of life—the dawn of the animal world. By what marvellous intermediate agency they were originally transformed, —whether even now they are still being transformed, directly, or indirectly through vegetable cells—from the inorganic elements, are secrets which Nature still refuses to divulge. But in contemplating them, the biologist deems himself near the source of animal existence, and feeling with more than ordinary intensity the profound mystery of life, studies the phenomena around him in eager hope of fresh revelations. And, indeed,

he has already been rewarded: his knowledge of the animal world is extended; he has become acquainted with new objects of marvellous beauty, presented to him in the form and structure of the microscopic shells of many of these simple creatures; he has obtained a large increase of exceedingly valuable data, from which he may draw conclusions corrective or confirmatory of existing conceptions concerning the nature of species, and the laws of organic development; and, what may be above all interesting to the general reader, he has not only discovered the animal origin and mode of formation of many geological strata, but has taught himself to recognise the minute organisms in question as among the chief builders of the earth's crust—many of its component rocks being the stupendous monuments of their labours, and in which they lie entombed.

In few departments of the animal kingdom have the classifications adopted by naturalists been subject to more revolutions than in that of the *Protozoa.* The great microscopist Ehrenberg included in his class of *Infusoria* (the name originally given to organisms found in vegetable infusions) a group of creatures known as *Rotifera* (wheel animalcules), the organization of which, as he was aware, proves their claim by affinity to rank in one of the lower provinces of the sub-kingdom of the ringed animals—the *Annulosa.* On the other hand, he raised to the dignity of *Infusoria* a heterogeneous assemblage of minute organisms, comprising not only *Rhizopoda* (root-footed animals) and embryonic forms of unknown parentage, but minute Algæ and single cells of vegetable origin. So long as the internal structure of the shell-bearing group of *Protozoa* continued unknown, the complex structure and Nautilus-like form of many of their shells caused them to be classed among the highest animals of the invertebrate kingdom — the *Cephalopoda* (head-footed), to which the Nautilus and Cuttle-fish belong. Such was the position assigned to them by M. d'Orbigny as late as 1825. Not until 1835 did the exceedingly simple structure of these organisms become known to the scientific world. At that date, M. Dujardin announced to the *Académie des Sciences* their jelly-like and homogeneous or non-differentiated nature. In the following year, he demonstrated their essential identity with the *Amœba* and other allied forms—fresh-water jelly-specks, which are undoubtedly independent animals. Since that period, different naturalists, as their knowledge of the *Protozoa* has increased, have adopted different methods of classification. In our country, that put forward, so late as 1859, by Professor Greene, in his "Manual of the Sub-kingdom Protozoa," as seeming the most judicious, has already been in great measure

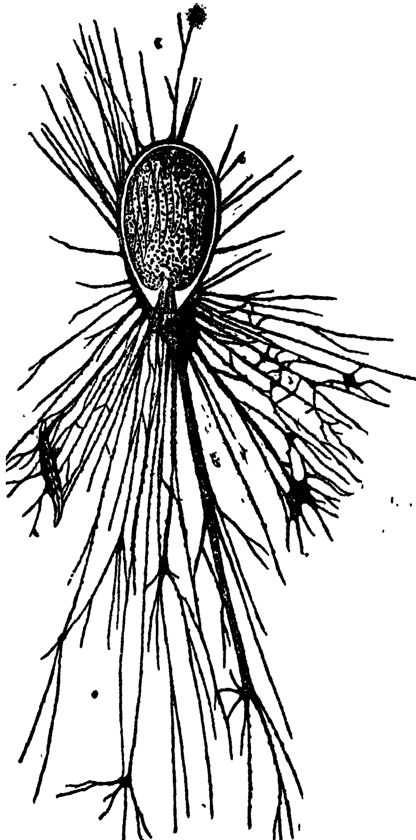
superseded. Dr. Carpenter's labours in this field have led him to propose a new arrangement of the *Rhizopoda*, based on that of Professor Müller; this arrangement has been adopted by Professor Huxley, and forms a part of the general classification of the animal kingdom contributed by him to the new edition just published of the "Student's Manual of Geology," by Mr. Jukes. In our brief description of the *Rhizopoda*, we shall speak of them in the order which Professor Huxley has adopted.

Our readers will of course imagine it very easy to distinguish animals without mouths from those with; but, indeed, when the animals themselves have to be looked for through a microscope, their mouths, when they have any, may escape detection. At least, one observer of the reported mouthless *Protozoa* has given utterance to the suspicion that, when looked at, they may keep their mouths obstinately shut, leaving not the slightest chink or trace of a line to denote the orifice, and thus confiding naturalists are deceived. However, in spite of the imputation, that these simple creatures thus puzzle their examiners, they have been divided into two provinces—those without mouths (*astomatoda*), and those with (*stomatoda*). The former consists of three classes: the *Rhizopoda* (the root-footed); the *Spongida* (the sponges); and the *Gregarinida* (the flocking together). The province of the mouth-endowed (the *stomatoda*) consists but of one class—the *Infusoria*. Of those without mouths, only the Rhizopods are divided into orders; to these, names, denoting their organic peculiarities, have been given by Dr. Carpenter.

The simplest and most primitive forms of *Protozoa* have been named by Dr. Carpenter *Rhizopoda reticularia*—a name which may perhaps best be Englished as reticulate root-footed animals. They consist of minute specks of semi-fluid, jelly-like, but granular matter, the particles of which, when the animal is in a state of activity, are continually performing a circulatory movement. A remarkable naked form of this group, called *Lieberkuhnia* (after the naturalist Lieberkühn) measures about one four-hundredth of an inch in its long diameter. It and its allies have the power of protruding portions of themselves, in the shape of minute filaments, and of so retracting them that they again become a part of the homogeneous mass of which the body consists. But, what is still more remarkable, so plastic is this body-substance, or *sarcode*, as it is technically called, and so completely devoid is it of any membranous envelope, that the filaments protruded from and again withdrawn into it "subdivide into finer and yet finer threads," and are capable of blending with each other whenever they come into contact. By these frequent junctions a net-work, or, as expressed by Dr. Carpenter, "an animated spider's web," is formed at the periphery of the animal. This network is, as he

observes, "continually undergoing changes in its own arrangement; new filaments being put forth in different directions, sometimes from its margin, sometimes from the midst of its ramifications, whilst others are retracted. Not unfrequently it happens, that to a spot where two or more filaments have met, there is an influx of the protoplasmic substance, which causes it to accumulate there as a sort of secondary centre, from which a new radiation of filamentary processes takes place." In *Lieberkühnia* (as well as in the whole sub-order in which Dr. Carpenter has classed it) the filaments are protruded from only one part of the body; in this naked form they appear to pass through an exceeding fine transparent circular band of membrane which restricts them, and which is the first tentative approach to the formation of shells, the aperture or

Fig. 1.



Gromia oviformis, with its pseudopodia extended.

apertures of which are confined to one spot. These shells are called *Imperforata*. The species called *Gromia*, belonging to this group, has a more complete investing membrane (see Fig. 1). But a vast proportion of this order of Rhizopods can form and protrude their filaments at any part of their circumference; and hence, as their calcareous exudations concrete around them, in the intervals between the filaments which extend from all parts of their bodies and secure apertures for their exit, the walls of the shells so formed are pierced throughout like the bottom of a sieve. Such shells (see Fig. 2) are called *Perforata*. The functions

Fig. 2.

Rosalina ornata, with its pseudopodia extended.

of these filaments are various. They serve as organs of prehension and nutrition: any small alimentary particle which they may touch becomes adherent to their glutinous surface; they grasp and coalesce around it, draw it to the surface of the body, and, at length, embed it within the substance of the jelly-sphere, where its nutrient elements are absorbed and digested, the rest being afterwards extruded through some part of the gelatinous mass. They also act as organs of locomotion: by their protrusion and the adherence of their extremities to the surface on which the animal is placed, followed by their contraction, it is drawn along; hence their generally recognised name of *pseudo-*

podia (false-feet) by which we shall hereafter speak of them. But they fulfil a still more extraordinary function : they are the agents by which the *Rhizopoda* effect at least one form of their reproduction, viz., that by gemmation or budding, and by which, also, when the buds or segments remain in connexion with their first parent, that connexion is sustained. The "secondary centres" of the body-substance, formed occasionally by a coalescence of the pseudopodial network, have already been mentioned ; in like manner the shell-covered Rhizopods protrude and develope from their bodies fresh buds, or segments, which afterwards secrete a shelly covering for themselves. The reticulate Rhizopods are distinguished from their more developed allies, by the absence of a 'nucleus' and 'contractile vesicle.' The former seems to play an important part in the function of reproduction; the latter is the most primitive trace of an organ for the propulsion of the circulatory fluid. But notwithstanding its absence in these *Protozoa,* even in them when in a state of activity, the granular particles of their body-substance are continually performing, as we have said, a circulatory movement, and pass to and fro along the branching pseudopodia, and through the network which they form.

The essential identity of the typical form of shell-less, reticulate Rhizopods just described, with those having a calcareous investment, is now we believe fully established. Dr. Carpenter, who has given especial attention to the point, and who has examined the inhabitants of *Orbitolite* (disc-like) shells, preserved in spirits, has entirely satisfied himself that this is the case.

"There is not," he says, "the least indication that any part of the sarcode is contained within any proper membrane ; nor is there the slightest trace of any distinct *organs,* either in the mass of sarcode which forms the central nucleus, or in that which constitutes each one of the surrounding segments. . . . The homogeneity of the component substance and of the central nucleus, and of the entire assemblage of multiple segments, seems indeed to be conclusively established by the following facts :—In all the spirit specimens which I have examined, the cavities of the outer zones are completely void, while those of the nucleus and of the inner zones are quite filled with their animal contents. This drawing together of the soft body towards the centre is evidenced also in many of the larger specimens which have been dried when collected in the living state, by the limitation of the red colour that indicates the presence of the sarcode to the inner portion of the disk. In both cases it may be presumed that the animal matter has shrunk together : in the former through the corrugatory action of the spirit, in the latter through desiccation. Now if the polypdom of a zoophyte be similarly treated, there is no such drawing together of the entire body, but each cell is found to contain the shrunk contents of its own polype-segment ; and this difference seems to me to indicate a complete dissimilarity in the characters of the two organisms. For it is obvious

that the substance of the peripheral segments of the Orbitolite body can only be brought together towards the centre, through being completely unattached to the walls of the cavities which it occupies, and through having a form so alterable as to be capable of being drawn in threads through the narrow connecting passages, and of their coalescing together again so perfectly that the masses they form do not present the least trace of having been thus spun out. There is no known kind of animal texture except *sarcode* that is susceptible of this kind of alteration; and the evidence of it which I have adduced seems to me extremely valuable, not only as establishing the general nature of the animal body of the Orbitolite, but also as fully justifying the assumption that in the living state the sarcode is projected in pseudopodia through the marginal apertures, and that alimentary particles are introduced by their instrumentality, as in other Foraminifera."

Between the families of naked *Rhizopoda reticularia* and those invested with a perfect shell, there are groups of intermediate types, which seemingly indicate the path of progress from the lower to the higher forms. The shell-bearing groups are called *Foraminifera* (from *foramen*, a hole, and *fero*, I bear), because of the countless foramina with which those shells to which the name was first given are pierced for the passage of the pseudopodia, and are divisible into two sub-orders, named according to the character of these shells, as already explained, *Imperforata* and *Perforata*. In the sub-order, *Imperforata*, the transitions from the naked to the shell-invested forms have been most especially observed, and the group has been divided into three families, distinguished respectively by the nature of their investments. The smallest advance from nakedness to the possession of a vesture is exhibited by the family called *Gromida;* but the different members of these families present different degrees of dress; one member of the *Gromida* family, *Lieberkühnia*, is, as we have said, all but naked, "the membranous envelope of its sarcode body being reduced to such extreme tenuity as only to be distinctly visible where it surrounds the pedicle from which the pseudopodia are given off." In the species *Gromia*, which gives its name to this family, the tunic is firmer and more distinct. The family *Lituolida* (little trumpet-like) is not so far superior to *Gromida* in respect to its clothing as to be able to form for itself a genuine shell, but the organisms of this group strengthen their membranous envelopes by the addition of excessively minute particles of sand, rendered adherent to their coats by the "organic glue" which they secrete. The different members of this family denote their individuality by the relative degrees in which the larger or smaller arenaceous particles predominate on their vestments, the rougher and more *brusque* displaying themselves in coarse pebble-surfaced wrappers,

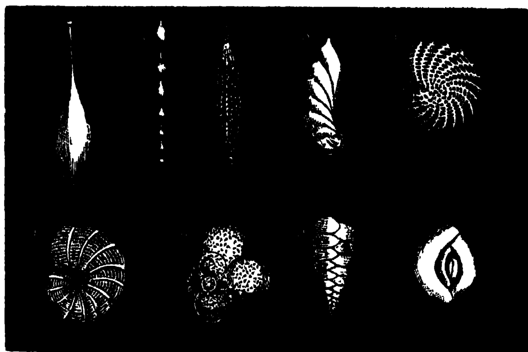
while the more refined, avoiding such external asperities, appropriate only the minutest possible sand-particles as their outer dress, these, in combination with the "organic glue," forming a fine cement so smoothed down as to present an even external surface. Of a still higher order are the tunics of the family *Miliolida.** The highest of them, indeed the great majority, have pure porcelain shells ; but the gradations of rank amongst them are not less obvious than in the two preceding families, and the humbler members are very closely related to the *Lituolida* group. Though they all possess the power of secreting porcelain or true shell substance, they possess it in different degrees: some of them, seemingly incapable of forming a complete porcellanous shell, adopt the habits of their inferior relatives, imparting strength to their coverings by embedding particles of sand in the scanty but real porcelain coat which they exude. Not less interesting than the transitional forms just mentioned is the genus *Valvulina*, of the family *Lituolida ;* for though the greater part of its investment consists of agglutinated arenaceous particles, too closely compacted to be pervious by *pseudopodia*, it has, nevertheless, "a basis of true shell-substance in which pores can be distinguished," and thus forms an intermediate type or connecting link between the *Imperforate* and *Perforate* orders of *Foraminifera*.

One of the most striking features of Foraminiferous shells is their marvellous minuteness: "many hundreds, thousands, or even tens of thousands," as stated by Dr. Carpenter, "may be contained in a pill-box." Professor Rymer Jones says that six thousand have been counted in a single ounce of sand from the shores of the Adriatic, and that M. d'Orbigny estimated that an ounce of sand procured from the Antilles contained not less than the astounding number—three million, eight hundred thousand ! The fossil *Nummulites* (*nummus*, a coin, and *lithos*, stone) and other disc-like forms, do indeed attain the gigantic size of from two to three inches in diameter; but in the Foraminiferous world they are comparatively enormous, and even in the limestone in which the large *Nummulites* occur there are myriads of them but just visible to the naked eye. The *Globigerinæ*, (shells having globular chambers, see G, Fig. 3,) which have been found in such vast numbers in the bed of the Atlantic, are each about one-fiftieth part of an inch in diameter, and the linear dimensions of recent British species are said by Professor Greene to vary from one five-thousandth to one fifty-thousandth of an inch.

* A name, says Dr. Carpenter, "apparently suggested by the resemblance to millet-seed borne by the minute bodies to which it is applied;" but Mr. Page, in his "Handbook of Geological Terms," tells us they were "so called from their occurring in myriads in certain tertiary strata !"

Many of these wonderfully minute shells consist of only one chamber, and hence are called unilocular or monothalamous (*thalamos*, a chamber); but a vast proportion consist of several chambers, and hence are called multilocular or polythalamous. Each of the sub-orders, *Perforata* and *Imperforata*, alike com-

Fig. 3.



Various forms of FORAMINIFERA:—A, *Oolina clavata*; B, *Nodosaria rugosa*; C, *Nodosaria spinicosta*; D, *Cristellaria compressa*; E, *Polystomella crispa*; F, *Dendritina elegans*; G, *Globigerina bulloides*; H, *Textularia Mayeriana*; I, *Quinqueloculina Bronniana*.

prehend both *monothalamous* and *polythalamous* shells. There is an exquisitely beautiful genus of the perforate monothalamous group called *Lagena*, which exhibits a wonderful variety of elegantly formed flasks (see A, Fig. 3), the sides of which are often fluted by numerous longitudinal striæ. The perforate polythalamous group is well typified by the genus *Rotalia* (*rota*, a wheel), so called from its nautiloid wheel-like contour. The statement of the astounding minuteness of the pores or *foramina*, from which these creatures take their name and through which they communicate with the exterior of their cells, demands a great effort of credulity; the fact is, however, fairly established that the diameters of these pores usually range from one three-thousandth to one ten-thousandth of an inch. "There can be no question," says Dr. Carpenter, "that even the smallest of these tubuli are large enough to transmit the finest threads into which the protoplasmic substance may subdivide itself: and looking to their remarkable continuity through successive layers of shell-substance, when the earlier whorls are completely embraced by the later, there can, I think, be no reasonable doubt that, through their means, a direct communication is maintained between even the earliest and innermost segments and the surrounding medium."

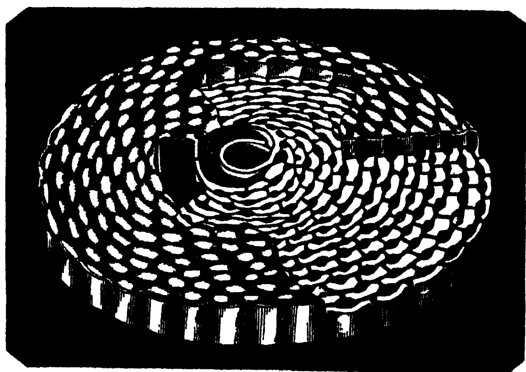
Every Foraminiferous shell, however numerous may be its

chambers, or seemingly complex its structure, originates as a single shell. The primitive jelly-sphere, or first sarcode segment, secretes around itself its appropriate calcareous envelope. Having grown too large for its habitation, it protrudes a portion of itself without, and thus forms a second segment. If by a process of spontaneous fission this segment becomes quite detached from its parent, and repeats the life and method of reproduction of the latter, a series of monothalamous shells will be the result. But if, by means of a sarcode band, the primitive segment maintains its connexion with its immediate offspring, and this, repeating the reproductive process, does the same, a compound or polythalamous shell will, of course, be the result. The form of the polythalamous shell is determined by the shape and relative size of the group of connected sarcode segments, and by the relative direction in which each of the successive segments is produced. If a primitive segment should put forth its bud in a line direct with the axis of itself, and if this bud and its successors, attaining the size of their first parent, should do the same, the aggregate of segments thus formed would be a straight calcareous tube, constricted at intervals corresponding to the inter-segmental spaces, the connecting bands, or 'stolens,' occupying the constricted parts of the tube. If the sarcode segments successively formed gradually increase in size from the first to the last, the tube will, of course, gradually increase in diameter, thus becoming a cone, the base of which is formed last. Such a tube being alternately dilated and constricted, suggests the notion of a string of knots; and hence the name of the genus of *Foraminifera* formed on this type, *Nodosaria* (*nodosus*, knotted, see B and C, Fig. 3.). If the direction in which each successive segment is developed be at an angle with the axis of its predecessor, the shell will become convolute, or spiral—the form most frequent of all, perhaps, which the *Foraminifera* assume. (See E and F, Fig. 3.) This is the form, where the convolutions of the spiral are all in the same plane, of the beautiful and well-known Nummulite, now extinct, and the one which, from its likeness to that of the Nautilus, led the earlier students of these tiny shells to class them with those of the highly organized group of molluscs, to which the Nautilus belongs. If the course of the spiral should not be horizontal, but should diverge to one side of the axis of the primitive segment, the shell becomes turbinated like the conical whorl of a peg-top. In the group *Miliolida*, a very different mode of growth prevails: the primitive segment is somewhat oblong in shape, and its bud, equal in length to that of its parent, is doubled completely back upon it, just as a short piece of tape might be bent in the middle of its length on itself, so that as each segment is added, the compound animal may be likened to a piece of tape wound upon itself

in an oblong form, the terminal orifice of the successive segments being alternately transferred from one end of the oblong to the other. (See I, fig. 3.) In many groups the outer end of each successively formed segment does not consist of a single orifice, but of many small ones, sometimes arranged like the holes of a sieve, more frequently in almost regular rows. Through these apertures the animal protrudes a part of itself in the shape of *pseudopodia*, which coalescing, form a new segment, around which shell is secreted, and by which, in turn, the same budding process is again performed. The spiral shells of the genera *Peneroplis*, and *Operculina* (lid-like), which are remarkable for their beauty, are constructed on this plan.

A very curious and complicated shell, which we have already referred to, has, together with its varieties, been carefully studied, and minutely described by Dr. Carpenter in his Monograph of the Genus *Orbitolites*, first published in the "Philosophical Transactions," but now embodied in the work named at the head of this article. As this monograph extends over more than fifty quarto pages, and is illustrated by a great number of lithograph figures, it will scarcely be expected that we should enable our readers to form a correct idea of the structure it describes, seeing that our limited space prevents us from devoting to it more than a few lines. But, aided by the following woodcuts, we will try to give some idea of it. The *Orbitolite* is a discoid body,

Fig. 4.

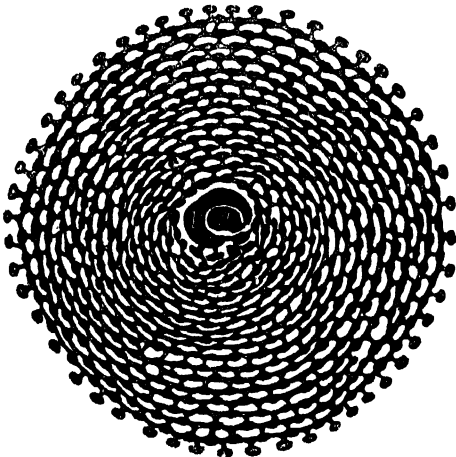


Simple disk of *Orbitolites complanatus*, laid open to show its interior structure:—*a*, central cell; *b*, circumambient cell, surrounded by concentric zones of cells, connected with each other by annular and radiating passages.

the simple types of which are ordinarily about one-twentieth of an inch in diameter; those having the most complex structure not unfrequently attain to three-tenths, while some are found

reaching even to seven-tenths of an inch. The central *Orbitolite* segment of sarcode has somewhat the shape of a pear, the rind of which may represent the shell; from the part corresponding to the pear-stalk the first gemmule is developed. The direction which this off-shoot takes evinces an incipient tendency in the young *Orbitolite* to grow in the spiral form (and thus proves the essential relationship between this extraordinarily eccentric genus and many of the ordinary Foraminiferous types). This spiral ten-

Fig. 5.



Composite Animal of simple type of *Orbitolites complanatus*:—*a*, central mass of sarcode; *b*, circumambient mass, giving off peduncles, in which originate the concentric zones of segments connected by annular bands.

dency is, however, very soon arrested, for it rarely manifests itself beyond the development of the second segment, which turns round the central one, investing it more or less completely, and hence has been named the "circumambient" segment. The further process of growth, which we are about to describe, has not been actually observed, but the knowledge obtained of the structure of the adult animal, and of its habitation, added to what is already known concerning the development of other Foraminifera, justify us in stating confidently that its increase takes place as follows:—The circumambient segment having been formed, and clothed with shell in the marginal circumference of which there is a row of numerous and nearly equidistant holes, pseudopodia are protruded through them, obtain nourishment for the two existing segments, and, as soon as there is need of more room for the growing animal, themselves assume along the outer

margin of the shell the condition of new buds, in the shape of little nodules, each of which is connected with the circumambient segment by the pseudopodial peduncle from which it was developed. These buds, or new segments, throw out lateral filaments in the intersegmental spaces, which meeting and blending with each other, complete a nodular or beaded sarcode zone around the margin of the shell. This zone becomes, in its turn, wholly clothed with shell, which being exuded from the surface of the sarcode nodules and intervening bands, is adapted to and displays the beaded or alternately protuberant and depressed margin of the new annulus of the disc. In each of the depressions, and midway between the protuberant buds, there is a minute hole in the margin of the shell corresponding to the middle of each connecting band of sarcode in the zone just formed, and through each of these holes pseudopodia, which branch off from the connecting bands, are protruded as before. These, in turn, constitute peduncles, on which, around the whole circumference of the disc, new buds are again developed, from these buds lateral filaments meet each other, forming connecting bands, as just described, shell is again secreted over the surface of the newly-formed zone, and thus, by a combination of radial and concentric growth, successive rings of cells, with their contained buds, are added to the margin of the disc. Such is the structure and method of development of *Orbitolites* of the simplest type. The number of zones in the simple forms, as in the complex, varies considerably. In some specimens, attaining fifteen hundredths of an inch in diameter, forty have been counted. The margins of the complex discs denote the more compound animal which they contain, not only by their increased thickness, but by an increase in the number of rows of *foramina*, through which the pseudopodia are protruded. The structure of these complex forms is too elaborate to permit of detailed description here.

It may, perhaps, be asked whether the component segments of such organism as the *Orbitolites* can properly be regarded as separate individuals, or whether individuality, in the true sense of the term, belongs only to the disc as a whole. It is not easy to answer this question satisfactorily. Were our knowledge of the mode of reproduction of the Foraminifera more complete than it is, the question of individuality would admit of less doubt than now surrounds it: if, for instance, we could trace the development of a primordial *Orbitolite* germ through its various stages, until having attained its maximum growth, it gave birth to a new and wholly distinct organism, we should be justified in affirming that the whole of the successive forms assumed during the entire circle of development constitute but one individual. Our knowledge of the reproductive process of Foraminifera is, however, almost

entirely limited to that of budding or gemmation. When the buds are wholly detached from the parent organism, as in the *Monothalamia,* there seems little reason to question the individuality of each; and where they remain connected together, the difference in capacity of self-nourishment, growth, and reproduction is inappreciable, and hence the latter have almost as great a claim as the former to be regarded as distinct animals.

All that is at present known of the mode of reproduction of Foraminifera, otherwise than by gemmation, is chiefly due to the observations of Professor Max Schultze and Dr. Carpenter. The former remarked that an individual of the genus *Triloculina* (of M. d'Orbigny) surrounded itself with a coat of slime, became quiescent for several days, and then minute, round, sharply-defined granules appeared, and detached themselves from the slimy envelope. Soon as many as forty clustered round the animal, and gradually separated themselves completely from it. They proved to be young Foraminifera; and, what is not a little remarkable, no sooner could their individual character be made out than they were found to be already clothed with infinitely delicate shells. By protruding their minute *pseudopodia,* and moving about, they showed a capacity of at once comporting themselves like their parent. On carefully breaking the shell of the latter it was found almost entirely empty: it contained only trifling remains of a finely granular organic substance, wholly devoid of motion, and seemingly lifeless. These facts justify the belief that the whole body of the creature had been resolved into young ones. In many parts of spirit-specimens of *Orbitolites,* especially, but not solely, in the superficial cells, Dr. Carpenter has found "the sarcode broken up as it were into little spherules;" and remarks: "I feel much inclined to believe that these bodies are *gemmules,* which, like the zoospores of the algæ, are produced by a resolution of certain portions of the substance of the organism into independent particles, which spontaneously detaching themselves, and escaping through the marginal pores of the disk, will go forth to lay the foundation for new disks elsewhere. Besides these, however, I have more rarely met certain other bodies apparently embedded in the sarcode, which may be either *gemmules* in a later stage, or may possibly be true *ova;* these seem to exhibit various stages of binary subdivision; and they present a deep-red colour, even in spirit-specimens." Dr. Carpenter's conjecture that these bodies may be true *ova* is by no means improbable; for, as we shall hereafter see, a *Protozoon* of much the same grade of organization as the *Orbitolite*—namely, one of the sponges—is reproduced by means of true *ova* and *spermatozoa.*

Perhaps the most remarkable and interesting of all the Forami-

nifera is a genus discovered in the Eastern Seas, and which Dr. J. E. Gray, in honour of Dr. Carpenter, has named *Carpenteria*. The extraordinary character of this genus consists in its combination of the nature of the Foraminifera with that of the Sponges, and is consequently the connecting link between these two classes of the *Protozoa*. It is the more remarkable, seeing that though the Foraminifera and the Sponges are nearly on the same plane of organic development, they differ from each other very widely both in aspect and structure. Most of the specimens of *Carpenteria* which have been collected have been found attached to the surface of coral or molluscous shells. The shell of this creature is a minute cone, adherent by its base to the object on which it grows. The sides of the cone present an appearance of irregular divisions into triangular segments, which might easily be supposed to be "valves" bounding a single undivided cavity. At the apex of the cone there is a large aperture communicating with the chambers of the shell, the outer walls of which are pierced by *foramina*. Our readers will at once see that in the general aspect of this conical shell there is a considerable likeness to the sponge, but with the form of the shell, so far as it is concerned, this likeness ends. Though the perforations in the sides of the cone may remind us of the pores of the sponge, they really connect it with the Foraminifera. This connexion becomes still more apparent when its internal structure is examined: its entire cavity is divided into numerous chambers, which are completely separated from each other, and which are arranged upon a spiral type, "each whorl completely investing (save on the adherent base) that which preceded it, so that only the external wall of the last whorl is anywhere seen on the surface." As the last-formed whorl is the largest and invests its predecessors, it of course forms the apex of the cone, and constitutes the external orifice communicating with each of the chambers; for though the sides of this orifice conceal the aperture of the previous whorls, it does not obstruct them, and in fact is the termination of an irregular vertical canal formed by the superposition of the oval rings of successive cells, and through which they retain their original connexion with the exterior. As pointed out, the structure of this extraordinary shell decisively connects it with the Foraminifera, while, on the other hand, the organization of its inhabitant allies it no less decisively with the Sponges; its body-substance possesses far more consistence than the sarcode of the Foraminifera, and is supported, in the large chambers at least, by sponge-like siliceous spicules similar to those of the sponge known to naturalists by the name *Halichondria*.

As the order *Rhizopoda reticularia* is connected with the

sponges by means of the curious organism just described, so the next order to which we shall devote a few words, the *Rhizopoda radiolaria*, is no less related to the sponges, though in a less definite and interesting form, as we shall hereafter see. The naked type of this order, *Actinophyrs* (rayed eyebrow), exhibits a considerable advance on that of the *Reticulata* already described. It is, in like manner, a minute jelly-sphere, capable of protruding pseudopodia in the same manner and for the same purposes as the naked members of the Reticulate group, but it is differentiated from them by the following characteristics. The jelly-sphere, instead of being a purely homogeneous mass, is of different consistence in its outer and inner portions, the inner being more fluid, the outer more tenacious and dense. The outer and inner portions, as thus distinguished from each other, have been respectively designated the 'ectosarc' (outer flesh), and the 'endosarc' (inner flesh). The pseudopodia are finer and more tapering than in the preceding order; they never subdivide into branches, neither do they show any readiness to coalesce when they come into mutual contact. They can, however, be retracted and fused into the general mass of the body, like those of *Lieberkühnia*. This usually occurs when alimentary particles are entrapped, the pseudopodia, by which they are caught, being gradually drawn into the sarcode mass, followed by the prey, which becomes surrounded, and its nutrient portions absorbed. These particles often seemingly slide along the *pseudopodia* until they reach the circumference of the body before the gelatinous filaments retract and enclose them. There is not in the body that seemingly automatic circulation visible in *Lieberkühnia*, but there is a 'contractile vesicle,' the function of which is, as we have said, to maintain "a continual movement of nutritive fluid among a system of channels and vacuoles excavated in the substance of the body, some of the vacuoles which are nearest the surface being observed to undergo distension when the vesicle contracts, and to empty themselves gradually as it refills." There is generally a 'nucleus' in this order; it is not, however, so strongly marked as we shall find in the next, and may easily escape notice. The assemblage of characteristics just described evince a marked organic advance beyond the *Reticularia*. Certain genera of this order, by the limitation of the pseudopodia to one portion of the body, in consequence of its enclosure within a protecting envelope, show an advance beyond the naked form *Actinophyrs*, and constitute the connecting links between it and the shell-covered *Acanthometrina* and the *Polycystina*, which may be regarded as higher or more specialized forms of the same type.

The Acanthometræ are minute microscopic creatures; the one

called *Acanthometra echineides*, which abounds on the western coast of Norway, is, however, discernible as a red spot by the naked eye. Their radiating pseudopodia " correspond precisely in all their characters with those of *Actinophyrs*, having the same rod-like tapering form, the same slow movement of particles along their surface; some of them, however, are enclosed in tubular siliceous sheaths, which appear to be secreted from their surface; and the union of the expanded bases of these sheaths forms a sort of framework that supports the protoplasmic substance of the body." These creatures are all marine, and are destitute of locomotive power; their star-like shells, with their peculiar siliceous radiating spines, which meet in the centre of the gelatinous body, and project in most cases considerably beyond its surface, impart to them considerable beauty, and together with the ray-like pseudopodia of *Actinophyrs*, as well as of other members of the group, suggest and justify the name *Radiolaria*, by which Müller distinguished it.

One family of this order, the *Polycystina*, has very close affinities with the *Foraminifera*, differing from them, however, in respect to the form, size, and composition of their shells. The former bear the same relation to *Actinophyrs* as the latter do to *Lieberkühnia*. In other words, as the *Foraminifera* are shell-bearing *reticulate* Rhizopods, so the *Polycystina* are shell-bearing *radiate* Rhizopods; but while the shells of the former are calcareous, those of the latter are siliceous. Their shells are usually surmounted by a number of peculiar spine-like projections, very frequently having a radiate disposition. Many of them have a

Fig. 6.

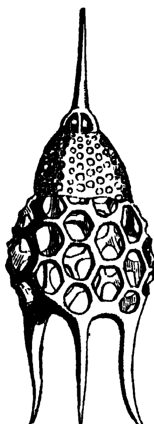


Fig. 7.

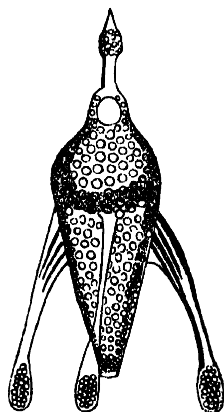


Fig. 6. *Podocyrtis Schomburgkii.*
Fig. 7. *Rhopalocanium ornatum.*

discoid form, from the circumference of which the siliceous spines radiate at regular intervals, and hence have a star-like aspect, and for this reason were placed by Müller in the radiate group. They are generally of smaller size than even the Foraminifera, and are especially remarkable for the variety and beauty of their forms. (See Figs. 6, 7, 8, 9.) As yet but very little is known of the true nature of these exquisite microscopic organisms. That the multitude of minute *foramina* pervading their shells are for the exit of

Fig. 8.

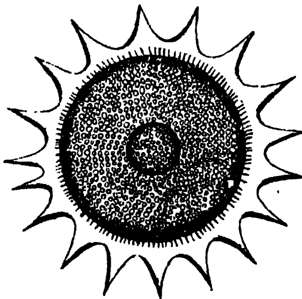


Fig. 9.

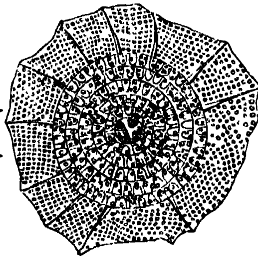


Fig. 8. *Haliomma Humboldtii.*
Fig. 9. *Perichlamydium prætextum.*

pseudopodia, as is the case with the perforate order of the calcareous *Foraminifera*, there can be no doubt. So far as is yet known of the sarcode body inhabiting the shell, it appears to be divided into four equal lobes, and instead of filling the entire cavity of the shell, would seem, it is said, to be wholly confined to its upper portion.

The third group of organisms, also classed by Müller among the *Radiolaria*, consists of a number of very curious creatures, first observed, we believe, by Professor Huxley, in 1851, and described by him under the name *Thalassicollida* (sea-jellies). They are especially interesting because, like the Foraminiferous genus, *Carpenteria*, they also, by their peculiar structure, are connecting links between the rhizopods and sponges. They consist of masses of jelly, of various and but slightly determinate forms, varying in size from an inch downward, seemingly destitute of the power of voluntary motion, and usually found floating near the surface of the water. One of the most abundant of these creatures, the *Sphærozoum punctatum*, is somewhat oval, constricted towards its centre, and consists of a hollow gelatinous substance, transparent, colourless, and marked with a considerable number of spots: hence its name. The spots, when examined by the microscope, are found to consist of minute "cellæform bodies," having an external membrane filled with granular contents, in

which "a clear fatty-looking" nucleus is observed. They are generally surrounded by peculiar siliceous and cylindrical spicula, "terminating at both extremities in three or four conical rays, beset on either side with minute spine-like processes." The likeness of this creature to the characteristic structure of the sponge, as we shall hereafter see, is very remarkable. In it, as well as in *Thalassicolla* proper, the differentiation of substance into endosarc and ectosarc, observable in the naked type of this order, *Actinophyrs*, is distinctly marked. In another member of the group, *Collosphæra* (glue-sphere), the sponge-like spicules are absent, but the entire animal is enclosed in a transparent reticulated and very brittle siliceous shell.

The third order of *Rhizopoda*, according to the arrangement of Dr. Carpenter, is chiefly distinguished by the shortness, obtuseness, and lobate character of its pseudopodia; hence the name by which he denotes the order *Lobosa*. The *Amœba*, which until recently has been regarded as the very lowest form of animal life, and distinguished accordingly, has been elevated by Dr. Carpenter as the type of this group. The distinction in this creature between the endosarc and ectosarc is still greater than in the preceding order. The few short, broad, and rounded pseudopodia exhibit slighter disposition to cohesion, and still less to fusion of their substance, though, as in both the preceding orders, they are capable of being drawn into and blended with the sarcode body. Both the 'nucleus' and the 'contractile vesicle' are distinctly visible. The interior of the jelly-sphere is more fluid than in the preceding groups, and during locomotion an active current of granules may be seen to pass into the pseudopodia during their protrusion, while other currents set in an opposite direction from those which are being retracted. The kind of progression effected by the pseudopodia give an appearance of a rolling movement, but competent observers assert that this is an optical illusion, that the 'nucleus' and 'contractile vesicle' always maintain the same position relatively to the rest of the body, and that creeping or crawling would be a truer description of the *Amœba's* movement. "On this view," as observed by Dr. Carpenter, "these animals have their ventral constantly differentiated from their dorsal surface, it being from the former alone that the pseudopodial extensions proceed; and thus a transition would seem to be indicated towards the testaceous *Amœbina*, in which the dorsal surface is invested by a shell and the pseudopodia are strictly limited to the ventral region." This order is limited to one family, the *Amœbina*. One of its members, *Pamphagus*, though naked, has its pseudopodia restricted to one part of the body, thus exhibiting one step in advance. This creature undergoes the most extraordinary mutations of form, in conse-

quence of its habit of swallowing almost every object with which it comes in contact; hence its appropriate name, *Pamphagus mutabilis* (changeable all-eater). A further mark of development is shown by other members of the group, which not only have the pseudopodia thus restricted, but have the outer portion of the body so hardened as to serve as an envelope for the protection of the softer sarcode within. A further step is shown in *Difflugia* and *Arcella*. The former is "invested with a membranous 'carapace' or 'lorica,' of an oblong or oval figure, from the terminal aperture of which the pseudopodia are protruded. In *Arcella*, the carapace assumes a discoid or hemispherical form, with the single narrow orifice placed on its flat surface. In both of these Rhizopods the surface of the carapace often exhibits tubercules or depressions, or has particles of sand, &c., imbedded in its substance; and in *Arcella* the margin is frequently provided with long spinous prolongations."

We now pass to a group of organisms not less remarkable and interesting, perhaps, than those we have already glanced at—organisms connected with the Foraminifera, on the one hand, by means of the extraordinary creature *Carpenteria*, and with the Sea-jellies, Thalassicollida, on the other—viz., the Sponges. They differ very widely from the preceding groups, inasmuch as they are often of large size, have no locomotive power, except in the embryonic state, and present certain structural characters wholly unlike those of the other *Protozoa*. The three elements of the Sponge so generally present as to justify us in calling them distinctive, are a horny skeleton, a gelatinous covering, and siliceous spicula. The animal nature of these organisms, which was long a matter of doubt, is now entirely established.

The skeleton usually consists of a horny reticulated structure, so arranged as to constitute a complex aggregation of canals, the flexibility of the fibres differing in different species of sponge. The great degree to which this quality is developed in the sponge of commerce, confers upon it its peculiar value for the purposes to which it is applied. The general form and character of the sponge-skeleton may be at once well understood by all from their familiarity with this species. Sponges, however, differ exceedingly in their size, form, general aspect, and even, so far as the skeleton is concerned, in their constituent elements—the horny fibre in some sponges being wholly replaced by mineral spicula, which, however, are still so arranged as to preserve the reticulate character. Perhaps the most remarkable of all sponges is the minute parasitic genus, *Cliona*, which has flourished ever since the secondary geological epoch, and which abounds in existing seas: it burrows a residence for itself in various calcareous bodies, the shells of oysters and other molluscs being riddled by it.

The sponge-skeleton is covered externally, and along the internal surfaces of the canals, with a gelatinous substance, which consists of an aggregation of *Amœbiform* bodies, about one-thousandth part of an inch in diameter, and like to those constituting the naked species of *Amœbina*, embedded in a homogeneosu glairy mass. In one of the fresh-water sponges (*Cliona celata*), M. Dujardin discovered that these bodies continually change their shapes, and effect lobose projections of themselves, just as the *Amœbæ* do. Indeed, it has since been ascertained by Mr. Carter, that in the freshwater sponge, *Spongilla*, they project portions of themselves in slender filaments, sometimes single, sometimes bifid or trifid, and often equal in length to several diameters of the central jelly-mass. If one of these bodies—or "cells," as he calls them—be separated from the common mass, it assumes for a short time, as stated by Professor Rymer Jones, "a globular form, and afterwards, in addition to its becoming polymorphic, evinces a power of locomotion. It emits expansions of its cell-wall in the form of obtuse or globular projections, or digital and tentacular prolongations. If in progression it meets with another cell, both combine; and if more are in the immediate neighbourhood, they all unite together in one globular mass. Should a spiculum chance to be placed in the path of a cell thus in motion, it will ascend it and traverse it from end to end, subsequently quitting it; or else, assuming its globular form, it will embrace some part of the spiculum, and remain stationarily attached to it. The changes in shape and position of the sponge-cell are, for the most part, effected so imperceptibly that they may be likened to those which take place in a cloud. Its granules, however, are more active, but there appears to be no motion in any part of the cell (excepting among the molecules within the hyaline vesicle,) which in any way approaches to that characteristic of the presence of cilia" (minute hair-like appendages to the vibrations of which the locomotion of *Infusoria* is generally due). In one species of sponge, however—viz., *Grantia* (after Dr. Grant), the *Amœbiform* bodies are known to be invested with cilia; and there is reason to believe that cilia are a common attribute of the sponge.

The spicula present in sponges are of various shapes, which for each species of sponge are strictly determinate, and not only so, but each part of the sponge, it is believed, has spicula of a character peculiar to itself. They are often of very extraordinary shape, and are not unfrequently arranged together in a curiously complex manner. The constancy of their forms, and the absence of any sign in them of crystallization, justify the belief that they are true organic deposits from the gelatinous or sarcode substance of the sponge. Indeed, Mr. Bowerbank has shown that they are

originally hollow, the cavity being occupied by sarcode, from which they are doubtless secreted. They are generally siliceous, but are sometimes calcareous, and in some species are wholly absent, their place being seemingly occupied by particles of sand.

The sponge canals, considered with respect both to their structure and functions, are objects of peculiar interest, inasmuch as they exhibit nature's first attempts to develope a respiratory system. If our readers will examine an ordinary sponge, they will observe that it has a generally conical character, or perhaps, more correctly speaking, that it presents an aggregation of small cones arising from an extended and consolidated base; that at the top of each cone is a wide aperture, called an *osculum*, and that the whole surface of the sponge presents one vast aggregate of pores. Throughout a living sponge a continuous circulation of water is going on: the water surrounding the sponge enters it by the multitude of small pores just mentioned, and pervades its entire substance. Passing through a large number of small canals, which, from the direction of the water in them, are called "in-current" canals, and ultimately reaching the larger set of vessels, called "ex-current" canals, which terminate at the apical apertures of the sponge, it makes its exit there. "If a fragment of living sponge be placed in a watch-glass, on the stage of a microscope, and examined with a low magnifying power, a curious spectacle," as Professor Greene says, "will, under favourable circumstances, come into view. Currents will be seen to issue rapidly from the oscula, whilst, at the same time, water is being continually absorbed by the pores. In this manner a sort of circulation is maintained within the two systems of canals which connect the oscula and pores with one another. The currents are rendered more readily observable by diffusing fine powdered indigo or carmine in the water containing the specimens under examination."

It is now proved that the living sponge has the power of opening and closing its oscula at pleasure, that they are capable of acting independently of each other, and that new ones may be formed at any part in the direction of the ex-current canals.

We said above that it is believed that cilia are a common attribute of the sponge; this, however, is not proved, their presence being for the present only inferred from the circulatory action which the sponge effects. Since Dr. Grant, in 1827, discovered this extraordinary phenomenon, much attention, especially by Dr. Bowerbank, has been directed to its investigation. There is reason for concluding that the movement of the water along the canals is effected by vibratile cilia, developed from the gelatinous surface of the "ex-current" canals, that the circulation is alternately vigorous and languid, and that the nourishment of the entire structure is effected by the alimentary particles brought to it

in the circulating currents, which at the same time aërate all its parts, and carry away the effete matters resulting from the vital changes going on.

Judged by the character of their reproductive organs, sponges may be said to present a higher grade of development than any of the *Protozoa* we have already noticed. In some marine sponges, reproduction is found to be effected by budding, the buds growing from the internal surfaces of the water-canals. These becoming detached, are provided with cilia, and after leading for some time an irregular life, fix themselves to some object, and grow up into the likeness of their parents. In the freshwater sponge, *Spongilla*, certain "seed-like bodies" of a very remarkable structure have been discovered. These are roundish or ovoid; their capsules when magnified present a hexagonally-tesselated appearance, and are surrounded by a zone of very remarkable star-like spicula. Each spiculum consists of two asteroid discs parallel to each other, and held together by a siliceous rod passing through, or rather adherent to, their centres, thus having the form of two carriage-wheels joined by an axletree. The contents of the capsule consists of a number of "ovi-bearing cells," embedded in a glairy mass, and surrounded by a cortical layer of nucleated cells. When the seed-like body attains maturity, its contents escape through an aperture specially provided for the purpose; oscula, canals, and spicula become developed within the gelatinous mass, which, passing through certain intervening phases of growth, assumes the form of the original sponge. But the most advanced form of reproduction hitherto observed in the sponges, is that which presents itself in the species called *Tethya*, which has been carefully studied by Professor Huxley. The substance intervening between the central and outer portions of this sponge consists of a granular mass, which is found to be altogether made up of true germ-cells or *ova*, and of *spermatozoa* in every stage of development. The former are of various sizes, the largest being oval, and about 1-350th of an inch in long diameter; they have a very distinct vitellary membrane, containing an opaque, coarsely-granular yolk, and in the centre of each, surrounded by a clear space, may be noticed the 'germinal vesicle,' within which the 'germinal spot' may sometimes be seen. The spermatic cell "throws out a long filament, which becomes the tail of the spermatozoon, and becoming longer and pointed, forms, itself, the head. The perfect spermatozoa have long, pointed, somewhat triangular heads, about 1-3000th of an inch in diameter, with truncated bases, from which a very long filiform tail proceeds."

The *Gregarinidæ* are perhaps, of all the *Protozoa*. the least interesting, and we shall say but a few words concerning them.

They differ so remarkably in character and habit from the other organisms with which they are grouped, that it is difficult to say what relative position as a class they would most appropriately occupy. Professor Greene places them immediately below the *Infusoria*, which being the *Stomatoda*, are the highest of all; and as there are good reasons for this arrangement, as well as for placing them on a lower grade, we refer to them here, and chiefly in the Professor's own words. They are colourless microscopic organisms, consisting of "a transparent membrane enclosing a mass of granular contents, in the interior of which a nucleus, surrounded by a well-defined clear space, may in most cases be observed." They are of various forms, generally more or less ovate, are marked by clefts or strictures, corresponding to internal septa, which divide the body into two or more segments, and in some cases one end of the body has a projecting process, furnished with hooklets, by which these creatures are supposed to fix themselves more tenaciously to the surfaces on which they are found. They are known only as the parasitic inhabitants of the bodies of other animals, especially those belonging to the sub-kingdom *Annulosa*. The reproduction of Gregarinidæ is effected by a remarkable "conjugating process:" two of these organisms "come into contact, and a cyst or capsule soon forms around them both." The membranous septum dividing the two disappears, the contents of the capsule become metamorphosed into peculiar bodies called pseudo-naviculæ; by the bursting of the capsule these escape, and afterwards bursting themselves, give rise to *amœbiform* bodies, which at length develop themselves into young *Gregarinidæ*. "By some," Professor Greene observes, "the Gregarinidæ have been regarded as vegetable forms, by others as larval stages of various Annuloïda. Neither of these opinions has been supported by proofs; and upon the whole, it seems desirable, for the present at least, to view these organisms as adult members of the sub-kingdom *Protozoa.*"

The term *Infusoria* formerly comprised, as we have already mentioned, an assemblage of organisms of various and widely-differing character, but is now used by naturalists in a much more restricted sense to denote a group of animals occupying the highest rank in the sub-kingdom *Protozoa*, and distinguished as *Stomatoda*—creatures with mouths. They are all aquatic, and are exceedingly minute, but of very various sizes, the greater number being invisible to the naked eye. Those best known range in size from one three-thousandth to one twenty-fifth of an inch. Compared with the creatures we have already passed in review, the higher organic development of the *Infusoria* is chiefly exhibited in the greater differentiation of their body-substance, in their posses-

sion of a mouth and rudimentary digestive organ, and well-marked cilia, serving as permanent instruments of prey and locomotion. The highest of the Rhizopods, as we have seen, present only an indistinct differentiation of the jelly-mass into 'ectosarc' and 'endosarc,' whereas the bodies of most *Infusoria* give evidence of development into three fairly distinct structures—namely, a 'cuticle,' or sort of transparent skin, a central semi-fluid or 'abdominal mucus,' and an intervening cortical layer, constituting the wall of the body. As in the highest of the Rhizopods, there is in the *Infusoria* a 'nucleus' and 'contractile vesicle,' both being embodied in the middle layer just mentioned, the latter distinctly performing the function of an incipient circulatory organ. In all *Infusoria* the nature of which is indisputably established, a mouth and digestive apparatus is observable; in many the mouth is surrounded with cilia. This orifice is continued by a minute, tube-like cavity, called the œsophagus, the open end of which generally hangs free within the mucus-like centre of the body; in some cases there is also an orifice for the extrusion of effete particles, placed in some species near the mouth, in others at the opposite extremity of the body. The cilia, or hair-like appendages, which we found attached to the *amœbiform* bodies of one species of sponge—namely, *Grantia*—and which, as we have said, are presumed to be the cause of the water circulation in sponges, make their first conspicuous appearance in the animal kingdom as a characteristic of the *Infusoria*. These appendages are tapering in form, and vary in length from ·00005 to ·02 of an inch. During the life of the animal they are in almost constant action, their motions consisting of bends in rapid succession from base to point, and of an immediate return to the original position—not unlike the wavy motion of a field of corn under the influence of the wind. Their exceeding minuteness, as well as their rapid movement, often makes it difficult to observe them, though when invisible their existence may be frequently inferred from the agitation of minute particles near the *infusorium*, these being whirled about in the tiny currents which the action of its cilia produces. The cause of the movement of these cilia is still unknown.

Certain animals of a higher grade than the *Infusoria*, the fresh-water polype, for instance, are endowed with peculiar organs of offence and defence by which they can sting their enemies or their prey. In the polype these organs consist of minute cells enclosing a coiled-up thread. At the moment of attack, the cells burst, and the threads are suddenly projected at the victim. In some *Infusoria*, and notably in the one named *Bursaria*, a similar provision exists.

Reproduction of the *Infusoria* is known to be effected in four

ways: by spontaneous division of the animal—*fission;* by budding —*gemmation;* by a very peculiar method called *encystation;* and by true *ova* and *spermatozoa.* The first and second methods are sufficiently explained by the words denoting them, and are exemplified by the *Rhizopoda* already described. *Infusoria* which propagate by *encystation,* secrete around themselves a kind of gelatinous matter, which hardens and wholly invests them as in a cyst. The contents of the cyst, after passing through a process of development, sometimes curiously complex, and differing greatly in different species, at length burst their prison walls, escape, and finally assume the parent form. There is, however, still much obscurity surrounding our knowledge of this process, and it is doubtful whether many *Infusoria* presumed to be adults are not in reality transitional types representing successive phases of it.

The phenomena of true reproduction in *Infusoria* have been especially studied by M. Balbiani, as they exhibit themselves in the genus *Paramecium.* It appears from his investigations that the distinctly defined, round, or ovoid body appearing in the higher *Protozoa,* and called the 'nucleus,' is, in fact, an ovary, or egg-producing organ, and that the central spot sometimes observable in this structure consists of the male element. M. Balbiani found that the propagation of the genus *Parameccium,* which is perhaps most usually effected by *fission,* also occurs as follows:—Two *Paramecia* adhere together laterally, their genital orifices being closely applied to each other, and immediately begin to revolve rapidly in the water on their longitudinal axis. Meanwhile the 'nucleus' and 'nucleolus' of each undergo a remarkable change. The former becomes larger, rounder, softer, and a number of transparent spherical bodies, seemingly true *ova,* within each of which an obscure central point is observable, are formed. Sometimes the 'nucleus' becomes wholly resolved into fragments before the spherical bodies appear; simultaneously the 'nucleolus' also increases in size, becomes ovoid, and appears to have a streaked capsule; it then divides into four parts, which increase in size independently of each other, and develope separate capsules for themselves. These changes having been effected, and the two *Paramecia* still remaining in close conjunction, a mutual transfer takes place from one to the other of one or more of the secondary capsules, which, after their transference, continue to grow, one only arriving at maturity at the same time. Five or six days after this curious conjunction, small rounded germs appear, remain for some time attached to the body of the parents by means of suckers, and at length, having lost these and acquired mouths instead, they become detached, are furnished with vibratile cilia, and assume the adult character.

In order to convey a more precise idea of the *Infusoria*, we may describe two or three species as examples. One of the most interesting and beautiful of all is the well-known *Vorticella*. It is one of the largest species, and is found abundantly on the roots of duck-weed and in other like situations. It is an exquisite vase-like organism surmounting a long stalk, by the base of which it is attached. The stalk, as well as the vase-like portion, is an essential part of the animal. The rim of the vase is tipped with a spiral of exquisite cilia, one end of the circling row descending a short distance down the side of the vase to a point where the oral aperture of the creature is placed. Within the circle of cilia is a disc, forming a lid-like surface to the upper part of the vase. Its internal structure has a general resemblance to that described as characteristic of the class *Infusoria*. When this creature is disturbed its cilia close up, it assumes the form of a minute ball, and its plant-like stem, by coiling itself into a spiral, rapidly shortens, and thus the whole organism conceals itself as much as possible. Several of them are frequently found together, attached to the same supporting object, and present the appearance of a group of exquisite microscopic flowers. The species called *Vaginicola crystallina* and the one called *Vaginicola valvata* have somewhat the shape of tapering rods, the broad ends of which form discs, fringed with cilia having a spiral disposition; but these creatures are protected by a membranous or horny 'carapace,' within which they can retreat in presence of danger, the *Vaginicola valvata* having the additional security of a sort of valve placed obliquely within and across the upper end of its sheath, and by which the animal is capable of shutting itself in its dwelling.

Perhaps the most interesting of all the *Protozoa* are the *Noctilucæ*, which chiefly contribute to impart to the sea, in temperate climes at least, the beautiful phosphorescent aspect so often observable at night. They are nearly globular, vary from one one-hundredth to one twenty-fifth of an inch in size, and are furnished on one side with a peculiar curved stalk, or tentacle, which seems to be used as an organ of locomotion. They appear to be destitute of cilia, and, so far as is known, multiply only by spontaneous fission. They feed on Diatomaceæ (species of exceedingly minute Algæ), some of the rarer forms of which are procured by naturalists from the bodies of these microphagists. The light they emit does not radiate, like that of the glowworm and other creatures, from one fixed point or special organ, neither is the whole body luminous; but minute points of light, scattered over its surface, appearing and disappearing in rapid succession, produce, by the combination of their tiny sparks, the brilliant effect observed.

As already intimated, the bodies of all the *Protozoa* are con-

stituted of a semi-transparent or transparent gelatinous substance, almost wholly homogeneous; except in the rudimentary digestive apparatus of the *Infusoria*, and in the stalk-like pedicles of certain species of this class—the Vorticella, for instance—no approach to a tubular or fibrous structure is observable throughout this whole sub-kingdom: vessels, muscles, nerves, special organs of assimilations, secretion and excretion, are alike absent. All parts of the body are equally capable of subserving the functions of nutrition, circulation, respiration, and, in the lowest forms, of generation. Among the Rhizopods the same remark applies to the function of locomotion. In the absence of muscular fibres all the *Protozoa* possess the power of extension and contractility, and notwithstanding the absence of nervous fibres, they "clearly evince in their actions the existence of sensation and volition, and appear susceptible of sensitive impressions. . . . . With the naked Infusoria the sense of touch exists, undoubtedly, over the whole body. But besides this, it appears specially developed, in many species, in the long cilia forming vibratile circles, or in those moveable foot-like and snout-like prolongations of the body. In the same manner, it is probable they have the sense of taste also; for they seem to exercise a choice in their food, although no gustatory organ has yet been found. All species, whether they have red pigment points or not, seem affected by light. Without doubt, therefore, their vision consists simply in discriminating light from darkness, which is accomplished by the general surface of the body, and without the aid of a special optical organ."* If a number of *Infusoria* contained in a drop of water move about with the utmost rapidity, they neither come into violent collision nor even jostle each other, but by some mysterious endowment (perhaps magnetic) are aware of the proximity of their associates, and "respecting their individuality," avoid all rude contact or interference. The way in which the *Rhizopoda* seize their prey certainly *seems* to indicate the presence of distinct volition, but it is probable that the phenomena observable are manifestations only of unconscious 'reflex-action.' We may also thus account for the power they have, as Professor Rymer Jones thinks, of stunning or paralysing their victims so as to facilitate their capture. That the tentacles or filamentary appendages of the *Actinophrys* "possess some other power than that of mere prehension appears evident," as he says, "because nearly every creature of moderate and even immoderate size which strikes against them is at once for a time rendered immovable. When a Rotifer, in crossing the field (of the microscope) with

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* "Comparative Anatomy." By C. Th. v. Siebold and H. Stannius. Translated from the German by Waldo J. Burnett, M.D. Vol. i.—The Invertebrata.

velocity, strikes against any object, the rotatory organ is often seen at once to suspend its operation, more particularly should its cilia strike the cilia of another animalcule, and frequently no notice whatever is taken of the shock; not so with the victim of the *Actinophrys Sol*, on the instant of contact with whose tentacles it appears to be paralysed. . . . Sometimes it would seem as if the appetite of the *Actinophrys* were sated, or that the captive were not approved of, for after remaining stunned for a few seconds, ciliary action is feebly recommenced, not sufficient to produce motion, but as if a return to vitality had been effected; shortly it is seen to glide off the tentacle (as if that organ possessed the power both of appropriation and rejection), and frequently, with but little sign of recovered life, it floats out of the field."

We shall now glance at the wonderful rôle which has been, and is still being performed by the *Protozoa* in the formation of the earth's crust. As our readers are aware, the vast assemblage of creatures constituting the present animal kingdom exhibits an orderly gradation of rank, from beings of wholly homogeneous or structureless constitution to those which are differentiated into the complex organisms of which man is the highest type. It is true that the gradual ascent cannot be represented by a smooth incline in which there are no breaks, but rather by a vast series of separate steps, the distinctive and seemingly permanent character of which has generated the belief in the aboriginal nature, and, within certain limits, invariability of species. There is, however, evidence, and evidence which is constantly accumulating, which justifies the inference that as the spaces intervening between the great steps forming the sides of the Egyptian Pyramids were originally filled in by triangular stones, so smoothed off that the whole of those vast piles presented perfectly equable surfaces, so intervening, but now extinct organic forms have bridged over the distances at present apparent between the different species now existing on the globe. And further, as around the Pyramids certain of those intervening stones bore zones of inscriptions revealing the history of the building of those ancient structures, so extinct intervening animal forms would complete the story of organic development, which indeed even now is suggested, or told incompletely, by the fossil remains of ancient faunas found in the stratified rocks. Those of our readers who desire an answer to the question,—how have the intervening transitional forms completing the history of the world's existing fauna disappeared? we refer to Mr. Darwin's celebrated work, "On the Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection; or the Preservation of favoured Races in the

Struggle for Life." Precisely as the earth's present fauna represents an ascending series from the lowest to the highest types of organization, so, as has been indisputably established by the collective observations of zoologists and geologists, those rocks which constitute the stratified portions of the earth's crust, present a vast panorama of extinct forms, representative of beings which have existed in eras inconceivably remote, and the order of whose progressive development is coincident with the progress of time—the lowest creatures having appeared the earliest, the highest the latest. But just as we have seen that existing forms exhibit breaks in the ascent from the lowest to the highest, so there are many gaps yet unfilled up in the fossil series. Some of these are doubtless due to defective opportunities of palæontological observation, others, in all probability, to great, and more or less sudden geological changes involving the extinction of antique faunas previously flourishing. These exceptional facts do not, however, invalidate the statement that, to use the words adopted by Professor Owen, there has been "an advance and progress in the main."

We may as well premise, as all who have read an elementary treatise on geology know, that the stratified rocks are classed into three great groups, viz., the Primary, or Palæozoic, the Secondary, or Mesozoic, and the Tertiary, or Cænozoic. Each of these is again divided into a number of subordinate groups. The lowest group of Palæozoic rocks is called Silurian, and the lowest of these again is called the Cambrian. The Cambrian series reposes either immediately upon rocks of igneous origin, or on others which have been so metamorphosed by the combined action of heat and superincumbent pressure, as to have lost wholly, or nearly so, their stratified character.

It is in the Cambrian rocks that the first evidences of animal life have been found. They consist of a little radiated zoophyte and the casts and holes of lob-worms; the species of the former have been named *Oldhamia antiqua,* and *radiata,* respectively, and the latter *Histioderma Hibernicum.*

Such then, if we are to trust our observation only, was the dawn of animal life on our planet. But was it really the dawn? Have not causes operated inevitably resulting in the destruction of what otherwise would have been the memorials of the existence of the earliest creatures. The Primary rocks, subject as they indisputably were to heat of inconceivable intensity, and at the same time to enormous superincumbent pressure, could not fail to become so changed that a vast proportion of their records would be necessarily obliterated.

"If," observes Mr. Jukes, "we look at these traces of life, (the fossils just mentioned,) and attempt to draw a reason from them, a

priori, why they should be the first living forms that existed on the globe, we can find none. It seems, as before pointed out, impossible that animal life could commence its existence before vegetable life was abundant, on which it could be supported. The earliest life of the globe then must have been vegetable. Even, however, if we grant that, and suppose that that early vegetable life perished without leaving any trace of its existence, what reason can we see why an annelid and a zoophyte, or zoophytic mollusk, so widely separated as they are in the scale of existence, should be the first of all created beings? Can we conceive the world peopled by *Oldhamia* and *Arenicolites*, and *Histioderma* alone? Such a notion seems to me an absurdity. Their analogues of the present day serve as links in the chain of animal life, not only in the eyes of the biologist, who studies their physiological relations, but also, doubtless, as subservient to the well-being of other animals, whose very existence depended upon them.

"To me, I must confess, the existence of such detached portions of that chain is as good evidence of the existence of intermediate links between them, and of others indefinitely beyond them on each side, as would be the finding of two broken links of a watch-chain, evidence that the remainder of the chain had existed along with them."

These sagacious observations receive striking confirmation from a discovery made by Professor Ehrenberg. He has found that Foraminiferous shells sometimes undergo an infiltration of silicate of iron, filling and forming a cast of every cavity they contain. If such shells are subsequently decomposed, the casts of them, thus formed, remain as the certain evidences of their former existence in the rocks in which those casts are found. This celebrated microscopist has ascertained that the Greensands which present themselves in various formations throughout the series of stratified rocks, contain these casts in such abundance as to be in great part composed of them; but what is especially interesting to us is, that the Greensands of the *Silurian* strata contain these casts in large numbers, thus affording an incontrovertible proof of the existence of *Foraminifera* nearly contemporaneous with the zoophyte and worm already mentioned. (One of these minute shells, *Textularia*, casts of which have been found in those ancient strata, is shown at Fig. 3, H.) But there is other, and peculiarly interesting circumstantial evidence, though not leading to absolute certainty, yet so conclusive as to leave very slight grounds for doubt, that the most ancient limestones now existing, and which exhibit no trace of organization, were actually deposited through animal agency. Every tyro in chemistry knows that the presence of carbonic acid in water renders carbonate of lime soluble in large quantities. It is alleged that the sea contains five times as much carbonic acid as is necessary to retain in a fluid state the carbonate of lime which is present in it, and therefore that the mere

mechanical deposit of limestone rocks through chemical agency is impossible; hence it is reasonably inferred that their formation can only have taken place through the intervention of animals, especially Molluscs, Crustacea, Polypes, and Foraminifera, the shells or structures of which chiefly consist of carbonate of lime, rendered coherent by an organic secretion. The organic matter thus blended with the mineral appears to shield it from the rapidly dissolving action of carbonic acid, and so enables it to be deposited and solidified into the rocks in question. The Polypes and Foraminifera contribute far more abundantly than all other animals put together to abstract from, and thus to clear the ocean of, what would otherwise be a superabundant quantity of carbonate of lime, and at the same time to deposit it at the bottom; for they not only secrete it in larger quantities in proportion to their own bodies than other animals do, but in consequence of the infinite myriads in which they exist, they secrete an absolutely larger bulk.

If the Foraminifera be admitted as the chief agents, or even to have taken a considerable part in the formation of the limestone rocks, they must at once be regarded as not only amongst the most important, but as the most ancient organic builders of the crust of our globe. There are extensive limestone beds in North America which belong to the *pre*-Cambrian series of rocks, and the formation of which therefore, was long anterior to the deposit of those strata in which the little zoophytes *Oldhamia antiqua* and *radiata* have been found. Further circumstantial evidence that the simplest forms of Protozoa, the Foraminifera, were probably the first to appear, consists in the fact that beings of nearly the same grade of organization, though perhaps, somewhat higher, viz., sponges, have been known to have flourished in the Cambro-Silurian period.

Advancing from that remote epoch to the Carboniferous era, we still find but comparatively few distinct Foraminiferous remains. Many of the Carboniferous strata have, like those which lie below them, igneous rocks interfused among them. The tremendous heat of these lava-floods would almost certainly metamorphose into an undistinguishable mass, the delicate structures of such Foraminifera as these ancient rocks might originally have contained. The genus *Nodosaria* has, however, been found in them; and certain beds of Carboniferous limestone occurring in the State of Ohio (North America), in the Arctic Regions, and in Russia, contain the remains of an extinct genus, *Fusulina* (spindle-like), in great abundance. In Russia this limestone "is in great part made up of vast accumulations of its fossilized shells." In the Lias and Oolitic beds of the Secondary rocks, various genera of Foraminifera are also found; but in the

superposed Chalk they form so large a proportion as in many places to constitute its most characteristic constituent. "Extensive beds are in many districts," as stated by Professor Greene, "made up of little else than the shells of *Rotalia*, *Spirulina*, and *Textularia*," different genera of Foraminifera. Our readers need only to be reminded of the vast extent of this formation, to enable them to form some approximative idea of the enormous development of the Foraminifera during the Chalk era. The upper (or white) chalk, deposits of the Cretaceous period, "spread," says Mr. Jukes, "in one unbroken range of high-swelling downs across England from Dorchester to the coast of Norfolk," and "from the Wash to the Humber, and again in Yorkshire, where they rise into the hills called the Yorkshire Wolds and terminate in the white cliffs of Flamborough Head."

Referring to the Continent, Sir Charles Lyell observes:—

"The area over which the white chalk preserves a nearly homogeneous aspect is so vast, that the earlier geologists despaired of discovering any analogous deposits of recent date. Pure chalk of nearly uniform aspect and composition, is met with in a north-west and south-east direction, from the north of Ireland to the Crimea, a distance of about 1140 geographical miles; and in an opposite direction, it extends from the south of Sweden to the south of Bordeaux, a distance of about 840 geographical miles. In Southern Russia, according to Sir R. Murchison, it is sometimes 600 feet thick, and retains the same mineral character as in France and England, with the same fossils."

But in no period of geological history do the Foraminifera appear to have flourished so abundantly as in the early Eocene division of the Tertiary epoch. During the lower Eocene period was deposited that part of the Paris basin known as the "Calcaire-Grossier," which consists of a coarse limestone often passing into sand, and which is almost exclusively used as the building-stone of Paris. This formation, as stated by Sir Charles Lyell, "is almost entirely made up of millions of microscopic shells of the size of minute grains of sand, which all belong to the class foraminifera." It is said that 58,000 have been counted in a cubic inch; so that Paris, as well as many towns and villages in surrounding departments, may be literally said to be constructed of these beautiful and tiny shells. One genus, the *Miliola saxorum*, especially predominates, and hence the formation is called by the French geologists the Miliolite limestone. The most astounding development, however, which the Foraminifera ever attained during the Tertiary epoch, occurred in the middle Eocene period, and is recorded in a very remarkable formation, called the Nummulite limestone.

The now extinct fossil Nummulite (so called from its likeness

to a piece of money) grew to a gigantic size, the largest of them sometimes reaching even three inches in diameter. It flourished in such extraordinary abundance during the era just mentioned as to become the chief and sometimes almost the sole constituent of the limestone then deposited, and hence the name of this remarkable formation, which often consists of a compact crystalline marble, the beauty of which is owing to the exquisite Nummulite spiral shells of which it is constituted. The largest of the Egyptian Pyramids is built of stone chiefly consisting of *Nummulite* shells.

Fig. 10.

Nummulites atacica. Peyrehorade, Pyrenees.
a. external surface of one of the nummulites, of which longitudinal sections are seen in the limestone.
b. transverse section of same.

"The nummulitic formation," says Sir Charles Lyell, "with its characteristic fossils, plays a far more conspicuous part than any other tertiary group in the solid framework of the earth's crust, whether in Europe, Asia, or Africa. It often attains a thickness of many thousand feet, and extends from the Alps to the Apennines. It is found in the Carpathians, and in full force in the north of Africa, as, for example, in Algeria and Morocco. It has also been traced from Egypt into Asia Minor, and across Persia by Bagdad to the mouths of the Indus. It occurs not only in Cutch, but in the mountain ranges which separate Scinde from Persia, and which form the passes leading to Caboul; and it has been followed still farther eastward into India."

Owing to some cause of which we are as yet wholly ignorant, the conditions of the earth's surface over vast areas, appear to favour, at particular periods, the almost exclusive development of particular genera of Foraminifera. This is strikingly illustrated by the formation just described, as well as that of the "Calcaire-Grossier,", and is not less observable in the State of Alabama, where the so-called *Nummulitic* limestone which extends over an immense area of that State, is almost entirely made up of the species of Foraminifera called *Orbitoides Mantelli.* The limestones of the north-west of India also are in some places almost wholly composed of the species *Orbitolites*, and the early Tertiaries of Paris, Bordeaux, the Pyrenees, and Austria, as well as

those of Persia and Northern India, occasionally exhibit a like predominance of the genus *Alveolina.* The almost exclusive development which is being attained by one species of *Globigerina* over the vast area of the North Atlantic Ocean, is a no less striking exemplification of the tendency of one type to acquire within a certain area an overwhelming predominance. The deep sea soundings lately conducted as a preliminary to laying the Atlantic Telegraph, reveal the astounding fact that at depths of 2000 fathoms, or over 14,000 feet, Foraminifera are forming the bed of the ocean between Europe and North America. This bed is found to consist of a soft chalk-like or mealy and very sticky mud, having a slight grittiness resulting from the intermixture of minute hard particles, hardly ever exceeding one-fiftieth of an inch in diameter. Fully nine-tenths by weight of this substance is made up of Foraminifera, eighty-five per cent. of which belong to one species of the genus *Globigerina,* five per cent. to other calcareous organisms of at most four or five species, and the remaining ten per cent. consists partly of minute granules of quartz, and partly of animal and vegetable organisms provided with siliceous skeletons and envelopes. Between the fifteenth and forty-fifth degrees of west longitude, or over an area of 1300 miles in diameter, the bottom of the North Atlantic is, with two places excepted, found to be composed of the mud just described.• This deposit also extends nearly down to latitude 45°, so that it is at least 600 miles broad. There is reason to believe that in all parts of the world Foraminifera were never more numerous than now; they abound throughout the ocean in every latitude, but seem to attain their greatest size in the warmer zones, *Cycloclypeus* becoming as large as the largest extinct Nummulite; many of the so-called sandbanks chiefly consist of them; and they thus interfere with navigation by changing the course or depth of straits and channels, endangering the entrance to bays, and even blocking up harbours, as is said to be the case with that of Alexandria. How true it is (as has been specially insisted on by Sir Charles Lyell), that the agencies which throughout countless ages have wrought those stupendous changes of the earth's surface with which the science of geology has made us acquainted, still continue their slow but mighty work! The tiny organisms now active over the area of the North Atlantic alone, are busily employed in forming a bed of limestone equal in length to the distance from Paris to Constantinople.

The siliceous shells of Polycystinæ have not been studied with the care which has been bestowed upon the Foraminifera, and hence we know much less concerning their geological and geographical distribution than we do of their calcareous allies. They have, however, been found in various Secondary deposits,

but far more abundantly in those of the Tertiary epoch. The Tertiary marls which present themselves throughout an extensive district of the island of Barbadoes are full of them. Ehrenberg has described no less than 282 forms from this source. At the present time they are found in the Mediterranean, in the Arctic and Antarctic seas, and, as stated above, form a small proportion of the mud extending over the North Atlantic.

The Sponges have also fulfilled a less important part as formative agents of the earth's crust than the Foraminifera, but they are, nevertheless, objects of great if not equal geological interest; their fossils exist in almost all strata, from the Silurian to those which have been most recently deposited. Three genera are especially characteristic of the Palæozoic period. From these strata, as we ascend to those of the chalk, sponges increase in number and variety. The skeletons of many of the most ancient sponges appear to have been wholly calcareous or stony, and without spicula; these, which are grouped together as *Petrospongiadæ,* and genera of which abound in the Greensand strata of Farringdon in Berkshire, flourished in vast numbers during the Secondary epoch; but at the close of it they became extinct, leaving no representatives in either the Tertiary strata or in existing seas. The remarkable accumulations of flint boulders which occur throughout vast areas of the chalk deposits are in almost all cases siliceous tombs of defunct sponges. These organisms seem to have constituted so many attractive nuclei to the siliceous matter which, in some chemical condition not yet clearly understood, abounded in the seas of the Cretaceous period and which consolidated around them. Thin polished plates of flint nodules, when examined by a good microscope, often reveal the peculiar reticulate structure constituting the canal system of the sponge, the siliceous spicula which formed a part of it, and minute spherical bodies covered with radiating or multi-cuspid spines, believed to be sponge spores. When none of these evidences of extinct organization present themselves, there is frequently found at the centre of the flint boulder a stalactitic cavity, which denotes that the outer surface only of the sponge was silicified, its internal structure having decayed. A form of sponge called *choanites,* which exhibits a spiral tube winding round a central cavity, constitutes the commonest nucleus of the Brighton brooch pebbles. Sponges are almost exclusively marine, and are found on the shores of most existing seas, but flourish with especial luxuriance, and assume the greatest variety of form, in warm latitudes.

As all the *Infusoria* are destitute of shells, there are no vestiges of them to be found in the earth's crust, the fossil organisms often designated as *Infusoria* actually belonging to other classes.

Perhaps no creatures are so widely distributed over the earth's surface: they are found in every pond, and lake, and river; no vegetable infusion exposed to the air is long without them; and the marine species abound in such myriads as to baffle all efforts to conceive of their extent. The reader may, however, form some faint idea of their infinite numbers by considering that every phosphorescent spark observable in the waves as they break on the shore at night represents an animal;* and by then viewing in imagination the vast area over which the life-enkindled sea extends. That the ocean, in all temperate latitudes, is pervaded by Infusorial organisms we are not perhaps justified in affirming, but that such beings do exist in mid-ocean is well known. No one who has crossed the Atlantic, Indian, or Pacific Ocean, and has watched the water as the ship cleaves through it at night, can have failed to have his attention transfixed, and his wonder and admiration excited, by the luminous glory which surrounds the vessel, and by the long, broad sheet of seemingly liquid fire which marks its track. Not less striking are the swiftly-darting lines of fire often visible to the voyager at a considerable distance below the surface of the water, and which are caused by fish swimming at the utmost speed for their lives, pursued by others intent on their capture. Passing through the water with extreme rapidity, they, as well as the moving ship, startle, we presume, the quiescent Noctilucæ with which they come in contact, and thus excite them to light up their tiny but brilliant fires, the aggregate effect of which is often indescribably magnificent. There are probably many jelly-like organisms inhabiting the sea endowed with the power of emitting phosphorescent light. In a tropical latitude, when in the middle of the Atlantic Ocean, we once saw the whole sea, as far as the eye could reach towards the horizon, seemingly one vast mass of liquid undulating fire. The astonishing impression made on the observer of this wonderful phenomenon, the mystery and marvellous effect of which are heightened by the surrounding darkness, is not likely to be effaced until the instrument of memory is itself destroyed. We doubt if this immense and spontaneous luminosity be due only to phosphorescent *Infusoria*, and are not aware that its cause is precisely known.

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* "At certain seasons, indeed, it may be literally said that every drop of every wave contains one or more individuals belonging to the brilliant host. On taking up at random a flask of sea water, and allowing the little creatures to accumulate, as they always do when at rest, at the top, it will be seen that their bodies will form a stratum equalling in thickness from one-seventh to one-third part of the entire contents of the vessel."—*General Outline of the Organization of the Animal Kingdom.* By T. Rymer Jones, F.R.S. Third Edition. P. 18.

Having now rapidly traversed the sub-kingdom of *Protozoa*, let us consider, by means of a concluding retrospect, in what way an intimate acquaintance with it is likely to influence the belief of impartial men in the permanence or indefinite variability of the now recognised typical forms of animal life. In glancing at the various groups of creatures we have passed in review, no observer can fail to be impressed with the intimate relationship subsisting between them, and the exceedingly gradual way in which they merge into each other. The *Infusoria* are closely linked to the membrane or 'carapace'-invested *Amœbina;* this family, by its naked forms, is blended with the sponges; and these by means of the sea-jellies (Thalassicollida) on the one hand, and the curious spongoid Foraminifer (*Carpenteria*) on the other, merge almost insensibly into both the radiate and the reticulate groups of Rhizopods, the several classes of which are separated from each other by no distinct boundary lines, but exhibit an indefinably gradual descent from the highest or most complex, to the lowest or most simple forms.

If we restrict our view to the Foraminiferous group we find that types seemingly the widest apart are nevertheless connected with each other by a multitude of intervening gradational varieties. This discovery was facilitated and its verification is rendered easily practicable by the smallness of the shells in question; a thousand different kinds being portable in a pill-box, an immense number may be readily obtained from every part of the world, and may be quickly examined and compared with each other. When describing the sub-order of *Foraminifera*, the *Imperforata*, we pointed out the very curious gradations by which the all but naked type (*Lieberkühnia*) of the membranous family, *Gromida*, is connected with the arenaceous family, *Lituolida*, and this in turn with the porcellanous family, *Miliolida*, and how the transition from the Imperforate to the Perforate group is typified by the genus *Valvulina*, which, though of the family *Lituolida*, has in its sandy vesture a basis of true shell-substance in which pores can be discerned. The gradual transition from the single to the many-chambered shells is observable in the genus called *Trochammina*, the lowest forms of which are continuous vermicular spirals, while its highest have segmental divisions, or a series of separate though connected chambers approaching those of the typical polythalamous shell, *Rotalia*. Conversely there are multilocular shells of the genus called *Dactylopora*, for instance, the chambers of which, though continuously connected, have no internal communication with each other, and hence, though *actually* polythalamous, are essentially monothalamous. There are also shells consisting of several chambers so slightly joined

together as to be easily separable by accidental violence, and the inhabitants of which can live as well apart as united; these, therefore, while *actually* monothalamous, are *potentially* polythalamous structures. Moreover, as we have already seen, the countless modifications of form, from that of a straight and more or less beaded tube to that of the seemingly complex nautiloid or turbinated spiral aggregation of segments, are all results of the mere alteration of direction in which the successive sarcode buds are put forth. But types even yet more unlike each other are with good reason believed to have descended from a common stock: a genus, *Orbiculina*, the normal growth of which is in a spiral direction, not unfrequently develops itself cyclically or by buds from its whole circumference; while *Orbitolites*, which is typically cyclical, often during the early part of its growth presents the spiral form. This disc-like shell, and a fusiform one called *Alveolina*, are also so unlike as seemingly to have no conceivable relation, "yet," says Dr. Carpenter, "when the intermediate links are duly studied a continuous gradation is found to be established." Professor Williamson, in his beautiful monograph, the title of which is at the head of this article, remarks, "That species exist amongst the Foraminifera as elsewhere, analogy would of course lead us to infer," and he clings to the belief that they do exist; but he confesses the impossibility of discerning the boundary lines: "the more extensive our experience," he says, "the weaker become our convictions respecting the limits of variation in any species. Examples abound which we are unable to locate with confidence; and we are at length tempted to believe that amongst the Foraminifera specific distinctions have no existence." Certainly no one can carefully examine the exquisite plates illustrating his work without being at once struck by the merging into each other of types far apart by means of intermediate forms. The abundant gradational varieties of the elegant flask-like genus *Lagena* are especially remarkable in this respect. Messrs. Parker and Rupert Jones, who have assisted Dr. Carpenter in the preparation of his work, and who have long been laborious students of the Foraminifera, appear generally to concur with him and Professor Williamson in declaring it impossibie to define the limits beyond which the variation of Foraminiferous types will not extend, and regard, as they say, "nearly every species as capable of adapting itself with endless modifications of form and structure, to very different habitats—in brackish and in salt water, in the several zones of shallow and abyssal seas, and under every climate, from the Poles to the Equator."

Seeing how the various classes and the generic types of each class of the creatures we have been considering graduate into each,

we are constrained to ask—are the sarcodè inhabitants of Foraminiferous shells and their naked allies (typified by Lieberkühnia) really the lowest or most primitive forms of animal life, and if so are they undoubtedly separated by a distinct line of demarcation from vegetable organisms? This question is more easily asked than answered, and will be answered differently by different men who equal each other in carefulness of observation, logical acumen, and scientific repute. For ourselves, we believe it impossible to define the boundary dividing the animal from the vegetable kingdom: a large number of organisms occupy a sort of midway or neutral ground, and are now claimed as animals, now as vegetables, and are again repelled first from one kingdom and then from the other. The mysterious movements of many plants, as, for example, *Mimosa sensitiva* and *pudica* (the common sensitive plants), *Oxalis sensitiva*, *Desmodium gyrans* (the moving plant of India), *Dionæa muscipula* (Venus's fly-trap), as well as the movements of the stamens and stigmas of certain flowers for the purpose of scattering the pollen, are well known, and have never, we believe, drawn down on the plants which exhibit them the suspicion of animality; there are, however, other movements less generally known, but no less real, which have caused the plants in which they occur to be suspected of having at least close relations, if not actual affinities, with animals.

In the individual cells of a species of spider-wort, *Tradescantia virginica*, there are rotatory currents which are rendered visible by the granules of chlorophylle carried along with them. In the hairs of this plant the circulation visible in each elongated cell by a powerful microscope is declared, by both Professor Max Schultze and Dr. Carpenter, to resemble almost exactly the circulation observable in the pseudopodia of the Rhizopod, *Lieberkühnia.* Like phenomena are known to occur in many aquatic plants, for instance in certain species of *Vallisneria* of the Frog-bit family, and in a large number of the algæ, of which the *Charas* are good examples. Some of these consist of a single cell, and many species, as though striving to ape the shell-invested *Rhizopoda*, are encrusted with calcareous matter. The circulation in any given cell preserves one uniform direction, but in different cells it differs in direction. It will persist in any detached part of the plant for several days, or even for three or four weeks; and if arrested by cold, will recommence in its original direction when the temperature is raised. The simplest forms of the sea-weed tribe, the *Oscillatorias*, which are filaments composed of cells placed end to end, possess locomotive power consisting of an undulatory movement by which they advance. So far our ordinary ideas as to the distinguishing characteristics of animals and plants have experienced no serious shock; but it has been

discovered, and the discovery has been indisputably established, that in many Cryptogamic plants, especially in the algæ, peculiar cells or closed sacs called *antheridia*, evolve minute corpuscules immersed in mucilage, which contain animalcule-like bodies called indifferently, *phytozoa*, *zoospores*, *spermatozoids*, and *zoogonidia*. These by the bursting of their investing cellules are set free in the water; they have a variable number of cilia (many have only two, some four, some a zone of them, while some are wholly covered with them), and by their constant action they swim about with great rapidity, exactly like *Infusoria*; whose animal nature is thoroughly established. After a time, varying ordinarily from thirty minutes to three hours, they settle down on some object and quickly germinate into young algæ. The vagabond life of these embryos is extraordinarily like that which is led by young oysters, and other molluscs, as well as various *hydrozoa*, and, we may add, the spores of sponges. In some algæ these bodies appear to be truly described by the term *Spermatozoids*, for they enter a pistil-like organ of the plant—the *Sporangia*, and evidently fulfil the office of fecundation. When, while swimming about, they approach the Sporangia they are said to make straight for it as though gifted with volition, and if they fail to enter at once, they repeat the effort. Moreover *Phytozoa*, like *Infusoria*, and the *Volvox globator* (a single cell, the animal or vegetable nature of which is dubious), evince the curious faculty of avoiding obstacles in their path, as well as mutual concussions, even when they have a very limited space for their evolutions.

The discovery of these wonderful phenomena roused the curiosity of scientific observers, and gave a great impulse to the physiological study of the lowest organic forms as well as to speculations concerning the origin of animal life. The titles of the books and papers, published from time to time by eminent microscopists, sufficiently indicate the course of the discussion. We can only name some of the most important. In 1843, M. Gustave Thuret communicated to the Academy of Sciences the result of his examination of the locomotive organs of Algæ;* in the same year M. Unger, who believed the transformation of plants into animals to have been decisively ascertained, published his work entitled, "The Plant at the moment of becoming an Animal:"† the following year M. Kützing, who seems to have viewed the metamorphoses in their reverse order, contributed a work, "On the Transformations of Infusoria into the Lowest Forms of Algæ."‡ These daring expositions called

* "Recherches sur les Organes locomoteurs des Algues." Par M. Gustave Thuret. 1843.

† "Die Pflanze im Moment der Thier-Werdung." Von M. Unger. Wien. 1843.

‡ "Ueber die Verwandlungen der Infusorien in niederere Algenformen." Von Dr. F. T. Kützing. Nordhausen. 1844.

down upon themselves a host of rigorous critics, two of whom expressed the results of their examinations in separate books: one, "A Contribution to the Controversy concerning the Transformation of Infusoria into Algæ;"* the other, "On the Phenomenon of Rejuvenescence in Nature."† Messrs. Claparède and Lachmann, reviewing these books together with many other contributions relating to the subject they treat, give an excellent summary of the facts ascertained and opinions expressed, by way of elucidation of the mysterious relationship between the animal and vegetable kingdoms. They maintain throughout a wisely conservative attitude, and apparently only after being overcome by the irresistible power of facts, yield with reluctance landmark after landmark which once seemed adequate to divide the regions of botany and zoology from each other. In conclusion they say, "We know only one really constant objective difference between inferior animals and vegetables: it is the possession by the Infusoria and Amœbian Rhizopods of one or more contractile vesicles." But the Rhizopod *Lieberkühnia*, and we believe the whole group of Foraminifera, are destitute of 'contractile vesicles,' and no sooner have these distinguished investigators pointed out this alleged last remaining line of demarcation, than it becomes wholly effaced by a very interesting and important discovery made by Professor de Bary, of the evolution from certain species of the mushroom family of *Zoospores* which *have* 'contractile vesicles,' which are animated by more or less rhythmical pulsations, which afterwards protrude *pseudopodia*, exhibit the power of locomotion, and assume a condition perfectly identical with that of the *Amœba*. During this phase, leading the veritable life of Rhizopods, they give birth to reproductive bodies which by their conformation completely resemble the *peridium* (envelope of fructification) of what are called the *Gasteromycetous* fungi. The announcement of Professor de Bary's astonishing discovery was made in an article entitled, "Die Mycetozoen," which was published in the *Zeitschrift für Wissenschaftliche Zoologie*, X. 1859. An abstract of the paper appears in the "Microscopic Journal," Vol. VIII., p. 97, and the cardinal facts contained in it are embodied in a note by Messrs. Claparède and Lachmann to their statement quoted above of the distinguishing significance of the 'contractile vesicle.' The influence of these facts on the views of these philosophical naturalists is recognised in the concluding portion of their note, which we translate.

"M. de Bary thinks he sees, herein, sufficient reason for

* "Zur Controverse über die Verwandlung von Infusorien in Algen." Von M. Fresenius. Frankfurt-a-Main. 1847.

† "Ueber die Erscheinung der Verjüngung in der Natur." Von Alexander Baun. Leipzig. 1851.

eliminating these organisms from the vegetable kingdom, and classifying them under the name of *Mycétozoaires* (fungi-animals) in the animal kingdom. If it be certain that no error has glided into the conclusions of this learned observer, the affinity of the *Mycétozoaires* with the *Rhizopods* is evident. At the same time it appears to us impossible to remove them from the *Gasteromycetes.* And yet no one would consider a *Lycoperdon,* or a *Bovista* (two fungi of the *Gasteromycetous* Order), as an animal; for then, what plant is there which would not run the risk of being accused of animality? Here is a new proof in favour of the opinion maintained by us—that the distinction between the so-called animal kingdom and the so-called vegetable kingdom is purely artificial. This, whether viewed practically or theoretically, appears to us equally incontestable. It will perhaps be objected that, philosophically speaking, there is necessarily an essential difference between the animal and the plant. The animal being sensible, in contra-distinction to the plant, which, even in the case of the Mimosa, is not, the movement of the animal being voluntary, that of the plant not so, it seems that the most inferior animal, having already an element of liberty, is thus decisively differentiated, in this respect, from the plant, which has no such element. This distinction is more specious than real. We see sensibility gradually decrease in the animal series, until it is at last completely extinguished. It is the same even with the intellectual, or so-called instinctive faculties; so much so that we arrive at animals whose life is nothing more than a kind of dream; from this scarcely conscious life, we pass gradually to that which is purely automatic, and then merge into complete vegetability."

If the fungi-evolved Rhizopods above described could ever be observed to transcend their actual condition by one step in the animal scale, they would not only present the missing link in the chain indissolubly binding the vegetable and animal kingdoms into one, but would raise the veil still hiding the source of animal existence from our view, and still defying, like that of the Egyptian Divinity,* the power of man to lift it up. "If," indeed, as justly observed by Professor Owen, "it ever be permitted to man to penetrate the mystery which enshrouds the origin of organic force in the wide-spread mud-beds of fresh and salt waters, it will be, most probably, by experiment and observation on the atoms which manifest the simplest conditions of life."†

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* It is said that on a pyramid at Sais was inscribed,—"I am All that is, that has been, and that will be; no mortal has lifted up my veil."

† "Palæontology; or, a Systematic Summary of Extinct Animals, and their Geological Relations." By Richard Owen, F.R.S.

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

THEOLOGY AND PHILOSOPHY.

"DISCUSSIONS on the Gospels,"[1] is an expansion of Mr. Roberts's work on the "Original Language of St. Matthew's Gospel," published three years since; and we may fairly say, that in copiousness of learning and illustration, in the management of the argument, and in literary execution generally, this volume shows a great advance upon its very creditable predecessor. It is also distinguished, as we think, by the same faults: and as a contribution to Biblical criticism, seriously damaged by the intrusion of the author's views upon inspiration. With respect to our existing Gospel of St. Matthew, we need not repeat what was said on a former occasion, that as far as the evidence goes, there is no sufficient reason to think it a translation from a Hebrew or Aramaic original. But if the reported words of Papias are to have any weight attached to them, we should rather infer, that St. Matthew's original Gospel in the Hebrew dialect must have perished; for the tradition does not assert the Apostle translated it, or that he composed another in Greek, or that it was the original of the Gospel which now goes by his name, but "each one translated it as well as he could." This perished Aramaic Gospel would thus correspond nearly to the imaginary "Ur-Evangelium" of many German critics. The tradition also implies that it was a matter of some difficulty to translate it, and those who undertook to do so did it with unequal success. Moreover, those who made the attempt must have been more numerous than the authors of our Synoptics. The ἕκαστος of Papias would correspond very well with "many have undertaken," in Luke i. 1. Still this conjectural Aramaic Gospel could not be the only original source. And opinions will converge, we think, more and more upon something near to Mr. Roberts's supposition of the concurrence in Palestine, at the commencement of the Christian era, of the native and Greek language, with a greater or less prevalence of the Greek: so that side by side with Aramaic traditions, some of which might be committed to writing, there would exist narratives of the life of Jesus in Greek; some having been delivered in that language from the very first, others being translations of Aramaic documents or traditions; and by the time our present Gospels were composed, the Greek element had long obtained the supremacy.

On this point, then, we think, that the difference between Mr. Roberts and others who are entirely opposed to his views concerning the Canon, Inspiration, &c., will only be one of degree. Perhaps he has not sufficiently considered in what language "Moses was read" in the synagogues on the Sabbath days. He appears quite justified in saying, when introducing his argument concerning the speech of

[1] "Discussions on the Gospels." In Two Parts. By the Rev. Alexander Roberts, M.A., Minister of the Presbyterian Church, St. John's Wood. London: Nisbet and Co. 1862.

Stephen, that his accusers "of the synagogue of the Libertines and *Alexandrians*" must have been speakers of Greek. And we would infer more definitely, that as the Septuagint Version was originally made for the Jews in Alexandria, it was used not only there, but generally wherever Greek was spoken in the service of the synagogue. This synagogue of the Libertines and Alexandrians we conceive to have been a synagogue according to the Greek or Alexandrian "use," to adopt an ecclesiastical expression of our own. And if that were so, the mention of a single synagogue of Alexandrians at Jerusalem, where there were not fewer than 480, according to Josephus, about that time in Jerusalem, rather shows that generally in Palestine the Scriptures would be read in the original Hebrew, although explained in the native dialect or Aramaic. Or if "synagogue" in Acts vi. is to be understood in the sense of "Church," or "Communion," it will still imply a peculiarity in the Alexandrian or Greek "use," even in Jerusalem; and in whatever strength the Hellenizers might be in the metropolis, we cannot imagine them to have such an ascendancy in a remote place like Nazareth, that the Scriptures should there be read, and the exposition of them be given in Greek (Luke iv. 16—22). But when the incident related in that passage came to be written down many years afterwards by a compiler, as the author of the third Gospel acknowledges himself to have been, it would necessarily be given in the same language as the rest of his narrative; and we must reasonably suppose that there were many discourses of Jesus originally uttered in Aramaic, but which are now recorded in Greek like the others, and undistinguishable from them; for it could not have been otherwise, unless the Gospels had been formed into a patchwork of language. Allowing, however, as much as we may to the probable preponderance of the Greek language in Palestine in the time of Jesus and his Apostles, and allowing the probability of the present first Gospel being as much entitled to be considered an original, and not a translation, as any of the others, nothing follows from these premises towards attaching it to the person of St. Matthew as its author. And it will be necessary for those who enter further into these questions at the present day, to make clear to themselves and their readers what it is which they propose to prove by establishing the Apostolic authorship of the Gospels. For if infallible inspiration is to be deduced from Apostolicity, it has to be shown how it follows from it; but if Apostolicity is only appealed to in order to set up the Gospel documents as the production of human eye and ear-witnesses, they will remain open to the same cross-examinations, and to the same *à priori* objections, as other human accounts would be when they are apparently contradictory or inherently incredible. And there is a point to which Mr. Roberts's attention might, we think, be well directed more than it has hitherto been—the relation between the three Synoptics and the fourth Gospel. The greater the importance attached to the unison of the Synoptics in reporting the words of Jesus, the more difficult it becomes to reconcile them with the discourses which are met with in the fourth: and we do not see how the conclusion is to be avoided, that while the first three Gospels place us, in respect to these "words," at the "very root of the Gospel tradition," they give us more reliable

information than the fourth does (*Essays and Reviews*, pp. 192, 193, 10th edition). And again, as to the main point which Mr. Roberts argues—the proper Apostolicity of the Greek Gospel of St. Matthew—if he could succeed in establishing this conclusion, the more striking would he render the differences between it and the equally Apostolical Gospel of St. John. Divergences in traditions would not damage the general credibility of a history so much as divergences between supposed personal eye-witnesses.

Mr. Roberts is certainly in possession of true canons of criticism; but his preconceived opinion of what the inspired Scripture must be, prevents his applying them freely to its contents. Thus he lays down, in respect of the statement of Papias concerning St. Matthew and his Gospel, that we are not bound to accept the whole of it because we accept a part of it. "*Totally accept or totally reject*, cannot with any fairness be urged as the rule which is binding in such a matter." Now, if he felt at liberty to use the same freedom with Scriptural criticism which must be applied to any other historical question, we are sure his conclusions on these subjects would not be widely different from our own. He excellently illustrates the above position thus:—

"Who shall demand, for instance, that we must either accept or reject, *in toto*, the statements contained in the first book of Livy's 'Roman History'? Are we bound to deny that there ever was such a man as Romulus, if we refuse to believe the marvellous incidents which have been recorded of his birth and death? And may we not fully credit the general opinion that Numa Pompilius was a wise and sagacious prince, without believing that he acted under supernatural direction? May we not accept those statements of Livy which appear to be of a true historical character, without at the same time admitting all the legendary and mythical stories by which they are accompanied."—(p. 366.)

And again—

"And as we scruple not to convict of error a Thucydides or Tacitus in particular statements which they make, while at the same time we by no means slight or question their general testimony, so we are not to be accused of setting aside or seeking to disparage the testimony of the ancient fathers simply because we refuse to pin our faith to every assertion which they make."—(p. 372.)

So, again, nothing can be sounder than when he lays down "Evidence, and not predilection, is the guide which we are bound to follow in every matter connected with Scripture;" and even if "results are reached repugnant to our own wishes," we must, nevertheless, "surrender ourselves to its guidance," if we would arrive at the truth. He even applies these principles with some freedom, not only to the examination of his extra-Scriptural material, but, in one instance, to a Scriptural miracle, that of the day of Pentecost, as to which he concludes it would be repugnant to the constitution and working of the human mind to suppose the Apostles were taught Greek (or any other language) by the immediate interposition of Heaven (p. 69). Elsewhere, on the other hand, he lays it down, that we must come to no conclusion respecting the phenomena of Scripture inconsistent with the belief in its supernatural inspiration, which he considers to differ, not only in degree but in kind, from the inspiration accorded to Milton, Shakspeare,

or the renowned workers of the human race. But we would respectfully submit to his consideration these words of his own.

"It is in vain to seek some assistance from the *inspiration* of the writers . . . . in dealing with this subject. Inspiration ought never to be had recourse to in order to escape the difficulties which arise from mere human opinions. If a man ties a knot so tangled that he cannot again unloose it, it is little short of impiety to call in the Divine aid in order to cut it. He must extricate himself from the difficulty in which he has become self-involved, and if that be found impossible, he ought ingenuously to confess that the attempt is hopeless, and candidly acknowledge the error which he has committed."—(p. 464.)

We have not made any reference in the foregoing remarks to the "Papyri"[2] noted below, concerning which we share the suspicions, to use the gentlest word which occurs to us, entertained, as we believe, by all competent critics and antiquarians.

The endeavour to trace the growth of those ideas which are considered specially Christian out of the antecedent religious history of the Jewish people, is perfectly compatible with the highest honour for Christianity itself. Indeed, the treatment of the Old Testament Scriptures as part and parcel of the Christian Bible, recognises that there could have been no Christianity if there had been no Judaism, no Gospel if there had been no Law. Yet there may be great differences of opinion as to the mode in which Judaism prepared the way for Christianity. For some may conceive that the foundations on which Christianity was to be reared were laid by successive miraculous interpositions in the history of the Hebrew people—a miraculous call of Abraham, a miraculous Exodus, a miraculous giving of the Law, a miraculous settlement in Canaan, a miraculous series of typical occurrences, a miraculous succession of predictive prophecies. We apprehend that this mode of looking at the preparatory "dispensation" will before long be considered as worthy of schoolboys; and one of the greatest honours which can be done to the Gospel will be acknowledged to lie in this—that in it culminated a long providential and religious training of the Jewish people.

One impediment to the proper understanding of this process of growth out of which the Christianity of the New Testament issued, has lain in a general ignorance of Jewish history and opinion during the period comprised between the restoration from Babylon and the commencement of the Christian era: for the highest Christian conceptions of the Supreme Being do not immediately attach themselves to those of the Old Testament, and the link which really did connect them is lost sight of. There is no proper understanding of the Gospel writ-

[2] "Fac-similes of certain Portions of the Gospel of St. Matthew, and of the Epistles of St. James and Jude, written on Papyrus in the First Century, and preserved in the Egyptian Museum of Joseph Meyer, Esq, Liverpool. With a portrait of St. Matthew, from a fresco painting at Mount Athos." Edited, and Illustrated with Notes and historical and literary Prolegomena, containing confirmatory Fac-similes of the same Portions of Holy Scripture, from Papyri and Parchment MSS. in the Monasteries of Mount Athos, of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai, of St. Sabba in Palestine, and other sources, by Constantine Simonides, Ph.D., Hon. Member of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, &c. &c. London: Trübner and Co. 1861.

ings unless we have some acquaintance with that which may be called the Apocryphal period, or the period of the Synagogue. Both the volumes of M. Michel Nicolas[3] illustrate this growth of religious conceptions among the Jewish people, which was preparatory, according to a Divine order, for the Christian Revelation. In his discussion of the religious doctrines of the Jews previous to the Babylonish Captivity, he puts forward a theory concerning Elohism and Jehovism, which differs considerably from those which have been advanced by the German critics. In common with many others, he recognises Elohist and Jehovist sources in the Old Testament and considers Elohism to have been the ruder form of Hebrew patriarchal religion, when it had hardly risen into a monotheism; Jehovism as a purer monotheism, and as developing higher ideas, both of the Divine nature and of the relation between the Divine and the human beings. But he supposes that these two elements, diverse in their origin and more or less conflicting, were never welded entirely together previous to the Captivity; that each of them had its special stronghold, Elohism being more prevalent in the north, Jehovism in the south of Canaan; Elohism being strong in popular and local customs, Jehovism in the Levitical influence, which had its centre at Jerusalem. Like all speculators on these subjects, on which the evidence is so very defective, M. Nicolas, with very much to say for his particular views, has chiefly erred, we think, in being too positive in his assertions. Of the two, his earlier published volume appears to us the more valuable. In it, attention is particularly directed to the change in the character of the sacred writings of the Jews when the didactic Scriptures succeeded to the Prophetical. The Prophets had already refined upon the ruder descriptions of Theophanies which appeared in the older traditions; but after the prophetic period, conceptions of the Divine Being become still more abstract. No doubt these more abstract conceptions are in great degree to be traced to Alexandria, and the influence of the Septuagint Version wrought them into the general mind of the Jewish people. For it is to be remarked, that in the Septuagint translation of the original Scriptures, passages which represent the Deity anthropomorphically are frequently softened, as in Exod. xxiv. 9, 10, where we read, according to the Hebrew, "Then went up Moses, and Aaron, Nadab and Abihu, and seventy of the elders of Israel: and *they saw the God of Israel;* and there was under his feet as it were a paved work of a sapphire-stone," &c.; the Septuagint only says, they "saw the place where stood the God of Israel" (*εἰδον τὸν τόπον οὗ εἱστήκει ὁ Θέος τοῦ 'Ισραήλ*): in Numbers xii. 8, it is said in the Hebrew text, "I will speak mouth to mouth (with Moses) even apparently;" which becomes in the Septuagint "in a vision" (*ἐν εἴδει*). Again in Gen. vi. the Hebrew says, "it repented the Lord . . and it grieved him at his heart;" the Septuagint softens the expressions into "reflected" and "considered" (*ἐνεθυμήθη . . καὶ διενοήθη*). It must, however, be acknowledged that this is not always the case, as in the manifestation at Peniel (Gen. xxxii. 30,

[3] "Des Doctrines religieuses des Juifs pendent les Deux Siècles antérieurs à l'Ère Chrétienne." Par Michel Nicolas. London: Williams and Norgate. 1860.
"Études critiques sur la Bible—Ancien Testament." Par Michel Nicolas. London: Williams and Norgate. 1862.

the Septuagint as well as the Hebrew has, "I have seen God face to face." And there run through the Hebrew theology, and the Christian theology in consequence, which has been founded upon it, parallel but irreconcilable conceptions of the Divine Being, the one set of conceptions taken from the human passions and affections, the other from the abstractions of the human intellect. Partly from the influence of Alexandrian ideas, partly from pious reflection, the more abstract conceptions had gained the upper hand at the commencement of the Christian era; but we can still trace a plain difference between the circle of ideas native to Palestine in the Angelophanies of the first and third Gospels, and the Alexandrianism of St. John. And there are two books, of which the importance in the history of doctrine is not sufficiently noticed, the apocryphal Wisdom of Solomon and Ecclesiasticus, probably of Alexandrian origin, which throw great light upon the theology of the fourth Gospel, as contrasted with that of the Synoptics. Although M. Nicolas is too much disposed to think that he has arrived at a certitude on many parts of his subject which do not in reality admit of it, both of his volumes are extremely well worthy of an attentive perusal.

We are very glad indeed to see signs of a disposition to study the Biblical Scriptures critically in the original languages in the Northern Metropolis. Scotch theology has long been entirely dogmatic and deductive; and although none of Mr. A. B. Davidson's conclusions concerning the Book of Job[4] will be very startling to orthodoxy, his method, perhaps, may be thought to be so. In order to ascertain the meaning of the "Word of God," he allows that we must subject the Bible mainly to the same treatment as other books. Moreover, the Bible is an organic whole or growth, attaining at each step the proportions intended by its Divine Author, and fitted for the condition of the world and the needs of men at each successive epoch. So that the critical interpreter has to deal with it both as a whole now completed, and with the several parts as having been temporary and provisional *termini.* The poem, then, of Job represents, according to our author, the struggle of a pious soul troubled with doubts concerning God's righteousness, yet overcoming them; and thus it forms a drama of the highest and widest spiritual interest. On the questions of historic truth, era, and authorship, Mr. Davidson considers that there would be nothing derogatory to the canonicity and inspiration of the book if it were supposed to be an extended allegory, and that such a view is not absolutely incompatible with anything either contained in the book itself, or to be met with in Scripture concerning it; some of our extreme literalists who have been exalting lately the authority of Hengstenberg, may be reminded that he adopts the allegorical theory. But Mr. Davidson thinks that such an extended allegory would be beyond the reach of the Semitic genius. As to the precisely opposite view, of the strictly historical character of all the parts of the book, both poetry and prose, we are told "the possibility of this needs no

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[4] "A Commentary, Grammatical and Exegetical, on the Book of Job." With a Translation. By the Rev. A. B. Davidson, M.A., Hebrew Tutor, New College, Edinburgh. Vol. I. London and Edinburgh: Williams and Norgate. 1862.

proof; the reality of it is susceptible of none;" and the final opinion is given,—

"that all the circumstances related in the prose part are strictly historical; also that between Job and his friends, a debate was held, where many of the arguments of our book may have been presented, but that some divinely-gifted poet has taken up these arguments, and all known arguments, and wrought them up, under the direction of God, into the poem as it now stands."—(p. xlviii.)

The period to which the composition belongs appears, according to Mr. Davidson, the Solomonic, and, in a certain sense, the Book of Job and the Book of Proverbs have considerable affinities. There are many striking remarks scattered about the Introduction, and the grammatical notes will prove very useful to students.

Mr. Savile's reconciliation of "Revelation and Science"[5] is of this kind:—

"It has been universally (?) believed by Jews and Christians for many ages, as gathered from a variety (?) of passages in Scripture, that the period allotted to man, in his present condition on earth, consists of six thousand years. . . . . This with the coming Millenium (?) would make, in all, a period of seven thousand years, at the expiration of which, we are taught in Scripture, that Christ's kingly connexion with earth will cease. . . . . The Father will then resume His work, as we conclude, from which He has been resting so long a period (?). And thus (?) we gather from *Revelation* that the 'seventh day,' or resting time, as we might term it, of the demiurgic (?) Creator, means a period of seven thousand years. Hence it may be logically proved (?) that *each* of the 'six days,' mentioned in the first chapter of Genesis, represents a period of equal duration."—(p. 256.)

These periods are thus supposed to be equal, and each of them to be neither more nor less than 7000 years. Sir Charles Lyell, it is then said, has computed the time required for the retreat of the Falls at Niagara from the escarpment at Queen's Town to their present site at 35,000 years. These 35,000 years coincide, Mr. Savile thinks, with the sum of the days (5 × 7000) starting from the fifth day of the Mosaic week, when the "dry land appeared," the commencement, as he supposes, of this "post-tertiary system." We leave this reconciliation to Sir Charles Lyell on the one hand, and Archdeacon Pratt on the other. But supposing this notable discovery of "day" being equal to 7000 years to reconcile the Mosaic history and geological science, we would ask Mr. Savile if such would not supply a palpable instance of the interpretation of the record having "retreated" before scientific discovery? Mr. Savile's Hebrew criticism is about as good as his science. Obliged to concede to Dr. Williams, who takes the reading in Ps. xxii. 17, which gives "*as a lion*," instead of that which is rendered "*they pierced*;" that "in support of each reading there are various MSS. *as well as eminent critics*" (p. 18), he still calls his conclusion perverted; and seems to take it as certain, which it is not, either from the

[5] "Revelation and Science in respect to Bunsen's 'Biblical Researches,' the 'Evidences of Christianity,' and the 'Mosaic Cosmogony;' with an Examination of certain Statements put forth by the remaining Authors of 'Essays and Reviews.'" By the Rev. Bourchier Wrey Savile, M.A., Curate of Tattingstone, Author of "Lyra Sacra," "The First and Second Advent," &c. &c. London: Longmans. 1862.

Evangelists' statements or from the known manner of crucifixion among the Romans, that the *feet* of Jesus must have been pierced. Then on Gen. xlix. 10, Mr. Savile, ignoring that the proper name *Shiloh* occurs nowhere else in the Bible except as the name of a place, and puzzled for a derivation, translates *qui mittendus est*, as if שִׁילֹה could come from שָׁלַח; it cannot even come from שָׁלָה. Further, Mr. Savile thinks he proves the *truth of the Bible* by the trite illustration from Assyrian inscriptions of the conquest of Jerusalem by Sennacherib, utterly unconscious that the more such points of contact with the annals of other nations are multiplied, the more the Jewish history will take its place in the natural order of human events, and the preternatural portions of it be understood to consist of the same kind of embellishment as the prodigies to be met with in pagan authors, although not conceived in so degraded a taste. Then Mr. Savile is strong upon Egypt, and finds a mighty confirmation of the truth of Jewish history in the record upon the monuments of Sheshonk's capture of Jerusalem; but he can meet with no ascertained synchronical events in the two histories before that event, and does nothing to invalidate the statement of one of the essayists, that previously to that time the "Jewish history presents little which is *thoroughly* reliable." Mr. Savile's book is perhaps more rambling and inconsequent than any work of equal bulk which the present controversy has called forth. Some of his peculiarities will be understood when we say that he is a believer in Papias; but we are bound to add that he does not, as so many others have done, transgress the bounds of good manners towards those whose views he impugns.

Among the various objects to which Archdeacon Browne directs the attention of his hearers in a recent "Charge,"[6] he does not omit to notice the "Essays and Reviews." He is earnestly desirous that his clerical brethren should be prepared to do battle against the doctrines of this heretical volume. He deems it necessary to furnish them with the requisite information as to the past history of scepticism. He is not content to examine the fabrics of churches, and to lecture churchwardens; he must go out of his way to *play at bishop*, and to banish and drive away strange doctrine. He repeats, like a parrot, the story of the volume "cumbering the shelves of the publishers," and about to "die a natural death," before the attention of the public was awakened to it by an article in this review. If he thought this sort of gossip would be suitable material for his Charge, the Archdeacon should have taken the trouble to ascertain *the facts* from the ordinary sources of literary information, that two editions of the heterodox book, of 1000 each, in less than six months had been exhausted, with a third on the point of issue when the article appeared to which he alludes. If he had read that article itself, he might also have perceived that the title "Neo-Christianity" did not represent any "pretension" of the Essayists to put forward "a new phase of the Gospel." He might have observed that it was not "laudatory," but written from

[6] "A Charge delivered at his primary Visitation, by the Venerable R. W. Browne, M.A., Archdeacon of Bath, in April, 1862. Bath: Carrington.

an entirely independent point of view, although our contributor, with the candour of a gentleman, and of a fair critic, frankly allowed the right of the seven authors to be listened to, by reason of their position, and of accomplishments, with which the Archdeacon ought to be better acquainted than he could be. The Archdeacon calls them *unread men*. Mr. Brown knows very well, possibly before now he may have told with some glee, the story of the University Preacher, who asked his friend, "Did you hear my sermon this morning at St. Mary's?" "Yes," "What do you think I got for it? I got five guineas." "Well," said the friend, "I would not have preached it myself for five hundred." Some of Mr. Browne's readers, if none of his hearers, will say, "I could not have had the face to deliver parts of that 'Charge,' to be Archdeacon of Bath, or Arch-anything else." Knowing, as he must, his own utter incompetence on such subjects, we are amazed, even after all the clerical exhibitions which we have recently witnessed, at the hardihood of the man, who could not only speak but print the following passage. Conscious of his own ignorance, did it never occur to him that he might be making mistakes, that others might know more of the things he was telling about than himself? that he was venturing into a region of facts? and that the facts of the "birth" "cradling," and education of what he calls Rationalism, as he knew nothing about them, on the mere doctrine of chances, must, with almost indubitable certainty, be against him?

"Free-thinking—free-handling, as it is called—which owed its birth to Germany, and found its cradle in England, is come back to us. The opinions first mooted in the 'Wolfenbüttel Fragments' of Reimarus, edited by Lessing, then adopted and developed by Herbert of Cherbury, Toland, and Tindal, reappeared in France in the time of Voltaire and Rousseau, and the Encyclopædists (,) were the parents of the Rationalism of Hegel, Paulus, and Strauss, and our days have seen them awake again in England to a feeble and trembling and transitory existence." (p. 7.)

Of the accuracy and extent of the archdeacon's reading, and of his acquaintance with the writers and the works of which he makes mention, an opinion may be formed from a comparison of the extract just cited with the following dates:—

Lord Herbert of Cherbury died in the year 1648, Toland in 1722, Tindal in 1733; but the "Wolfenbüttel Fragments," in which, as we are told, their errors were *first mooted*, were not published till 1777.

These dates the Archdeacon may be able to understand when they are set before him; but we should despair of his being brought to understand the exposure he has made in deriving the Philosophy of Hegel from the criticism of the "Wolfenbüttel Fragments" or in confounding the "Rationalism," properly so-called of Paulus with the mythical theory of his antagonist, Strauss.

The archdeacon informs us, in his first page, that he has held, for more than seven years, the office of Examining Chaplain to the bishop of the diocese. We think that some of the Essayists, who have not been unaccustomed to "Examinations," might like nothing better than to set the archdeacon on the other side of a table for an hour or two, in the audience of his King's College pupils and the clergy of his

archdeaconry, he being supposed to "take up" the history of English, French, and German "Free-thinking." The archdeacon and classical professor had better have confined himself to the compilation of Roman and Greek histories for the use of boys, or, still more characteristically, to the preparation of "Latin grammars" adapted "for ladies!"

Dr. Guthrie's sermons[7] are as *elegant* as pulpit discourses can be when addressed to the imagination. To listen to one of them is like fixing the eyes on a crucifix, or on a picture of the Madonna, supposing only that the "Seven Dolours," or the "Assumption," were part of the creed which Dr. Guthrie would have his hearers accept. That which is vividly represented is not necessarily true; but the reason is often led captive by a rhetorical or æsthetic fallacy. In this case, the doctrine which lies behind, and is often concealed by a glittering eloquence, is the hardest and narrowest Calvinism; thus we have this utter corruption and odiousness of man—"Hateful, man is by nature hating. I appeal to the unconverted. Do not your hearts prove that?" and a horrible interpretation of Mark x. 17—22:—

"Here is a man so amiable, that he won our Lord's affections—'Jesus loved him,' yet without saving grace; here is a man of the highest *morale*, yet without saving grace; here is a man repairing to the very Fountain-head of life, seeking it in Christ, yet without the grace of God—lost, for ever lost, so far as we know or read in Scripture. The curtain drops on him, with his face turned to the world, and his back to heaven."—(p. 56.)

If the Bible had been what Dr. Guthrie represents it to be, we should not have wondered at the relations which he describes between it and the "philosophers:"—

"To make it appear a cunningly-devised fable, philosophers have sought arguments amidst the mysteries of science, and travellers amid the hoar remains of antiquity; *for that purpose*, geologists have ransacked the bowels of the earth, and astronomers the stars of heaven."—(p. 106.)

The indefectibility of grace is part of the eloquent preacher's creed:

"It is not when the battle is fought out, but begun; when this race is closed, but entered on; it is at the birth of the newborn soul that there is joy in heaven—joy in heaven over every sinner that repenteth, and as soon as he repenteth; because 'whom He did predestinate, them He also called; and whom He called, them He also justified; and whom He justified, them He also glorified'—and all the devils of hell cannot break this linked and golden chain that binds the believer to the throne of God. Whom He loveth, He loveth to the end."—(p. 209.)

There are, indeed, appeals made to practical work as the evidence of the Christian life, which would fit on better to a different creed.

"The Priesthood and the People"[8] is a straightforward and characteristic pamphlet by Mr. Foxton, to show that there is no hope of any satisfactory issue from the present theological turmoil, unless the laity take their own cause into their own hands; for "high church" and "low church," "established" and "dissenting," "orthodox" and

[7] "The Way to Life." Sermons by Thomas Guthrie, D.D. Edinburgh: A. and C. Black. 1862.

[8] "The Priesthood and the People." By Frederick J. Foxton, A.B., Author of "Popular Christianity," &c. London: Trübner. 1862.

"liberal" clergy are none of them capable of becoming leaders of the people in the present crisis.

Mr. Ellis's "Philo-Socrates"[9] consists of a series of papers on such subjects as might have interested Socrates had he been among us at the present day. Some such rude questioner would be as unpopular and as useful as the old Athenian was. We very much recommend the present brochure on the subject of the evils which flow from making the Old and New Testaments into reading-books for schools and young people.

Mr. Lewin's "Jerusalem"[10] is a painstaking essay on the topography of the Holy City, in which the ancient and modern authorities are subjected to a strict scrutiny. The chief point of interest concerns the identification of the present Holy Sepulchre with that in which the body of Jesus was deposited. Mr. Lewin concludes, after an elaborate discussion, for which we can only refer to the book itself:—

"1. From *à priori* considerations, we should look for the sepulchre of our Lord in the quarter of the city where we now find it. 2. The sepulchre, as now exhibited, is certainly identical with that over which Constantine erected his church. 3. The present sepulchre, whether it retain or not any fragment of the original tomb, marks at least the spot where the body of our Lord was laid."—(pp. 166, 167.)

Little progress appears to have been made, either on the side of the Established Church or of the Dissenters, towards relieving our Statute Book of that most discreditable piece of legislation, the Act of Uniformity of 1662.[11] And if the two parties regard only their separate sectarian objects, of course no progress will be made. Such a movement as that of Lord Ebury in the House of Lords recently, for a modification of the form of clerical subscription, was too timid and too one-sided, merely regarding the scruples of a few clergymen, to have any effect: it was easily arrested by the caution of one bishop and the sarcasms of another; moreover, it was introduced in the wrong House. And if the Nonconformist celebration of "black Bartholomew's Day" shall end in a mere glorification of themselves as the spiritual descendants of the 2000 ejected ministers, a certain opportunity of good in the recurrence of the Centenary will have been lost. Recent lessons have probably taught Dissenters that they have been aiming at too much—at liberating, not only themselves in conscience or pocket, as the case might be, but also those who do not feel themselves oppressed, either in the one or the other; at enforcing, in fact, upon the whole nation their own particular theory concerning

9 "Philo-Socrates." Part III. "Among the Teachers." By William Ellis. Author of "Religion in Common Life," &c. &c. London: Smith, Elder, and Co. 1862.

10 "Jerusalem: A Sketch of the City and Temple, from the earliest times to the Siege by Titus." By Thomas Lewin, Esq., of Trinity College, Oxford, M.A. Author of "The Life of St. Paul," &c. &c. London: Longmans. 1861.

11 "Church and State Two Hundred Years ago. A History of Ecclesiastical Affairs in England from 1660 to 1663. By John Stoughton. London: Jackson and Walford. 1862.

"Troublous Times; or, Leaves from the Notebook of the Rev. Mr. John Hicks, an ejected Nonconformist Minister, 1670-71." Transcribed by Jane Bowring Crouch; with an Introduction by the Rev. Charles Stanford. London: Jackson and Walford. 1862.

the Church of Christ—the very thing, under another form, against which they had successfully protested. That Dissenters, as such, will succeed in abolishing a Church Establishment in this country is not to be expected; if it falls, it will fall from other causes than a Parliamentary vote in favour of Voluntaryism: and we apprehend that the wiser among the Nonconformists are beginning to understand that the Establishment, as a settlement of property, is upheld not only by a traditional Church and State policy, but still more efficaciously by the interests of lay patrons, who are, moreover, especially strong in the House of Commons. In future movements, Dissenters should take care not to have this interest adverse to them, as it necessarily became when once it transpired that the real object of the anti-Church-rate league was the abolition of the Establishment itself; but if the purpose of moderate Nonconformists is to remedy the ill consequences of the Act of Uniformity in the spirit in which Baxter and the most eminent of the ejected ministers would have done it, their simple and straightforward course would be to agitate for its entire repeal. If that were accomplished, things would revert, as far as the law goes, to the *statu quo ante*. The interests, indeed, which have grown up around the voluntarily associated congregations are too widely organized and too well settled for any merging of Dissenters in the Established Church to take place: but what ought to follow, and would, we think, be brought about, is a mutual recognition between the Established and Voluntary congregations. The two great grievances of which the Presbyterians and others complained in 1662, were the *Declaration of assent and consent to all which is contained in the Liturgy*, and *the necessity of Reordination* before office could be taken in the Church; each is a grievance still. It would be a very partial and one-sided reform which should remove one of these barriers and not the other. Mr. Stoughton, illustrating the difficulty which the necessity of reordination was to some who had not received episcopal ordination, mentions the case of John Howe:—

"After the Act had passed, Dr. Wilkins expressed his surprise that *a man of Howe's latitude* should have stood out. The latter replied, he would gladly have remained in the Establishment, but his *latitude* was the very thing that made him a Nonconformist; and then, on another occasion, when asked, 'Pray, sir, what hurt is there in being reordained?' He replied, 'Hurt, my lord! it is shocking—it hurts my understanding; it is an absurdity, for nothing can have two beginnings.' "*—(p. 294.)

The stringent Episcopacy of the English Church would be brought to an end by the repeal of the Caroline Act: for the statute being removed, it is believed that persons who had not received Episcopal ordination might be licensed as lecturers and admitted to benefices, and patrons would thus have every reason to be satisfied with the wider choice of clergymen given them. It is probable that not a score of Voluntary chapels would be closed throughout the kingdom in consequence of a

* We believe bishops, even in the present day, require a Dissenting minister who may desire to be ordained in the Anglican Church, to cease from his ministry for three years before he can be received as a candidate; thus making him show an unchristian contempt for his original communion, and to pass through the ordeal of starvation for himself and family.

simple repeal of that iniquitous Act: it would be a definite and intelligible object for liberal persons of all religious denominations to strive for, and, if accomplished, as beneficent in its effects as the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts which formed part of the same exclusive system. The works which we have noted below, illustrative of ecclesiastical affairs in the period from the Restoration to the Revolution, are put together in a very candid spirit.

Dr. Stähelin's "Introduction to the Canonical Books of the Old Testament,"[12] is a useful manual in a moderate compass, reverential, clear, and conciliatory.

The purpose of Dr. Schwartz's Sermons,[13] of which the second volume is before us, is to exhibit practically how the Gospel may be preached from a modern point of view. He dwells little upon the facts of Christianity as they are usually considered, throwing, at least, the question of the miraculous into the background, but brings forward and applies, with great eloquence and force, the teaching of Jesus as appealing to the spirit of man in all times and circumstances. They would make good models for some of our own more liberal clergymen.

Dr. Riggenbach[14] was requested, at the meeting of the Evangelical Alliance held last year at Geneva, to deliver a Discourse on "Modern Rationalism," particularly as it appears in German Switzerland. The result is a brief but clear *exposé*, chiefly drawn from a periodical published at Zurich, entitled, "Voices of the Times" (die Zeit-stimmen), edited by M. Lang. It appears to consist of a series of Essays in course of publication since 1859, several of the contributors being active clergymen. The points in which these Swiss "Rationalists" differ from "Evangelical" Christians are treated of under the following heads:—1. The Bible; 2. Jesus Christ; 3. God and Miracles; 4. Eternal Life; 5. Sin; 6. Faith. If Dr. Riggenbach can be considered to represent the Evangelical sentiments of the Alliance, that body has surrendered the theory of Scripture-dictation, or "plenary," in the sense of "verbal" Inspiration; and it seems to be left open, in theory at least, where the line is to be drawn between the Divine and human factors in the Bible. The Rationalists of whose opinions Dr. Riggenbach speaks are said to entertain a more concrete conception of the historical person of Jesus Christ than Strauss and his followers; to resolve miracles into the operation of Divine law; to consider eternal life as commencing in the present; to depart widely from Evangelical doctrine on the subjects of Sin, Faith, and Atonement. We gather that in the cantons of Zurich, Basle, Berne, especially in the former, the Evangelical ministers find themselves in such minority that it is a question whether they ought not to secede from the national or established Church (Landeskirche). Dr. Riggenbach

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[12] "Specielle Einleitung in die Kanonischer Bücher des Alten Testaments." Von J. J. Stähelin, Doctor Theologiæ, und Professor in Basel. London: D. Nutt. 1862.

[13] "Predigten aus der Gegenwart." Von Dr. Carl Schwartz, Oberhofprediger und Oberconsistorialrath zu Gotha. Zweite Sammlung. London: Williams and Norgate.

[14] "Der heutige Rationalismus besonders in der Deutschen Schweiz." Vortrag gehalten in der St. Peterskirche zu Genf den 11 September, 1861, durch Chr. Joh. Riggenbach d. Theol. Dr. u. Prof. London: Williams and Norgate. 1862.

thinks not, and alleges, in favour of the perseverance of a minority, the authority of the Master Himself, who neither quitted the Church of the Pharisees and Sadducees, towards whom He used such hard expressions, neither did He bid His disciples of their own accord to quit the Synagogue, although they must be prepared to be "put out."

The present volume of Dr. M'Cosh on "The Supernatural in Relation to the Natural,"[15] is principally directed, in that which pretends to be its philosophical part, to controvert the views of the late Professor Powell on the order manifested in nature. In its religious portion it is addressed to the understanding of tea-parties. It is a hybrid production, and it is much to be regretted that the author, with his power of illustration and fluency, should mix up serious discussion with the merest Evangelical platitudes. But we apprehend that Mr. Powell is not fairly represented to begin with: he is represented as having taught an "exclusive naturalism,"—as having thrust God out of the universe by a theory of law; in other words, as denying the Supernatural. But Dr. M'Cosh would do well to consider his own words: "the defender of religion is betraying the cause committed to him, when he allows, directly or indirectly, or by implication, that God is not to be seen in what is brought about by those wise and beneficent laws which He Himself has instituted." (p. 13.) The law according to which an unusual event has happened may be unascertained, its proximately antecedent cause may lie beyond our knowledge; but a First Cause is not denied because we assert that His immediate operation in a particular occurrence is unproved. Nevertheless, with all his mistakes, as we consider them, respecting the views of Mr. Powell, all his Evangelical narrowness and platitude, Dr. M'Cosh is on the verge of a great truth—namely, that the so-called Natural and Supernatural shade into each other. We live, he says, in a Cosmical system of which the laws and forces are known to us; but beyond that Cosmos so known there lies an unknown, from whence issue, from untraceable sources, results coming within the range of the known. The Great Cause must always be Supernatural to us, and is as much so in the germinating of a blade of grass as in any of the most astounding Biblical miracles, supposing them to have happened; but in none of these cases are we entitled to assert that He is acting *immediately*. Of course, with respect to miracles, of which the history is transmitted to us from former generations, we have to ascertain whether there is sufficient evidence of their having happened as described, and sufficient precision in their description for them to be brought, on one side, within human knowledge and experience, and the application of human tests. With capabilities of something much higher, we are sorry Dr. M'Cosh's works are adapted chiefly for the narrower religious coteries.

Mr. Morell presents us with a noble example in his own person of free and truthful inquiry; and, if it were worth while, his "Introduction to Mental Philosophy"[16] might be contrasted, in many particulars,

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[15] "The Supernatural in Relation to the Natural." By the Rev. James M'Cosh, LL.D., Author of "The Method of the Divine Government," "Intuitions of the Mind," &c. Cambridge and London: Macmillan. 1862.

[16] "An Introduction to Mental Philosophy, on the Inductive Method." By J. D. Morell, A.M., LL.D. London: Longmans. 1862.

with his previous works: but it is sufficient to express our great satisfaction at the adhesion which he gives to the employment of the Inductive Method in the investigation of the phenomena of Mind. A necessary re-action against doctrines of the Absolute, which swallowed up in a void all finite realities, manifested itself in Germany in Herbart and his school; and the discoveries which have of late years rewarded scientific observation in all European countries have established as a maxim, that if Truth is *à priori*, Knowledge is *à posteriori*. Truth is not truth to us until it is known, and it cannot be known until discovered by observation. In his preface Mr. Morell acknowledges his obligations to various authors to whom he feels himself indebted. The instruments of Induction Mr. Morell lays down to be, "Experiment" and "Analogy;" including, we suppose, the "Experience" which comes to us spontaneously under "Experiment," which rather implies set purpose and design. Analogy, indeed, has only a secondary use—namely, to suggest hypothesis, which must be tested afterwards by further observation. The special difficulty in investigating the phenomena of mind lies in the power of isolating them, but, as in all experimental sciences, an isolation may be sufficient for the purpose of a particular analysis, even when not complete.

Before the ground is free for such an inquiry as that which is contemplated by Mr. Morell, gratuitous assumptions must be removed out of the way, as, 1. That Mind and Body are two distinct existences. 2. That Mind has no existence whatever, but is only a result, or something like a secretion. 3. That Mind is the *same* with Consciousness. 4. That a certain number of mental faculties have a substantial existence. And the problem proposed by the author is thus described:—

"We have to investigate *man* as a living, instinctive, active, feeling, and thinking being. In doing this, we have to take in the whole range of facts presented to us by human nature, and to discover, if possible, the laws by which these facts are regulated. With regard to the *method*, we have to lay aside all preconceived ideas in relation to the nature and attributes of mind, and proceed steadily from the known to the unknown by that same inductive process which has proved so abundantly fruitful in relation to physical science."—(p. 13.)

Now it is not possible to distinguish absolutely our purely mental acts from the energies of the nervous and vital systems; and the mental, nervous, and vital forces mutually influence each other to such a degree, that we must presume a unity at the root of them, out of which they all spring (p. 19); and remembering that consciousness is not itself mind, but a certain activity or evidence of mind, we are not entitled to limit mental function to our conscious thought. On the other hand, there are many phenomena, such as those of tacit or dormant knowledge and of the effects of *habit*, which lead to the conclusion that there is within us a latent intelligence, or preconscious mental process. And this preconscious activity is nevertheless teleological, as is evident from the instinctive actions of infants, and of other animals, which are adapted to certain ends, as directly as if they were the effect of conscious will. This doctrine of preconscious or unconscious thought is further confirmed by the phenomena of *residual* effects which remain after every mental act, however transient:—

"We may trace (says Mr. Morell) the same general facts through all the grades of our mental development. Instinctive actions are all based upon unconscious ideas, and have on that account been often attributed to a direct impulse of the Divine reason; actions which become perfectly habitual are constantly performed under the guidance of mental impressions, without our knowing it, until after they are completed; what is termed *common sense* is nothing but a substratum of experiences, out of which our judgments flow, while the experiences themselves are hidden away in the unconscious depths of our intellectual nature, and even the flow of public opinion is formed by ideas which lie tacitly in the national mind, and come into consciousness generally a long time after they have been really operating and shaping the course of events in human history."—(p. 96.)

Hence those ideas which appear innate and inseparable from the human mind are traceable for their origin to this preconscious mental activity, and issue, all of them, from a perception of difference and similarity. For this lies at the root of our sense of *motion*, and through our sense of *motion* at the root of our conception of time and space. And—

"whatever is contained in thought, of however advanced a character, is contained *germinally* in perception. Perception involves in its unexpanded form all the elements of logical thinking, and the power of comparison and separation, of seeing similarities and judging differences (in which, as we shall see, all logic consists), is here already at work, forming the mental law which underlies all our intellectual operations, alike in their lowest and their highest sphere of action."—(p. 153.)

From the doctrine of *Residua* will of course follow that of the necessary limitation of human knowledge; for the materials of human knowledge in its highest development are given in our antecedent experience and its effects. Hence no man can have a knowledge of the Absolute or Infinite; and in different persons there are different degrees of knowledge, conviction, and belief; for that which one believes on testimony, another knows as matter of science. And to this variety in mental experience is to be attributed the variety of personal religious beliefs, together with the one natural universal belief in a First Cause, which underlies them all. So that it is a mistake to suppose the essential part of religion to consist in the belief of the concrete facts supposed to accompany its revelation; for there are very few who have the ability or opportunity for investigating the evidence for those facts; and we do not perceive that those who investigate such evidences have a stronger conviction of their objective reality than those who have never investigated and who cannot investigate them at all. The truth is, "every religion does exist in most minds as a purely personal conviction," and its influence is not found to be in proportion to the greater or less amount of its external evidences; and, indeed, with respect to Christianity itself, the most eminent divines lay greater stress on the moral than on the historical grounds of belief. How is it, then, that such a high degree of certitude is attached to men's religious convictions? Because the internal feelings force upon us, with almost equal strength to the testimony of the outward senses, the existence of a great First Cause; some such conviction is necessary for our peace and happiness as men, and our personality throws itself into this *religious faith*, which alone can give a meaning to the problem of our destiny (pp. 334, 335). This conviction, therefore, of the

existence of a First Cause we gather to be, according to our author, of the essence and substance of religious faith, and the rest of theological creeds to be clothing.

On the subject of the Will, the doctrine of *Residua* harmonizes with that which moralists generally recognise as the force of habit; and Mr. Morell finds a solution of the difficulty concerning the freedom of the Will in a view like that of Mr. Thomas Solly, whom he quotes with approbation—namely, that we have power over our Will to this extent, that we can affect the antecedents which supply motive to each act of Will. We doubt, however, whether the abstract difficulty is thus removed more than a step backwards: the practical value of the doctrine is apparent. The chapters on the Emotions and Feelings are perhaps the best in the book. We conclude with an extract descriptive of the growth of the moral faculty:—

"If it be asked, 'How are our moral *ideas* formed?' then the psychology of the ideas generally furnishes the material for a reply. All *thinking* is *differentiation*. It is by noting the resemblances and the differences of things that they are formed into classes, give rise to ideas and concepts, and are fitted for the purpose of *logical* argumentation or *rational* inquiry into truth.

"Moral ideas, like all others, are formed in this way. We do not start with any *à priori* notion of an absolute good, or an absolute right; this is rather the goal to which our moral thought tends as its highest expression. Every man forms his ideas of good and evil from the phenomena around him. He learns gradually to *separate* actions which have any kind of moral element in them from others which have not; and, in the same way, he comes, by a like gradual process, to divide them into the two classes of right and wrong." (pp. 442, 443.)

Thus is accounted for that the standard of morals is a fluctuating one, and differs as between children and adults, between different classes of men, and between peoples in different stages of civilization. Psychology, it is true, only undertakes to trace the mode or process by which human actions are classified as good and evil; but it does not undertake to ascertain the ground itself of the distinction.

Plato has been much read at Oxford of late years. The "Theætetus"[17] is edited by Mr. Campbell, for the sake of the highest class of students. Besides a scholarlike body of notes, there is given a running abstract of the argument, which is very needful for most readers of the Platonic Dialogues: for the reading of Plato has a danger to the young student, by reason of the argument being often interrupted by exemplifications, turned off upon parallel subjects, lost in verbal trivialities, as they seem to us, or in remote analogies; so that a style of disquisition which should be formed upon Plato as he appears on the surface, would be fluctuating and illustrative rather than logical and close. There is also an interesting Introduction, showing the place which the Platonic philosophy occupies in history, especially with reference to the school of Ionia, the Eleatics, and the Sophists. For Heraclitus and the Ionians conceived of the Universe as a continued flux or process (πάντα ῥεῖ); Parmenides and the Eleatics took Being as the point of departure, considered it as a Unity (ἓν καὶ πᾶν),

[17] "The Theætetus of Plato, with a Revised Text and English Notes." By the Rev. Lewis Campbell, M.A., Vicar of Milford, Hants; late Fellow and Tutor of Queen's College, Oxford. Oxford. 1861.

and Thought and Being as the same (τἀυτὸ νοεῖν τε καὶ εἶναι). Plato sought, on the objective side of knowledge, to reconcile these antagonisms, because there can be no knowledge of that which never *is*, but always *becoming*. And though it is not brought out in the present Dialogue, the solution is intended to be, that knowledge is of the divine, eternal, ideal, archetypal truth, while opinion only belongs to the transient. But immediately antecedent to Plato and Socrates arose the Sophists, who rendered this service—they turned attention from the object to the subject, from the universe to man, from Being to the instrument whereby it is known to us. But in making each individual the measure of truth, the Sophists were to be combated, for knowledge, though it implies a subject, cannot be conceived of apart from its object. There is a very good comparison of the inquiry in the "Theætetus" into the nature of Knowledge and Opinion, with Locke's "Essay on the Human Understanding." (p. lxxxv.) Mr. Campbell concludes his Introduction:—

"In an age when so much yearns for reconcilement, when, for instance, the paths of natural and mental science, after swerving far asunder, promise to converge again, when the abstractions of the intellect begin to stand in a new relation to the forms of the imagination, from which they had seemed to be finally severed, it is an interesting and suggestive labour to turn again the earlier pages of the book of human inquiry: to find these 'anticipations of Nature' indissolubly woven together with the reflections of the mind upon itself: to see a fast-ripening philosophy labouring with an imperfect logic; and language, and poetical imagination, with mixed modes of sense, casting their many-coloured veil over the irregularities of mental growth, and giving form and life and substance to dialectical and speculative thought. This Attic prime of intellectual manhood is beautiful to contemplate, even if Philosophy may not hope from such fountains to renew her youth."—(p. lxxxvii.)

Mr. Maurice's "Modern Philosophy"[18] forms the fourth and concluding volume of a series, of which the first was devoted to a history of ancient speculation on morals and metaphysics; the second embraced the first six centuries of the Christian era; the third, the mediæval or scholastic period from the sixth to the thirteenth centuries. The present volume, which is double in bulk of any of its predecessors, commences with William of Occam, and concludes with Comte. The object of the distinguished author has been to give as concrete a character as possible to his history, so that it resembles a continued series of Essays on the lives of those who have exercised an influence upon their respective ages as moralists or philosophers. The sum of the whole is, that the same great questions which engaged the thoughts of the greatest intellects of old reappear among ourselves, only in an altered form. Mr. Maurice has, as he confesses, not attempted to sink the theologian in the philosopher, and the peculiarities of his theology of course emerge. In other respects the design of the work gives it a somewhat rambling character, while it abounds in passages of great richness and truth. As an extract, we give the very curious concluding paragraph:—

[18] "Modern Philosophy; or, a Treatise of Moral and Metaphysical Philosophy, from the Fourteenth Century to the French Revolution, with a Glimpse into the Nineteenth Century." By the Rev. Frederick Denison Maurice, M.A. London: Griffin, Bohn, and Co. 1862.

"It is not for us to prophesy whether England will understand her function or not, whether she will use the blessings which have been given her for the interpretation of the past, as well as of the present, for uniting the nations of Christendom, for teaching and binding together all the nations of the earth. If she and all the nations which have hitherto confessed the faith of Christ become ministers of darkness, enemies of the light, the light will not the less make itself manifest. Other instruments will be found to diffuse it. Known in all lands, mixing with all people, seen in every temple of Mammon, bearing silent witness in every such temple of a righteous God, the Jew of our century may come to discover that he was sent into the world to be a blessing, not a curse, to all the families of the earth. Uniting all that was truly divine in Spinoza, all that was truly rational in Moses Mendelssohn, to a thorough faith in the promises made to his fathers, to a deep sense of the need of a redemption from evil, he may speak to men, as we have never spoken, of a humbled and glorified Son of Man—of a Son of God who perfectly reveals the Infinite and Eternal. The nation which was chosen as the first guide to men in the search after moral and metaphysical wisdom may be also the last." —(p. 676.)

William Gwinner gives an interesting sketch of the life and habits of Schopenhauer, with an outline of his system, its affiliation to that of Kant, and antagonism to those of Fichte, Schelling, and Hegel.[19] Herr Gwinner was intimate with Schopenhauer during the latter part of his life: the philosopher seems to have preserved his faculties unimpaired nearly to the last, to have suffered little from one or two slight shocks of paralysis, but to have died painlessly, and almost instantaneously, seated on his sofa, from congestion of the lungs. The outline of Schopenhauer's skull, which is here given in comparison with those of Kant, Talleyrand, Schiller, and Napoleon I., shows a most extraordinary breadth of forehead. A second edition of Schopenhauer's "Parerga und Paralipomena" is published by Dr. Frauenstädt, his literary executor, augmented from unpublished manuscripts, and particularly from the annotations which Schopenhauer made, according to his custom, in an interleaved copy.[20]

POLITICS, SOCIOLOGY, AND TRAVELS.

We have but one fault to find with Mr. St. John's account of the northern part of Borneo,[1] but that is a very annoying one: he is not satisfied with giving an account of the manners and customs of races, made familiar to him by his travels in their country, but he also

[19] "Arthur Schopenhauer aus persönlichen Umgange dargestellt. Ein Blick auf sein Leben, seinen Charakter und seine Lehre." Von Wilhelm Gwinner. London: Williams and Norgate. 1862.

[20] "Parerga und Paralipomena: Kleine philosophischen Schriften." Von Arthur Schopenhauer. Zweite verbesserte und beträchtlich vermehrte Auflage, aus dem handschriftlichen Nachlasse des Verfassers herausgegeben. Von Dr. Julius Frauenstädt. 2 Bande. London: D. Nutt. 1862.

[1] "Life in the Forests of the Far East." By Spencer St. John, F.R.G.S., F.E.S., formerly H.M. Consul-General in the Great Island of Borneo, and now H.M. Chargé d'Affaires to the Republic of Hayti. Two Vols. London: Longman and Co. 1862.

publishes the materials of his history in the form of journals kept by him during each of his expeditions; this involves constant repetitions, which become very wearisome to the reader. Had he contented himself with giving the results only of his experience in Borneo, the book would have been as good and only half as long, but yet long enough to contain all the valuable matter which is its recommendation. The tedious and daily recurring notices of his personal feelings, states of health, and dietary expedients, if valuable at all as hints to future travellers in the same districts, might have been summarized for their benefit, and the results rather than the daily fortunes of his journey would have been quite adequate for that purpose. Nothing is more annoying than the frequent mistake made by travellers in supposing that what at the moment was highly interesting to their own personal feelings and comfort, must be also entertaining to those who listen to their adventures. It is one of the rarest qualities in travellers to forget themselves in what they have to tell us. It is not, however, so much so as to make the demand for some constraint of this sort at all unreasonable, as may be seen in the excellent example furnished by Mr. Tilley's account of Japan and the Pacific. This complaint once made, it only remains to acknowledge the industry and ability with which Mr. St. John, in the other parts of these volumes, has gathered together the characteristic traits of a very curious state of society. In his account of the sea Dayaks, he is greatly struck by what appears to him the contradictory moral qualities which they display in the relations between the sexes, "They are modest," he says, "but yet unchaste; they love warmly, but yet divorce easily; but yet are generally faithful to their husbands when married." These qualities, if contradictory in themselves, are but a natural consequence of the conditions of life in Borneo. The facility with which the means of existence are procured, renders the sexes almost independent of one another, as far as mere maintenance is concerned; and it may be questioned whether these demi-barbarians do not typify the relations which would ensue among a more civilized people, were women among them as able to support themselves. Among the Dayaks, children are the great domestic tie, for whom the greatest tenderness is felt. A Dayak has been known to kill his last child because he could not face the torment he had endured on the loss of its brothers and sisters: this may seem an Irish argument, but it is the logic of every overwhelming apprehension. Their singular custom of head hunting is now, owing to the energetic measures of the Governor of Sarawak, almost obsolete: they still, however, look back upon their exploits of this kind with pride, and compare themselves complacently with Europeans, in their saying, "The white man reads books; but we hunt for heads." It was chiefly resorted to as a distraction when sorrowing for the loss of a near relation; the head once got, and the feast in its honour given, the remembrance of the departed no longer troubles them. Mr. St. John gives an account of the manner in which the inhabitants of one of the small islands, near the Seribas Dayaks, retaliated on them, and of the immunity afterwards enjoyed by the people who had so revenged themselves. Having surprised their enemies, the islanders killed all but

seven, six men and a boy: the men they roasted over a slow fire, the bold fellows died without a cry of pain, defying them to the last; the boy was sent back to the coast with a message to his countrymen, that if they ever came there again, they would be treated in the same way, It is, however, impossible that we should here follow Mr. St. John through all the curious particulars which he has brought together. He was accompanied on some of his expeditions by the well-known botanist, Mr. Low, and shared his tastes so much, that he has enriched his volumes with accounts of many rare Bornean plants: among them the Pitcher-plant is most curious, which in Borneo attains dimensions, and assumes a variety and brilliancy of colour, which it does nowhere else; many species are figured in these volumes, and full accounts given of their various habitats. A very useful vocabulary of four dialects spoken by the natives is given in an Appendix; and indeed, there are but few points of interest connected with the islands which are not fully treated. The government of the Malay Sultan is in the last stage of decrepitude, and has sunk down into a system of undisguised pillage, which is depopulating the interior, and slowly, but surely, undermining its own existence. Some excellent illustrations add to the beauty of these volumes; indeed, that which represents the capital, Brunei, a sort of Malay Venice, speaks volumes in corroboration of the accounts of the free manners which prevail among its inhabitants. The houses being all built on piles, are accessible from below, and Malay lovers signal one another through the floor of the house, which has, at least for them, the advantage of an indisputable privacy.

In a very sumptuous volume Mr. Rhind gives an account of Excavations made by him in the Necropolis of Thebes,[a] which he was induced to undertake in the hope that more careful observations of the circumstances in which Egyptian antiquities are discovered would yield some definite evidence of the nature of ancient Egyptian beliefs on the connexion between the body and soul than have been hitherto attained. The usually accepted notions on this point have been too much the argumentative constructions of European investigators, and have been deduced rather from the general practice of embalmment than from any documentary source that can be satisfactorily traced back to the Egyptians themselves. With these views, it seems almost an irony of fate that Mr. Rhind should not be able to boast of the discovery of any tomb older than the Christian era. The tomb at Thebes, an account of which fills the greater part of his volume, had itself been desecrated in the time of Augustus to admit the tenant whose long repose Mr. Rhind first disturbed. The evidence of former tenancy was full and complete, but no fresh information concerning the ancient beliefs of its first tenants was to be deduced from such parts of its funeral furniture as had been left unaltered. The beauty and singularity of some of the objects discovered in the further recesses, which were occupied by its second tenant, have induced the author to give a

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[a] "Thebes: its Tombs and their Tenants, Ancient and Present, including a Record of Excavations in the Necropolis. By A. H. Rhind, F.S.A., &c. London: Longman and Co. 1862.

very full and detailed account of his discovery. The most important of these objects were a very rich and elegant canopy or pall of wood, richly painted in imitation of an Egyptian temple, and a rich garland of copper and gold, representing an olive-wreath, which encircled the head of the chief occupant. In the course of his account the author shrinks from none of the more *vexatæ quæstiones* of Egyptian antiquities, and it is to be regretted that the good sense of his conclusions should be wrapped up in a style of the most pretentious philosophical pedantry. It is true that a simpler mode of statement would have reduced the size and apparent importance of his work, but it would have greatly added to its usefulness. The burthen, however, of the author's ponderous style is greatly alleviated by the excellent map and illustrations with which he has adorned his volume. The two chapters on the present condition of the native population seem to have been added more from a desire to give the volume its present bulk, than from any intrinsic interest they possess. The public have long since been made much more fully acquainted with the condition of the Egyptian *fellaheen* than can be done within the small compass of these supplementary chapters. The chief merit of the book consists in its exhibition of the small ground there is for the popular idea that a belief in the resurrection of the body was prevalent among the ancient Egyptians.

On the principle of hearing both sides, Mr. Wenkstern's pamphlet on the discontent in Posen[3] deserves attention. Nothing is more easy than to prove the great material benefits which have been bestowed upon the country by its annexation to Prussia; and if this were the only criterion by which the justice and policy of that proceeding is to be judged, it would afford a triumphant refutation of the complaints of the Poles: but the difficulty of governing by the same body of laws an immigrant German population and the natives of the Province necessarily gives rise to questions of great complexity, the solution of which can only be arrived at by a temperate exercise of the sovereign rights of the ruling country. That every possible consideration has been exercised by the Prussian Government is the thesis which the author of the pamphlet endeavours to prove, and that with an amount of evidence which well deserves consideration. The accusation of impracticable agitation which he brings against a portion of the Polish gentry is one we ourselves too frequently make use of in the cases of Ireland and the Ionian Isles, to justify us in closing our ears to the same plea when urged with so much appearance of justice. If this pamphlet had no other merit than that of showing the necessity of bringing the question before some other tribunal than that of a sentimental interest in oppressed nationalities, it would deserve attention; but it has also the additional recommendation of affording grounds for an arrest of judgment against Prussia, which, if they may be called the pleas of an advocate, are at any rate such as cannot be ignored in any just conclusions on the matter in hand.

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[3] "Prussia and the Poles." By Otto Wenkstern. London: Mann, Nephews. 1862.

We have met with no account of the enormous difficulties which surround the attempt to emancipate the serfs of Russia which approaches the clearness of that by M. Ogareff.[4] Whatever may be thought of the plans of the party to which he belongs, the acuteness of their criticisms of the *status quo* cannot be denied. In a rapid review of the formation of the Russian social system, the author points out how, in the transition from a nomadic to a settled state, those notions of individual property in land, which in modern Europe acquired such firm foundation in the feudal system, never took root in Russia. The first organization which took place was called forth by the necessity of repelling the incursions of the Tartars, and rested upon the village communities. The centralized authority of the Czars, called for by the exigencies of the time, could not be supported except by a delegated body of functionaries, who would collect the requisite taxes and administer justice in the country districts. This body came to be composed either of the old military chiefs of the various wandering tribes, who received at the hands of the central authority patrimonial estates; or of a body of salaried servants, more directly controllable by the Czar. This inroad on the freedom of nomadic life was not submitted to without frequent insurrection on the part of the peasants, but was ultimately carried out over the greater part of the plain of Russia. The communities once permanently localized retained, as a matter of course, those notions of common property in the land they cultivated which were natural to their wandering state. These ideas have resisted every increase of the governing class, and find expression in the popular phrase in the mouths of the peasants when addressing their lords: "We are your property, we are your men, but the land is ours." This land they distribute among the members of the community, giving an equal share to every couple, and making a fresh distribution every three years. This is done by the unanimous vote of the whole community, and, according to M. Ogareff, with so much justice, that litigation, or reference to the judicial authorities, never occurs. In the conflict between this immemorial use and the legal possession of the land lies the great difficulty of their emancipation from personal service. It is not to be expected the peasants should welcome a liberty which deprives them of their means of life: as might be supposed, they prefer a service which they can render as perfunctory as possible, to a freedom that would render them the tenants-at-will of their late masters. They also maintain that, by submitting to pay rent, they relinquish what they consider their inalienable right to the *use* of the land on which they live. Thus the projects of emancipation are hung up between the opposite impracticabilities of cession by the lords and purchase by the serfs. The plan advocated by M. Ogareff has many features of the Freehold Land Societies which have become so discredited among ourselves, encumbered, too, with a system of banking founded on land as a security, which, in the most settled countries, has long been repudiated by the best economical authorities,

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[4] "Essai sur la Situation Russe." Par N. Ogareff. Londres: Trübner and Co. 1862.

and which, we are afraid, would hardly weather the storm of so revolutionary a transition.

We are only able to indicate, in a very imperfect manner, the chief interest of this volume; but the fullest particulars will be found in it of the different races which inhabit the vast empire of the Czars, of the town populations, of the bureaucratic system by which the country has hitherto been governed, of the constitution of the Russian Church, and of the present attitude of the different classes which compose Russian society.

A book of a very different kind will be found in Professor Smyth's "Three Cities in Russia,"[5] which stands in the same relation to a genuine book of travels that a pantomime does to a drama. Russia reveals itself to him in dumb-show; and as his ignorance of the language rendered Russian life inaccessible to him, he endeavours to supply the fatal want by a most elaborate description of the stage on which it displays itself, and by the minutest detail of all its accessories and costume. The natural consequence of this forced restriction is to give a most undue importance to the merest trifles, and the consciousness that Russian tea-pots and cab-horses are themselves not objects of overwhelming interest, misleads the author into a style of fine writing on such subjects that is in the last degree wearisome. In spite of the laborious arts with which the Professor has striven to give interest to his descriptions, they remain vague, verbose, and as unsatisfactory as the exaggerated scenery of those displays with which we have compared the book. When thrown among his fellow-astronomers he becomes definite and instructive; but his accounts of the progress made by Russian astronomy and its associated sciences is more fitted for a scientific journal than a book of foreign travel; the progress too, after all, is more cosmopolitan than Russian, its chief supporters being Germans by birth or extraction. The professional parts of this book are the only valuable ones; the phenomena connected with the physical geography of Russia are brought before the reader in an instructive, if pedantic manner, and agreeably relieve the dreary and indiscriminate descriptions of Russian magnificence. There is a tone of prostrate admiration of everything he sees, which at first makes one suppose that something has been seen in some degree commensurate with it; but after a time this soon wears off, and when we find this tone extending itself to a literature, no word of which the admiring critic understands, it loses all further influence. In the chapter he devotes to politics, the author misses the turning-point of the controversy and only real difficulty in the way of the emancipation of the serfs, for the sake of an indirect attack upon English systems of administration, which he carries on in a Russian saloon in the form of a third-rate debating society. There is nothing more striking in these volumes than the utter absence of all recognition of the great political movement with which Russian society is heaving; and we strongly recommend all who wish to give an animated *staffage* to Professor Smyth's panorama, to consult the little volume by M. Ogareff.

[5] "Three Cities in Russia." By Professor C. P. Smyth, F.R.S., L. & E., Astronomer-Royal for Scotland. Two Vols. London: Lovell Reeve and Co. 1862.

Mr. Brown's "Victoria" is a very interesting account of the life led by the gold-seekers of Australia.[6] It is full of trustworthy information of the condition of things at Bendigo and Mount Ararat at the first discovery of the gold. This state of things has now passed away, and given place to more methodical proceedings, and a better regulated state of society; but the picture is full of interest. The methods of mining in the alluvial deposits, and the more extended operations which are required by the quartz-crushing processes, are described with all the vivid truth of one who has entered on both. The rough life, strange expedients, and still stranger company, which are met with in these extemporized communities have nowhere, that we have seen, been so well described. . The book abounds in illustrative anecdotes, which bear the fullest impress of authenticity. The good sense of the author allows them to tell their own tale without sentimental moralizings, and they gain greatly in impressiveness from this judicious reserve, while the freshness and reality of his style make the book very pleasant reading.

Mr. Hodder's little volume on "New Zealand Life"[7] is the best account we have met with of the various social phenomena of a new colony. The cheerful and practical tone in which he gives his narrative of the hardships experienced in the voyage out pervades the whole book; he very sensibly avoids the mistake of printing his journal and wearying his readers with the details of personal discomforts, which are often rendered as annoying to those who have to wade through the petulant remembrances, as they were to those who have not had the common sense with which Mr. Hodder throws them behind his back. After a short visit to the gold diggings, of which he gives an excellent description, he returned to Nelson for a more prosaic pursuit. He appears, though he does not absolutely say so, to have kept a school there, and employed his holidays in excursions into the mountains and bush. Without pretending to any scientific research, he touches upon most of the points of interest connected with the colony, and gives a full account of the remarkable Iron Sand at Taranaki, of the vestiges of the Moa (Dinornis) which have been found in various parts of the island. From the *Nelson Examiner* of 12th June, 1861, he extracts an account given by Mr. Brunner, chief surveyor of the province, of tracks of the enormous bird observed between Riwaka and Takaka, which indicate the possibility of its present existence in some of the unexplored districts of the island: an egg has been found a foot long, nine inches in diameter, and twenty-seven in circumference, which had been blown by the natives; the shell is the sixteenth part of an inch in thickness; the bird itself is computed, from the bones found in caves, to have been at least nine feet in height. Mr. Hodder does not throw much light upon the question of the war, and indulges in what seems to us the fallacious hope "that we can look forward to years of peace and tranquillity, when Maori and European will regard each

[6] "Victoria as I found it during Five Years of Adventure." By Henry Brown. London: T. C. Newby. 1862.

[7] "Memoirs of New Zealand Life." By Edward Hodder. London: Longman and Co. 1862.

other as brethren, and one common law of right be as freely the refuge of one as the other." If this should ever take place in New Zealand, it will be a triumph of civilization which the world has hitherto nowhere else beheld. To any one, however, who wishes for a clear narrative of the late war, and of the effects it has left behind it in the minds of the natives, we can strongly recommend Mr. Swainson's book on the subject.[8] The whole quarrel arose rather from the resolution of the colonists to ignore the nature of native land-tenures than from any real ignorance of them. The common right of the various tribes to the land they occupy is the only one recognised in New Zealand, or in any other primitive population that has not been subjected to a foreign conquest. The recognition of such a right as this is a formidable barrier to the acquisition of any coveted portion of land in the convenient neighbourhood of an European settlement as soon as the fears of the natives are aroused by the pressure of the increasing numbers of the colonists; such a right vesting in the whole tribe is of course liable to be asserted by a minority whose participation in it cannot be denied. As in Russia, and indeed everywhere else where this tenure of the land has prevailed, alienation can only be effected when agreed to by the whole community. These rights, at first acknowledged by the English Government, were set aside in the now too celebrated purchase at Waitara, and an effort made to treat with separate natives who had acquired rights of settlement indeed, but whose proprietorship was merged in that of their tribe. The lamentable results are too well known. The judicious measures of the present Governor promise to skin and film the ulcerous place; but those must be sanguine indeed who fancy that without an amount of home legislation which would be intolerable to the rapidly increasing European population, the time is at all remote when New Zealand gold-fields will be fatal to the New Zealand race. The best intentions and the most intelligent benevolence on the part of the Home Government has never yet been able to keep the weaker aborigines in any colony from gradually receding before the encroaching footsteps of European settlers. The fate of the New Zealanders may be softened and alleviated, but is we fear too firmly sealed for any human power to save them from ultimate extinction.

Mr. Marryat's "Year in Sweden"[9] wants only Hotel lore and coaching information, to be the best possible handbook for that country. The author's familiar acquaintance with Swedish family history furnishes him with a host of anecdotes at each stage of his journey. In concluding these most amusing volumes, he says of them, they contain no word of politics, statistics, or hospitals, but that he has picked up old legends and scraps of history, and is content if his volumes go the way of all books, so that, for a season, he amuses and instructs some. There is no doubt he will do both, and we hope for

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[8] "New Zealand and the War." By W. Swainson, Esq., formerly Attorney-General for New Zealand. London: Smith, Elder, and Co. 1862.

[9] "One Year in Sweden, including a Visit to the Isle of Götland." By Horace Marryat, author of "Jutland and the Danish Isles." Two Vols. London: J. Murray. 1862.

many a season; for a more cheerful and well-written miscellany of all things Swedish can hardly be imagined. No one should visit the Scandinavian peninsula without it. The volumes are full of interesting and well-executed woodcuts of civil and ecclesiastical architecture, many of which are not only curious, but beautiful examples of their styles.

Professor Tyndall's ascent of the Weisshorn [10] is a more than usually excellent account of a vacation tour. His familiarity with natural science renders his descriptions in the highest degree interesting and instructive. Every phenomenon presents itself to him in the light of some general law; and his book, in consequence, though losing none of the picturesqueness of enthusiastic description, acquires a much higher and more permanent value. The truly enjoyable features of such climbing feats as these, apart from the feeling of triumph over difficulties, are to be found more in the incidental interest which they involve, than in any substantial reward which associates itself with the summits so toilfully attained. At these points description always breaks down, even when the atmospheric conditions admit of any extended view. The great popularity of Alpine climbing should mislead none who have not the fullest confidence in their muscular resources, and who have not already in lower spheres experienced some degree of that physical excitement which it is not given to every one to enjoy. The grand scale and variety of the appearances of nature in mountainous regions can be enjoyed without the fearful peril to which the Alpine Club and *consortes* think it necessary to expose themselves. It is impossible here to allude to many of the interesting observations with which this little volume abounds. On one point, however, Professor Tyndall was unusually fortunate: in descending, he came upon a part of the glacier which had been thrust bodily over a large hollow, affording the rare opportunity of studying its under surface. The result is completely corroborative of the theory of their thrusting themselves bodily down the valleys, and of the truth of that description summed up in the term "rivers of ice."

The success of Mrs. Freshfield's former account of her exploration of the less visited regions of the Alps, has induced her to publish such information as she gathered in her last year's tour.[11] This is the more welcome as the extreme east of Switzerland has been less visited than the Bernese and Valaisan mountains; and every year makes it more desirable to the tourist seeking health and recreation in mountain travel, that new fields should be pointed out to those who wish to escape the ever-increasing stream of English holiday-makers. The journey through Glaurus to the Grisons is a much less adventurous one than that just noticed, but is attractive to a much larger number of tourists, and can be accomplished by a family party from which

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[10] "Mountaineering in 1861." A Vacation Tour. By J. Tyndall, F.R.S., Professor of Natural Philosophy in the Royal Institution of Great Britain. London: Longman and Co. 1862.

[11] "A Summer Tour in the Grisons and Italian Valleys of the Bernina." By Mrs. Henry Freshfield, author of "Alpine Bye-ways." London: Longman and Co. 1862.

ladies need not be excluded. Mrs. Freshfield gives the fullest information to all who may feel inclined to follow her steps; and the beauty of the districts she describes will probably make their number not a small one. Her book will, no doubt, make this year the tour its author made the previous one, and few will regret having so excellent a guide. The maps which she gives of routes pursued will be found most valuable. The only difficulties are the Romaic dialect and rough lodging; but the latter only gives piquancy to a summer tour, and a good guide, easily procurable at Pontresina, will remove the former. The mixture of Italian and Swiss customs, architecture, manners, and natural products, makes the Bernian one of the most attractive districts that can be chosen for a summer holiday.

But if a tour still more distant from the common track be wished for, the account of a journey across the Carpathians[12] by two ladies, will excellently escort the tourist through regions but little visited by Western Europeans, but which yield in beauty and interest to none of the more favoured localities. This little volume is not only a first-rate guide, but a most amusing and instructive account of the varied Sclavonian populations which occupy either side of the Carpathians. It abounds in picturesque legends, and, wherever necessary, summarizes the history of the various bathing-places on the road in a most intelligent manner. No singularity of manners, customs, or costume escapes the accomplished authoress, who has here produced one of the most pleasing books of modern travel that we have for some time met with.

When we find a veteran politician, like M. St. Marc Girardin, after an attentive study of all the documents, coming to the same conclusion as an English gentleman who has lived ten years in a district, the disturbances in which have roused such a lively interest in Europe, we can hardly refrain from the conclusion, that the opinions they share must have a common foundation in the facts themselves. The disturbances in the Lebanon, Colonel Churchill traces[13] with an overpowering evidence to the Turkish policy, which has taught where Ottoman power could not constrain, at least to rule by fomenting divisions. The Turks have impartially endeavoured to destroy both Druze and Maronite, by leading each to suppose, in turn, that they had the support of their nominal sovereign. The amount of success which has attended this nefarious policy may be best judged of by the present imperfect settlement of the question. The conscientious efforts of England and France have been defeated by the same manœuvres, and European jealousies have been played off against one another with the same subdolous craft which excited the disturbances to which the intervention was intended to put an end. Colonel Churchill's little volume is the most complete account of those sad massacres which in 1860 drew all eyes upon Syria and the Lebanon.

12 "Across the Carpathians." Cambridge: Macmillan and Co. 1862.

13 "The Druzes and the Maronites under Turkish Rule, from 1840 to 1860." By Col. Churchill, author of "Ten Years' Residence on Mount Lebanon." London: B. Quaritch. 1862.

An eye-witness of those horrors, his warm appeal for a more decisive European intervention, does honour to his feelings; but his clear account of Turkish diplomacy shows that nothing short of European occupation would be adequate to the end proposed. The occupation, however, if a common one, by France and England, would only result as their late intervention has done, and it is not to be expected that France or England would consent to either taking that step alone. How far either Maronite Christianity or Druze independence have adequate claims on European sympathy, is more a question of feeling than of politics, properly so called. Were it not for the eventualities attendant on the sick man's inheritance, we fear that religion and humanity would not have found so warm an interest in the question; at any rate, it is one not soluble without entering on the much larger one of the continuance of an Ottoman Power in Europe. So long as the Porte is accepted among the community of European nations, it must be so with all its faults, even though they be the odious ones of craft and treachery which have in all times been the weapons of the weak.

Pauperism in the time of the Fronde is one of those laborious special inquiries for which the French historical school is so remarkable. Its author, M. Feillet,[14] by patient investigation in the archives of the Imperial library, and among the papers of the society of St. Vincent de Paul, preserved in the house of the Society in the Rue des Sèvres, has accumulated materials for the most touching pictures of those miseries which the constant political conflicts of the time heaped upon the unfortunate population of France. M. Feillet justly compares the impression which will be produced by his book with those which arise in the mind of anyone overlooking the masterly delineations of French society which are so well known in Callot's Misères de la Guerre:" there is no feature of wretchedness and suffering in these celebrated etchings for which M. Feillet does not bring forward contemporary authority: that fearful accumulation of every kind of torture to which exasperated enemies can put the conquered is taken by him out of the order of imaginative composition, and reduced to the still more harrowing shape of unadorned fact. The unrelieved horrors of these terrible pictures are shown to be no exaggerated representation of the times in which the artist lived. The wanton destruction by the soldiery of every party, and the wholesale destitution which they everywhere left behind them, reduced the country to a depth of misery which only the fullest evidence could prevail upon the mind to accept as true. In his account of the heroic efforts of St. Vincent de Paul, M. Feillet comes upon the traces of his predecessors in that work of charity which has for so long a time been associated with his name: this was to have been expected—the general gives his name to victories which have often been in some sort prepared by others.

There may, perhaps, be too great a tendency in the author, to throw the whole blame of the national suffering of the period on the

[14] "La Misère au Temps de la Fronde." Par A. Feillet. Paris: Didier et Cie. London: Williams and Norgate.

measures of the Government, for there can be no doubt that the miseries he describes were, in the main, what Callot calls them, "the miseries of war." These special inquiries often throw light upon historical questions which they do not directly investigate, among other instances of this kind, the conduct of the great Condé, during his occupation of Paris, is shown to be open to a kind and amount of censure from which he has hitherto escaped.

In 1859 the French Academy of Moral and Political Science awarded their prize to M. J. Tissot for his "Essay on the Life, Administration, and Literary Works of Turgot."[15] The author has taken advantage of some criticisms to which his essay was then subjected, and by enlarging his notice of the great statesman's economical doctrines, has rendered this volume a complete account of those principles and practical reforms on which Turgot's great reputation is founded. The interest of the book is now more literary than historical: the claims which can be made for Turgot to the origination of many doctrines since prevalent in philosophy, political economy, natural and civil law, in morals, and in education, are investigated and advocated in the fullest manner. The whole tone of the book is, as might be expected, one of unreserved panegyric, and perhaps no biography could so well support it; but it may well be questioned whether the centralizing system to which by this time the French monarchy was irretrievably committed, could have been carried out even by the genius and virtue of Turgot without the political convulsions which have rendered its present victory possible; and the only alternative of a greater local liberty was one for which it is almost certain that the day had gone by, even had a desire for such a solution of the difficulties of the time been entertained by the advisers of the Crown. Very interesting details are given by M. Tissot of the shameful intrigues which resulted in Turgot's dismissal from the post of financial minister. This volume is valuable rather as a contribution to the history of the opinions than of the political events of the first period of the reign of Louis XVI.

M. Martin's book "De la Femme"[16] is not a disquisition on woman's rights in the common acceptation of the term, but a history of the position occupied by women in the various forms of ancient civilization, to be followed by a second volume which will complete the history up to the present time. He reviews the legislation and customs of China, India, Persia, Assyria, Egypt, and Palestine, in so far as they affect his subject. The relation which he thus is enabled to point out between the governmental systems of antiquity and the family life of the countries in which they prevailed is often curious and always suggestive. The often remarked fact, that none of the celebrated women of antiquity interested themselves in the position of their sex, or distinguished themselves as advocates of rights which are

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[15] "Turgot: sa Vie, son Administration, ses Œuvrages. Par J. Tissot. Paris: Didier et Cie. London: D. Nutt.

[16] "Histoire de la Femme: sa Condition Politique, Civile, Morale, et Religieuse." Par L. A. Martin. Paris: Didier. London: Williams and Norgate. 1862.

now so much talked about, shows at once how much those rights depend upon the general feeling of the community and upon those notions of public utility which lie at the base of every doctrine which proclaims itself as right and just. Nothing is more calculated to promote sobriety of aim and purpose in this direction, than that due consideration of the historical side of the question, which M. Martin's book is intended to promote. A moderate acquaintance with the progress already made, and with the circumstances which have aided it, is the best antidote to the over-enthusiastic aspirations with which the author himself indulges the hope that the civilizing movements of our times will result in the change and amelioration of the customs, manners, laws, and ideas which refer to what he, with a curious politeness, calls the most beautiful but not the most happy moiety of the human race. As we should be the last to speak slightingly of the present popular movement, we feel that we should be the first to dwell upon the necessity of its *calm* consideration.

Of Mr. Ballard's pamphlet on the "Capital of Italy, and How to get It,"[17] it might be sufficient to say that the capital is not Rome, and that the way to get it is to create a new one on the borders of Tuscany, and distant from the sea. When this is once said, perhaps but few will feel inclined to open his pages; but if his plan is out of all question utterly unsuited to the wants of the Italians, and condemned beforehand by the greatest of modern Italian statesmen, there will yet be found an amount of information on the present condition of the various Italian towns which could, from historical renown or geographical position, lay claim to that honourable position which none of them would yield to any of their competitors if Rome were once despaired of. On this ground the pamphlet is worth reading, though we feel sure that few will be induced by the author to adopt his crotchet, or even to go the full length of his admiration of the policy of Napoleon III., which sounds all the stranger in the mouth of an American Republican.

M. de Tchihatchef's pamphlet on the Italian question[18] is a well-studied argument, impressing on the Italians the truth of the old proverb, that "Fortune often gives to the patient what she only sells to the hasty." In his opinion the prolonged occupation of Rome is of great advantage to the consolidation of the Italian kingdom: its continuance daily discredits the Papal Government to such an extent that before long the opportunity which could be at the present time seized, of falling back upon the spiritual headship of the Catholic world will be lost by the inevitable progress of events. An Italian church which recognises Victor Emmanuel must soon become independent of Papal control; and when once principles of national ecclesiastical liberty have asserted themselves in Italy, it will not be long before the whole foundationo n which the Ultromontane party rests must fall

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17 "The Capital of Italy, and How to get It." By M. B. Ballard. London: J. Ridgway. 1862.

18 "Le Royaume d'Italie etudiè sur les Lieux mêmes." Par P. de Tchihatchef, Membre correspondant de l'Institut. Paris: C. Albessard et Berard. London: Williams and Norgate: 1862.

to the ground, and each separate Catholic State will then assume that national control of its church-discipline which is natural to it, and which the French Government has so long enjoyed. To those Romanists who look upon such a solution as impossible, and who cannot conceive their religion to exist without the Papal headship at Rome, he opposes the old aphorism of Pliny: "What is there that has not appeared miraculous before it was known to be true; and how many things have been judged to be impossible which yet have taken place?" This essay deserves a careful perusal at the hands of all who wish to come to some conclusion on the Italian question, and goes much further than the one above noticed in supplying the true grounds of its probable solution.

Dr. Fischel's volume on the English Constitution[19] is a perfect wonder of industrious research and comprehensiveness. We are acquainted with no single work in our own language which can compare with it as an encyclopædia of the machinery of English political life. To foreign students and politicians it is an invaluable manual; and great would our satisfaction be could we anywhere lay our hands upon a volume that would so efficiently put us *au courant* of German political life. The word "constitution" in the mouths of Englishmen is generally limited to the mutual relations of the three estates of the realm. Dr. Fischel very justly gives it a much wider signification, and treats of every institution which exists in England for the purpose of either imperial or local government. This immense material excludes discussion, but very frequently the points of difference between English and German administration force themselves upon the author; and these parts of his volume will be found most interesting to Englishmen, though its use even here as a book of reference is unquestionable; and, considering its foreign authorship, will be found surprisingly great.

It is least satisfactory in its treatment of the legislation of the last few years. The material for a correct judgment of the progress made in England during the last decade has not yet assumed the shape in which a German inquirer can easily review it. It is only the great excellence of this practical volume which calls for this remark, which with most foreign criticisms of English affairs is a matter of course. It would be well if we could anywhere show so learned and intelligent an appreciation of the entire governmental machinery of any foreign country whatever.

Dr. Mallet's Analysis of the Chemical Constituents of the Soil of Alabama[20] is an important contribution to the scientific investigation of the conditions under which cotton can be profitably cultivated. The author has preferred restricting himself to the exhaustive analysis of the soil of a particular locality offering the most general and wide-spread features, to extending his researches over a greater variety, which would

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[19] "Die Verfassung England's dargestellt. Von Dr. E. Fischel. Berlin: F. Schneider. London: Trübner and Co.

[20] "Cotton: the Chemical, Geological, and Meteorological Conditions involved in its Successul Cultivation." By Dr. John W. Mallet, Professor of Chemistry in the University of Alabama, &c. London: Chapman and Hall. 1862.

have rendered each result less satisfactory and reliable in itself. A very elaborate map of the distribution of cotton cultivation over the surface of the Southern States is added to the volume, in which the conditions of subsoil are indicated by colour, and the medium summer and winter heats by lines, which are again traversed by others indicating the localities of greatest cotton cultivation: these lines, however, seem so be so arbitrary, that one is almost led to the conclusion that, in so large and unsettled a country, the localities at present devoted to cotton are almost as much dependent upon accident as dictated by a choice of the most absolutely fit districts in a scientific point of view. It is not the less a work of great labour and corresponding value.

A little volume published by Messrs. Hogg and Sons, on Domestic Economy,[21] contains many practical hints for the arrangement and management of a household. It is not a mere collection of receipts and disjointed maxims, but the sensibly-told story of a lady's experience. The thread of personal narrative, which gives connexion to the whole, is marked by great good taste, the personal element is just enough to interest the reader without overwhelming the original purpose of the book, which will afford an hour's very pleasant and profitable reading.

Mr. Marshall would have been justified in giving his book on "Population and Trade in France,"[22] a much more comprehensive and ambitious title. His remarks on the moral condition of the people, on the state of education and crime, are fresh, original, and highly important, while the reviews to which he subjects the French trade in coal, iron, beetroot, sugar, and silks, are marked by a fulness of information and by a business-like tone of practical insight, which render them highly valuable. We can cordially recommend this volume as one of the best reviews of the general state of the Empire that is easily accessible.

SCIENCE.

OF all the scientific researches of the last few years, there is none that has been at the same time so fruitful in immediate results, and opened out so many or such promising lines of inquiry, as the investigation which has been made by Professors Bunsen and Kirchhoff,[1]

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[21] "Passages in the Life of a Young Housekeeper." London: J. Hogg and Sons. 1862.

[22] "Population and Trade in France in 1861-62." By F. Marshall. London: Chapman and Hall. 1862.

[1] "Researches on the Solar Spectrum, and the Spectra of the Chemical Elements." By G. Kirchhoff, Professor of Physics in the University of Heidelberg. Translated with the author's sanction from the "Transactions of the Berlin Academy for 1861." By Henry E. Roscoe, B.A., Professor of Chemistry in Owen's College, Manchester. With three Plates. Small 4to. London. 1862.

(the chief share in it having been taken by the latter), into the relation of the Chemical Elements to the Prismatic Spectrum. That the salts of certain metals impart bright colours to the blowpipe flame,—salts of sodium giving yellow, those of potassium violet, those of lithium and strontium red, and those of barium green,—had long been known to chemists, who had used these colours as indications of the presence of the metals in question; and it has been, moreover, by the use of combustible compounds containing these salts, that "red" and "green fire" have been produced for theatrical effects. The next step in the inquiry was to investigate the prismatic spectra produced by flames thus coloured; and these had been studied by Brewster and Gladstone, Professor W. A. Miller, and other experimenters. It had, moreover, been observed by Professor Wheatstone that the spectrum of the electric spark differs according to the nature of the electrodes; and the now familiar contrivance known as the "electric lamp" has afforded a new and advantageous means of prosecuting this line of inquiry. An altogether different method was adopted, however, by Bunsen and Kirchhoff; that, namely, of forming the spectrum by a flame of great heating but very low illuminating power, such as is given by the "Bunsen" gas-burner, and then of observing the effect produced on this very faint spectrum by the introduction of the substance to be examined, which is heated in the gas-flame to incandescence. They thus arrived at the very remarkable result, that every metallic base, whether isolated or in combination, produces in such a spectrum a certain bright line or group of lines; and that the colour of these lines and their position in the spectrum is so characteristic in each case, as to afford the most positive indication of the presence of the metallic base by which they are produced. They further ascertained that this effect may be most distinctly produced by quantities of such substances almost inconceivably small; the degree of minuteness, indeed, approaching nearer to infinitesimal homœopathic dilution than any of which the ordinary operations of chemistry can take cognizance. Thus, for example, it was found that sodium is almost universally present, the atmosphere being everywhere charged with sea-salt, which is deposited on every substance exposed to it; so that the sodium line appears momentarily in the spectrum when dust is knocked off from a book at the distance of several feet from it, and is shown when a platinum wire, that has been exposed for a few hours to the atmosphere, is introduced into the flame, although a similar wire freshly drawn gives no other than its own lines.

It is due to Mr. Fox Talbot to mention that these results had been most distinctly anticipated by him as long ago as 1826; when he published, in "Brewster's Edinburgh Journal," the statement that various metallic bases in a state of incandescence produce certain bright lines in the spectrum, by which their presence may be recognised; and stated his conviction that this method of analysis would prove to be more delicate than any previously in use, and would be of great value in chemical and toxicological investigations. He did not, however, follow out the inquiry, and it was taken up by no one else; so that his discovery led to no important result, and seems to have been

entirely forgotten. In the hands of Bunsen and Kirchhoff, on the other hand, it was immediately fruitful in most valuable products. They were enabled by its means to ascertain the almost universal presence, in small quantities, of the alkaline earth, *Lithia*, which had previously been supposed to be of very rare occurrence; and this discovery is of great practical importance, since the solvent power which lithia possesses for uric acid renders it a most valuable medicine in calculous complaints. It was, we believe, when examining the products of evaporation of large quantities of water from particular springs, with a view to the detection of the presence of lithia, that they were struck with the presence of lines in the spectrum which belonged to no metal known to them. Convinced that these lines must indicate the presence of some new metal or metals, they followed up the inquiry thus suggested, and, after the evaporation of many tons of water, were rewarded by the discovery of two new metals, to which they gave the names of *Cæsium* and *Rubidium*. To these a third, *Thallium*, has since been added; and, from considerations presently to be stated, it appears probable that the number of metallic bases enumerated by chemists as among the constituents of our globe, will be immensely extended by this new and beautiful method of research, now known under the somewhat ambiguous designation of "Spectral Analysis."

But there is another side to this inquiry, which carries us from the constitution of our own globe to that of the celestial bodies, and gives us the means (in particular) of studying the constitution of the Sun, and of comparing it with that of the Earth. It has long been known that if a pure solar spectrum be examined by a telescope of small magnifying power, it is seen to be crossed by numerous lines, the most important of which were designated by Fraunhofer as lines A, B, C, D, &c.; and that between these there is an indistinct haze of fine lines and nebulous bands. To the study of these last Professor Kirchhoff has specially devoted himself; and by using a series of prisms for the more effectual separation of the lines, and a higher magnifying power for the study of them, he has found that a number of groups of lines then come into view, which are so characteristic and so easily recognised that they may be compared to the groups of stars that constitute the various constellations. Of these lines he has constructed a most elaborate map, which has been very carefully executed in lithography and has been published in the Berlin "Transactions;" and original impressions of this map have been supplied by the author to accompany the excellent translation of his Memoir recently published in this country by Professor Roscoe. These impressions (which are justly designated by the translator as masterpieces of the lithographic art), are printed in ink of six different tints, from six different stones; but owing to the mechanical difficulty of keeping the "register" exact, and also, as we surmise, to the unequal shrinkage of the paper, it has been found impossible to obtain a perfect coincidence between the printed copies and the original; and Professor Kirchhoff has accordingly given a tabular view representing the measured place of each line in the scale, the breadth of the line, and its degree of dark-

ness,—each of the last two factors being estimated in six different degrees. The lines thus recorded are those which are seen when the sun is high in the heavens, and which may therefore be considered as properly belonging to his spectrum; for, as Brewster long since discovered, when the sun approaches the horizon, new dark lines appear in it, which undoubtedly have their origin in our own atmosphere. It has been further observed by Professor Kirchhoff, that there are traces of lines and nebulous bands which he has not attempted to represent in his map; and he remarks "I do not doubt that by the employment of a larger number of prisms these might be resolved into distinct groups of lines. The resolution of these nebular bands appears to me to possess an interest similar to that of the resolution of the celestial nebulæ, and the investigation of the solar spectrum to be of no less importance than the examination of the heavens themselves."

The peculiar force of this last remark lies in the fact previously noticed by Fraunhofer and Brewster, but far more thoroughly worked out by Professor Kirchhoff, that there is an exact coincidence in place and character between certain of the *dark* lines and groups of lines in the solar spectrum, and the *bright* lines produced by the incandescence of particular metals in the non-luminous spectrum; a coincidence that naturally suggested an inquiry into the relations of the two orders of phenomena, which has led to conclusions of a very remarkable character. On passing a bright solar spectrum or the spectrum of the oxy-hydrogen lime-light through a flame coloured with sodium-vapour, the yellow "sodium-line," which is brighter than that of any other substance, is replaced by a strong dark line; and the same conversion is produced if the rays forming the spectrum be transmitted through a tube filled with sodium-vapour. Next to the sodium-line in intensity comes the red "lithium-line;" and this can be converted into the corresponding dark line of the solar spectrum by the like means. It is not so easy to obtain the reversal of the fainter spectral lines produced by other metals; but Bunsen and Kirchhoff have succeeded in reversing the brightest lines of potassium, strontium, calcium, and barium, by exploding mixtures of the chlorates of these metals, with milk-sugar in front of the slit through which the solar rays were admitted to form the spectrum. These facts are sufficient to justify the belief that as each incandescent gas itself emits rays of a certain degree of refrangibility, it diminishes by absorption the intensity of those rays proceeding from any other source which possess the same degree of refrangibility; and that the dark lines of the solar spectrum are therefore due to the passage of the sun's light through an atmosphere charged with the vapours of various chemical elements, of which some, at least, are identical with those of which our own globe is composed. The coincidence of the two sets of phenomena is, in many instances, so extraordinary, as to establish a probability high enough to be almost a logical necessity. Thus in the case of iron there are at least *sixty* bright lines, which correspond in situation with as many dark lines of the solar spectrum; and the probability that this coincidence is accidental can be shown to be less than $(\frac{1}{2})^{60}$, that is, the probability of

the community of their origin is more than 1,000,000,000,000,000,000 to one. And even this is augmented when the coincidence in the relative intensity of the lines is taken into account; the degree of brightness of each of the iron lines being (as a rule) conformable to the degree of darkness of the corresponding line in the solar spectrum. It is, of course, an admissible hypothesis that the iron-vapour, to the presence of which the lines of the solar spectrum may thus be presumed to be due, is contained in the atmosphere of the earth, not in that of the sun. But it is not easy to understand how our atmosphere can contain such a quantity of iron-vapour as would be needed to produce the very distinct absorption-lines which we see in the solar spectrum; and the hypothesis is furthur invalidated by the fact that these lines do not appreciably alter when the sun approaches the horizon. Hence the presence of the iron group of dark lines in the solar spectrum appears to prove the presence of iron-vapour in the sun's atmosphere with as greater degree of certainty as can be attained in any question of natural science. As soon as the presence of *one* terrestrial element in the solar atmosphere was thus determined, it was reasonable to suppose that other terrestrial bodies occur there, so as by exerting their absorptive power to give rise to other dark lines in the solar spectrum. Of course the probability estimated *per se* diminishes in proportion to the number and strength of the lines in the group formed by each metal; but, on the other hand, each case of the kind so confirms the rest, that a comparatively small number of coincidences is sufficient to justify an affirmative conclusion. Thus the presence of calcium, magnesium, sodium, chromium, nickel, barium, copper, and zinc in the solar atmosphere may be considered as pretty certainly determined; although the lines characteristic of some of these substances are, in some cases, but very few in number, (sodium, for example, giving only two strong lines so close together as to require a high magnifying power for their separation), and in other cases are so faint that their position cannot be defined with the desirable exactness.

Applying these results to the explanation of the occurrence of the dark lines in the solar spectrum, it seems fair to conclude that the Sun consists of a solid or liquid-nucleus heated to a temperature of the brightest whiteness, which would itself produce a continuous spectrum; and that the dark lines, or interruptions of luminosity, in the proper solar spectrum are due to the absorption of certain of the rays in their passage through an atmosphere charged with the vapours of the various substances of which the sun is composed. Thus we are led to revert to what is, in truth, the oldest theory of the constitution of the sun, which has, in more recent times, been put aside for another, considered more in harmony with the phenomena presented by the sun-spots—namely, that the sun consists of a dark nucleus, which is, in the first place, surrounded by an opaque and reflecting atmosphere, and that this is enclosed by a luminous atmosphere or photosphere, which is in its turn again surrounded by a transparent atmosphere. It was noticed by Wilson, that as a spot changes its apparent place (in virtue of the sun's revolution on its axis) from the centre of the sun's disk towards its western limb, its *penumbra*, or half-dark border,

contracts more quickly on the side nearest the centre of the disk than it is seen to do on the opposite side; and it was concluded from this that the centre of the spot is a portion of the dark surface of the sun, seen through two overlying openings, one formed in the photosphere, the other in the lower reflecting atmosphere; the *penumbra* being supposed to be a portion of this opaque atmosphere, the opening of which is smaller than that of the photosphere. But it is shown by Professor Kirchhoff, that the phenomena presented by the sun-spots are quite consistent with the notion long since entertained by Galileo, that they are of the nature of clouds formed by the condensation of vapours that will be due to local reductions of temperature; their *penumbra* being attributable to the formation of a secondary thinner cloud at a considerable elevation above the primary, as a consequence of the diminution of the temperature in the higher parts of the sun's atmosphere which will result from the interruption offered by the primary cloud to the radiation of heat from the body of the sun. These two layers of clouds will play the same parts, according to Kirchhoff's view, as the two openings in the opaque atmosphere, according to the theory founded on Wilson's observations, which can be explained equally well on either hypothesis, the two clouds being supposed to be of the same dimensions and in the same positions as the two openings. We understand, however, that the recent results of *photo-heliography*, the changing appearances of the solar spots being now accurately registered from time to time by photography at the Kew Observatory, so as to admit of careful comparison and even of stereoscopic combination, are decidedly favourable to Professor Kirchhoff's views of their nature; since they very strongly support the notion that the dark spots are not *below* but *considerably above* the source of luminosity. And the phenomena of the total eclipse of 1860, recorded by the same instrument under the direction of Mr. De la Rue, afford indisputable evidence of the existence of such opaque masses in the sun's atmosphere.

Here we must stop for the present. We have said enough to show the vast relations of an inquiry which seems at first sight to be one of purely abstract interest. As Baily may be said to have weighed the mass of the sun in the room in which he repeated the Cavendish experiment for the determination of the density of the earth, so may Professor Kirchhoff be said to have determined its chemical composition by his admirable researches on spectral analysis; and already, we are informed, has the extension of the same method of observation to some of the Fixed Stars, given reason to believe that certain components of our own planet may be recognised even in them. We must satisfy ourselves with the mere indication of the bearing of these discoveries on the nebular hypothesis, which, after having been temporarily borne down by the weight of the *odium theologicum* heaped upon it, is now quietly but surely rising in favour with the most eminent physicists of our time. And we cannot hesitate in the belief that the method of analysis which has within so short a time led to the discovery of three new metals, will ultimately issue in a vast accession to our list of chemical elements; the proportion of the lines in the solar spectrum yet accounted for being extremely small, and the presumption being obvious

that the bodies to whose presence in the sun's atmosphere they are due, are contained in the earth likewise.

Mr. G. F. Chambers's Handbook of Astronomy[2] is designed to occupy a middle position between purely elementary books on the one hand, and advanced scientific treatises on the other: "to be attractive to the general reader, useful to the amateur, and 'handy' also as an occasional book of reference to the professional astronomer." It has the advantage of embodying very recent information on a variety of interesting subjects of astronomical inquiry; and is evidently the production of a man who is well acquainted with the subject of which he writes. It is, moreover, very fully illustrated with woodcuts, which, though somewhat exaggerating the features they are intended to portray, are not the less effective on that account; and the book may be recommended as a compendious storehouse of the *facts* of astronomical science, speculative discussions having been rigorously excluded.

Among the last labours of that veteran in the ranks of science, M. Biot,[3] was a treatise on Indian and Chinese Astronomy, which he had nearly completed, and in great part carried through the press, at the time of his death. The printing has been carefully executed from the author's MSS.; and the work will doubtless be one of great interest to those who occupy themselves (like our own distinguished statesman, Sir G. C. Lewis) with this department of archæology, which has much more title to rank as a science than can be claimed by ordinary antiquarian researches.

Not far from forty years ago, when Mr. Scrope was the colleague of Mr. Lyell in the Secretaryship of the Geological Society, he published a volume on Volcanoes, in which, by combining the most reliable records of the phenomena of volcanic action in various parts of the world with observations made by himself, he was able to produce a simple and consistent theory, which was in harmony with the views that had been always held on this subject by the most trustworthy observers who had made this department of knowledge their special study, though it militated against the notions then prevalent among geologists.[4] One very important part of this work consisted in an attempt to carry back the same principles to the earlier geological periods, and to apply them to the explanation of a large class of phenomena which had been previously considered to have resulted from agencies no longer operating on the earth's surface: thus following out, in igneous geology, a line of inquiry precisely similar to that which was being pursued by his colleague in regard to the sedimentary

[2] "A Handbook of Descriptive and Practical Astronomy." By George F. Chambers, F.R.G.S. London. 1861. Post 8vo. With numerous Illustrations.

[3] "Etudes sur l'Astronomie Indienne, et sur l'Astronomie Chinoise." Par J. B. Biot, Membre de l'Academie des Sciences, &c. &c. Paris. 1862. 8vo.

[4] "Volcanoes. The Character of their Phenomena, their share in the Structure and Composition of the Surface of the Globe, and their relation to its Internal Forces. With a Descriptive Catalogue of all known Volcanoes and Volcanic Formations." By G. Poulett Scrope, M.P., F.RS., F.G.S. Second Edition, revised and enlarged. With a Map of the Volcanic Areas of the Globe, and other Illustrations. 8vo. London. 1862.

strata. The essential part of Mr. Scrope's doctrine—that the formation of volcanic cones and craters is the result of the accumulation of successive layers of consolidated lavas and other erupted materials, the earlier topped and concealed by the latter—was strongly contested by many geologists of note, both Continental and British, and especially by Von Buch, whose theory of "Craters of Elevation" attributed the production of volcanic mountains, not to the accumulation of erupted matters, but to the elevation *in mass* of previously horizontal beds in the shape of hollow blisters, each blown up by the sudden expansion of a bubble of aeriform matters underneath. This theory, promulgated with the high authority of great names and a parade of mathematical formulæ, for a time seemed likely to supersede the older view; gaining for itself a very general reception, except on the part of those (chiefly British) geologists who had imbibed the spirit of Lyell, and who preferred an explanation in harmony with ascertained facts to one that rested on unproved assumptions. The constant support which it received from the great champion of "uniformity" aided it to resist the overthrow with which it was threatened; while the increasing prevalence of his general doctrines, especially among the younger and less prejudiced geologists, prepared the way for that re-examination of the subject of volcanic action, which, in the minds (we believe) of all candid inquirers, has altogether dispelled the elevation-theory as a signal delusion. For the result of a careful observation of the phenomena of recent volcanic eruptions has been to show the futility of the objections raised against the doctrine of "craters of eruption" —that one, in particular, which was founded on the steep inclination of the beds of lava in volcanic cones, having been conclusively negatived by the now indisputable fact that the viscidity of lava-streams admits of their consolidation at almost any angle of inclination; whilst it has also shown that the hypothesis of "craters of elevation" is unwarranted by any facts or relations of observed volcanic phenomena, and not required by anything in the composition or structure of any volcanic mountain: its entire basis, in fact, being one of untenable and unphilosophical assumption.

Having been induced to recur to his earlier pursuits by his desire to aid his early friend and colleague in dispelling that "signal delusion" with which the elevation-crater theory had "mystified the geological world," and having found that a want existed of some general treatise on volcanic action of the character of his former work, Mr. Scrope has been led to issue a new edition of it, with the improvements suggested by the intervening progress of observation and theory; and we feel sure that it will receive a hearty welcome on the part of all who interest themselves in this department of scientific study. It is a remarkable proof of his sagacity as a philosophic reasoner, that this progress has been entirely in the direction which he indicated in his first edition; its tendency being to show that the phenomena of volcanic action, so far from being (as Humboldt designated them) "isolated, variable, and obscure," are really a part of that great system of telluric changes which have resulted in the upheaval and displacement of the sedimentary strata, and the elevation of mountain-

chains. We think that Mr. Scrope has done wisely in not giving to his work a controversial character. The questions at issue have elsewhere been fully discussed, and in the opinion of candid inquirers have been conclusively settled by Sir C. Lyell and himself; and as the elevation-theory is now all but universally discredited, except by such as continue to cling to it merely because they always have clung to it, there is no need to keep it any longer under notice, except as a historical fact.

The readers of Mr. Darwin's "Origin of Species" will remember that he therein propounded it as a general doctrine, that no hermaphrodite, whether plant or animal, fertilizes itself for a perpetuity of generations; all organized beings requiring for the continuance of their race an occasional cross with another individual. Having been blamed for putting forth this proposition without adequate evidence, he has embodied in the present treatise[5] the results of his inquiries upon this point as regards the group of Orchids, whose reproductive apparatus presents itself under what is probably the most specialized form it anywhere exhibits in the vegetable kingdom, whilst its peculiarities are such as afford unusual facilities for determining how far self-fertilization is in any case possible, and for ascertaining the modes in which insects are rendered subservient to the fertilization of the ovules of one flower by pollen conveyed from another. The doctrine that insect-agency is necessary for the fertilization of most orchids is by no means a new one, having been entertained by many botanists of greater or less distinction; many of these, however, have supposed that the insect simply drew forth the *pollinia* or masses formed by the cohesion of the separate grains of pollen, and left them adherent to the surface of the stigma of the same flowers; but after a careful investigation of the varied and elaborate contrivances presented by all the principal types of the group, exotic as well as native, Mr. Darwin has arrived at the conclusion that self-fertilization is quite exceptional, being only likely to occur in a few instances (of which our own bee-orchis is one), whilst even here the special and perfectly efficient contrivances for self-fertilization are combined with manifest adaptations for the occasional transport of the pollinia by insects from one flower to another, as in the other species of the same genus. The proof of the necessity of insects to act as "marriage-priests" does not rest on inferential evidence alone; for Mr. Darwin found that if an *orchis morio*, or an *orchis mascula* in flower be placed under a bell-glass before any of its pollinia have been removed, the pollinia rest in their cells, and the plant remain, unfertilized, whilst similar plants left uncovered lose some of their pollinia day by day, and bear seed in abundance. Yet it is a curious fact, which is valuable as showing how little weight is to be attached to negative evidence in matters of this kind, that although Mr. Darwin has been in the habit for twenty years of watching orchids (in which tribe his own neighbourhood is pecu-

[5] "On the various contrivances by which British and Foreign Orchids are Fertilized by Insects, and on the good effects of Intercrossing." By Charles Darwin, M.A., F.R.S., &c. With Illustrations. London. 1862. Post 8vo.

liarly rich), he has never but twice seen an insect visit a flower. Positive evidence, however, is amply supplied by the frequency with which the pollinia of orchids are found adherent to insects; moths rather than bees being in the habit of visiting these flowers, to which they are attracted by the nectar they contain. Besides the series of admirable descriptions given by Mr. Darwin of the numerous specialities of orchideous structure, he has bestowed much attention on the general homologies of the group, and has shown, that notwithstanding the extraordinary modifications which it exhibits, these are all reducible to the ordinary plan of a monocotyledonous flower, possessing five alternating whorls with three parts in each; and he expresses his conviction that the wonderfully changed structure of these flowers may be more simply and intelligibly accounted for on the idea of "descent with modification" from some less specialized type,—each modification being preserved which was useful to each plant,—than on the notion that each orchid was created as we now see it on a certain "ideal type," from which the Creator did not please to depart, the same organ being made to perform diverse functions, and others converted into mere purposeless rudiments, whilst all are arranged as if they had to stand separate, and are then made to cohere.

Another portion of the posthumous lectures of Professor Rathke[6] has recently made its appearance; including those on the Comparative Anatomy of Vertebrated Animals. To such students as can devote themselves fully to this subject, the teachings of such a man as Rathke cannot but be of value; but the work is not one to be recommended for the purposes of systematic instruction, being doubtless very different from what its author would have made it, had he contemplated its appearance in this form.

Mr. Bohn has lately added to his "Classical Library" a translation of what undoubtedly ranks, for the accuracy of its descriptions and the sagacity of its doctrines, as the most valuable work on Natural History of ancient times.[7] The translation appears to have been made with much care, and is very readable.

The so-called new edition of Dr. Knox's work on the "Races of Men"[8] is merely a new issue with the addition of supplemental chapters on Human Hybridity (or as Dr. Knox affectedly terms it, *Hybridité*); on some Ancient Forms of Civilization; on Africa, its Past, Present, and probable Future; and on the Present Phasis of Ethnology; with a resumé of his views on the whole subject. The Author is a thorough-going believer in the doctrine that "the human character, individual and national, is traceable solely to the nature of that race to which the individual or nation belongs;" and those who wish to see what there is to be said on that side of the question will

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[6] "Vorträge zur Vergleichenden Anatomie der Wirbelthiere." Von Henrich Rathke. Mit einem Vorwort von C. Gegenbaur. Leipzig. 1862. 8vo.

[7] "Aristotle's History of Animals." In Ten Books. Translated by Richard Cresswell, M.A., St. John's College, Oxford. London. 1862. Post 8vo.

[8] "The Races of Men. A Philosophical Inquiry into the Influence of Race over the Destinies of Nations." By Robert Knox, M.D., &c. &c. Second Edition, with Supplementary Chapters. London. 1862. Post 8vo.

find in Dr. Knox's statement of his case much to amuse as well as to interest them.

A double part of Dr. Rüdinger's "Photographic Atlas[9] of the Nervous System" has lately reached us, containing some admirable representations (of the full life-size, on double folio plates) of dissections showing the distribution of the nerves of the trunk and extremities. We have already recorded our opinion of the value of this work; and have only to say that the part now issued fully sustains the character of its predecessors, to surpass which would be difficult.

Of the difficulties which attend experimental investigations into any but the simplest phenomena of life, we have a signal illustration in the fate of the "glycogenic hypothesis," promulgated a few years ago by M. Cl. Bernard; who supposed himself, and was generally admitted by others, to have discovered that one special function of the liver is the production of a peculiar sugar, the special destiny of which is to serve as a calorifying material by undergoing oxidation in the lungs. Subsequent researches, however, led him to the conclusion that the real product of the action of the liver is not sugar, but a peculiar amyloid substance, which, however, he maintained, and we believe still continues to maintain, to be converted into sugar during the course of its passage between the liver and the lungs; where, if not produced in excess, the sugar is eliminated. Dr. Pavy,[10] who worked under Bernard, in Paris, and originally shared his views, was led, whilst subsequently following up his master's researches, to entertain serious doubts of the correctness of the inferences drawn from Bernard's experiments, especially with reference to the production of sugar in the system as a part of the normal course of chemico-vital action; and by devising new and more crucial experiments, he has obtained results which, to say the least, throw great doubts on the whole glycogenic doctrine. We cannot affirm, however, that these results are as satisfactory in their positive as in their negative aspect; for whilst it is clear that the liver secretes in its substance a large quantity of an amyloid substance, of which it is continually imparting a portion to the blood which circulates through the organ, Dr. Pavy can give no definite account of what becomes of it. The question of the glycogenic function of the liver is intimately connected with that of the pathology of Diabetes, to which Dr. Pavy has given considerable attention, and the discussion of it forms a large part of the treatise which he has lately produced on the latter subject. The general result of Dr. Pavy's inquiries leads him to revert to the view of the nature of this disease which was entertained by Dr. Prout, and to insist on the importance of a diet from which all sugar-forming substances are excluded; and he has introduced almond-meal as a safe material for

[9] "Atlas des Peripherischen Nervensystems des Menschlichen Körpers." Bearbeitet von Dr. Rüdinger, Prosector in der Konigl, Anatomie in München. Dritte et Vierte Lieferung. Munchen. 1862.

[10] "Researches on the Nature and Treatment of Diabetes." By F. M. Pavy, M.D., F.R.C.P. Assistant-Physician to, and Lecturer on Physiology at Guy's Hospital. 8vo. London. 1862.

biscuits and bread more agreeable than the bran-biscuits and gluten-bread, of which diabetic patients soon become horribly tired.

The inquiry, so admirably prosecuted by Helmholtz, a few years ago, into the rate of transmission of nerve force along the nerve trunks, has been extended by Dr. Aeby,[11] with the assistance of a most elaborately constructed apparatus, to the measurement of the duration required for the communication of the irritation to the muscle, both in the normal condition, and under the influence of toxic agents. The care and skill with which experiments of extreme delicacy appear to have been conducted, give them a title to the most favourable consideration on the part both of Physicists and of Physiologists.

The young military surgeon will find in the small treatise of Dr. Appia[12] on Gunshot Wounds an excellent digest of the recent experience of the most distinguished surgeons, British, French, and Italian, as to this department of practice.

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

M. AMÉDÉE THIERRY appears to us well qualified for the task which he proposed to himself when he projected his "Tableau de l'Empire Romain."[1] His object has been to furnish a graphic exposition of the history of Rome under those aspects which, from the connexion of past with present events, are most fitted to engage the attention of modern Europeans. Starting with a glance at the primary miscellaneous association on the banks of the Tiber, he traces its development, through successive enlargements, to its final extension to all climates and all nations. The material aggregation in which the Roman Republic originated was in due time succeeded by a system of political concessions. The allies and conquered peoples of Italy, grouped around the sovereign city, thus gradually exchanged a condition of inferiority for one of equality with her. The democratic party favoured, the aristocratic party opposed, both the extension of civic freedom and the equalization of conditions. The social war, in which this opposition terminated, had for a result the unity of Italy. The *Provincial* epoch followed: the provinces, desirous in their turn of having an equal right in the common association, took the part of the people against the Senate. The Republic fell, and on

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11 "Untersuchungen über die Fortpflanzungsgeschwindigkeit der Reizung in der Quergestreiften Muskelfaser." Von Dr. Ch. Aeby. Mit elf Abbildungen in Holzschnitt. Braunschweig. 1862. 8vo.

12 "The Ambulance Surgeon; or, Practical Observations on Gunshot Wounds." By P. L. Appia, M.D. Edited by R. W. Nunn, Assistant-Surgeon to the Middlesex Hospital, and A. M. Edwards, F.R.S.E., Lecturer on Surgery in the Edinburgh Medical School. Edinburgh. 1862. Fcap. 8vo.

1 "Tableau de l'Empire Romain depuis la Fondation de Rome, jusqu'à la Fin du Government Impérial en Occident." Par M. Amédée Thierry, Sénateur et Membre de l'Institut. Londres: Williams et Norgate. 1862.

the ruins of aristocratic liberty arose the principle of universal equality. Under the direction of the Imperial government, every province was gradually admitted to the enjoyment of common institutions and equal rights; till at length the political unity of the Empire was established by the Constitution of Caracalla. Contemporaneously with this external action, there was realized an intellectual unity, represented in science, literature, and art, and effected partly by the influence of the schools of philosophy, and partly by the propagation of the Greek and Latin languages. This march of Roman civilization, in all its various phases of political, administrative, intellectual, juridical, and religious unity, is briefly and impressively described by our author. The singular phenomena of the age of Cæsar, with that ambitious Dictator's projects of reorganization, are strikingly brought out. The letters attributed to the historian Sallust are cited to show that such projects were not the exclusive offspring of Cæsar's genius. M. Thierry finds in them the programme, as it were, of the democratic party; recommending, as they do, the establishment of Imperial unity, concession of civic rights to the provinces, and the subjugation of the aristocracy, by a modification and increase of the Senate. The Roman oligarchs, he thinks, would have forgiven the innovator, if he had *packed* the Senate in his own interest, but the intrusion of foreigners into it was an unpardonable crime. "Ne quis senatori novo curiam monstrare velit," he regards as a strange but significant indication of the true spirit of the aristocratic conservatives of the Roman Republic. Pointing out how Cæsar, who was supposed, rightly or wrongly, to be the true representative of the cause of humanity, was regretted by different foreign nations, especially by the Jews, M. Thierry comments on the prevalence of the sentiment or conviction that a great change was then imminent. Rome, in fact, having nearly terminated her destructive action on other nations, was now to have her own independence impaired, and to submit, in her turn, to the *universal* reaction. Experience could afford no means for solving the vast political problem. Science was at fault. Religion, seeking a solution, consulted indiscriminately the sacred writings of antiquity, prophecies, oracles, cosmogonical compilations, &c. The real key to the future, however, was religion itself. A moral revolution accompanied the political. A universal sentiment of human right and human duty, of equality and brotherly charity, then circulated from people to people, from country to country, from man to man: Seneca, Epictetus, and Marcus Aurelius, no less than the Christian slave, proclaimed the common belief of their time. The unity after which the human race was feeling could only be realized through religion. As long as Roman Polytheism did not come into collision with the anti-pathetic creed of the Jews, the Christians, or the Druids, it was tolerant; but on encountering the exclusive spiritualism of Moses or Jesus, it became exclusive also, and regarding these religions as anti-social, proceeded to persecute their professors. The doctrine of the Divine unity, which philosophy had already proclaimed, and to which the discussion that now ensued between polytheists and monotheists gave full prominence, grew into

general acceptance. It was in vain that the philosophical sects aspired to replace the outworn religious creeds. Stoicism, haughty, impracticable, pantheistic, failed; neo-pythagoreanism, mystical, mathematical, theurgical, ended in charlatanism; neo-platonism, with its triad τὸ ἕν, νοῦς or λόγος and ψυχή, its deism, its mysticism, its morality, its ceremonial theurgy, and astrology, fairly *pitted* against Christianity, the only religion that really aspired to proselytize or convert the world, battled valiantly, but in the end succumbed. The *Galilæan* conquered from the superior practicalness, simplicity, and purity of the faith that bore his name. "In the day when Constantine placed the sign of the cross on the Roman standards, the religious revolution of the Empire was achieved." The pride of "being a Christian" superseded the pride of "being a Roman;" and *Romanity*, a term which, in the third century, was opposed to *Barbarianism*, was displaced by Christianity—the last form of the great Roman conquest. We cannot follow M. Thierry in his account of the check given to Roman civilization under the religious influence of Odinism; of the epoch of the great confederations, or the reaction of the Barbarian world, under the Finnish nations; neither can we find room here for explanation or criticism. We remark only that it does not appear to be the object of the historian to "write up" Imperialism, but simply to show the process of the Roman incorporation. The lesson to be derived from his *tableau* still remains an open question; whatever *has* been is not necessarily right, in the abstract, any more than whatever *is*, though it may have been both expedient and inevitable. M. Thierry's *study*, however, though not exhaustive, and perhaps necessarily partial, is able, comprehensive, vigorous, and attractive.

The existence of Mediæval Latin shows with what firmness Rome stamped her foot on the world. Mr. Riley, whose general merit is indisputably great, has heretofore unravelled the difficulties of this bastard dialect, as they exist in the records which it has fallen to him to decipher. The present volume of the "Liber Albus,"[2] &c., contains not only the translations of the Anglo-Norman passages in that ancient chronicle (translations which, by the way, are comprised in Mr. Riley's complete version of the "White Book," published by Richard Griffin, 1861), but glossaries of Anglo-Norman, Anglo-Saxon, and Mediæval Latin words; extracts from the "Assisa Panis," Edw. I., and Hen. VI.; extracts from the "Liber Memorandum," Edw. II., and a letter by John Carpenter, the compiler of the "White Book," describing the entrance of Henry VI. into the city, 20th Feb. 1432, in which the rhyming address to the king, returning "from his realm of France into this blessed realm of England," may be compared with Lydgate's poetical version: "Sovereigne lord, welcome to youre citie!"

The work that comes next to hand is one, not of antiquarian lore,

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[2] "Liber Albus," &c., vol. iii. Translation of the Anglo-Norman Passages, with Glossaries, Appendices, and Index. Edited by Henry Thomas Riley, M.A., &c. Published by the authority of the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury, under the direction of the Master of the Rolls. London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts. 1862.

but of vivid and immediate interest. Mr. Ludlow's expository "History of the United States" is quite a book for the times, replete with that information in which most Englishmen are so deficient, and in execution honest, manly, thorough, and able.[3] In characterizing the Declaration of Independence, the author maintains that when it was put forth, the Americans made the achievement of freedom their foremost consideration, regarding the constitution of nationality as a secondary question. Hence, while conclusive on the slavery point, it is not conclusive on the subject of State rights, affording "at least as much argument for the one view as for the other." On the Constitution, however, of 1787, this defect is not chargeable, for that Constitution, "in asserting the supremacy of the Federal Power, does establish the nationality of the United States." Its real weakness lies partly in undue distrust of the Executive, and partly in its peculiar machinery of presidential election, and its system of exclusion, but chiefly in that fatal provision for black representation which makes human flesh a source of political power. Forty-three years, continues Mr. Ludlow, were occupied with the consolidation of the Union, forty-one with preparations for its disruption. The second era of the history of the United States opens with the year 1820, the date of the Missouri Compromise, a transaction which infringed the ordinance of 1787 prohibiting slavery to the North-west of the Ohio. The South became interested in the extension of slavery, and inclined to the assertion of anarchical individualism, while the North resisted slavery, but imposed a heavy tariff, and took to the worship of "the almighty dollar." In describing the relative position of North and South, Mr. Ludlow points out the shortcomings of both, fully allowing the merits of the Southern presidents, and doing special justice to Jackson, whose administration was so eminently prosperous. From tariff divergencies, the first foreshadowings of strife, the North and South proceeded to mutual opposition on the altered question of slavery, the South now acquiring and long maintaining her political ascendancy. The realm of free labour and the realm of slave labour had, it is evident, directly opposite interests, as they had directly opposite characteristics. Mr. Ludlow dwells on the wastefulness, the untrustworthiness, and the immorality of slave labour; while he shows us freedom cultivating, enriching, and settling. In particular, he insists on the tendency of slavery to contract the purchasing power of the South and restrict consumption. Thus the cost of clothing and boarding a first-class slave labourer is only from about 3*l.* 15*s.* to 4*l.* 10*s.* a year. He contends, moreover, that it is a mistake to suppose that the labour of the slave on the great plantations is not excessive. The legal limit of a slave's day's work in South Carolina is fifteen hours. In his final summary, he affirms that the South seceded from a Union (in

[3] "A Sketch of the History of the United States, from Independence to Secession." By J. M. Ludlow, author of "British India, its Races and its History," &c. To which is added, "The Struggle for Kansas." By Thomas Hughes, author of "Tom Brown's School Days," &c. Cambridge and London: Macmillan and Co. 1862.

which it not only enjoyed the same rights equally with the North, but was allowed a unique property franchise, grounded on the number of slaves,) not because of a high tariff, but because, in the recent presidential election, it lost the rule. He accepts the statement supplied by an American gentleman, that for near fifteen years prior to secession, the tariffs in force were such as had been passed by a majority of Southern votes against a minority of Northern ones; and while allowing that the North did not go to war to abolish slavery, he maintains that in fighting for nationality, it did go to war for a very high and holy theory. Nor is this all. The war on the part of the North is calculated to prevent the spread of slavery, so that, in point of fact, it *does* menace it with extinction. If then "to sympathize with abolition may not be to sympathize with the North," yet "to sympathize with the South is to sympathize with the extension and perpetuation of slavery." In another part of this volume we find the conviction expressed, that a profitable trade, under secession, with a slave-holding and therefore non-consuming Southern confederacy, is an absolute impossibility. This rapid outline of Mr. Ludlow's great argument may be accepted as an indication of the matter and spirit of his well-timed exposition. The book, however, is more than an exposition. It is a history, however general a one, treating of the Indian wars and the policy of the Union towards the Indians; of the war with England in 1812-14, the successive Presidential administrations, the different State admissions, and the different phases of the great conflict, territorial, economical, and legislative. The Missouri Compromise and its repeal, the Free-soil movement, the Fugitive Slave-law, the Dred Scott case, and the struggle for Kansas, the beginning of the present war, are all recorded and described in these pages. The story of this struggle, told by Mr. Hughes in his own hearty, straightforward fashion, is an extremely interesting narrative. Mr. Hughes passes no judgment on the adventure and execution of old Captain Brown; but Mr. Ludlow, with an intense reverence for conventional law, pronounces that he died justly, because he violated the law, yet looks on "that noble madman, with whose corpse Virginian slavery hangs for ever gibbeted," as the choicest model of Christian chivalry that has been seen in these days.

If John Brown deserved to be hanged, does Francis Bacon merit his moral suspension on the historical gallows? Mr. James Spedding is doing all that patient learning and diligent research can do to assist us in answering this question.[4] The two published volumes of "The Letters and Life of Francis Bacon" include all the occasional works of the great Chancellor—speeches, tracts, State Papers, memorials, devices, &c., arranged in chronological order, from 1580, when Bacon attained his twentieth year, to 1601, the year in which Essex was executed for treason. This period comprises the history of the connexion of Bacon and Essex, from their first acquaintance to the final

[4] "The Letters and the Life of Francis Bacon, including all his occasional Works, newly collected and set forth in chronological order, with a Commentary, biographical and historical. By James Spedding. Vols. I. and II. London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts. 1861.

severance of their friendship. All the incidents of that connexion, all the distinguishing facts in the career of Essex, all the evidence relating to his conduct in Ireland, his intrigues, his intended attack on the Court, the street fight, his arraignment and trial, are comprised in the illustrative papers or the excellent commentary with which the accomplished editor has accompanied them. The reader is thus enabled to form his own judgment of the two men, of the innocence or criminality of Essex, of the loyalty or the base ingratitude of Bacon. Bacon, according to his more judicious biographer, began life with a profound interest in three great causes—the cause of reformed religion, of his native country, of the human race. Fancying that in Essex he beheld "the fittest instrument to do good to the State, he accepted his proffered friendship, and neglecting his own fortune and the Queen's service, devoted himself, and induced his brother to devote himself, to the advancement of Essex's honour, fortune, or service." "In the account between him and Bacon the obligation was not all on one side. Bacon owed him much for his friendship, trust, and eager endeavour to serve him. He owed Bacon much not only for affection and zeal, but for time and pains gratuitously spent in his affairs." Essex endeavoured to obtain for Bacon the Solicitorship to the Crown, but though the Earl showed great affection, he marred all with violent courses. In the end, as some requital for Bacon's services, he enfeoffed him of land, afterwards sold for 1800*l.*, possibly in Twickenham park, but not to be identified with an estate in that park, which Bacon held on lease from the Crown, at a rent of twelve guineas a year. In return for this or the general kindness of Essex, Bacon acknowledged himself more beholding to him than to any man, and comparing himself to a common, promised him that as much as is lawful to be enclosed of a common, so much his lordship should surely have; a reservation more clearly explained by Bacon on another occasion. "My lord, I see I must be your homager, and hold land of your gift; but do you know the manner of doing homage in law? Always it is with the saving of his faith to the King and his other lords," &c. Essex, it is argued, had already engaged in a dangerous game with the Queen, and Bacon early warned him of the probable consequences. At a later period, when Essex was about to set out for Ireland, we find Bacon solemnly reminding him that merit is worthier than fame, and advising him not to seek a mere personal renown in the conduct of the war rather than the perfection of the work in hand. The sequel is known. Essex unaccountably mismanaged the campaign, wasted her Majesty's army, treasure, and provisions, made a dishonourable treaty with Tyrone, and in direct contravention of the Queen's absolute mandate, contemptuously left his post and returned to England. Notwithstanding this imperious and insubordinate behaviour, great indulgence was shown Essex. Bacon stood his friend; and after a short restraint, Essex had liberty to go where he would, except to Court. For the next three months Bacon still continued his efforts to effect a reconciliation; and Essex willingly accepted his services. "I love few persons better than yourself," writes Bacon to the earl, "though I confess I love some things much better." What were these things?

"The Queen's service, her quiet and contentment, her honour, her favour, the good of my country, and the like." Restless and impatient, Essex soon began to shift "from sorrow and repentance, to rage and rebellion." Bacon was kept in the dark as to half the earl's case. Bold and bad advisers now surrounded Essex. At last a deep-laid plan was concerted for surprising the Court, mastering the guard, and seizing the Queen's person. Attended with two hundred armed followers, Essex, after locking up the Lord Keeper with three other gentlemen expressly sent by the Queen to demand the cause of the assembly, went into the City to try his fortune there. He gave out that he was going to be murdered; he pretended that the Crown of England was offered, on sale, to the Infanta. Failing, however, in his attempt to enlist popular sympathy, Essex, after charging the Queen's forces and causing the death of some of her subjects, returned to his house, and burnt certain papers, saying that they should tell no tales. The house being invested by an overpowering force, the Earl and his party were obliged to surrender. From the "Tollemache" MS. (which lets us see that the writer took a special interest in the Earl of Essex), Mr. Spedding constructs his narrative of the trial. Into the particulars we cannot enter. Briefly, it may be said that our inquirer adduces evidence to show that Essex intrigued with Scotland to get the succession settled by Act of Parliament on the Scottish king; and that he had been engaged in a long-standing and unscrupulous conspiracy, his object being to compel the Queen to change the government for the gratification of his own personal ambition; so verifying the prophetic fears of Bacon. If the evidence exhibited in Mr. Spedding's pages be pronounced worthless, we may doubt of the guilt of Essex, but hardly otherwise. Of the conduct of Bacon every man with the facts before him may judge for himself. To us, that conduct appears to be in perfect agreement with Bacon's own preconceived notion of duty. With him, loyalty to mankind and loyalty to his country took precedence of loyalty to his friend. Bacon served Essex faithfully when he believed him to be innocent: when he knew him to be guilty, he did not think it misbecame him to take part against him. We have his own word for this. Shall we say that he lied? The only question is, whether a sense of gratitude or consideration of friendship should have induced Bacon to desert the path of patriotic duty, or what, unless he lied, he thought to be such. Cases of conflicting obligation are always embarrassing. We are inclined to think that Bacon was not a man of a sensitive nature; nor had he much of what we call sentiment. It was not *amiable* of Brutus to slay his sons. It was not *amiable* in Bacon to accept a commission from the Council to assist in unravelling the Essex plot, or to make those two punctual and appropriate speeches, which, by reconcentrating the distracted attention of the Court, inflicted such a home-stroke on his former friend. But if Bacon's preference should finally be judged censurable, it will hardly follow that he was on this account the moral monster that some would have him to be.

In his judgment of the conduct of Bacon in the Essex trial, the more cautious biographer agrees with the more impetuous, not in the

details, perhaps, but certainly in the general argument. In his occasional references to Mr. Hepworth Dixon's "Personal History of Lord Bacon," Mr. Spedding twice indicates dissent. In Vol. i. page 10, he says that Mr. Dixon's copies of some of the letters in the Lambeth Collection differ very much from his own, evidently to the disadvantage of the personal historian; while in page 387 of the same volume, Mr. Dixon's narrative of the Device of the Indian Prince is examined, and the evolutionary method of historical composition which it exemplifies very properly denounced. On the other hand Mr. Spedding gives Mr. Dixon some credit, though Mr. Bruce still more, for notifying the Earl's project of returning to England at the head of his army, and so bringing the Government to conditions; a project which Mr. Bruce has shown was conceived *before* the journey of Essex into the north; that is, before the end of August, and not in September, a correction of which Mr. Spedding has availed himself (compare pp. 147, 366). In his present work,[5] Mr. Dixon has omitted the Indian semi-myth glanced at above. He has also dropped or mitigated the trick of style and stripped off much of the tinsel that we condemned in our notice of his previous work. There are still indeed "tall" and gorgeous expressions that we could wish pruned away; *e.g.*, "Not one of these men *flamed* up;" "born into her lap and into her heart," &c. We object, also, to a "leader of vast horizon," and to "the glad and shining party which rode to the rural church on that sunny tenth of May," and to the entirely conjectural description given of it. There is no doubt, however, that Mr. Dixon's new book is a decided improvement in point of style; and with all his impetuosity and possibly his onesidedness, we think he has done good service, now and before, in his restatement of the Peacham and St. John cases, his account of Bacon's marriage, his narrative of the Essex plot, and his history of the charges of judicial bribery. In the present volume Mr. Dixon has embodied some fresh detail on the Earl's conspiracy as well as official material drawn from Bacon's own Chancery Books. Substantially a new work, the "Story of Lord Bacon's Life," may be recommended even to those who are acquainted with Mr. Dixon's previous essay. It is a lively bit of writing, and testifies to the research and industry as well as to the vivacity of the author. When a new edition is called for, we trust the volume will be furnished with an index. Some of the more, important letters and documents should also be inserted in an appendix.

A famous hero of the Elizabethan age, who has sat for his literary portrait to Mr. R. H. Fox Bourne, was for some years contemporary with "the broad-browed Verulam." The name of Sir Philip Sidney[6] is still a memorable and beloved name. The eldest son of Sir Henry Sidney, Lord-deputy of Ireland, and Lady Mary Dudley, Philip was born at Penshurst, during the evil days of the unhappy queen whose Popish husband's name was given to the boy, 29th November, 1554.

[5] "The Story of Lord Bacon's Life." By W. Hepworth Dixon, Barrister-at-Law. With Portrait of Bacon and Vignette of old York House, by E. M. Ward, R.A. London: John Murray. 1862.

[6] "A Memoir of Sir Philip Sidney." By R. H. Fox Bourne. London: Chapman and Hall. 1862.

Educated at Shrewsbury School, we find Philip studying at Christ Church, Oxford, from 1568 to 1571. In the May of the following year he visited Paris; enjoyed its gaieties, and shuddered at the Massacre of St. Bartholomew. At Frankfort he became acquainted with Herbert Languet, the accomplished Huguenot, henceforward Sidney's friend, adviser, and correspondent. From Germany he passed to Italy, and after, it would seem, visiting Poland and wintering at Vienna, returned home by way of Dresden, Frankfort, and Antwerp. In 1575 he was present at the famous Kenilworth festivities. Two years later he was appointed special ambassador to Germany. In 1580, being opposed to Elizabeth's alliance with Anjou, he addressed to the Queen a letter of protest against it. Sidney's talents and accomplishments were a universal recommendation. He was acquainted with Gabriel Harvey, who made him the hero of a Latin poem; and he was the friend of Spenser, who bewailed his loss in "The Ruins of Time." A favourite with the queen, Sidney led more or less a courtier's life. At the Court, unfortunately, he found another sovereign, Penelope Devereux. Some years before he had played at love with her; he counting then twenty, she fifteen years. But "Stella," was not destined for "Astrophel." The fair luminary set, though against her will, into Lady Rich, and Sidney, resenting what he believed to be a voluntary inconstancy, wrote a dirge so much to the purpose, that we give a specimen of it here:—

> "Ring out your bells, let mourning shows be spread,
> For Love is dead!
> All Love is dead, infected
> With plague of deep disdain.
> Worth as nought worth, rejected,
> And Faith fair scorn doth gain:
> From so ungrateful fancy,
> From such a feeble frenzy,
> From them that use men thus,
> Good Lord deliver us!"

On discovering his error, the author of this amatory litany wrote a recantation, and asserting practically his prior claim to Stella's love, apparently went shares with Lord Rich for about two years. When he afterwards extricated himself from this miserable entanglement, he lamented deeply his temporary aberration. In 1583, he married Frances, daughter of Sir Francis Walsingham. In the same year he sought the employment of Master of the Ordnance, but received only a grant of land in America, which he transferred to Sir George Peckham. Knighthood, however, had been previously conferred on Sidney, and a still existing lock of the queen's hair, "soft and bright, and of a light-brown colour approaching to red," assured him of the queen's favour. Sidney took a deep interest in politics, in what we should call the statesmanship of Protestantism, in Raleigh's Virginian settlement, and in a comprehensive scheme of philosophical Christianity. His literary works, the "Arcadia," the "Defence of Poesy," the "Trueness of the Christian Religion," "Astrophel and Stella,"—have at least a historical significance, and may, for some minds, still possess an intrinsic value. On the 7th of November, 1585, the ungodly policy of King Philip

having brought war at last, Leicester was commissioned as leader of the expedition to the Netherlands, while Sidney was appointed Governor of Flushing. His defence of that city, his military plans, his capture of Axel, his brave bearing in the battle of Zutphen, his wound, his sickness, and death, with his fine action and famous words, in favour of the dying soldier, are told, with all necessary detail in Mr. Bourne's agreeable narrative. Sidney died 17th October, 1586. The nation, and all great men in it, mourned his loss. Sir Philip Sidney was not a faultless man, but he had a soul of regal proportions, and the noble generous heart, that makes us forgive much because it loved much. He broke through social restrictions; he accumulated debt, and dying left creditors, not, however, without taking thought for them. We are glad to have so valuable a memoir of this English hero as that drawn up by Mr. Bourne. It is true that the style is occasionally heavy, and that there is a world of superfluous matter in it; but it is so well done that it is worth doing again, and mere omission would improve it.

Languet, the friend of Sidney, was a friend of Melancthon. The most genial of the reformers was also known to the next hero on our list, Francisco de Enzinas, known sometimes by his translated name of Dryander among the learned, and Oak or Chene among the less literate. A native of Castile, but educated at the University of Louvain, the young Enzinas became a Protestant, and after two years' intimacy with Melancthon and Luther, on returning to Belgium found those whose religious convictions he shared, proscribed and persecuted. While the death-fires of his companions in faith were still unquenched, Enzinas surpassing them in heretical criminality, had a Spanish translation of the New Testament printed, which under episcopal auspices he presented to Charles V., in the palace at Brussels. The consequence of this presentation was the arrest and five months' imprisonment of the convert. The account of this imprisonment, the adventures of certain Spanish Reformers, the history of Enzinas' fellow-prisoners, and the recital of his escape, form the subject-matter of his Memoirs. Both the original Latin and the old translation are contained in the first volume of the work.[7] The narrative is certainly unique, showing as it does a Spaniard's appreciation of the Netherlands in the sixteenth century. The second volume contains a variety of documents, among others an ordinance of Charles V. on the nomination of the commissioners appointed to inquire into the case of the suspected heretics of Louvain, statements of twenty-one different trials, letters from the emperor and two other great personages, a dissertation on the word 'anathema,' and Enzinas' dedication of his version of the New Testament. The Dutch text is conveniently accompanied with a French translation. A biographical notice, with appropriate annotations, is reserved by the painstaking editor for future publication, for as yet the work, which forms part of a general collection of documents relating to the history of Belgium, is unfinished.

[7] "Mémoires de Francisco de Enzinas. Texte Latin inédit avec la Traduction Française au XVIe Siècle, en regard 1543-1545." Publiées avec Notice et Annotations, par Ch-Al. Campan. Vol. I. parts I. and II.

To the same general epoch belongs Carl von Zierotin, the most noteworthy of an ancient and renowned Moravian family.[8] The Zierotins took part with the great Reformation movement. Carl especially devoted himself to the cause of religious and political freedom. Educated at Strasburg, at Bâle, at Geneva, he learned to know and appreciate such men as Lobecius, Grynæus and Theodore Beza. Soon after his entrance in public life he was accused of treason and heresy. His trial, happily, terminated in his acquittal. In the great struggle that ensued between the Protestants and Catholics, we find Zierotin at the head of the movement party in politics, and a supporter of the Archduke Mathias. Soon after the designation of Mathias, the Emperor's brother, to the throne of Bohemia, Zierotin was nominated Governor-general of Moravia, Mathias being its Margrave. His administration is said to have been productive of signal benefit to his country. His political projects are noted; his literary activity and general culture described; and the various incidents of the troubled time in which he lived, are detailed, in very readable German, by Zierotin's admiring biographer. The "Life" is preceded by a sketch of the Reformation, the times of the Hussites and George von Podiebrad; a notice of the kingdom, church, and nobility of Bohemia in the fifteenth century; of the conflict between the Crown and the States of the kingdom, and of Spanish politics and the Catholic Restoration movement. Carl von Zierotin was born at Brandis on the Adler, 14th September, 1564. He died 9th October, 1636.

Not many years after this date, the policy of France was directed by the subtle genius of Cardinal Mazarin. The cardinal always wanted money to supply the wants of the armies which he maintained, and to provide a fund out of which he might amass treasure for his own private expenditure. In Nicholas Fouquet, aided by his brother, he found a valuable ally.[9] Nicholas was born in 1615. He was the third son of François Fouquet, a member of the King's Council, and of Marie Maupeou, a saintly woman of an ancient parliamentary family. In 1635, Nicholas was made Master of Requests, afterwards he was Intendant of the Army serving in the north of France, and was employed in a similar capacity in the district of Grenoble. In 1650 he purchased the appointment of Attorney-general to the Parliament, and up to the month of January, 1653, was Mazarin's most active auxiliary. After the troubles of the French were over, the two brothers Fouquet were duly rewarded for their services. To the Abbé was given the direction of the Police; but his insolence and the scandal to which his conduct gave rise ultimately brought him to grief. Neither did Nicholas fare better. Appointed Superintendent of Finance, in conjunction with Abel Servien, he soon began to abuse his credit and

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[8] "Carl von Zierotin und seine Zeit, 1564-1615. Von Peter Ritter v. Chlumecky. London: David Nutt. 1862.

[9] "Mémoires sur la Vie publique et privée de Fouquet, Surintendant des Finances, d'après ses Lettres et des Pièces inédités conservées à la Bibliothèque Impériale. Par A. Chéruel, Inspecteur-Général de l'Instruction Publique. 2 vols. London: D. Nutt. 1862.

lavish the money of the State on his personal pleasure. On the death of his colleague, he abandoned himself without restraint to a course of mad extravagance. The period of 1659 to 1667 marks at once the height of his fortune and the commencement of his decline. His sumptuous buildings, his expensive fortifications, his tamperings with the taxes, his prodigal indulgence to the daughters of the queen—so many attempts to succeed to the power of Mazarin, and to keep the king dependent upon him—terminated at last in his downfal. On the 5th September, 1661, he was arrested. Brought to trial before a tribunal composed in part of his enemies, he remained for three years in ignorance of what would be his final award. Popular compassion then succeeded to this protracted suspense, and the sentence, which spared his life, was received with general satisfaction. A prisoner at Pignerol, says his biographer, in a summary of his life, Fouquet disappears from the scene, expiating in a long and obscure confinement the evils and faults of both his public and private career.

We pass from France and Mazarin, by an abrupt transition, to England and Wellington. In a previous number of this "Review" we noticed, with some detail, vols. iii. and iv. of Mr. Gleig's Life of the great Duke.[10] The present biography is a cheaper and condensed edition of the more voluminous and comprehensive work published a year or two since. Mr. Gleig still takes the narrative of the Belgian author as the basis of his own, without any servile adherence to either M. Brialmont's "manner of telling the tale or to his criticism on particular operations." Among the many advantages which Mr. Gleig has enjoyed in the composition of this biography, the principal are, the information derived from the "Supplementary Despatches;" the access afforded by the present Duke of Wellington to the papers of his illustrious father, and by Earl Russell to the Duke's missives from the various Courts and Congresses at which he was an occasional attendant; and above all, a personal and even domestic acquaintance with the subject of his important biography. That Mr. Gleig has produced an acceptable and in general authentic narrative of the actions and exploits of the great captain, that he has collected valuable material, in the shape of anecdote and individualizing description, is no more than all will be prepared to learn. A quiet if rather heavy style, a tolerant if too conservative spirit, and a sufficient *external* knowledge of his subject, are Mr. Gleig's leading literary characteristics. The result of his labours and researches is a book that we are willing to accept as the Life of Wellington, till we can get better. But we must still wait for the "sacred poet," say for the Carlyle, who shall give a worthy literary immortality to the splendid achievements of Wellington, and show us truly what the man was and what his work; what were the times in which he lived, and what was his relation to those times.

[10] "The Life of Arthur, First Duke of Wellington. Partly from the French of M. Brialmont, partly from Original Documents. By Rev. G. R. Gleig, Chaplain-General of the Forces, and Prebendary of St. Paul's. London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts.

Edgar Quinet's elaborate and picturesque "History of the Campaign of 1815" will perhaps be supposed, in condemning the tactics of Napoleon, to detract, intentionally or unintentionally, from the military merits of Wellington.[11] It is, however, certain that the emperor's final strategy was defective; nor is Quinet an idolater of the French "mimic and caricaturist of Charlemagne." On the contrary, he protests against the ruinous dream of universal empire, and maintains that France was saved by the battle of Zurich, and not by the 18th Brumaire. In this spirit he demands that the disaster of Waterloo be explained, not forgotten, entirely disavowing the poetic sentiment, "Jamais son nom n'attristera mes vers." Following principally the narrative of Colonel Charras, whose critical history of the Campaign he regards as very near perfection, he has given us a vigorous, glowing, and detailed exposition of his views of the last great act in the Imperial drama. We can only briefly indicate those views. The entire responsibility of the defeat lay, he thinks, with Napoleon. Adversity had made the great conqueror timid and temporizing; and while he had lost faith in himself he committed the error of under-estimating his opponents. He wasted an entire day, throwing away his chance of attacking the Prussians, alone, the other side of Fleurus. Again at Ligny, he hesitated, lost time, and neglected to follow up his victory. The fault most certainly did not lie with Ney. Ney displayed a superhuman vigour and bravery. But, by an order of Napoleon, or a blunder of Labédoyere, half his force had been withdrawn from him, and was absent in the very crisis of the action. General d'Erlon's explanation of 1829 has, in Quinet's opinion, set this point at rest. "The version of St. Helena" does equal injustice to Grouchy; for, though not faultless, Grouchy never received the pretended order to occupy a position midway between the French and Prussian armies. The inaction of Ney, again, on the morning of the 17th, was really the fault of Napoleon. He wasted more time on that of the 18th, while the check experienced in the attack on the left, which obliged him to change the whole plan of the battle, decided the fall of an empire. Such is an outline of M. Quinet's argument. Of the value of his representations we leave military men to judge. If Quinet's account of the withdrawal of D'Erlon's division be correct, Mr. Gleig's statement will require revision. This indeed is not the only point in which Mr. Gleig's narrative seems to be inaccurate. For instance, he suggests, if he does not assert, that La Haie Sainte fell into the hands of the assailants about one o'clock, whereas, according to Quinet, it was half-past three before it was taken. So again he says that the attack on Hougoumont, or, as he spells it, Hougomont, was followed by an attempt to break through the English *centre*, whereas Quinet records that the attack on Hougoumont was followed by an attempt to break through the English *left*. Almost in the same page Mr. Gleig talks of the Château of Belle-Alliance, while M. Quinet mentions la ferme de la Belle-Alliance

[11] "Histoire de la Campagne de 1815." Par Edgar Quinet. London: Williams and Norgate. 1862.

et le château d'Hougoumont.* In all these cases we suspect the French author has the advantage in point of accuracy over the Englishman.

Among the gallant men that carried out the behests of their Chief in the Peninsula, was the late Duke of Richmond, then Lord March. His schoolboy days, his military career, and political life, are described in a garrulous and somewhat senile style by the anonymous author of a "Memoir of Charles Gordon Lennox, &c."[12] The Duke appears to have been a brave and enterprising officer, an admirable "country gentleman," an amiable upright man, and an honest though ignorant politician. He was opposed to Reform; opposed to Free-trade; opposed to Catholic Emancipation. On more than one occasion he engaged in oratorical battle with his former military chief. In particular, he supported the claims of the old Peninsula soldiers to a war-medal, in direct antagonism to the Iron Duke. He differed from Wellington, too, on the Game-law legislation of 1831. In the debate which took place after the Bill had passed the House of Commons, speaking in favour of the measure, he stated that in three years (1827–1830) 8502 persons, many of whom were under eighteen years of age, had been convicted of offences against the game-laws in England and Wales, and some of them had been transported for seven or fourteen years, and some even for life. The subject of prison discipline also engaged the attention of the Duke of Richmond. In his efforts to improve the existing system, he was, says his biographer, most ably assisted by an old and valued friend of his father, the present enlightened inspector, Sir Joshua Jebb. When, in 1830, the Wellington Ministry resigned, the Duke of Richmond was appointed Postmaster-general, being the only member of the old Tory government that entered the new (Whig) Cabinet. It was not long after this, that in a crisis of Earl Grey's Government, the Duke, according to our author, very nearly attained the proud distinction of the premiership. With a sketch of the military and political career of the subject of this memoir is associated an accouut of the Duke's private life, and the ducal proceedings at Goodwood, "that glory of the turf." Born in 1791, the fifth Duke of Richmond died at this beautiful domain a few days before the annual gathering for the races, July 23, 1860.

The "Lives" of two eminent men, of a very different type from the fifth Duke of Richmond, will be acceptable to all who like to trace the progress of human ingenuity and invention. The fortunes of Brigadier-general Sir Samuel Bentham, brother of the celebrated author of that name, were very various.[13] Born in January, 1757, he was educated at Westminster, apprenticed to the master shipwright of Woolwich Dockyard, served as a volunteer on board the *Bienfaisant*, travelled in the North of Europe, penetrated into Siberia,

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* See *Spectator*, April 12, 1862, for a previous notice of these errors.

[12] "Memoir of Charles Gordon Lennox, Fifth Duke of Richmond." With a Portrait. London: Chapman and Hall. 1862.

[13] "The Life of Brigadier-General Sir Samuel Bentham, K.S.C., formerly Inspector-General of Naval Works," &c. By his Widow, M. S. Bentham. London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts. 1862.

accepted a commission in the Russian army, fitted out a flotilla, and successfully engaged the Turkish fleet, not retiring from the employment of the Czar till he had held a command in Siberia, and promoted two exploring expeditions. Returning to England, Bentham introduced various improvements into Portsmouth Dockyard, and was appointed Inspector-general of Naval Works in 1796. His relations with Earl Spencer, Lord St. Vincent, and his own distinguished brother, are more or less brought out in the story of his life, constructed out of trustworthy materials by his widow, Lady Bentham. The authorship of the "Block Machinery" at Portsmouth, has, it seems, been made a subject of debate. In the narrative before us we are told that while the machines for making the shells were devised by Brunel, most of the operations were performed by machines of Sir Samuel Bentham's invention. In the "Memoir of Sir Marc Isambard Brunel's Life,[14] which we now proceed to notice, an entire chapter is devoted to an examination of the conflicting claims of the two engineers. That Bentham had introduced various saws, &c., is admitted, but that there was no specially applicable machinery, and that the disputed invention is really due to Marc Isambard Brunel, and that Sir Samuel Bentham himself attributed it to Brunel, is emphatically asserted. The inventive talent of this great engineer, variously displayed in his shoe machinery, knitting, letter-copying, and hemming and stitching machines, is strikingly illustrated in Mr. Beamish's interesting volume. To Isambard Brunel we are also indebted for improvements in the printing-machine and marine steam-engine. His circular saws, and his saw-mills at Battersea and at the Royal Arsenal Woolwich, as well as his works at Chatham, gained him considerable celebrity. But his great exploit was the establishment of the well-known subaqueous communication which unites the counties of Kent and Essex—the famous Thames Tunnel—which, after five irruptions of the river, the modern magician succeeded in effecting. The early development of the subject of this memoir, the romance of his early love for Miss Kingdom, a young English lady, studying French at Rouen, and perhaps narrowly escaping death by the guillotine, his boyish admiration for England, "Quand je serai grand, j'irai voir ce pays-là," his engineering achievements, his travels, his personal, social, and domestic characteristics, appear to be all adequately recorded in Mr. Beamish's sensible and entertaining memoir.

A casual association enables us to draw attention to a little work that is neither biographical nor historical, but which, as the result of an inquiry undertaken at the request of the distinguished son of a distinguished father—the late Mr. Brunel—may be briefly noticed here. The accumulation of angle, during several successive rolls, is, we believe, regarded by Mr. W. Froude, the author of an ingenious essay "On the Rolling of Ships,"[15] as the special characteristic of the

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[14] "Memoir of the Life of Sir Marc Isambard Brunel, Civil Engineer, &c. By Richard Beamish, F.R.S. London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts. 1862.

[15] "On the Rolling of Ships." By W. Froude, Esq., Assoc. I.N.A., &c. London: Parker, Son, and Bourn. 1862.

dynamical laws which he has endeavoured to investigate. Both in the theoretical part of the investigation and in working out the probable sea-going properties of a ship, Mr. Froude has been assisted by Mr. W. Bell. The Essay, which was originally read at the second session of the Institution of Naval Architects, March, 1861, has been since reprinted in a revised and extended form. The treatment pursued is rigorously mathematical.

There is a pleasant "pearl and powder" sound in the name of Melesina Chenevix, the only child of the Rev. Philip Chenevix, and of his wife, Mary Elizabeth, daughter of Archdeacon Gervais, also a pleasant name. Of the Literary Remains of this lady, the accomplished Dean of Westminster,[16] a son by a second marriage, has published a selection, not as a contribution to a biography, for "it is only the fact," says the Dean, "that the more valuable papers consist of letters and fragments of journals, such as naturally are best read in a chronological order, and, indeed, could hardly be presented in any other, that gives my book the remote appearance of such." Perhaps there is nothing very new in the rapid sketch of a rather precocious girlhood preserved in these pages, but there is a general *naïveté* in some of the writer's touches—"I was the best little child possible;" or, "my smooth, smiling cheek, once 'round as an apple,' grew pale and wan;" and "how delightful it was to me to find myself caressed, applauded." At seven years old, Melesina, "after reading Rollin as a task, turned to Shakspeare and Molière as an amusement." She was not accomplished; could not play, could not draw, could not do needlework, and as to dancing, she knew only the "sweet austere composure of the minuet." Before, or about her twelfth year, she was a fairy queen, an Ariel, a Sterne's Maria, and a delightful child-coquette. Early an orphan, she lived with her grandfather, Richard Chenevix, Bishop of Waterford, till 1779, when she was eleven years old. In her nineteenth, she was married to Colonel St. George, of Carrick-on-Shannon, Ireland, and of Hatley St. George, Cambridgeshire. In her two-and-twentieth she became a widow. In the spring of 1802 she visited Paris with her son. Here she was detained, "first by indisposition, then by her (second) approaching marriage, and lastly by her husband's captivity, not for a few weeks only, but for five years." The letters and journals contained in this volume show that the writer was a woman of cultivated mind, refined taste, and unaffected piety. Her experiences of life, her estimates of men, women, and books, are reported in a pleasing, and often picturesque fashion. She saw Napoleon, Wellington, and Nelson. She criticized Byron, Scott, Southey, and though not an infallible critic, she often displays good taste. Her free, flowing comments on home and foreign matters, her description of scenery and thoughts about books, evince intelligence, sense, and observation. The ladyhood of her nature, too, is ever apparent. Mrs. Trench travelled a little. She knew Paris, she knew

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[16] "The Remains of the late Mrs. Richard Trench, being Selections from her Journals, Letters, and other Papers." Edited by her Son, the Dean of Westminster. London: Parker, Son, and Bourn. 1862.

Vienna, she knew Dresden. Above all, at Dresden she knew Lord Nelson and Lady Hamilton, whom Mr. Elliot cleverly called Antony and Moll Cleopatra. There is a page or two, perhaps the best in the book, in which we have a graphic description of the Nelson party—Lord N. vociferating for songs in his own honour, and toasting *his* queen—the Queen of Naples; Cleopatra declaring she was passionately fond of champagne, and suiting the action to the word. Sir William, also, continues the narrator, "performed feats of activity, hopping round the room on his backbone, his arms and legs, star and ribbon all flying about in the air." In the stately, historical record of the residence at Dresden, the celebrated picture-gallery and its "worthy beauties," are of course the prominent topics; Moll's dancing, the hero's bumpers, and the adroit guest's curious spinal performance, having no recognition there. A kindred scene, not painted by Mrs. Trench, but by Mr. Elliot, the British Minister, almost reads like an extract out of "Vanity Fair."

"The moment they were on board there was an end of the fine arts, of the attitudes, of the acting, the dancing, and the singing. Lady Hamilton's maid began to scold in French about some provisions which had been forgot, in language quite impossible to repeat, using certain French words which were never spoken but by *men* of the lowest class, and roaring them out from one boat to another. Lady Hamilton began bawling for an Irish stew, and her old mother set about washing the potatoes, which she did as cleverly as possible. They were exactly like Hogarth's actresses dressing in the barn."

Two little works, translated from the Italian originals, are interesting and opportune publications. The Memoirs of Count John Arrivabene were written twenty-two years ago.[17] The gentle spirit and the graceful simplicity which distinguish this miniature biography might recommend it even to *Austrian* readers, while as a memorial of the foreign and intrusive tyranny which unhappily still exists in a part of Italy, it will be welcome to those who hope that the new kingdom will ere long be strengthened by the double accession of the Rome of the Cæsars and the "Rome of the Ocean," as Lord Byron and Lady Morgan surnamed the palatial Venice. The volume records the early experiences of Arrivabene; the closing of his school at Mantua by order of the Austrian Government; his arrest and imprisonment for being present at a Carbonaro meeting; his release, his flight, his condemnation to death, and his later and more bracing experiences. The illustrative papers consist of various official documents; an account of the past labour by Count Federigo Confalonieri in the conspiracy which cost him and so many others their liberty; the narrative called "The Crime of Alessandro Andryane;" the famous song of Rossetti, the glorious ode of Manzoni on the death of Napoleon, and some letters of Silvio Pellico.

The second of the little works to which we call attention is written by Colonel Vecchi, one of Garibaldi's companions in arms, and is trans-

[17] "An Epoch of My Life. Memoirs of Count John Arrivabene, with Documents, Notes, and Six Original Letters of Silvio Pellico." Translated from the Original, with Notes. By C. Arrivabene. London: L. Booth. 1862.

lated and prefaced by Mrs. Gaskell.[18] Like the former sketch, it is "simplex munditiis" with the inexpressibly sweet charm of frank and affectionate effusion. Vecchi wrote it for his own private gratification. Garibaldi has consented to its publication on the condition that all profits accruing from the sale shall be devoted to the cause which he has so much at heart—the establishment of schools in the Neapolitan dominions under the presidency of the Philanthropic Association of ladies. In place of further description we shall quote, slightly abridged, a humorous passage from Fruscianti's Battle of Donkeys, premising that Fruscianti, a native of Terni, served under Garibaldi, in Rome, 1849, then followed him to Nice and thence to Caprera. At Caprera he teaches his General gardening, and nicknames the wild donkeys. Fruscianti has, it would seem, no love for the priesthood. Accordingly, all the donkeys having received political names, one in particular rejoices in that of Pio Nono.

On one occasion his asinine Holiness got dreadfully mauled. Fruscianti, who hated the beast, was moved to pity, and while Teresita (the hero's daughter) washed his wound and in other ways doctored him, Fruscianti apostrophized him in the following fashion:

"'It is quite right to take away your temporalities, but it is wicked to flog you. In '49 we tried to make you understand, but you would not. You chose to be independent, with the Austrians on one side and the French on the other. See what has undone you!—the indignation of the people. That you have lost the Legations, the Marches, and Umbria; are despised by the civilized world, and are given over to the stick of that unbelieving dog Narciso.' As Fruscianti concluded this address, Narciso made his appearance. He is the General's herdsman, and in personal appearance half way between a man and a bear. He began to defend himself directly: 'I have not ridden Pio Nono for ever so long, because I have not been able to find him; I took one of the wild asses; and as the brute had run away, I went up the mountain to find him and came on a grand battle. All the asses were pitching into *Pio Nono*—they were fighting about the *Immaculate Conception*—and they were biting and kicking him with all their might, and *Lamoriciere* finished him by biting off his tail. It was not my fault; I couldn't help it.'"

We need do little more than recommend Lady Wallace's pleasant translation of Mendelssohn's "Letters from Italy and Switzerland," having already noticed the original work.[19] The letters are addressed by the great musician to his family and friends, during a two years' tour. The work is edited by a younger brother, as a precursor to a biographical compilation reserved to a future day. During his travels Mendelssohn witnessed the coronation of the King of Hungary at Presburg; admired Titian's pictures at Venice; passed a winter at Rome, where he knew everybody and made every day memorable; and finally twice visited England, which he appreciated as England in turn appreciated him.

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[18] "Garibaldi at Caprera." By Colonel Vecchj. Translated from the Italian, with Preface, by Mrs. Gaskell. Cambridge and London: Macmillan and Co. 1862.

[19] "Letters from Italy and Switzerland." By Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy. Translated from the German by Lady Wallace. London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts. 1862. See *Westminster Review*, No. XLI.

In Italy we see a resuscitated, in Poland a dormant, if not extinguished "nationality." From "The Secret Memoirs of Stanislaus Augustus," the last king of Poland, we learn that the fall of that kingdom is attributable to his own pride, or want of gallantry, or presence of mind. If he had only said, "Without the Empress, the crown has no charms for me," &c., his country would have been spared all the misfortunes that have befallen it. According to this representation, the uncle of Stanislaus Augustus, or Count Poniatowski, the Palatine of Russia, wanted to be king, and never forgave his nephew's coronation. The long title of this singular royal journal, which we assume to be authentic, sufficiently explains its purport and character. We give it below.[20]

The last memoir on our list gives us some account of Erasmus Darwin, philosopher, poet, and physician.[21] Dr. Darwin was born at Elston, near Newark, in Nottinghamshire, on the 12th December, 1731. He was educated at Chesterfield School. From Chesterfield he was removed to St. John's College, Cambridge, where he took the degree of M.B., in 1755. In the following year he settled at Lichfield, and commenced a successful professional career. In 1757, he married Miss Howard, a native of that city, or resident there. His literary talents and intellectual powers soon procured him celebrity. The three great Lichfield luminaries were Dr. Darwin, Dr. Johnson, and Miss Seward. In 1771, the philosopher began his great work, "Zoonomia, or the Laws of Organic Life," and during five-and-twenty years expended much time and thought on its composition. Its object is "to reduce the facts belonging to animal life into classes, orders, genera, and species, and by comparing them with each other to unravel the theory of diseases." The speculations of the earlier Darwin are not unlike those of his illustrious grandson! "Would it be too bold," asks the medical philosopher, "to imagine that . . . perhaps millions of ages before the commencement of the history of mankind, . . . all warm-blooded animals have arisen from one living filament, which the great First Cause endued with animality, with the power of acquiring new parts, attended with new propensities, &c.; and thus possessing the faculty of continuing to improve by its own inherent activity, and of delivering down those improvements by generation to its posterity?" Dr. Darwin was a poet as well as a philosopher. His chief poetical work is "The Botanic Garden." The second part contains "The Lives of the Plants," parodied by Frere and Canning in the "Lives of the Triangles, a mathematical and philosophical poem, inscribed to Dr. Darwin." To the doctor's poetry

[20] "Mémoires secrets et inédits de Stanislas Auguste, Comte Poniatowski, dernier Roi de Pologne, relatifs à ses Rapports intimes avec l'Impératrice Catherine II. et à son Avénement au Trône. Journal privé du Roi Stanislas Auguste pendant son voyage en Russie pour le Couronnement de l'Empereur Paul Ier, suivi d'une Relation de ses Funérailles, depuis le 12 Février jusqu'au de Mars, 1798. London: David Nutt. 1862.

[21] "Erasmus Darwin: Philosopher, Poet, and Physician. A Lecture to the Philosophical Society of Whitby." By John Dowson, A.M., M.D., Member of the Royal College of Physicians. With many Additions, &c. London: H. K. Lewis. 1861.

little praise can be given. Metaphors, personifications, and catalogues of siliceous stones are not very attractive. Some specimens of the gorgeous vein in which he delighted will be found in Dr. Dowson's ingenious and informing lecture.

Mr. Edward Walford has published a new edition of a "Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Living Characters."[22] If not exhaustive, it is at least comprehensive, and, so far as our knowledge goes, accurate and trustworthy. We are not, however, aware that the compiler has any authority for the statement that Mr. J. A. Froude, who once adopted free-thinking opinions, has since returned into communion with the Church of England.

Mr. Marsh's Lectures, edited, with additional contributions, by Dr. William Smith, form an accessible and serviceable manual of the English language.[23] The lectures delivered at Columbia College, New York, in 1858-59, by a gentleman who has since been chosen to represent the United States in Italy, attained the honour of a fourth edition in the city in which they were given, and are now, thanks to their accomplished author, republished. To the editorial statement, that these lectures have received the approbation of a critic who is "perhaps the ablest living writer on the science of language," we need only add the expression of our opinion, that the papers contributed by Dr. Smith may also be "honestly recommended" to the notice of the general reader.

BELLES LETTRES.

IT is not without surprise we learn that the Afghans are a poetical as well as a warlike people. We know by experience that they can fight bravely, and we are now assured that they possess an extensive, varied, and valuable poetical literature. As to the merit of their poetry we cannot form an adequate notion. But the "Selection"[1] which Captain Raverty has translated, enables us to understand that in many respects it differs from the poetry of other Eastern nations, and to conclude that the subject eminently deserves the attention of all those who believe that a nation's truest history is written in its literature. The most curious

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[22] "Men of the Time. A Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Living Characters (including Women)." A New Edition. Thoroughly Revised, and brought down to the Present Time. By Edward Walford, M.A., late Scholar of Baliiol College, Oxford. London: Routledge, Warne, and Routledge. 1862.

[23] "The Student's Manual of the English Language." By George P. Marsh. Edited, with Additional Lectures and Notes, by William Smith, LL.D., Classical Examiner in the University of London. London: John Murray. 1862.

[1] "Selections from the Poetry of the Afghans, from the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Century: literally translated from the original Pus'hto; with Notices of the different Authors, and Remarks on the Mystic Doctrine and Poetry of the Sufis." By Captain H. G. Raverty. London and Edinburgh: Williams and Norgate. 1862.

thing relative to the Afghan poets is that the majority belong to the Sufi sect, and spread abroad its doctrines in their poems. The Sufis would appear to be the free-thinkers of the East. Their doctrines, as explained by Captain Raverty, have a certain resemblance to the views held by Spinoza. Their chief aim is to seek truth, and their perpetual employment is the adoration of the Deity. "He, according to their belief, is diffused throughout all created things; and they consider, that the soul of man, and the principle of existence, is *of* God (part of Him), not *from* Him." In support of this the translator quotes the following passage from a Persian manuscript. We give it both because explaining the above doctrines, and also because of the beautiful simile with which it ends. "The creation proceeded at once from the splendour of God, who poured his spirit upon the universe, as the general diffusion of light is poured over the earth by the rising sun; and as the absence of that luminary creates total darkness, so the partial or total absence of the Divine splendour or light causes partial or general annihilation. The creation, in its relation to the Creator, is like unto the small particles discernible in the sun's rays, which vanish the moment it ceases to shine." What is most remarkable in these Afghan poems is not the doctrines which they contain, but the language in which they are expressed. The theory which Rossetti framed for the interpretation of the Divine Comedy would seem to be the true explanation of these poems. Rossetti supposed that Dante and his contemporaries attached certain meanings to particular words and phrases, so that when the vulgar fancied them to be writing about one thing, the initiated understood them to mean something quite different. This might be true, but its truth could not be demonstrated. But the case of the Sufis is different, for they both openly assert that their utterances have double meanings, and have given clues to them. "According to the interpretation given to these mystical poems by the Sufis themselves—for they have even composed a vocabulary of the words used by these mystics—by *wine* is meant devotion, *sleep* is meditation on the Divine perfections, and *perfume* the hope of the Divine favour; the *zephyrs* are outbursts of grace; *kisses* and *embraces*, the transports of devotion and piety; *idolaters*, *infidels*, and *libertines* are men of the purest faith, and the *idol they worship* is the Creator himself; the *tavern* is a secluded oratory, where they become intoxicated with the wine of love, and its keeper is an enlightened instructor or spiritual guide; *beauty* denotes the perfection of the Deity; *curls* and *tresses* are the infiniteness of his glory; the *lips* are the inscrutable mysteries of his essence; *down* on the cheek, the world of spirits who surround his throne; and the *black mole* upon the cheek of the beloved, the point of indivisible unity; and *wantonness*, *mirth*, and *inebriation* signify religious enthusiasm, and abstraction from all earthly thoughts and contempt of all worldly affairs." (*Preface*, p. xxi.) We fully concur with Sir William Jones in thinking that "the mystical allegory, which, like metaphors and comparisons, should be general only, not minutely exact, is greatly diminished, if not wholly destroyed, by any attempt at particular and minute resemblances; and that this style of composition is open to dangerous misinterpretation." It seems to us

that the plan is ingeniously contrived for the diffusion of licentiousness under the garb of piety. The poems which are written by men professing to belong to the Sufi sect, do not differ from those by men who are its opponents. The poems of Khushhal Khan, Khattak, are examples of this. He was an Afghan chief and a contemporary of our Charles I. Aurangzeb was to him what Cromwell was to Charles, and he suffered humiliations at the hands of the Mughals similar to those which were inflicted on Charles by the Puritans. His fate was a happier one, however, than our monarch's; for he was allowed to resign his chieftanship in favour of his son, and he spent the remainder of a long life among his native mountains engaged in literary pursuits. He is said to have composed three hundred and fifty different works. Captain Raverty thinks that number exaggerated; yet he must have been a voluminous author, as the Captain has seen works by him in Persian and Afghan on Medicine, Ethics, Religious Jurisprudence, Philosophy, and Falconry. While his career was somewhat like that of our Charles I., his achievements as an author and husband resemble those of the Emperor Gordian. He was the father of fifty-seven sons, and several daughters.

It is impossible to decide upon the merits of poems which we know only in prose translations. Nevertheless, we think those by Khushhal Khan are very readable, and have more pith in them than the others which this volume contains. If this be true of the originals also, then it may be explained by the fact of his not being fettered by the doctrines of the Sufis, but writing as the spirit prompted. He says:—

"The believers in Sufi mystics, and the unbelievers are all one;
For they both account, as iniquity, the laws and precepts of Mohammed."
(p. 213).

We give three specimens of his poems. The following is one of his many amatory pieces: the translator has rendered it into a more metrical form than any other in the volume:—

XIV.

"These dark waving curls, they are thine, thou dear one, so beautiful, so gay!
Black narcissuses are those eyes of thine, thou dear one, so beautiful, so gay!
When thou gavest me a kiss, I became intoxicated beyond computation;
For like unto red wine are thy lips, thou dear one, so beautiful, so gay!
Now that I have with mine eyes gazed on this, thy lovely cheek,
I know that it is the tulip, thou dear one, so beautiful, so gay!
They who murmur and complain unto others of thy tyranny,
Are faithless and inconstant too, thou dear one, so beautiful, so gay!
Free of grief how can he sleep—in tranquillity how shall he be,
Who is separated from thee? thou dear one, so beautiful, so gay!
He only will receive thy kisses, on whom thy affections may be,
Tho' many are enraptured with thee, thou dear one, so beautiful, so gay!
Thou wreakest injustice on me, then sayest, 'This is not done by me.'
Then whose act is it, if not thine? thou dear one, so beautiful, so gay!
Thou sayest unto KHUSHHAL, 'There are others far prettier than I:'
Can there be one, than thee more lovely? thou dear one, so beautiful, so gay!"
(p. 165).

The next poem is upon the poet's great foe Aurangzeb :—

XXXVII.

"I am well acquainted with Aurganzeb's justice and equity—
His orthodoxy in matters of faith—his self-denials and fasts;
His own brothers, time after time, cruelly put to the sword—
His father overcome in battle, and into prison thrown!
Tho' a person dash his head against the ground a thousand times,
Or by his fastings should bring his navel and spine together;
Until coupled with the desire of acting with virtue and goodness,
His adorations, and devotions, are all impositions and lies.
The way of whose tongue is one, and the path of his heart another,
Let his very vitals be mangled, and lacerated by the knife!
Externally the serpent is handsome and symmetrically formed;
But internally, is with uncleanness and with venom filled.
The deeds of men will be many, and their words will be few;
But the acts of recreant are few, and their boastings many.
Since the arm of KHUSHHAL cannot reach the tyrant here,
In the day of doom, may the Almighty have no mercy on him!"—
(p. 188.)

The third specimen of this poet's works we shall quote is a satire on women. It forms an antithesis to the first poem we have quoted, and also to many others by him :—

XCVI.

"All woman-kind are of intellect deficient;
And the voluntary causes of all life's ills.
Thou mayest be straight and even with them;
But they are crooked and wayward with thee.
Do them a thousand benefits and services;
Yet at a single word their hearts sulky grow.
They become poison unto thee, and kill thee—
They whom thou deemest a healing balm.
They have no fidelity in their composition:
They are, naturally, unto perfidiousness prone.
Created, indeed, in the figure of mankind;
But, in reality, with no humanity in them.
They make thee out culpable, on a slight offence;
But they cannot be wrong, however great their sins.
The more crossness borne, the more petulant they:
The more whims brooked, the more capricious they grow.
In all things they are fickle and changeable:
Tame in tongue, but untameable in heart.
They are beautiful in person, from head to foot;
But are like unto the wily serpent within.
Say no more about them, O KHUSHHAL!
It would be better had they never existed!"—(p. 246.)

These are vigorous lines, and the misogynist will say some of them are as applicable to the women of the West as of the East. Although we should not advise any one to study Afghan merely in order to share, with Captain Raverty and a few others, the pleasure of reading these poems in the original; yet we should like to see a competent hand turn some of them into English verse, and thereby induce a wider circle to peruse them than will become acquainted with them in a prose version.

Were any one to make that attempt, he would act wisely in adopting, as far as practicable, the original metres. There are many pedants among us who take a pleasure in asserting that certain hackneyed and time-honoured metrical forms are alone suited to the genius of the English language. In other words, these men have the same dislike for new-fangled metres which Tories of the last century had for foreign kick-shaws and outlandish fashions. A year before the restoration of Charles II., Harrington demonstrated to his own satisfaction that monarchy could never be re-established in England. One of his contemporaries might have maintained with still greater plausibility that the English public would never read, and could never admire an Epic poem in blank verse. Had Milton chosen to write his "Paradise Lost" in hexameters instead of iambics, we are certain that the recent controversy about the possibility of writing English hexameters would not have arisen.

Mr. Arnold has published another lecture, wherein he replies to those who controverted his former statements, explains what he understands by the "Grand Style," and reiterates his opinion that the future translator of Homer should employ the hexameter verse.[2] The tone of this lecture is candid and gentlemanly. But we do not believe that the cause of Homeric translation can be advanced by the publication of directions as to how the work should be done. A good translator does not stand in need of counsel, although he may be benefited by criticism. A bad translator cannot be improved by directions as to how he should act. The essential thing is, that the translator should be a poet. This Mr. Arnold admits: "I think that even now, if a version of the Iliad in English hexameters were made by a poet who, like Mr. Longfellow, has that indefinable quality which renders him popular, — something *attractive* in his talent, which communicates itself to his verses,—it would have a great success among the general public." (p. 51.) To maintain, as many do, that because English hexameters can never rival Greek and Latin ones, they should not be written, is absurd. As well might it be said that, because we cannot construct English sentences on the models of Greek and Latin ones, we should give up composing in English, and cultivate Greek and Latin prose. We cannot write English hexameters which shall at all resemble those of Homer and Virgil, and it is well that we cannot do so. A classical scholar will always prefer reading the metres of the poets of Greece and Rome in the original. For him translations in English hexameters are superfluities. But for the public, to which Greek and Latin are unknown tongues, perfect translations are indispensable necessaries. The nearer we approach to the forms of the ancient poets, the better notion we shall give to others of their writings. The public of Germany, for example, has the privilege of perusing translations of the Greek and Latin poets in the original metres. Moreover, these translations are popular in Germany. Hexameter translations will become common

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[2] "On Translating Homer; last words. A Lecture given at Oxford." By Matthew Arnold, M.A. London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts. 1862.

and popular in England also, when poets shall arise who, by employing hexameters, will naturalize it among us, as has been done in Germany by Klopstock, Voss, and Goethe. A great poet consecrates his tools. The language, expressions, and verse employed by him are first admired by his contemporaries, and then become models for future artists.

Nobody will assert that it is more difficult to produce an adequate translation of the Iliad in English hexameters than to give a French translation of "Childe Harold" in a stanza resembling the Spenserian. The former task were child's play when compared with the latter. Yet not merely has the latter task been performed, but performed with success. The explanation of this is that the translator, the late M. de Pontès, was both well versed in his own and the English language, and a poet of no ordinary power.[3] As a matter of course, several of the expressions employed by the translator are rather obscure. Still the version is spirited as well as faithful, and must give great pleasure to those of Byron's French admirers who have hitherto been obliged to form their estimate of his genius from a prose translation. We can readily understand the decided preference felt for his writings by M. de Pontès over those of Keats and Shelley. There are no other English poets whose writings are less calculated to excite the admiration of a Frenchman. That emphatic and declamatory tone, that high-flown and rhetorical style which characterize French poetry, are wholly absent from their writings, while frequently present in those of Byron. On the whole, there is much justice in several of the translator's remarks on Byron's genius. "His troubles and misfortunes were those of one who frustrated the law of his nature. He suffered because having 'lofty hopes and low desires,' without possessing that force and faith which were alone capable of bridling the furious passions of his soul, and of sustaining him in those pure and ethereal regions wherein he wished to dwell. He yielded to his passions, and cursed his weakness."

"To suppose, with some writers, that the profound melancholy which, even amidst the most joyous images, is more or less deeply imprinted on all his poems, was merely affectation, being due to his desire to attract public attention to himself by playing the part of an unhappy man, would be assuredly to misunderstand him. That the consciousness of universal interest which his complaints excited, that self-love, that craving for sympathy, which was one of the charms and failings of his nature, had something, if not a great deal to do with this, is very likely. Yet these complaints were echoed from his heart—from a heart regretfully sorrowing for his past life; sorrowing for his isolation, and for the true and false charges of which he was the object. His mind was a battle-field, whereon good and evil, reason and passion, belief and scepticism, unceasingly combated for supremacy. That conflict is depicted in all his works, and in none more plainly than in the finest of them all, 'Childe Harold's Pilgrimage!'"

It is to be deplored that M. de Pontès was prematurely taken away before the completion of this translation. The last touches which his masterly hand would have given are wanting. Had he been spared, he might have adorned the literature of France with translations from

[3] "Childe Harold: Poëme de Lord Byron, traduit en vers Français." Par Lucien Davésiès de Pontès. 2 vols. Paris: E. Dentu. 1862.

other English poets. Hence his death is a real loss to his country. Yet the example he has set may stir up others to undertake similar labours. Indeed, it is a hopeful sign for France that so many writers of talent are busying themselves with the thankless but most valuable work of translating the best works of English, German, and Italian authors. Two years ago, M. Louis Ratisbonne enriched French literature with a translation of "Dante's Divine Comedy" in the metre of the original. M. de Pontès has now rendered "Childe Harold," and, while Frenchmen undertake and skilfully accomplish works of such difficulty, English scholars publish elaborate arguments to prove that it is utter impossible to produce a version of the "Iliad" in readable and beautiful English hexameters!

In Mr. George Meredith's poems,[4] there is a freshness and vigour not often met with at the present day. Moreover, there are no traces in them of imitation of any of our popular poets. Their faults are frequent roughness and occasional obscurity. Some of Mr. Meredith's lines are very terse and effective. Several passages in his poems prove him to be a sharp observer and skilful analyst of human motives. Let the following serve as an example:—

> "How many a thing which we cast to the ground,
> When others pick it up becomes a gem!
> We grasp at all the wealth it is to them;
> And by reflected light its worth is found.
> Yet for us still 'tis nothing! and that zeal
> Of false appreciation quickly fades."—(p. 73.)

There is much truth in this remark by "The Old Chartist:"—

> "She suffered for me:—women, you'll observe,
> Don't suffer for a Cause, but for a man."—(p. 98.)

There is both truth and force in the lines employed by a beggar to characterize a lady:—

> "You nice little madam! you know you're nice.
> I remember hearing a parson say,
> You're a plateful of vanity, peppered with vice."—(p. 103.)

How much is condensed in the following short lines:—

> "Life is but the pebble sunk;
> Deeds, the circle growing!"—(p. 151).

It is unfortunate that the subjects of many of these poems are tales of guilt and sin, of women's temptation and fall. The manner in which Mr. Meredith treats his subjects convinces us that he has real poetical talents, and is capable, too, of producing still more effective poems than those contained in this volume.

The contrast is striking between the pithy style of Mr. Meredith and the polished language of Mr. Francis Mackay. Although Mr.

[4] "Modern Love, and Poems of the English Roadside, with Poems and Ballads." By George Meredith. London: Chapman and Hall. 1862.

Mackay can compose very fair ballads, yet he cannot write good blank verse, and the greater portion of this volume[5] is filled with "poem-pictures of Italy" in blank verse. The following extract from the description of Rome on Easter Sunday is a specimen of the kind of verse which frequently occurs:—

> "Before me rises in sublime
> Repose that vast basilica, of all
> Earthly piles, or fanes, or temples dreamt of,
> The supreme; in the soft sunlight it stands
> Solemn and imposing. Within its walls
> Already will the eager crowd be pressing:—
> To-day the ceremonials of the week
> Culminate"—(p. 71.)

Mr. Kent is a skilful versifier. For the subjects of his poems[6] he has chosen the birth-places or haunts of famous poets, and has woven the chief incidents in the life of each into a description of his abode. This is generally done very cleverly; but the effect is not always pleasing. The poems resemble sermons, because being written to explain or enforce a text. Sometimes there is great ingenuity displayed in grouping the different creations of each poet. The manner in which Shakspeare's women are mentioned in succession is a striking instance of this. Yet it is rather hard to believe that Shakespeare, when courting Anne Hathaway, saw all these

> "Lovely shapes and fair prefigured
> In her form's symmetric guise,
> And the light of lives celestial
> Gleaming in her gentle eyes:—
> Fawn-like Imogen affrighted
> In the haggard cave's recess:
> Pale Miranda's shifting covert
> Glances from the shifting chess:
> Tender Juliet from her casement
> Bending as some rose of June;
> When, like Jessica's, her blushes
> Glowed beneath the silver moon:
> Pensive Viola dissembling
> Passions naught but pride commands:
> Wanton Cressida coquetting
> 'Mid the din of hurtling brands:
> Lost Marina 'mid the billows
> Lulled in dead maternal arms:
> Lost Helena, as a pilgrim
> Veiling all her idle charms:
> Patient Desdemona sadly
> Sighing for her tawny lord:
> Frolic Lady Percy buckling
> With a jest her hero's sword:
> Meek Ophelia 'mid the willow
> Dazed in virgin faith forlorn:

[5] "Lays and Poems of Italy." By Francis Alexander Mackay. London: Bell and Daldy. 1862.

[6] "Dreamland: with other Poems." By W. Charles Kent, Barrister-at-Law. London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts. 1862.

> Fitful Rosalind, all Ruth-like,
>   Rustling through the rippled corn:
> Sad Cordelia crooning softly
>   Ditties for her dying sire:
> And brave Joan of Arc appearing
>   Radiant 'mid the ruthless fire:
> And sweet Perdita, with blossoms
>   Purpling in her lily hand:
> And voluptuous Cleopatra
>   Gliding o'er the golden sand:
> Dainty Ariel, recumbent
>   'Neath the foxglove's freckled bed:
> Proud Titania, still enamoured
>   By the fay's puissant spell:
> Wondering Beatrice, embowered
>   In the thicket's woven shade:
> Dreaming Silvia, at twilight
>   Startled by a serenade!"—(pp. 7, 8.)

There can be no doubt that Mr. Alfred Austin possesses considerable poetical talents, but it is equally certain that he does not turn them to the best account. The publication of his satire "The Season," gave him notoriety rather than fame, and his new poem entitled "The Human Tragedy"[7] will not increase his reputation as a poet. It is written in the stanza and fashioned on the model of "Don Juan." Hubert and Mary are the two lovers and principal actors in the poem. The former, being poor, is not considered by the wealthy parents of the latter to be a proper suitor for their daughter's hand. Accordingly, she is espoused by a certain Sir Gilbert. Hubert meets her after marriage, and they continue good friends, although no longer lovers. Feeling, however, that he still entertains his old affection for her, and wishing to escape from temptation, Hubert starts for Florence, and when there is animated with a desire to join the Italians in their struggle for freedom. As he is about to start, he accidentally meets his old love, who entreats him to visit her husband then stricken with fever. He complies, assists Mary to nurse Sir Gilbert, and after some weeks of anxiety has the satisfaction of knowing that the dangerous crisis is past, and recovery is probable. Sir Gilbert, on awakening to consciousness, gets out of bed, totters into an adjoining room, and sees,

> "Hubert and Mary, dead to all alarms,
> Locked fast in sleep and in each other's arms."

Whereupon Hubert awakes, tries to arouse Mary, but finds that she is a corpse. Sir Gilbert resents this injury in a peculiar manner. He calls upon Hubert to go forth with him to the war, saying:—

> "Heaven will discover
> Which hath the right to die, the doom to live;
> And if I fall, remember—I forgive!"—(p. 218.)

[7] "The Human Tragedy: a Poem." By Alfred Austin. London: Robert Hardwicke. 1862.

To sketch the plot is to pass the heaviest possible censure on this poem. Not only are the incidents unnatural, but the conduct of the personages is unnecessarily revolting. It is difficult to understand how Mr. Austin can think he has fulfilled the intention he expresses in one of his earlier stanzas:—

> "My verse is meant, however you may read it,
> To be the Woman's champion, and harangue her
> Upon her power withheld and scarce demanded,
> To launch anew a World that's well-nigh stranded."—(p. 25.)

That Mr. Austin can write forcibly and beautifully is apparent from several passages in this volume. The following stanza relative to Garibaldi proves that he can produce good lines, although he has not succeeded in producing a good poem:—

> "From patient homestead in a sea-swept isle,
> Sniffing the sanguine tumult from afar,
> Grandly he came, that lion without guile,
> That child in heart, that terrible in war!
> Through torrent's bed, impervious defile,
> Spurning the cumbrous cannon, tumbril, car,
> Only with naked blade in naked hand,
> Swept with his red-shirts through the startled land!"—(p. 201.)

When uneducated men take to writing poetry, they produce either servile imitations of their favourite poet, or else commonplace of a peculiarly insipid kind. One great benefit of education is its enabling men to understand how, and what others have written. They are thus put on their guard against giving currency to ideas which others have uttered and popularized. To a self-educated man his own crude ideas are discoveries; being new to him, he thinks they must appear to every one else novel and beautiful. Jeremy Bentham thought it of more consequence that the world should be made acquainted with his views, than that he should acquire a knowledge of what had been said or written by his predecessors and contemporaries; but when men of less genius think and act as he did, they generally find the world indisposed to hearken to their teaching, considering that before setting up as teachers they should have diligently studied what others had propounded and maintained. Mr. David Wingate is a self-taught poet, yet his productions are singularly free from imitation on the one hand and commonplace on the other. He has laboured under singular disadvantages, and has bravely overcome them. Since the age of nine he has worked in a coalpit, and it cannot be supposed that he has had either much time or many opportunities for the cultivation of his mind. Yet his "Poems and Songs"[8] bear no trace of the imperfect education from which their author must have suffered, and would have done honour to those whose advantages were far greater than his. We think them very meritorious productions, and that Mr. Wingate has some of the right stuff in him, out of which true poets are formed.

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[8] "Poems and Songs." By David Wingate. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons. 1862.

There is something at once sad and ludicrous in the attempt which was made a year ago by the inhabitants of the Federal States of America to produce a National hymn. It was ludicrous to see this attempted by offering a money prize, and sad to observe that the efforts made bore so little fruit. To expect that a hymn which should be accepted by the whole people could be the result of a competition among the national versifiers was to expect an impossibility.

The volume[9] in which Mr. Grant White narrates the manner in which the competition was conducted is entertaining rather than instructive. Before reading it, we knew that the attempt would prove abortive, but we could not have supposed that the character of the competing hymns would have been so inferior as it proved to be. The prize offered was: "For the words and músic (whether the latter be original, or selected and adapted) from the same hand, which the Committee would prefer, Five hundred dollars, or a gold medal of that value. For the hymn alone, or for the music alone (if original), Two hundred and fifty dollars, or a gold medal of that value." There were Twelve hundred competitors. No composition was deemed worthy of the prize. We have it on the authority of Mr. Grant White that the majority were "either the flattest commonplace, or absolutely neither rhyme nor reason." Out of the Twelve hundred, Thirty were reserved for a second reading, and on a second reading that number was reduced by one-half. Some of the best and worst are printed in this volume. To our minds, both are on a par. The following is the second verse from what Mr. White considers one of the best hymns, and which he styles "A grand, a truly noble lyric."

> "Spirit of Unity,
> Potent, divine,
> Come in thy kindliness,
> All hearts intwine!
> Prove to our enemies
> Ever a rock,
> And to each traitor-scheme
> Ruinous shock!
> Wake the old banner word!
> Shout it amain—
> Union for ever!
> Once and again!
> Union for ever!
> God it maintain!
> Amen! Amen!"—(pp. 82, 83.)

One of the worst is likewise one of the shortest. It is not much inferior as a poetical composition to the foregoing verse:—

> "All hail our country great,
> May she never falter;
> But every darned Secessionist
> Be hung up by a halter."—(pp. 114, 115.)

[9] "National Hymns, how they are Written and how they are not Written: a Lyric and National Study for the Times." By Richard Grant White. New York: Rudd and Carleton. London: Trübner and Co. 1861.

The most curious one is that entitled "The Nation's Bride." The author, "after bringing a mysterious person, called the nation's bride, upon the carpet in the first stanza, says in the second :—

'And lo, here is the side-saddle
Which the bride with horse and bridle
May at her pleasure take a ride
In the buoyancy of her pride.'

"As to this performance—the song, not the ride—the author makes the following communication :—

"'Theforegoing hymn was in part written by me after seeing a lady on horseback which in my fancy resembled Washington in feature and exspression of face, which hymn since seeing the reward offord for a national hymn with some addition and allteration to suit the occasion I send to your Committee for considderation the foregoing object and prize the only inducement being our nation's glory and the need of the monney offord. As I am no musician, I shell not attempt to compose the music.'" (p.p. 115-116.) The Committee would have been spared much trouble, and no little ridicule, if, being influenced by the doubts expressed by one competitor, it had refused to act at all.

"Gentlemen : I have hesitated, or halted, between *three* opinions, in relation to the National Hymn, whether to write of the nation as it was, or as it is, or as it is to be. If you think the following lines worth publishing, please do so.

"While men their brothers' blood are spilling,
The Muses seem to be unwilling
To sing a strain about the nation complimentary at all,
While there is such an envious feeling,
Or one is from the other stealing.

CHORUS.

Or while the Constitution's reeling as Adam's did before the fall,
Whose pen will be inspired to write a song to satisfy the call?"—(p. 125.)

Years hence, when the war which now desolates America shall have become a matter of history, and be regarded by the people of that Continent, whether subjects of an Emperor, or citizens in one or more republics, in the light in which we look back upon the Great Rebellion and Germans upon the Thirty Years' War, Mr. Grant White's volume will possess the same interest in their eyes which a broadside of Cromwell's time has to us, and a chronicle two centuries old to German antiquaries. When that time comes the "Book-hunters,"[10] whose habits have been so graphically and pleasantly depicted by Mr. John Hill Burton, will search for it with eagerness, and treasure it up with care. His "Life of David Hume" and his "History of Scotland" have given Mr. Burton the reputation of being an able and conscientious writer. This volume is an example of his capacity of amusing as well

[10] "The Book-hunter," &c. By John Hill Burton. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons. 1862.

as instructing his readers. Although the substance of it originally appeared in *Blackwood's Magazine*, yet the whole has been recast, and, if those who reprint their Magazine Articles, were to revise and add to them with equal care and judiciousness, the volumes in which they appear would be more valuable and acceptable than they generally are. A volume like this does not requireformal criticism. All that can be said, is to recommend it to those who read, and still more strongly to those who both buy and read books. The information which it contains is of a varied and curious kind. Among other things, we learn that some book collectors confine themselves to forming what are called "Vellum" libraries, and that one of the most notable of such collectors was the renowned Junot. His collection of books printed on vellum was sold in London and fetched 1400*l*. Mr. Richard Heber was one of the greatest collectors of books who ever lived. When his library was sold the catalogue extendeded to five thick octavo volumes. Not satisfied with one copy, he would purchase as many copies of a valuable work as he could meet with. His principle was that at least three copies were requisite: one for a show copy, another for use and reference, and a third for the service of friends. He is said to have had his house at Pimlico filled with books from cellar to attic; another house in York-street was equally full. He had also "a library in the High-street, Oxford, an immense library at Paris, another at Antwerp, another at Ghent, and at other places in the Low Countries and in Germany." It does not appear, however, that he was ever in the plight attributed to one whom Mr. Burton styles Archdeacon Meadow, who used to beg the loan of a book from a friend, alleging that he had numerous copies of it, but was unable to lay his hands upon them! On one occasion the Archdeacon was summoned to London to give evidence before a Committee of the House of Commons. "He suddenly disappeared with all his money in his pocket, and returned penniless, followed by a waggon containing 372 copies of rare editions of the Bible." Having resolved upon parting with a portion of his vast collection, it was put up to auction. When the sale was in progress, he appeared, and actually bade for, and bought back several of his own books.

One class of collectors is called "Grangerites." A Grangerite's hobby is the illustration of his books. The manner in which he sets about his task is cleverly ridiculed by Mr. Burton in the following

"The piece of literature to be illustrated is as follows:—

> 'How doth the little busy bee
> Improve each shining hour,
> And gather honey all the day
> From every opening flower!'

The first thing to be done is to collect every engraved portrait of the author, Isaac Watts. The next, to get hold of any engravings of the house in which he was born, or houses in which he lived. Then will come all kinds of views of Southampton—of its Gothic gate, and its older than Gothic wall. Any scrap connected with the inauguration of the Watts statue must of course be

scrupulously gathered. To go but a step beyond such commonplaces—there is a traditional story about the boyhood of Isaac, which has been told as follows:—He took precociously to rhyming: like Pope, he lisped in numbers, for the numbers came. It happened that this practice was very offensive to his father, a practical man, who, finding admonition useless, resolved to stop it in an effectual manner. He accordingly, after the practice of his profession—being a schoolmaster—assailed with a leathern thong, duly prepared, the cuticle of that portion of the body which has from time immemorial been devoted to such inflictions. Under torture, the divine songster abjured his propensity in the following very hopeful shape:—

'O, father, do some pity take,
And I will no more verses make.'

It is not likely that this simple domestic scene has been engraved, either for the 'Divine Hymns' or the 'Improvement of the Mind.' The illustrator will therefore require to get a picture of it for his own special use, and will add immensely to the value of his treasure while he gives scope to the genius of a Cruikshank or a Doyle.

"We are yet, it will be observed, only on the threshold. We have next to illustrate the substance of the poetry. All kinds of engravings of bees, Attic and other, and of beehives, will be appropriate, and will be followed by portraits of Huber and other great writers on bees, and views of Mount Hybla and other honey districts. Some Scripture prints, illustrative of the history of Samson, who had to do with honey and bees, will be appropriate, as well as any illustrations of the fable of the Bear and the Bees, or of the Roman story of the *sic vos non vobis*. A still more appropriate form of illustration may, however, be drawn upon, by remembering that a periodical called *The Bee* was edited by Dr. Anderson; and it is important to observe that the name was adopted in the very spirit which inspired Watts. In both instances the most respected of all winged insects was brought forward as the type of industry. Portraits, then, of Dr. Anderson, and any engravings that can be connected with himself and his pursuits, will have their place in the collection. It will occur, perhaps, to the intelligent illustrator, that Dr. Anderson was the grandfather of Sir James Outram, and he will then have the satisfaction of opening his collection for all illustrations of the career of that distinguished officer. Having been aptly called the Bayard of the Indian service, the collector who has exhausted him and his services, will be justified by the principles of the craft in following up the chase, and picking up any woodcuts or engravings referring to the death of the false Bourbon, or any other scene in the career of the knight without fear or reproach. Here, by a fortunate and interesting coincidence, through the Bourbons the collector gets at the swarms of bees which distinguish the insignia of royalty in France. When the illustrator comes to the last line, which invites him to add to what he has already collected a representation of 'every opening flower,' it is easy to see that he has indeed a rich garden of delights before him."—(pp. 72—74.)

Several of Mr. Burton's remarks are both practical and just. This is specially true of his warnings to book collectors against becoming amateur book dealers. He tells them that if they do this, they will be regarded with the same aversion and distrust as those who, though men of wealth and position, trade in horses and old pictures. Perhaps it may be thought strange why this should be so. "The result is not so unaccountable as it might seem. The professional dealer, however smart he may be, takes a sounder view of any individual transaction than the amateur. It is his object, not so much to do any simple stroke of trade very successfully, as to deal acceptably with the public,

and make his money in the long-run. Hence he does not place an undue estimate on the special article he is to dispose of, but will let it go at a loss, if that is likely to prove the most beneficial course for his trade at large. He has no special attachment to articles in which he deals, and no blindly exaggerated appreciation of their merits and value. They come and go in an equable stream, and the cargo of yesterday is sent abroad to the world with the same methodical indifference with which that of to-day is unshipped. It is otherwise with the amateur. He feels towards the article he is to part with all the prejudiced attachment, and all the consequent over-estimate, of a possessor. Hence he and the market take incompatible views as to value, and he is apt to become unscrupulous in his efforts to do justice to himself." Whether the articles be horses, pictures, or books, the amateur dealer in them does not hesitate to commit what he would stigmatize in the professional dealer as an act of swindling. We shall end our notice of this charming volume by an extract from the sketch of one whom Mr. Burton styles Thomas Papaverius, but whom we have no doubt is the author whose works we shall next notice:—

"If he ran short of legitimate *tabula rasa* to write on, do you think he would hesitate to tear out the most convenient leaves of any broad-margined book, whether belonging to himself or another? Nay, it is said he once gave in 'copy' written on the edge of a tall octavo *Somnium Scipionis;* and as he did not obliterate the original matter, the printer was rather puzzled, and made a funny jumble between the letter-press Latin and the manuscript English. All these things were the types of an intellectual vitality which despised and thrust aside all that was gross or material in that wherewith it came in contact. Surely never did the austerities of monk or anchorite so entirely cast all these away as his peculiar nature removed them from him. It may be questioned if he ever knew what it was 'to eat a good dinner,' or could even comprehend the nature of such a felicity. Yet in all the sensuous nerves which connect, as it were, the body with the ideal, he was painfully susceptible. Hence a false quantity, or a wrong note in music, was agony to him; and it is remembered with what ludicrous solemnity he apostrophized his unhappy fate as one over whom a cloud of the darkest despair had just been drawn: a peacock had come to live within hearing distance from him, and not only the terrific yells of the accursed biped pierced him to the soul, but the continued terror of their recurrence kept his nerves in agonizing tension during the intervals of silence." —(pp. 41—43)

Indeed, there must have been something abnormal in Thomas De Quincey's physical and mental organization. Although a habitual opium-eater during at least twenty years, and although he took quantities of opium at a dose which would have killed most men, yet he lived to become upwards of eighty years old. As a thinker he is at times as precise and logical as it were possible to be; yet the majority of his writings are so diffuse, and are so filled with digressions, as to be almost unreadable. There are few men except himself who, when reprinting an Essay, would add to it a postscript as long as the Essay itself. He has done this in the case of the essay on "Murder considered as one of the Fine Arts." The third, fourth, and fifth volumes of the edition of his works[11] now being published by Messrs. Adam and

[11] "De Quincey's Works." Author's Edition. Vols. III. IV. and V. Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black. 1862.

Charles Black, fully merit the same praise we bestowed on the previous ones. Among the many interesting papers contained in these volumes, the one on "The Last Days of Kant" is the most curious, though by no means the most pleasing. It is a compilation from the German accounts of that philosopher's life, the greater portion being a translation from Herr Wasianski's memoirs. The minuteness with which Boswell records Johnson's peculiarities is as nothing when compared with the disclosures given respecting Kant. Every detail concerning his daily life is given with a fidelity which we should commend were not the impression produced so unpleasant. Here, for example, is the manner in which the philosopher was accustomed to go to bed. Having undressed, "he lay down on a mattress, and wrapped himself up in a quilt, which in summer was always of cotton; in autumn, of wool; at the setting-in of winter he used both; and against very severe cold he protected himself by one of eider-down, of which the part which covered his shoulders was not stuffed with feathers, but padded, or rather wadded closely with layers of wool. Long practice had taught him a very dexterous mode of *nesting* and enswathing himself in the bed-clothes. First of all, he sat down on the bed-side; then with an agile motion he vaulted obliquely into his lair; next he drew one corner of the bed-clothes under his left shoulder, and, passing it below his back, brought it round so as to rest under his right shoulder; fourthly, by a particular *tour d'adresse*, he operated on the other corner in the same way; and finally contrived to roll it round his whole person. Thus swathed like a mummy, or (as I used to tell him) self-involved like the silk-worm in its cocoon, he awaited the approach of sleep, which generally came on immediately." The foregoing passage, along with that in which it is told how Kant was accustomed to keep up his stockings without the aid of garters, and several others, prove that Boswell's worst faults have been far exceeded by his German rival. The most valuable of De Quincey's writings are his Dialogues on Political Economy. They are as worthy of perusal at present as when they were first published, which is now nearly forty years ago. They constitute the best exposition and defence of Mr. Ricardo's system which has ever appeared. The paper on "Wordsworth's Poetry," which was written in 1845, is a remarkable piece of discriminating criticism. A few of the concluding sentences deserve quotation, in testimony of the correctness with which his poetical talents were gauged and his powers appreciated by De Quincey:—

"The great distinction of Wordsworth, and the pledge of his increasing popularity, is the extent of his sympathy with what is *really* permanent in human feelings, and also the depth of his sympathy. Young and Cowper, the two earlier leaders in the province of meditative poetry, are too circumscribed in the range of their sympathies, too narrow, too illiberal, and too exclusive. Both these poets manifested the quality of their strength in the quality of their public reception. Popular in some degree from the first, they entered upon the inheritance of their fame almost at once. Far different was the fate of Wordsworth; for in poetry of this class, which appeals to what is deepest in man, in proportion to the native power of the poet, and his fitness for permanent life, is the strength of resistance in the public taste. Whatever is too original will be hated at the first. It must slowly mould a public for itself; and the resistance of the early thoughtless judgments must be overcome by a counter-resis-

tance to itself, in a better audience slowly mustering against the first. Forty and seven years it is since William Wordsworth first appeared as an author. Twenty of those years he was the scoff of the world, and his poetry a by-word of scorn. Since then, and more than once, senates have rung with acclamations to the echo of his name. Now at this moment, whilst we are talking about him, he has entered upon his seventy-sixth year. For himself, according to the course of nature, he cannot be far from his setting; but his poetry is only now clearing the clouds that gathered about its rising. Meditative poetry is perhaps that province of literature which will ultimately maintain most power amongst the generations which are coming; but in this department, at least, there is little competition to be apprehended by Wordsworth from anything which has appeared since the death of Shakespeare." (Vol. v., pp. 267, 268.)

It is doubtful whether newspaper articles ought ever to be reprinted. Even the best of them are ephemeral productions, and should be regarded as such. Sometimes a writer may produce articles which deserve to be collected, not so much on account of the subjects treated, as of the style and language of the writer. The Letters of Junius are examples of this, as are also Mr. Albany Fonblanque's contributions to the *Examiner*. We cannot say the same thing on behalf of the late Mr. Hugh Miller's newspaper articles.[12] Mr. Peter Boyne, who writes the preface, says of them:—"In the quality of *completeness*, those articles stand, so far as I know, alone in the records of journalism. . . . As complete journalistic essays, symmetrical in plan, finished in execution, and of sustained and splendid ability, the articles of Hugh Miller are unrivalled." Whoever reads them on the strength of the foregoing statement will, we believe, be greatly disappointed. While all the articles are vigorously written, none are superior to what appear daily in first-class newspapers. It is true that the writers in such papers have not had the disadvantage to contend against of having been born of poor parents, of having laboured as a stonemason for many years, of having to educate themselves, and notwithstanding have risen to a high position as authors. When these things are considered, Mr. Miller's writings seem truly wonderful. If anything could detract from their effect, it would be the re-issue of everything he has published, prefaced by an exaggerated estimate of his powers and achievements.

The scope and nature of Mr. Cutler's essay on "The Philosophy of Intellectual Education"[13] will be best understood from his own words, by those, at least, who can understand them:—"By *Intellectual Education*, then, I understand that series of means by which the intellectual faculties of the mind are cultivated, by a proper exercise and development, upon appropriate subjects, for the purpose of attaining knowledge, and gaining those ideas which are subservient to scientific acquirements and the arts and pursuits of life."—(p. 73.)

A Society of Professors at Marburg has published a series of "Lectures."[14] The contents of the two volumes in which they appear are

[12] "Essays, Historical and Biographical, Political and Social, Literary and Scientific." By Hugh Miller. Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black. 1862.

[13] "The Philosophy of Intellectual Education, Ancient and Modern." An Essay by George O. Cutler. London: Simpkin and Marshall. 1862.

[14] "Oeffentliche Vorträge gehalten von einem Verein Akademischer Lehrer zu Marburg." 2 bände. Stuttgart: Franck. London: David Nutt. 1862.

very varied. Among others there is an elaborate essay on that Emperor whom the late Lord Kenyon once cited as having earned by his piety the title of Julian the Apostle, but who is generally known as the Apostate. The essay by Professor Julius Cæsar on the Finnish Epic, the "Kalewala," gives a good account of that poem. Unfortunately, however, the Professor does not write with the precision and clearness of his illustrious namesake, so that the perusal of his Essay is neither an easy nor agreeable task.

"Gravenhurst; or, Thoughts on Good and Evil,"[15] is one of those rare books which, being filled with noble and beautiful thoughts, deserves an attentive and thoughtful perusal. It differs from Mr. William Smith's "Thorndale" in this, that the reconciliation of contending opinions is here attempted, in place of their conflict being set forth. One half of the volume takes the form of an exposition of the author's views, the other half consists of dialogues in which these are discussed and enforced. We shall give an outline of his reasonings, employing, as far as possible, his own words. His thesis is that "the whole is one." In nature it is found that everything is harmonious, but in man it is supposed that there is disorder; that order reigns in nature, whilst in man there is chaos. This is the puzzle which Mr. Smith tries to solve, the conflict which he wishes to terminate. Accordingly, he asks himself: "Could we obtain some vantage-ground from which to apprehend all the laws which govern this habitable globe—or rather, the laws which both make it to be a habitable globe, and also run through all the life that inhabits it; could we perceive clearly all the relations which man bears to the rest of nature, and which man bears to his fellow-man, through which two classes of relations all his energies are developed; could we also survey humanity as it unfolds in the course of ages, and learn how the Past has begotten the Present, how the Present is preparing for the future; could we, in short, from our vantage-ground, see *the whole as it has been, is, and will be*—that whole which discloses itself in time as well as in space—I feel persuaded that we should find in human life the same complete harmony that science traces in other parts of creation; I feel persuaded that we should have a spectacle before us whose tendency would be to silence complaint, and prompt and enlighten our efforts, individual and social, after a more complete happiness." The result of his reflections was to lead him to conclude that many things which seem drawbacks in this world are in reality benefits, and essential to the advancement and well-being of the whole. "What we can safely assert is this, that our world of nature and of man is one great scheme; and that what we most lament in human life, as well as what most astonishes us among physical phenomena, is a consequence of some general law essential to the whole. And, furthermore, we can assert that, if not the happiest of all possible worlds, happiness, and not misery, is the great end and result, the great outcome of this multifarious scheme." "A speculative man who, because of the violent passions and flagrant errors of mankind,

[15] "Gravenhurst; or, Thoughts on Good and Evil." By William Smith. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons. 1862.

pronounces that there is a defect of harmony and benevolence in the great scheme of humanity, stands convicted of this inconsistency:—He allows that the more cultivated life he admires could not have arisen from the first relations man had with nature or his fellow-man, and yet he quarrels with the savage, or the half-civilized man, for not living this cultivated life, but for living that life which was a necessary prelude to it." "The more we reflect on the great whole of nature and humanity, the more we are reconciled—not to evil as a thing to be patiently endured, wherever it can be remedied; but to a condition of things where there is the recognised evil, and the vigour to combat with it. This contest with evil is our very progress, is our very life—it is one with all our effort and energy." The succeeding pages contain extended arguments in support of the conclusions enunciated in the foregoing extracts we have made from the Introduction. There may be differences of opinion concerning the correctness of Mr. Smith's views, but there can be none as to the manner in which they are advanced and upheld. He is an earnest seeker after truth; yet, having found what he considers to be the truth, he does not contrive to make it unpalatable to others by offering it to them in an offensive manner. The graceful and polished language which he employs is of itself sufficient to render his book worthy of a perusal. As an example of his style, and a specimen of the high-toned diction in which he frequently indulges, we shall quote the following passage from his volume:—

"Do not ask for a world without evil. Seek rather to know and rightly appreciate this our own dark-bright existence, and enter, heart and soul, into the old warfare for the good! It is a noble life, in which this contest is bravely and wisely sustained. Worlds there may be where there is only pleasure, and only goodness, but we can form no conception of such a state of things, or so far as we *can* form any conception, it is a languid pleasure and torpid goodness that rises to our imagination. It is not our supreme wisdom to pass life dreaming of a world where there will be no evil; it is the highest wisdom, individually and socially, to do battle for the good, so that this mingled existence, which is alone intelligible to us, may put on all the glory it is capable of. From this contest we win our felicity and our progress, and the contest itself is a great and enduring happiness, which runs through all the ages of mankind. All that is energetic and noble savours of this contest. Ay, even what is tenderest in human life comes out of some struggle between good and evil. Even our very piety springs from it." (p. 17.)

"Carr of Carrlyon"[16] is a carefully constructed and well-written novel. The hero, Laurence Carr, the spoilt son of Lord and Lady Carrlyon, leaves England for Italy, and when at Bologna meets and falls in love with an English girl, named Geraldine Courtney. Her father is an invalid and a recluse. A mystery hangs over him and his family. It seems that in early life he had a daughter by a mistress, whom he abandoned. Many years afterwards he met this daughter, whom he took to live with him, under the name of Sara Gisborne.

[16] "Carr of Carrlyon." By Hamilton Aïdé. 3 vols. London: Smith, Elder, and Co. 1862.

This girl is enamoured of an Italian nobleman, Guido Lamberti, who is also beloved by Mr. Courtney's other daughter. Lamberti loves Geraldine in return, but is withheld from proposing to her by a desire to please his mother, who detests heretics. Chiefly to gratify her parents, Geraldine consents to marry Laurence Carr, and becomes his loving wife. Sara Gisborne, baffled in her attempts to win the affections of Lamberti, and envious of the happiness enjoyed by Geraldine, endeavoured to spoil it by disclosing the secret relative to the Courtneys, and succeeds in making Laurence be regarded as a sadly injured person by his foolish mother, and the still more foolish world of fashion. Although Laurence considers himself ill-used, yet he clings to his wife. Now and then he fears that she is still attached to Lamberti, and allows his jealousy to be aroused on account of several casual meetings which they have. After several adventures, Lamberti goes to Paris, where he tries to maintain himself by teaching. Sara Gisborne malignantly endeavours to thwart him in his schemes. The result is, that he dies of consumption in a garret. Geraldine hears of his condition at the last moment, and hastens to render what assistance she can. Her husband finds her at his death-bed, reproaches her with infidelity, and thereby gives her a shock which causes her premature confinement and death. Such is the outline of the plot. Laurence Carr and Geraldine are truthfully drawn, Sara Gisborne is rather exaggerated. With the exception of too many scraps of Italian being needlessly introduced, the style is excellent.

Mr. Hamilton Aïdé's; sketches of Italian scenery and character are truthful, and give the impression of having been made by one who had resided in Italy sufficiently long to become acquainted with the language and manners of the people. It is because Mrs. Beecher Stowe has not had these advantages, that she has portrayed personages which are not even good caricatures of Italians, while professing to be natives of Italy. A drearier and less-effective tale than "Agnes of Sorrento"[17] we have seldom met with. What renders it the more unbearable is, that ever other page contains some piece of "word painting," resembling the following passage:—"Nothing could be more perfectly paradisaical than this evening at Sorrento. The sun had sunk, but left the air full of suffused radiance, which trembled and vibrated over the thousand many-coloured waves of the sea. The moon was riding in a broad zone of purple, low in the horizon, her silver forehead somewhat flushed in the general roseate hue that seemed to penetrate and suffuse every object. The fishermen, who were drawing in their nets, gaily singing, seemed to be floating on a violet and gold-coloured flooring, that broke into a thousand gems at every dash of the oar or motion of the boat." Those who admire this kind of writing, will find plenty of passages in this volume similar to the foregoing one. Those who do not, had better not open it at all.

It is hard to say whether "Number One; or, the Way of the

[17] "Agnes of Sorrento." By Mrs. Beecher Stowe. London: Smith, Elder, and Co. 1862.

World,"[18] be a true story or a fiction. We are informed in the preface that the groundwork "may be regarded as *fact*." Here and there we meet with passages which seem taken from life; but there are plenty which are wholly imaginary. For example, it must have been an ideal butler who could address an applicant for a place from his master in these terms:—

"His Lordship said he would recommend me to the notice of his friend, the Home Secretary."

"And thus evade the disagreeable yes or no, by transferring the inquirer to one who has no interest in the inquiry. The Home Secretary may do for *you* what he has done for hundreds of others—place your name on the list of candidates."

"If he does *that*, may I not have a chance with others?" I inquired.

"Yes; the chance of remaining on the list till the Secretary, or his successor, takes you off again. Those on the list marked A 1 are like the funds. They may fluctuate according to circumstances, but they bear interest, and the warrant holders, our statesmen, are entitled to the dividends. But the unnumbered candidates are merely paltry figures, or sums standing without interest. Till the *number ones* are exhausted, there is no chance whatever for the others. Had your father lived, you would have been A 1, and your chance of a situation would then have been a good one."

"But *then* I should not have needed a situation."

"Consequently, you would have had less difficulty in procuring one. Government situations are not generally given to those who stand most in need of them—not to those who want a living but to those who have the means or interest to obtain it." (pp. 67, 68.)

But while Mr. Frank Foster made his butler too perfect, he has succeeded in sketching a bagman to the life. The chapter entitled "My First Sunday in a Commercial Room," well deserves a perusal. If the whole volume had been written with equal spirit, we should have said the same of it.

There is no lack of variety in the "Pilgrims of Fashion."[19] The scene changes with a suddenness which at any rate serves to keep alive the attention. At the opening of the novel, the reader is introduced to a Mr. Henry Perceval, who inhabited Myrtle House, Cheltenham, in the year 1779. In the fifth chapter from the end, we have a description of the Battle of Bull Run from one who professes to have witnessed it from the topmost branch of a tree. It were impossible to condense within the compass of a few lines an account of the different persons whose births, marriages, and deaths are narrated in this volume. The author says, with perfect truth, that he has here, "in this short tale, crowded the long history of some eventful lives." He would have done better had he elaborated some of the characters, as all of them are rough sketches, without one finished portrait by way of variety. He would also have acted wisely in omitting the introduction of the Yelverton marriage case. It is a sign of feebleness in a novelist when he is reduced to eke out his story by the introduction of contemporary scandal.

[18] "Number One; or, the Way of the World." By Frank Foster. London: Simpkin, Marshall, and Co. 1862.

[19] "The Pilgrims of Fashion." By K. C. London: Trübner and Co. 1862.

We earnestly hope that what is said in the "Cotton Lord"[20] about the tyranny of the overseers in mills is wholly untrue. If it be indeed the fact that men like Mr. Grimmitt are in the habit of beating the "hands," both male and female, then the condition of our factory workers is on a par with that of the negro slaves. A factory girl is the principal personage in this tale, as is also the case in the novel entitled "Abel Drake's Wife,"[21] but the Barbara of the latter is very superior to the Esther of the former. The failing of Mr. Saunders is over-indulgence in minute description. An instance of this is the description of Job's sufferings when a bluebottle had settled on his knee. Job is an idle, good-for-nothing character, whose chief pleasure consists in basking in the sun, and whose greatest torment is to have to do any kind of work. While enjoying what Mr. Saunders styles "the poetry of idleness,"—

"A great bluebottle fastened upon a naked part of his knee that was exposed through a hole in the trousers. Job winced and shook his knee, and the fly dropped lazily off an inch or two, then dropped back, and settled in exactly the same place, and tickled Job till he could really bide no longer. So he suddenly hit his knee a tremendous blow, but left the bluebottle buzzing about, as if asking if anybody could tell what was the matter. Would he do it yet a third time? Job seemed to ask, in a savage glance; and to his disgust, the fly did come to the same spot, and drove home his weapon right into Job's marrow. That done, he buzzed so suddenly and unpleasantly in Job's face, that the latter struck out in an agony of alarm, with a strong exclamation. And then Job really was vexed to see and hear the great big bullying fellow go off, booming away, in triumph, to places whither Job dared not even in imagination think of the labour of following him." (pp. 152.)

Writing of this kind is only laborious trifling. However, it is the fashion to write thus, and Mr. Saunders sins in good company. On the whole, his novel is a clever and striking production. It is carefully composed. Now and then, the straining after effect is too apparent. Notwithstanding these defects, it fully merits a perusal.

[20] "The Cotton Lord." By Herbert Glyn. 2 vols. London: Smith, Elder, and Co. 1862.

[21] "Abel Drake's Wife." By John Saunders. London: Lockwood and Co. 1862.

THE

WESTMINSTER

AND

FOREIGN QUARTERLY

REVIEW.

OCTOBER 1, 1862.

Art. I.—Essays and Reviews: Dr. Lushington's Judgment.

Judgment of Dr. Lushington in the Court of Arches, June 25th, 1862.

THE word Theocracy is used with some latitude and uncertainty by European historians. But if we analyze its prevalent applications, we may find that an institution receives this name when its upholders assume it to have a divine sanction which shields it from human criticism, and indeed brands that criticism as an impiety. Such institutions carry on their face a prohibition of gradual improvement by successive reforms; and therefore, unless they simultaneously assert for themselves an infallibility and a supernatural origin, are really *self*-condemned. The Turkish Dominion professes to rest on the Koran: and, difficult as it may be to find the first link between that particular dynasty and the sacred book, nevertheless the constant reference to its authority for the principles of political right sustains the sincere belief that the empire rests on irrefragable divine authority. The Papacy, also, which pertinaciously maintains itself to be a divine growth out of a divine root, a building raised without hands by the work of the same Spirit which laid the apostolic foundation, and has never since failed in energy, can plausibly maintain (however false in the eye of an historian are the details asserted), that no human science or statesmanship may legitimately revise and reform the creed or the practices of the Church. But the Anglican Church—whether through the tyrannical recklessness of princes and statesmen or through the bigoted folly of theologians—has grasped at a Theocratic sceptre by mere imitation of its predecessors, after deliberately renouncing all the pretensions by

which alone such assumption can be defended from the most offensive imputations: and, while claiming for priests and bishops spiritual powers of vague but mighty mystery, subjects those priests and bishops to a degrading yoke, nay, puts them as it were into the felon's dock, if they dare to use their reason on divine things and on the Scriptures as freely as did Cranmer, Hooper, Latimer—all, in short, who broke loose from Popery to establish the Anglican Church.

The pernicious and odious slavery to which the bishops and clergy are subjected by the LAITY, *who put no such fetters on themselves*, is a phenomenon to which no "High Churchman" has a right to shut his eyes. It is usual with them, we are aware, to say as little as possible about the Act of Uniformity, and try to represent the existing laws of the Church to have been made by the bishops and clergy, because the assent of Convocation was given to them. It suffices to reply, that as all individual clergymen were ejected who refused assent, so would their representatives in Convocation have been ejected had they refused. But let us waive this point for a moment. We do not deny that the legislature which enacted the existing system, followed the authority of certain episcopalian divines freshly restored to dignity. Suppose for a moment that the legal sanction had come from these divines, and not from the lay-parliament which freely chose to enact their opinions. Are then the bishops and deans restored by Charles II. ostensibly wiser and better men, higher in spiritual knowledge and authority, than the existing dignitaries of the Church? Will any one of these who recently attacked the Essayists and Reviewers—will the Bishop of Salisbury, of Exeter, or of Oxford—so trample down his own episcopal dignity as to say: "I have indeed received from the Most High power to bind and to loose, power to bestow the Spirit of God by the laying on of my hands. I can lift up my face to heaven, and say boldly to a young man in presence of the congregation—*Receive thou the Holy Ghost. Whose sins thou remittest, they are remitted; and whose sins thou retainest, they are retained.* But while I am invested with this efficacious power, bestowed originally by Christ on his Apostles, whereby I exercise apostolic functions, yet I am not on the same spiritual eminence as Cranmer and Sherlock. *They* were at liberty to consider what is true: *I* have only to ask, what they and their fellows have bid to be enacted. *They* were free to try doctrine by the test of its agreement with the Scripture, with the consent of wise and holy men, with the facts of human nature and of science, with the dictates of individual conscience and common sense. They *did* so compare and so test the alleged doctrines of the Romanist and of the Puritan churches. By this process they made for me an authoritative system, which I am

not permitted to criticise, but am bound humbly to believe." If a prelate remarkable for strength of mind were thus to speak—for instance, the Bishop of Exeter or of St. David's—it would be simply impossible for the public to believe his insincerity. What indeed can be meant by this mighty and awful power of bestowing the Holy Spirit? We have no right to insult the bishops by implying that they do not believe themselves to possess it, or that they degrade the profoundest and noblest of Christian thoughts—that in-dwelling of God in the conscience of man which is called God's Spirit in the heart—into some fictitious material emanation communicated at will. We take for granted that they must believe the priest who has power to remit or retain sin to have a peculiar and divine insight as to *what is* sin; and that the bishop who knows that a candidate is the right man to invest with this power abides in a still closer consciousness of the mind and judgments of God. If any one who believes himself invested with it be made somewhat overbearing, that does not seem to deserve wonder: but if on the contrary he believe it to be fit, decent, or rather, not very indecent and absurd, for others to dictate to him by law what doctrines are true, what false, and forbid to him even the liberty exercised by his predecessors at the times of the successive reforms,—this would seem to be a moral portent.

Nearly all the outcry which has been made (we do not say unnaturally or unjustly) against the Essayists and Reviewers, goes upon the current doctrine of Christian divines (which we are sure the bishops will not disown), that Unbelief is Sin. We are then at liberty to suppose that Professor Jowett or Dr. Rowland Williams, on becoming painfully conscious of some unbelief—unbelief, perhaps, in the genuineness of the book of Daniel, or of the soundness of the received doctrine of the Atonement—had followed the prescribed rules of the Church in order to relieve his conscience. We may, without offence, suppose him to have sought a private interview with Bishop Thirlwall, who has assuredly very often made the public invitation, "If any man be distressed in conscience, . . . let him come unto me, or to some other discreet and worthy minister of God's word," &c. Imagine Dr. Williams to confess to his Ordinary his soreness of conscience under the painful doubt whether the Propitiation wrought by Christ consisted in *reconciling His Father to us by his own bloodshedding*, and to ask of him absolution for the sin, *if* it be a sin. In more ways than one this would put the bishop into an unpleasant dilemma: we shall dwell on but a small part of the case. It must be inferred confidently, from recent facts, that he would pronounce such unbelief, if obstinately persisted in, to be a great and dreadful sin; but would be willing to administer absolution for it, if the

sin were cordially renounced. Yet so to deal with the case is a very different thing from saying with Dr. Lushington, "You are bound by Act of Parliament to believe the common doctrines, and you must not assume the layman's right of private judgment." He who is warranted, in the name of the Most High, to pronounce an opinion to be a sin, and to absolve the sin when the sinner recants, has not merely an insight into divine truth wholly independent of the Anglican enactments (for that, it is hoped, we all may have), but has a right to speak with divine authority on the question, what opinions are sin, and what are not. And yet, bishops with even greater pretensions, and priests who have received from them a strictly divine power, are to be put in bondage to a Parliament of Charles II.! What is this, but coarsely to treat their prerogatives as a convenient but empty hypocrisy?

We are aware that there is a theory held by some amiable and eccentric clergymen, that *Subscription is no Bondage.* A pamphlet with this title, some years back, was not welcomed by the High Church as containing a true and noble thought, but on the contrary brought on the author the rough sarcasm of being ready to subscribe anything without feeling bound to believe it. But if any one can seriously hold subscription to be no bondage, the recent criminal prosecutions for ever put an end to such a notion. Dr. Lushington indeed often reminds us that he is bound in every case of doubt to give the benefit to the accused party (to the very great advantage of the accused), because the charge is that of crime. While the Bishop of St. David's was yet a layman, he felt free to translate the treatise of a pious, learned, and highly-esteemed German clergyman on the Gospel of St. Luke. As a bishop, if he still felt free to do the same thing, he might be roughly convinced of his error by being brought up as a *criminal* to be tried by one or more lay-judges. We are therefore safe in saying, that he knows Subscription to be Bondage.

It not only is so, but is meant to be so. Where all upright and soundminded men agree, as on the rudiments of moral duty, a creed might be constructed which all would avow without bondage; but for that very reason, there would be no motive for exacting subscription to it. The creeds enforced by law are popularly and most accurately termed *test*-articles. Because it is and was notorious, that very many thoughtful, good, and pious men do *not* believe them; for this very reason they are imposed, in order to exclude all such men. If all believed the ecclesiastical Trinity, there could be no motive for imposing the Athanasian Creed and the other Trinitarian portions of the formularies; but the clergy are tied down to the belief. While a prisoner makes no effort to go beyond the length of his chain, he may manage to convince himself that he wears no chain

at all. But when he sees one of his fellow-captives violently pulled back in the indiscreet attempt to go too far, it is more like a maniac than a wise man to hug himself in the fancy, that, because he chooses to submit without a struggle, he is not himself equally in chains. It is remarkable that Dr. Lushington adduces a clause of the Athanasian Creed as condemnatory of Mr. Wilson, not on the matter of the Trinity (as to which doctrine ingenious philosophers know how to riot in Platonic freedom), but on the ruthless belief in everlasting punishment. On other doctrines of the Church the learned judge finds great difficulty in condemning the accused; that is to say, in a criminal trial he is bound to admit great latitude, and he finds their philosophical phraseology very hard to understand. But nothing can be clearer than the doctrine of eternal punishment in the Creed; and here the judge peremptorily forbids a clergyman to extend his charity beyond what is written. If the judge himself do not keep the faith whole and undefiled, as expounded in that creed, the clergyman is bound to believe that the judge will, without doubt, perish everlastingly.

The bondage of the clergy is nowhere so remarkable as in the Universities, because these are intended to be schools of theological learning. The Church has been used to glory over the Dissenters, as though she alone had a *learned* clergy. It is true that the Academical Degree does not at all secure this: it does but give a *gentlemanly* order of clergy. Nevertheless, the apparatus of Theological Professors, the study of Ecclesiastical History, Evidences of Christianity, Scientific Exposition, in an atmosphere highly charged with intellectual activity and its subtlest forces, combine to invite the academic theologian to dangerous inquiries. Even if his mind be ever so little active, yet if it have mere receptivity, to study the history of the past, or closely examine the original Scriptures, gravely exposes him to become too wise for his subscriptions. Of what use is it to become learned? An ecclesiastical judge may reply, *ex-officio*, "In order to defend the legally enacted system." But man was created to follow God's truth, not to prostitute his intellect to the mere upholding of an enactment passed in a year of vengeance by zealots drunk with royalism. No man with any particle of spirit—no man with any breath of divine aspiration—no one ever likely to confer lustre on his church, will endure to confess to himself so mean and base an object of study. Academic theologians of any consideration are of course animated to their labours by a thirst for truth. They see by their sides other ardent minds—a chemist, an astronomer, a geologist, a historian, a Greek critic—each in his own sphere, developing not only truths of greater or smaller beauty, but, what is much more, the laws and

conditions for the attainment of truth. Nothing can convince them that while it is possible now to attain clearer knowledge of Greek history and of the remains of Greek literature than was possessed by scholars two centuries back, it is nevertheless impossible to improve upon their knowledge of Ecclesiastical History, and of the fragmentary literature called Old and New Testament. And, with all deference to the learning of the eminent judge before whom two of the recent trials have come, we still must assert that his estimate of the relations of history to theology is very deficient. In commenting on the seventh Article against Mr. Wilson, he avows that he can find no repugnance to the Articles and Formularies in denying that "Jesus revealed his religion as *a historical faith.*" From a lawyer this may be intelligible; but in his judgment concerning Dr. Williams, who (as alleged in Art. XIII.) had used historical reasoning to disprove the Church-doctrines of baptismal regeneration and original sin, Dr. Lushington goes farther: "I am of opinion that the passage is essentially historical, and cannot be truly construed as a maintaining of doctrine." Yet it is notorious that in a historical faith (and such is *Church* Christianity) no confutation of a doctrine can be more decisive than by showing its recency and its origin. The passage from Dr. Rowland Williams which was impugned is thus quoted by the judge:—

"The first Christians held that the heart was purified by Faith: the accompanying symbol, Water, became by degrees the instrument of purification. Holy Baptism was at first preceded by a vow, in which the young soldier expressed his consciousness of spiritual truth; but when it became twisted into a false analogy with circumcision, the rite degenerated into a magical form, and the Augustinian notion of a curse inherited by infants was developed in connexion with it."

No better example is needed to illustrate the folly and the cruelty of establishing a school of learned theology and expecting those who study in it to keep their belief conformable to a standard of faith enacted 200 years ago. It is impossible to read ungarbled Ecclesiastical History without discovering Infant Baptism to be a rite long posterior to the Apostles. Augustin himself, though son of a pious Christian mother, was not baptized until full manhood. His success in his controversy with Pelagius established in the church the theory of blood-pollution inherited from Adam, and of infant baptism as its necessary cure. No student can arrive at a conviction that these are facts of history without seeing that the whole basis of the doctrine of baptismal regeneration is overturned, and that the Church Service on this rite is (what Dr. Williams indirectly calls it) a magical superstition. To forbid historical studies, to put into an *Index Expurgatorius* the works of Neander and Gfroerer, would in some sense be a

mercy to Oxford and Cambridge divines; but actively to encourage such studies, while dictating to what conclusions they shall lead, is a cruelty and an indecency. We cannot be blinded—and we are sure that English statesmen are not blinded—by the arbitrary and false assertion, that it is beyond the powers of the human mind to examine the evidence and the origin of this and all the other ecclesiastical dogmas. One and all, their historical development is on the surface of history. Gibbon has made widely known the assertion of Petavius, that all the Pre-Nicene Fathers are heretical on the doctrine of the Trinity. To assert or to deny the fact does not now concern us: it suffices to insist that the inquiry what doctrine was taught on this subject by Justin Martyr, by Hippolytus, by Irenæus, by Origen, by Cyprian, by Athanasius, is as strictly historical and human, and not at all more difficult, than the inquiry what Anaxagoras, Plato and Aristotle taught; and for an English Parliament to enact to what results the historian shall come, would in both cases be equally absurd, in the former far more pernicious. For if any one, on inquiry, find the assertion of Petavius to be true; if he find that the Ecclesiastical Trinity is a doctrine gradually built up in five or six centuries; that the last creed is falsely called Athanasius's, and is nothing but a Latin creed; that it has a clause violently offensive to the Greek Church; that the Nicene Creed has been garbled into partial and apparent conformity to it: it is no longer possible for him to give assent and consent, *ex animo*, to the Anglican doctrines. The whole weight of the so-called Christian Evidences (which are assumed to outweigh "conscience and devout reason") depends on the traditional descent of the doctrines from the Apostles and from Christ. If historical testimony cut the links of this tradition, the doctrine which is shown to have a later origin falls to the ground. It is then nothing short of tyrannical to found institutions for ecclesiastical study, and then punish the students as criminals, ejecting them from their positions, their connexion, and their honourably earned emoluments, if their conclusions militate against the prejudgments of the Legislature. The injustice and folly are the more remarkable, because the same men who are zealous against the least relaxation of legislative dogmatism, also treat it as a sin if any one, as Dr. R. Williams, deny the religion of Jesus to be a historical faith. Yet if it be such, in whole or in part, it is in the same proportion amenable to disproof from the facts of history. The Legislature would be ashamed of itself if it were surprised into an enactment which dictated to a chemical or astronomical professor, or to a Greek historian, to what conclusions he shall arrive; yet it is *not* ashamed of having so acted towards ecclesiastical historians and students of sacred literature.

The considerations which we have hitherto pressed do not at all supersede an opposite inquiry—whether the clerical authors of the "Essays and Reviews" are justifiable in the court of conscience for retaining their position as clergymen, when aware that their convictions deviate so widely from the established system. We must not refuse to express ourselves on this subject, but fear that we cannot do it concisely; so many are the topics of excuse, as well as grounds of censure, special perhaps to each essayist. And, first of all, we must urge against every *other* clergyman the salutary words: "*He that is without the sin* among you, let him first throw the stone." Do the Evangelical clergy sincerely believe the Baptismal Service and certain passages in the Catechism? How many of the High or Broad Church, or indeed of any name, accept the Article on Predestination and Election to Life? How many believe (what the Articles pointedly declare) that Christ carried with him into heaven his *flesh and bones?* The Apostles' Creed, so often solemnly recited, is not satisfied with the simple statement, Christ died and was buried; but superadds in the next clause, He descended into hell. What is meant by Hell which is not included in Death and Burial, and requires a descent? History answers assuredly, that those who formed the Creed believed in a "Limbo," where "Christ preached to the spirits in prison, who aforetime were disobedient," &c. How many of the clergy believe this, or believe anything at all about the Limbo? Yet they may read of it in the canonical epistles of Peter and Jude; and may get curious illustrations from the book of Enoch. We do not at all say that clergymen in general offend against their subscriptions to the extent in which some at least of the Essayists offend. But we do say, that the Church Formularies to which all subscribe are inherently incongruous, and such as no one mind can believe. The fact is dimly avowed by many of the panegyrists of the Church, who boast of its many-sidedness and latitude. Notoriously it was in many respects a compromise, and retains copious fragments of great antiquity worked into a conglomerate with many more novel views: Augustinianism, proceeding from Luther and Calvin, has been partially adopted and combined with very different schools of Christianity. Nothing short of a miracle could give real unity and self-consistency to a system brought forth by political and theological struggle. A peer of the last century publicly taunted the Church with having Calvinistic Articles, an Arminian clergy, and a Papal Liturgy. We by no means adopt his epigram as an absolute truth, yet it contains too much truth to be despised. The Articles on Predestination and kindred topics could never have been the product of the same mind as the Baptismal Service and Catechism; and it is notorious that one or other side of the

dilemma is sure to be distressing to every clergyman. Of the Homilies we have said nothing; but Dr. Lushington avows them to be "a standard of doctrine" for clergymen. One thing is certain, that they are extremely disliked by the High Church, if ever opened by them. A large part of the clergy manage to remain on good terms with their own consciences by shutting their eyes to a sensible fraction of that which they have subscribed. We sincerely pity their position, and while they assume merely a defensive tone, we have no thought of severity. But when they assume to condemn their fellow clergymen (perhaps abler and nobler souls than they), they force us to consider their own delinquencies in this same matter of subscription.

A second consideration must be urged, not as justifying, yet as largely palliating, unfaithfulness of clergymen to their subscriptions; and this is, the stubborn refusal of the legislature to allow them to lay aside their clerical character when they desire it. Only last session an attempt was made in this direction; but precisely the same Episcopalian doctrinaires who bitterly assail such men as the Essayists, with equal bitterness insist on retaining them within the clerical order. This will never make it right for a clergyman to carry concealment into hypocrisy, as it is to be feared that many do; but, *as between man and man*, it does authorize any clergyman who speaks his mind to say to his brethren, "I shall not abandon my clerical rights or functions, since the law will not allow me to disown my clerical disabilities and responsibilities. And if any prosecute me by law, I will invoke the utmost letter of the law in my favour." To tax such clergymen as breaking a covenant made by them with society, is certainly unjust. And on this point Dr. Lushington appears to us (though on the whole he may seem far too favourable to the accused persons), to overstate the meaning of their subscription. He lays down (p. 11)—"The subscription to the Articles is a declaration by the subscriber of his conviction in their truth, *and a promise to abide in them*." The last words, as far as we can find, are wholly gratuitous; and the learned judge adds no justification of them, no clue to his reasons. Let it be for a moment imagined, that the subscription had been commanded by law to be made in the following words: "I declare that I from my heart believe, *and never will cease to believe*, all that is contained in the formularies." We ask boldly: If the legislature had dared to impose this, how many of the existing clergy would ever have made the declaration? Nay, further, if this interpretation be correct, all Fellows of Colleges, all Masters of Arts of the old Universities, and until recently, all members of the University of Oxford (though they may be laymen, and have ceased to belong to the Universities), still are bound *for life* to believe

the Thirty-nine Articles. They made the same subscription as do the clergy, and it cannot possibly be prospective to the one, if it is not to the other. Conscious as we are, what a revulsion of feeling, what indignation, every ingenuous young man would feel, on being asked to declare that he would "always hereafter" believe this or that, we seem to have herein a sufficient and decisive disproof of this particular clause of the judgment. But the consideration that no one dreams laymen to be bound by their past subscriptions, and that the judge emphatically announces this, seems to us to put the question beyond doubt. The clergyman who believed when he subscribed, has rigidly observed good faith. To future belief he did not and could not pledge himself.

Nevertheless, this plea is obviously unavailing for the case of those clergymen who are willing at any moment to renew their old subscriptions; whether in order to receive new preferment, or because there is some authority over them which can command the reiteration of the act. It is notorious that the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford required Professor Jowett to renew his subscription, and was obeyed. Whether he could have enforced his order, had it been disobeyed, we are not exactly informed; but every one must see how unpleasant it would be for an Oxford Tutor formally to announce that he was consciously in opposition to the Church formularies—a circumstance which almost vests compulsive power in the Vice-Chancellor. And after all, this is not the weakest and worst point of the case. The position of the clerical and of the lay Fellow of a College may be the very same (except one or two less significant clauses) as far as mere subscription is concerned; but it is widely different, the moment the clergyman begins to officiate in reading the Liturgy. Forthwith, it is no longer a mere question of good faith to promises between man and man; but the priest stands before a Higher Power, and addresses Him in many words, which, unless they come from the depth of the heart, are a direful and a scandalous hypocrisy. Various special pleadings may be allowed in interpreting a human covenant; everything of the kind is justly abhorred in the acts of devotion.

There are two kinds of religious controversy, as opposite in character as in results. It is possible to seek to discover in that which we are opposing, not only all that is most congenial to ourselves, and that interpretation which is least offensive to us, but also something by which we may ourselves profit, in the midst of what is most uncongenial. If we make due allowance for our own finite understanding, the necessary limitation of our own mental and religious experience, and the high improbability that able and sincere men who are widely opposed to us, should fail to develop some truth which we have not discerned; it must surely

seem reasonable to approach a religious controversy, not only as critics, but also as learners; and it might seem marvellous that anyone can talk, as divines do, concerning the mysterious nature of that on which they are discoursing, and the puny powers of the human mind, without seeing that intellects and characters most opposite need to combine, if we are to gain any solid and trustworthy knowledge of subjects so lofty. A sound humility would assuredly infuse into religious controversies not only a noble forbearance, but hearty reciprocal appreciation. It is mournful to consider how intensely opposite to all this has been *nearly all* controversy among Christians of *nearly all* sects; who with theories of humility combine the reality of dogmatism, and hostility to men, whom all tranquil bystanders see to be generally their equals in goodness, often their superiors; men moreover, whom they will often confess to be their decided superiors in talents and attainments. "Heresies begin from learned men," Bellarmin (we believe) laid down: and we suppose that very few indeed of the clergy who have expressed most indignation against the Essayists can be judged to be their equals. Mere numbers cannot outweigh mental superiority. A hundred men of the calibre of Anytus will not make one Socrates. Of the Rev. Mr. Fendall, who prosecutes Mr. Wilson, we know nothing; but we can safely tell all the Fendalls and Burders who wish to eject from the ministry men better known to the public and more highly esteemed than they, that the real question now of chief importance is, not what the formularies have said, but what is the Truth; which is in no respect whatever determined by the Act of Uniformity.

The dogmatism of Dissenters is prompted by the assumption that they have a right to lay down the law what books are sacred and authoritative, and to infer that none have the Spirit of God who do not accept their interpretations of the sacred books. But the Church is forbidden by the ecclesiastical judge to appeal to the Scripture: the Church formularies supersede it. The dogmatism of Churchmen does not rest on personal assumptions to the same extent as that of Dissenters; but its distinctive basis is the theory or idea of *Theocracy* in the collective organism of the Church. This is the favourite and essential doctrine of the High Church, and it is made absurd and ridiculous by remembering that to abolish an Act of Parliament cuts away all the grounds of their recent proceedings against the Essayists. They have wished to exhibit the power of the Church to eject learned and pious men who are too wise to believe its doctrines; and the first result of it is, that the judge elaborately and repeatedly lays down, that the sole question for him is, whether they are criminals by Act of Parliament.

Prosecutions such as these may eject one or two valuable men

from a Church which is not worthy of them: who, by obstinately resisting as long as they can, at least do the service of forcing upon statesmen the necessity of overthrowing this outrage on morality,—the dictating of religious profession. The evil, from a purely religious point of view, is enormous; it is highly discreditable to our statesmen that they are so slow to see it. The very men who are publicly appointed to instruct the nation and become their leaders in religion, are put into a cruel position, in which they are liable to be made hypocrites in the very proportion in which they cultivate their understandings. We have already insisted—from the Church-point of view, and from the assumption that the bishops and clergy possess the powers ascribed to them—on the monstrosity of putting them in bondage to subscriptions. Of course the reader will understand this to be in part *argumentum ad hominem:* but in every case it remains a monstrosity to subject the intellects of the existing clergy to enactments passed two centuries ago, when the clergy were worse informed than now, and the laity much more inflamed by religious animosities. The clergy, including bishops and other dignitaries, are under the yoke, and cannot remove it. None but the laity can help them; and on the laity rests the whole guilt of continuing a system which corrupts and ruins the position of the clergy. It necessarily destroys their influence with thoughtful men. No one can care a straw for their opinion *in favour* of existing dogmas; because they have no legal right to think otherwise. It is only when they begin to be heterodox, that they gain credit for having minds of their own; and yet simultaneously they get discredit. A yawning gulf has opened—and must grow deeper—between the philosophy of the age and the religion of the Church. The former is tested by minds most opposite and by every sort of practical trial; and, not being enforced by law, gives fair play to Truth. The latter, having no pretence whatever to proof, having artificially and formally excluded all tests of truth whatsoever, (even appeal to the Christian Scriptures!) cannot stand in such a controversy. Our statesmen, by their baneful inaction, are providing for England a catastrophe similar to that which came upon France; we mean, in its religious aspect. We do not speak as enemies of Church Establishments; on the contrary, as believing that Sectarianism is a real and great evil, and that a truly National Church, which should grow with the growth of the national mind, would be a far nobler and more beneficial system, than anything which can result from a mere violent overthrow; which, nevertheless, is being prepared by the stupid and obstinate conservatism, for which we unhesitatingly blame the laity and public men.

Members of Parliament will reply, "What can we do? If we attack the Church, we shall offend many of our constituents; and after all, we shall carry nothing. Only ministers now-a-days can carry anything of importance." We are quite aware of the pernicious concentration of legislative and executive powers which the ambition of Cabinet Ministers has succeeded in bringing about. It is not probable that a private member would succeed in carrying a Bill: but if all private members spoke out their convictions boldly, whenever occasion offered, it would not be long before a Minister would be found to take the necessary lead; as happened in the case of abolishing University subscriptions for Matriculation and for the Bachelor's degree. But a fundamental blunder is made in supposing that in denouncing subscription to creeds, we ask public men to *attack the Church.* On the contrary, we implore them to come to the rescue of the Church, and to release the bishops and clergy *as an Order,* even against the will of enslaved *individuals,* from an unmanly and unchristian infliction.

This is no finesse and pretence, but plain fact. Nor is any hostility to the existing creed here properly involved. If we believed the fundamental points of Anglicanism ever so heartily, we should only be the more ashamed to allow it to be thought that the bishops would be sure to disbelieve, unless constrained by law to belief. In fact, we cannot understand with what face any devotee of the Church (especially including as it does pretensions so extravagant of priestly eminence) can come forward to insult either the formularies or the prelates by such an idea. If the formularies are true, it is to be presumed that men picked out for wisdom and goodness will abide in them willingly and of themselves. If the reasonable presumption is, that trained theologians and pious men will disbelieve unless put into chains by the law, it must follow that the formularies are false; and then, how great the guilt of Parliament in having sustained them! And all this time it is notorious, that, though a man's society and his reading immensely affect his creed, law can have little or no power over it, except by altering his reading or his society. *If* then the tendency to disbelief be so violent, it must inevitably operate on all who enlarge their mental horizon—that is to say, we have it conceded that the law now provides that the teachers of the nation shall either be narrow in knowledge or unbelievers in the public creed! Why are we to admit, for a moment, that those are the friends of the Church, who, with no imaginable good result, maintain such a tyrannical and debasing infliction on the clergy? Without any sinister meaning or reserve of thought, we say that the more true the system, the less it needs such aid; for, the more certainly, as in the case of astronomy or any other true science, will the best

men and best minds tend to unanimous agreement in it. Those who dread the opposite, secretly disbelieve the perfection of that which they extol. When a Brahmin has made a monkey into a god, he is in natural tremor lest wise men should not worship; then, if he can, he will call on the law to compel it. Such is the only logic of political Anglicanism.

But, many a statesman will reply, "How can we secure the necessary adaptation between the clergy and the congregations, if the subscriptions be abolished?"—It is astonishing that men should so argue, who know the broad fact, two centuries old, that the present method by no means closely secures such adaptation. In spite of subscriptions, the difference of opinion in clergymen is and always has been very great, to the frequent annoyance of congregations. So long as the Liturgy is maintained, the chasm between different clergymen cannot open wider than it has been from the beginning of the system. A Liturgy is a far more severe test of opinion than Articles, because (as above insisted) piety impedes special pleading concerning the words. Great alarm is felt or pretended, lest Unitarians* find admission into the Church ministry. Of course that is now possible, if men are unscrupulous, or have principles of interpretation highly subtle and supple; but if otherwise, the Liturgy (to say nothing of its creeds) effectually excludes them from parochial service. We do not hesitate to insist, that there is no difficulty at all in the practical problem, if only statesmen are willing *to lay responsibility on the right shoulders*, that is, on the BISHOPS. Nobody would be able to call this anything but an acting-out of Episcopalianism of the first water. No debating of the details of religious belief is wanted in Parliament: the very principle is wholly inadmissible. All that is needed, is, *first*, to reduce the whole of subscription to this single article: "I am willing to use the formularies of the Church, into the ministry of which I seek admittance:" *next*, to vest in every bishop regulated powers for relaxing the severities of the Liturgy to his own clergy. Only the mode of regulating becomes question of detail. We should propose, that any clergyman who desired a modification of any words in the Liturgy which he is required to read, should present to this effect a formal request to the bishop, who should be empowered to grant the request, subject to the sole condition of laying before Parliament every year a return, which should state what concessions he had made and to how many clergymen. On the one hand, no High Churchman could assert that the enactment bore

* Unitarians born are generally addicted to blunt truth; and if sometimes, in the aspect of modern refined Christianity, a little narrow-minded, yet they will never crawl into the Church ministry by subtlety.

a hostile aspect to the Church. We do not affect to aim at any consistency in High Churchmanship, but only to make one-step in that direction. At present the bishops are like the Grand Llama of Thibet, who, as the accounts tell, is in theory a god, but in practice a puppet. So all the clergy of England are ecclesiastically endowed with divine powers of binding and loosing, while politically they are themselves bound in heavy fetters. We would not give any of them, singly or collectively, power to tighten other people's chains; but here we shall certainly have Mr. Walpole, Sir John Pakington, and Lord Derby on our side. Nevertheless, it would be an access to the bishop's dignity, to enable him to loose the bonds of others, and of course his own. On the other hand, no statesman would need to fear that the clergy would move too fast for the congregations, and thus involve public strife: for the "responsibilities of office" would lie heavily on the bishops, nor is there the slightest chance of their making too many concessions nor too fast. By such a method, the Parliament would in ten years' time have materials before it distinctly showing the state of clerical opinion: but, independently of that, the Liturgy would be, bit by bit, in a series of years, rid of whatever acts as an exasperating prick, instead of subserving its legitimate devotional uses. The schism between the pious thought of this century and the enactments of the past would be healed in the only possible way—by modifying those enactments—and without unseemly struggles or heart-hardening familiar arguings concerning things ineffably sacred. When through the vast development of modern knowledge the ablest minds have run far ahead of the contemporaries of Laud or Sherlock in Cosmogony, in Ethnology, in Astronomy, in Physiology, in History, in Metaphysics, in Morals, in the Laws of Literary Interpretation, in questions of Literary Genuineness, in understanding of the Mind of Antiquity, —is any one senseless enough to think, that he can do anything but swamp and drown the Church, by keeping fast tied round the neck of her clergy, under sacred pretences, loads of opinion which even Puritans and Biblists cannot receive?

Art. II.—The British Sea-Fisheries.

1. *Report of the Commissioners for the British Fisheries of their Proceedings for the year* 1859-61.
2. *Report of the Commissioners of Fisheries, Ireland.* 1859-60.
3. *Article "Fisheries," Encyclopædia Britannica.* 8th Edition.
4. *The Fisheries considered as a National Resource, &c.* By Robert Worthington, Esq., Barrister-at-Law.
5. *The Value and Importance of the Scottish Fisheries, &c.* By James Thompson.
6. *Directions for taking and curing Herrings, and for curing Cod, Ling, Tusk, and Hake.* By Sir Thomas Dick Lauder, Bart.

THE idea of a slowly but surely diminishing supply of fish will no doubt be alarming, for we have hitherto believed so devoutly in the frequently quoted proverb of "more fish in the sea than ever came out of it," that it has never been thought possible to over-fish; and consequently, while endeavouring to supply the constantly increasing demand, it has never yet occurred to us that we may be reducing the breeding-stock of our best kinds of sea fish so much as to render it difficult to repopulate those exhausted ocean colonies which, in years gone by, have yielded miraculous draughts. To this note of alarm, it will be replied that the fecundity of fish is so enormous as to prevent the slightest chance of a diminished supply, not to speak of an ultimate total failure in this department of our commissariat. The codfish reproduces itself in millions, so do the other *Gadidæ*, and the flatfish and herring being also enormously productive, how is it possible that we can ever exhaust the stock? Forty years ago similar arguments were used, and the same incredulity expressed in regard to our supplies of salmon. "How is it possible," it was asked, "that a fish which contains a thousand young for every pound of its weight, can ever become extinct?" The bare supposition of such a contingency was ridiculed by all but the thinking few who saw and prophesied the danger. In estimating the produce of the salmon, no account was ever taken of any per contra. Its abundant annual supply of eggs was alone considered. The quantity of salmon-roe which escaped the fecundating particles of the milt, the thousands of eggs that were devoured

by cannibal pike, or trout, and hungry wildfowl, and the vast number of eggs that never came to life from other causes, were never taken note of. Then of the young fish, how many were killed by accident? How many were bagged while in the parr * state by juvenile Waltons, ambitious of contributing to the family frying-pan? How many were slain for the market before they had time to perpetuate their species? For we not only kill our virgin grilse before they breed, but hungry poachers murder the gravid salmon, and throw away in thousands the germs of future supplies!

If this be the case with an important and individually valuable fish like the salmon, which is hedged round by protective laws, and which is so accessible that we can watch it day by day in our rivers,—and that it is so is quite patent to the world, indeed, so well do we know that it is the case, that the best salmon-streams of England are at this moment totally destitute of fish,—how much more, then, is it likely to be the case with the unwatched and unprotected fishes of the sea, who spawn in a greater world of water, with a thousand chances against their seed being even so much as fructified, let alone its chances of being developed into a fish fit for table purposes. In the case of the oyster it is known that unless the "spat" find a resting-place, it never comes to life, and the seed of oysters, if left to the guidance of nature, only comes to maturity at the rate of about a tenth part of the whole. The same conditions must apply to our cod and other sea-fish. A large codfish will yield about four millions of young, which, if allowed to arrive at maturity and perpetuate their species, would speedily overstock nature and overflow the sea! An eminent naturalist says that if the produce of a single pair of herrings were allowed to increase without interruption for a few years, they would bulk as large as

* The slaughter of the parr is nearly as great as it used to be years ago, when it was generally supposed to be a distinct fish. Some people in the south of Scotland have used parr even of late years to feed their pigs. Not long since we spent a day or two with a farmer on the Isla (tributary to the Tay) who thought nothing of taking five score of "parries" for his dinner. The total destruction of these future salmon may be imagined, if all the farmers on the bank of a salmon-stream were to do likewise. These fellows of the old school wont believe, notwithstanding the teachings of the Stormontfield breeding ponds, that the little finger marked parr is reality the young of the salmon. The Ettrick Shepherd, who among his numerous other doings experimented on the growth of salmon, speaks of the annual parr massacre as "a loss and grievance of dreadful enormity. Let the proprietors of rivers only think of the millions of these precious fry with which every Cockney angler's basket in the United Kingdom is stuffed, and without which that species of fishermen would get no sport." The Shepherd estimates the destruction by each angler at about twenty dozen a day, or 40,000 per annum. "It is worthy of legislative interference."

our globe; and as each female herring yields from thirty to forty thousand young ones, it is easy enough to see that the man of science is correct. But there is a natural balance of animal life kept up in the ocean the same as there is on land: when our sparrows are killed off, insects increase so rapidly as to prove a nuisance. In the sea, the larger fish are constantly preying on the smaller, and the waste of life is consequently enormous. The young fish are devoured in countless millions—not one in a thousand perhaps escaping the dangers of its youth. We cannot, it is true, easily obtain reliable information on these points, it being so difficult to observe the habits of animals in the depths of the ocean, and none of our naturalists inform us how long it is before our larger white fish arrive at maturity, or at what age a codfish or a turbot becomes reproductive. In vain we ask a naturalist for such information.

It is easy to trace the salmon from its cradle to its grave, and we have therefore been able to note with accuracy the different stages of its growth, and can say with some degree of certainty when it commences to multiply and replenish. But we are not in the same position with sea-fish: indeed, we have much yet to learn about them. It is not yet *proved*, for instance, whether the sprat be a distinct fish or the young of the herring. The natural history of the herring has been much studied, but no naturalist is able to say with certainty how long it is before the spawn of that fish quickens into life, or in what period of time the herring reproduces itself. The fishermen cannot tell us: all they can do is to secure the fish when they fall into their nets. They do not study natural history. As a sample of their knowledge of the habits of fish, a herring fisherman will say that if the gulls are high on the rocks, then the fish are far out at sea; but if the gulls are sitting near the water, then it is his opinion that the shoals are close inshore—and that is about the extent of his information. These hereditary labourers on the sea—for in general the son succeeds pretty regularly to the boots and the boat of his father—do not interest themselves much in the nicer points of their calling, and as they believe much in "luck," we cannot expect them greatly to augment our fish-lore. In fact, our fishermen and our fishing villages remain stationary: for centuries back they have never changed, and to all appearance no improvement will be effected for centuries to come. There is ever about them the filth incidental to the calling of their inhabitants, and also the "ancient and fish-like smell" that usually distinguishes dwelling-places by the sea. The people are a quaint race, unlike in their manners and customs to those who dwell further inland, and distinguished by their superstition and ignorance. It is not very long since we read in a provincial newspaper that in a

populous fishing village in the north of Scotland not one of the inhabitants ever bought a newspaper!

As the British sea-fisheries afford remunerative employment to a large body of the population, and offer a favourable investment for capital, it is surely time for us to inquire whether or not there be truth in the rumour now so prevalent, of a falling-off in our supplies of herring and other white fish. Persons who have studied the question are alarmed, and say it is no use blinking the matter any longer—that the demand for fish as an article of food is beginning to exceed the supply! In the olden time, when people only caught fish to supply individual wants, fish were plentiful, in the sense that no scarcity was ever experienced, and the shoals, it was thought, would never diminish; but since the traffic became a commercial speculation, the question has assumed a totally different aspect. Who ever hears now of monster turbots being taken by the trawlers? Where are the miraculous hauls of mackerel that used to gladden the eyes of the fishermen?* Where are now the waggon loads of herring to use as manure, as was the case in the golden age of the fisheries? We do not require to pause for a reply—echo only would mock us by a repetition of the question! Exhausted shoals and inferior fish tell us but too plainly that there is reason for alarm, and that we have in all probability broken upon our capital stock!

The deterioration of our sea-fisheries began with the extension of the railway system—in the same way as the decline of our salmon-fisheries dates from the invention of packing in ice. The network of railways which now encircles the land has conferred upon our inland towns, so far as fish-food is concerned, all the advantages of the coast. For instance, the fishermen at Prestonpans send more of their fish to Manchester than to Edinburgh,

* "Mackerel were so plentiful at Dover in 1808 that they were sold sixty for a shilling. At Brighton in June of the same year the shoal of mackerel was so great that one of the boats had the meshes of her nets so completely filled with them that it was impossible to drag them in; the fish and nets therefore in the end sank together, the fishermen thereby sustaining a loss of nearly 60*l.* exclusive of what the cargo, could it have been got into the boat, would have produced. The success of the fishery in 1821 was beyond all precedent. The value of the catch of sixteen boats from Lowestoft on the 30th of June amounted to 5252*l.*; and it is supposed that there was no less an amount than 14,000*l.* altogether realized by the owners and men concerned in the fishery of the Suffolk coast. In March, 1833, four Hastings boats in one day brought on shore 10,800 mackerel, and the next day two boats brought 2000 fish. Early in the month of February, 1834, one boat's crew from Hastings cleared 100*l.* by the fish caught in one night, and a large quantity of very fine mackerel appeared in the London market in the second week of the month."—*British Fish and Fisheries.*

although the latter city is only five miles distant; indeed, our most landward cities are comparatively well supplied with fresh fish and crustacea, while at the seaside these delicacies are not at all plentiful. One consequence of the extension of our railways has undoubtedly been to add enormously to the demand for sea-produce, and to excite the ingenuity of our sea-faring population to greater cunning and industry in the capture of all kinds of fish. In former years, when a large haul was taken, there was no means of dispatching it to a distance, neither was there a resident population to consume it. Railways not being then in existence, the conveyance inland was too slow for a perishable commodity like fish, and visitors to the seaside were also rarer than at present. This want of a public to eat the fish no doubt aided the comfortable delusion of our supplies being inexhaustible. But it is now an undoubted fact that, with railways branching on to every pier and quay, our densely populated inland towns are better supplied with fish than the villages where they are caught, a result of that keen competition which has at length become so noticeable where fish, oyster, or other sea delicacies are concerned. The high prices now obtained form an inducement to the fishermen to take from the water all they can get, whether the fish be ripe for food or not. A practical fisherman, whom we have often consulted on these topics, says that forty years ago the slow system of carriage was a sure preventive of over-fishing, as fish to be valuable for table purposes require to be fresh. "It's the railways as has done all the mischief, sir, depend on that; and as for the fishing, sir, it's going on at such a rate that there will very soon be a complete famine. I've seen more fish caught in a day, sir, with a score of hooks on a line, than can now be took with eight thousand."

A glance at the different branches of the British fisheries will show at once that the alarm of a failing fish supply is founded on fact and reason. Price alone is not a sure criterion when the article is of limited supply, as in the case of the salmon-fisheries; but we have other materials than price to regulate our inquiries into the decline of the white-fish fisheries.

The herring fishery (in Scotland) being under the supervision of a Government board, which annually through its own officers collects and publishes statistics of the quantities of herrings which are cured and branded, we are able by a comparison of the various years to see how far that fishery is a progressive or retrogressive one. This particular fishery is of much greater importance both to those engaged in it, and to the general public, than any of the other isolated branches of the business; in fact, the other white-fisheries are only pursued in some respects to fill up the time that elapses from one herring season to another. Especially

in Scotland is this the case; there the herring-fishery is the one great pursuit, and it is looked forward to by those engaged in it as the grand means of making money, and of getting ends to meet for the year.

The only legal mode of fishing for herrings is by means of what are called drift-nets. Each net employed in a drift is fifty yards in length, and about thirty-six feet in depth. For the purpose of carrying on the fishery as advantageously as possible, a great number of these separate nets are joined together by means of a "back-rope," the whole forming, when lowered into the water, a perpendicular wall about a mile long, studded with countless thousands of perforations of an inch square. The fishery begins about sunset, when, the boats having reached the fishing-ground, the nets are *paid* over into the water, a bladder at each join indicating how many nets are in the drift. The whole floating mass is joined to the boat by means of a stout swing-rope, some twenty yards in length. After the nets are let down in the water, the men go to rest, and allow the boats to float with the tide. The fish are caught by means of a portion of the shoal striking against the netting when the individual herrings are caught by the gills in the meshes. About sunrise the nets are hauled into the boats and the entangled fish shaken out, as length after length emerges from the water. Sometimes a boat will only obtain a few fish, while another fishing in close proximity will have a "shot" of perhaps a boat-load. Some fishermen appear to hit upon the shoal by pure instinct, while others will work hard for a season and never have the luck to obtain one good "shot." It is acknowledged by all engaged in the capture of the fish that they have no rule to guide them in finding the herrings; their hitting upon the shoal is pretty much a bit of "luck," and a timid fisherman before shooting his own nets, will sail about for an hour or two examining those of his neighbours in order to ascertain if they have found the shoal before he takes up his own position. It is essential that the herrings be cured as speedily as possible after they are caught, so the boats hurry home from the fishing ground as soon as they are able to haul-in their nets.

The curing of herrings in Scotland, where the principal fisheries are to be found, is overlooked by an officer of the Board of Fisheries, in order that a mark may be branded on the barrels of gutted fish, to signify that they have been properly cured. The herrings are measured out from the boats in wicker-baskets by the crew,*

* "A cran contains forty-five gallons of ungutted herrings. It is the measure by which the captors deliver their fish to the curers or other purchasers. A barrel contains thirty-seven and a half gallons of gutted herrings, and is the measure in which the salted fish are sent to market. It ought to be capable of containing thirty-two gallons English wine-measure."—Article "*Fisheries*" *Encyclopædia Britannica.*

and poured as fast as they can be carried into the gutting-trough, where they are operated upon by a "gang" of females, who eviscerate them with great rapidity. After this operation they are *roused* in salt, and then packed with considerable precision in barrels which contain about 850 fish. The whole of these operations are superintended by a cooper ; and as the price to be obtained by the curer is dependent on the conditions of the brand being observed, the duties of this official are rather onerous. He has to see that the herrings are properly sorted, and that all the broken and injured fish are removed, that those which are good are sufficiently and effectually *roused* in salt. He has likewise to see that the gutters have sharp knives, and to keep his eye on packers, to see that the tiers of herring are regularly laid and salted, and that a cover is placed on every barrel immediately after it has been completely packed. The industry developed by these varied operations can only be seen to advantage at one of the great herring ports, such as Wick, in Caithness-shire, which may be called the Amsterdam of Scotland. The population of this town are all more or less engaged in the fishery; and during the fishing season, which lasts for about nine weeks, the scene at Wick is one of great bustle and animation. The arrival and departure of upwards of 1000 boats, and the daily cure of from 20,000 to 30,000 barrels of herring, is an industrial feature which is worth studying.

When there is a convenient line of railway, immense quantities of herrings are despatched to our most populous cities immediately after they are caught, and at some ports, such as Yarmouth, large quantities are made into bloaters by being slightly smoked over fires of pine-wood. The greater quantity, however, of the herrings caught in Scotland are cured and exported to Germany and other foreign countries. At Hamburg, and other continental sea-ports, there are merchants who deal largely in herrings: they correspond with, or dispatch agents to visit the various British ports, in order to buy for them, and they likewise frequently advance money to the persons they deal with in this country; and these, in their turn, have sometimes to advance to the fishermen who engage to fish for them. There is a spirit of gambling all through the commerce in herring which is very unhealthy. The owner of a boat usually bargains with his curer at the close of one season for the fishing of next year. A certain price per cran is fixed upon to be paid throughout the fishing, and a sum of ready money, varying from five to thirty pounds, is agreed to be given off-hand, as also allowances of various kinds, such as a certain quantity of whisky, ground for drying nets, bark for dying them, &c. Curers not unfrequently advance money to ambitious lads anxious to have a boat of their own,

their only chance of repayment being from the fishing of the year to come. Two hundred crans of "green fish" is the usual quantity which the proprietor of a boat bargains to supply to the curer; but there is no certainty that such quantity will be caught. This is a part of the gambling incidental to the fishery, and many of the men run into debt in the hope of a good season. The owners of boats have nothing to do with the curing or sale: their part of the business is to supply the "green" fish; the curer finds salt, barrels, coopers, gutters, &c., and sells his fish whenever he thinks proper. Those which are cured under certain conditions are stamped with a peculiar mark called the brand, at a cost of fourpence per barrel. This mark, it is said, affords a security to the foreign buyer that the herring is honestly dealt with, and that there is no mistake as to the quality of the fish. Some dealers say that the brand ought not to be continued, and that the cure ought to rest on individual responsibility, and that curers are quite able to take the responsibility necessary to secure a good market for the fish.

Active fisheries for herrings are carried on all round the English coast, the vessels employed being much larger than those used in Scotland, where the boats are all open and of a few tons burden, the total value of a boat being about 150*l.*, including the drift of nets. Yarmouth is in particular a noted seat of the herring fishery, which gives employment to a large proportion of the population. Unlike the open boats used in the Scotch fisheries, the Yarmouth *buss* can remain at sea for a few days at a time, the men going off from the large ship in their boats, and carrying on the fishery in comparatively deep water. An immense quantity of the fish taken at Yarmouth is sold as bloaters, while large supplies are dispatched to London and other towns, in a fresh state.

According to a recent authority, the Yarmouth fishery has greatly fallen off. "About one hundred sail of fishing vessels, averaging from forty to fifty tons each, belong to that port, exclusive of about fifty or sixty vessels that arrive annually from Yorkshire during the herring season. The capital employed is estimated at about 250,000*l.* Lowestoft, nine miles from Yarmouth, employs about seventy boats of forty tons each. The greater number of the herrings taken at Yarmouth are smoked, and known in London by the name of Yarmouth bloaters."*

The consumption of herrings in London will give a good idea of the total quantity of that fish required for consumption throughout the kingdom. So far as can be ascertained, upwards of 300,000 barrels of fresh herrings, of 700 fish to each barrel, are annually

* "British Fish and Fisheries."

used in the metropolis; 265,000 baskets of bloaters (150 fish per basket) and 60,000,000 of red herrings are also required to aid the commissariat of that immense human beehive.

The pilchard herring is caught by means of the seine-net, and that fish is annually taken in great though diminishing quantities off the coast of Cornwall, the principal seat of the fishery being at St. Ives. About the time when the shoal may be expected to come in for the purpose of spawning, a man is set to watch on the cliffs in order that he may give notice of the approach of the fish. The plan adopted in the capture is to surround the shoal with a strong net, and take away the fish at leisure in order to their being cured. This process consists of laying them down on a bed of salt in "bulk," that is, in many layers one above the other. Whilst they lie in this state, which they do for a period of twenty-eight days, a considerable quantity of oil exudes from the fish, which, being valuable, is of course preserved. After the pilchards are taken out of bulk, they are washed and pressed, and then packed into hogsheads and despatched principally to the sea-port towns of Italy, where they are largely consumed during the Church fasts. For some years past the pilchard fishery has very much varied, and the income derived from it has been exceedingly precarious. Last year (1861) there was a more than ordinary take of fish, as much as 2000*l.* worth having been taken in one day. The value of a seine, with the necessary boats, grapnels, and other adjuncts, is said to be 15,000*l.*

The fishery for sprats is carried on in the winter months, and immense quantities of this delicate fish are caught both for immediate consumption and for conversion into sardines. The sprats are caught by means of a seine-net, and a ton or two is sometimes taken at one haul. The fishermen find a ready market for sprats at times when it is difficult to capture other kinds of fish. The value of the sprat to the fishermen is not less, it is believed, than 150,000*l.* per annum. Better, therefore, to take small fish than none at all.

It is difficult to procure reliable statistics of the total quantity of white fish taken from the British seas. These can only be obtained in a crude state from the fishermen, there being no tally kept by the salesman, except in a rough way. We made some inquiries into the London fish supply at Billingsgate, but they were unsatisfactory, as there is no register kept of the quantity disposed of. Each of the wholesale-men can give an idea of the total number consigned to him; but even were the whole of the salesmen to give such statistics, it would only, after all, represent a portion of the London supply, because much that is required for the London commissariat is sent direct by railway to private dealers. But London, although it requires a very large quantity

of fish, seldom obtains all that it could eat, nor does it by any means get all that are captured or that are imported. Manchester, Birmingham, Liverpool, and other large towns in England, and Glasgow, Edinburgh, and Aberdeen, in Scotland, require likewise to be supplied. And besides the home demand, we send considerable quantities of the white fish to the Continent, especially in a dried or prepared state. The fishermen of the Shetland Isles, for instance, prepare a large number for the Spanish market. Finnon haddocks and pickled cod can be so prepared as to bear shipment to long distances, and kippered salmon are found on sale everywhere, as well as pickled and smoked herrings.

The white-fish fishery (*i. e.* cod fishing and trawling) is not pursued so systematically as the fishing for herrings. In Scotland, at least, where much of our white fish is obtained, the capture of it is carried on in the most desultory way, and although our white fish are in their primest condition in the autumn season, they are at that period of the year most difficult to be had, because the men are "at the herring." A Newhaven fishwife told the writer that she has seen white fish so plentiful in Edinburgh that no person was inclined to purchase them, three pounds' weight for a penny having been at one time a common enough price. In those days a large creelful of white fish would scarce yield more than half-a-crown, but now, the same quantity carried to Edinburgh, and hawked through the streets, would bring in about twenty shillings."*

In the Report of the Commissioners for the British Fisheries for 1861, we are told that "in the cod and ling department, the returns show that in the year 1861, 82,344 cwts. were cured dried, and 4145½ barrels cured in pickle, and that the total quantity exported was 26,961 cwts. cured dried, being a decrease upon the preceding year of 33,343 cwts. cured dried, and 194 barrels cured in pickle, and of 5260 cwts. cured dried in the total quantity exported."

The mode of capturing the principal white fish is by a long line armed with a great number of hooks, and also by means of trawl-net. The bait used for the capture of haddocks is generally the mussel, and at some places the fishermen have to go a long way to procure a supply, which costs them in some instances a rather high price, perhaps 7*l.*, per cargo, besides the trouble of dredging, and the time lost in going to the spot. As has been elsewhere mentioned, the supply of haddocks and other *Gadidæ*

* The wives of the Newhaven fishermen carry the fish caught by their husbands to Edinburgh, a distance of about two miles, in wicker baskets, or creels, on their shoulders and hawk them about the streets to the musical refrain of "Caller Haddies;" at night the fisher girls go about with creelsful of oysters in the same way, their cry being "Caller Ou."

was once so plentiful around the British coasts, that a short line, with perhaps a score of hooks, frequently replenished with bait, would be quite sufficient to capture a few thousand fish. The number of hooks was gradually extended, till they are now counted by the thousand, the fishermen having to multiply the means of capture as the fish become scarce and scarcer. About forty years ago the per-centage of fish to each line was very considerable. Eight hundred hooks would take about 750 fish; but now, with a line armed with 4000 hooks, we sometimes do not take one hundred fish. It was recently stated by a correspondent of the *John o' Groat Journal*, a newspaper published in the fishing town of Wick, that a fish-curer there contracted some years ago with the boats for haddocks at 3*s*. 6*d*. per hundred, and that at that low price their fishing yielded them from 20*l*. to 40*l*. each season; but that now, although he has offered the fishermen 12*s*. a hundred, he cannot procure anything like an adequate supply.

The cod and haddock fishery is a laborious occupation at Buckie, a quaint fishing town on the Moray Frith: it is one of the staple occupations of the people. At that little port there are generally about thirty or forty large boats engaged in the fishery, as well as a number of smaller craft used to fish inshore. These boats, which measure from thirty to forty feet, are, with the lines, of the value of about 100*l*. Each boat is generally the property of a joint-stock company, and has a crew of eight or nine individuals, who all claim an equal share in the fish captured. The Buckie men often go a long distance, forty or fifty miles, to a populous fishing-place, and are absent from home for a period of fifteen or twenty hours. At many of the fishing villages, from which herring or cod boats depart, there is no proper harbour, and at such places the sight of the departing fleet is a most animated one, as all hands, women included, have to lend their aid in order to expedite the launching of the little fleet, as the men who are to fish must be kept dry and comfortable. We have seen, at Auchmithie and other places, the women "kilt their coats," rush into the water and shore off the boats, or, on the return of the vessel, carry the men ashore on their brawny shoulders with the greatest ease and all the *nonchalance* imaginable, no matter who might be looking at them. Even at some places where there is a harbour it is not used, many of the boats being drawn up on what is called the boat-shore. At Cockenzie, near Edinburgh, several of the boats are still drawn up in this rude way, and the women not only assist in launching and drawing up the boats, but they sell the produce taken by each crew by auction to the highest bidder; the purchasers usually being buyers on speculation, who send off the fish by train to Manchester or London.

From the little ports of the Moray Firth many of the men go long distances to fish for cod and ling. As they have none but open boats, it will easily be understood that they live hard upon such occasions. They must necessarily be absent from home for about a week at a stretch, and as the weather is often very inclement the men suffer severely. The fish are not so easily procured as in former years, so that the remuneration for the labour undergone is totally inadequate. A large traffic in living codfish used to be carried on from Scotland; quick vessels furnished with wells took the cod alive as far as Gravesend, whence it was sent on to London as required. Although the railways have put an end to a good deal of this style of transport, some cargoes of cod have been carried alive all the way from the Rockall fishery to Gravesend. But the per-centage of waste is necessarily enormous: however, it *pays* to do this, and one result of the Rockall discovery has been the starting of a joint-stock company to work this fish-mine.

The cod bank at the Faroe Islands is now about exhausted; but the gigantic cod fishery which has been carried on for two centuries on the banks of Newfoundland still continues to be prosecuted with great enterprise, although, according to reliable information furnished to us, not with the success which characterized the fishery some years ago.* This gigantic fishing-ground is six hundred miles long and two hundred broad, and there, for hundreds of years, has been accumulating the vastest multitude of white fish ever discovered. It may easily be imagined how enormous the supply obtained here has been, when it has taken a countless number of vessels a period of two centuries to make any impression upon it. The fishing is carried on in decked smacks, and the fish are caught and cured with very great rapidity, a few thousands being "dressed down"—that is, gutted, boned, and salted—in the course of two or three hours.

A person who has been on the spot tells us that to accomplish this—

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* In a few years more it will be quite possible to make a decided impression even on the cod-banks of Newfoundland. The Great Dogger Bank fishery has now become affected by over-fishing in the same way, and the Rockall Bank will in a short period fail to yield anything like the large "takes" with which it now rewards those who are despoiling it of its finny treasures. A writer in the *Quarterly Review* for September, 1854, says of the Dogger Bank:—"No better proof that its stores are failing could be given than the fact that, although the ground counting the Long Bank and the north-west flat in its vicinity covers 11,800 square miles, and that in fine weather it is fished by the London companies with from fifteen to twenty dozen of long lines, extending, ten or twelve miles and containing from 9000 to 12,000 hooks, it is not yet at all common to receive even as many as fourscore of fish of a night, a poverty which can be better appreciated when we learn that 600 fish for 800 hooks is the catch for deep-sea fishing about Kinsale."

"The crew divide themselves into throaters, splitters, salters, and packers. The business of the throater, as his name implies, is to cut with a sharp-pointed, double-edged knife across the throat of the cod to the bone, and rip open the bowels. He then passes it quickly to the header, who, with a strong, sudden wrench, pulls off the head and tears out the entrails, passing the fish instantly to the splitter. At the same time, separating the liver, he throws the entrails overboard. The splitter, with one cut, lays the fish open from head to tail, and, almost in the twinkling of an eye, with another cut takes out the back-bone. After separating the sounds, which are placed with the tongues, and packed in barrels as a great delicacy, the backbone follows the entrails overboard, while the fish, at the same moment, is passed with the other hand to the salter. Such is the amazing quickness of the operations of heading and splitting, that a good workman will often decapitate and take out the entrails and backbone of six fish in a minute.

"Every fisherman is supposed to know something of each of these operations, and no rivals at cricket ever entered with more ardour into their work than do some athletic champions for the palm of 'dressing down' after a 'day's catch.' After the catch is washed off with buckets of pure water from the ocean, the fish are passed to the salters, and thence to the packers in the hold. The business of the salters is the most important, as the value of the whole voyage depends upon their care and judgment. They take the fish one by one, spread them, back uppermost, in layers, distributing a proper quantity of salt between each. Packing in bulk, or 'kench,' as the fishermen term it, is entrusted to the most experienced hands."

The cod, hake, ling, and tusk, taken by the British fishermen, are cured much in the same way—the splitting, drying, &c., being carried on ashore.

Soles and other flat fish—such as turbot, brill, flounder, and halibut—are caught in all the British seas. These being ground-fish are most conveniently taken by means of what is called a trawl-net. When it is stated that nearly one hundred millions of soles are annually consumed in London alone, the total number of that fish required for Great Britain may be guessed at a fabulous figure. The aldermanic turbot is also much in demand, and large quantities of this fine fish used to be taken on the English coasts, but of late years we have relied chiefly on the foreign supply. The universal mistake as to the habits of fish has been applied to turbot. It is likewise considered to be a migratory animal. Mr. Wilson, in the article "Fisheries" *Encyclopædia Britannica,* says:—

"The English markets are largely supplied from the various sand-banks which lie between our eastern coasts and Holland. The Dutch turbot fishery begins about the end of March, a few leagues to the south of Scheveling. The fish *proceed* northwards as the season ad-

vances, and in April and May are found in great shoals upon the banks called the Broad Forties. Early in June they surround the island of Heligoland, where the fishery continues to the middle of August, and then terminates for the year. At the beginning of the season the trawl-net is chiefly used; but on the occurrence of warm weather, the fish retire to deeper water, and to banks of rougher ground, where the long line is indispensable."

Many of the flat fish are likewise caught with lines, each line containing an enormous number of hooks, and some are also taken by means of spears. From the halibut to the dab, a vast number of these kinds of fish (*Pluronectidæ*) are annually captured. The machinery for achieving success in the turbot fishery is well adapted for the purpose; and as the fishermen on the English coasts make use of a larger description of fishing vessel than the Scottish fishermen—vessels with decks, cabins, and other conveniences—they are much more comfortable than their northern brethren.

The Scottish system of using open boats has led to great loss of life, and the want of harbours at many of the fishing stations has been the cause of numerous wrecks. In the memorable storm of August, 1848, 124 boats were lost or damaged in the Wick district, while 100 men were drowned, whereby forty-seven widows and 161 children were left totally unprovided for. Many a time the herring fleet departs to sea with a fair wind and fine weather, to be rudely changed before morning into the raging storm that scatters the boats and dashes them to atoms on the iron-bound coast.

The Irish local sea-fisheries have not been drawn upon to the same extent as some which we have indicated, and it is supposed that many fine banks of white fish would be found off the coasts of Ireland. These sources of wealth, if they exist—and it is more than likely that they do exist—have never yet been properly developed, and various schemes, which from time to time have been devised for bringing the sea-wealth of Ireland into use, have failed. A Mr. Symons, some years ago, published a pamphlet on this subject with a view to the starting of a joint-stock company to work the fish-mines of Ireland, and gave a glowing account of the wealth that could be obtained by a little industry.

Mr. Symons gives the following *résumé* of the state of the Irish fisheries:—

"1. That the waters of the west coast of Ireland abound with cod, turbot, soles, lobsters, and other fish, of the finest quality. 2. That the want of success which has heretofore attended any development of these fisheries has arisen from the inadequacy of the capital and means employed. 3. That there is in London alone a demand for fish exceeding in quantity anything which could be imagined by those who

have no practical experience in the matter. 4. That the regular supply of fish to the principal markets in better condition than has hitherto been accomplished, and at a lower price, must necessarily create a more extended demand. 5. That the application of steam in the manner suggested, and which forms one of the main features of the London and West of Ireland Fishery Company, is an element of the highest importance in an undertaking of this kind, and combined with the favourable arrangements which will be made with railway companies, will save the loss of time which has heretofore occurred, and consequently the enormous loss occasioned between the quantity of fish caught and the quantity capable of being delivered at the markets in good condition. 6. That the application of a process for converting the coarse fish and the refuse at the different curing stations into manure, or fish guano, will itself form a valuable source of revenue, by turning to profitable account that which is thrown away. 7. That the application of capital on the west coast of Ireland, in a national point of view, must be attended with most beneficial effect on the national industry of the country, and the conversion of the waste fish into manure must also be hailed as a boon to the agricultural interests."

Another writer on the Irish fisheries, in the 7th edition of the *Encyclopædia,* gives a most favourable account of the sea-wealth of Ireland :—

"The sea-coasts of Ireland are as abundant as, and perhaps more so, in every valuable species of fish, than those of Great Britain. Its numerous bays, creeks, inlets, lakes, and rivers swarm with them. It is visited annually by vast shoals of herrings; and the banks near its shores are well stored with excellent cod, hake, and ling, equal in all respects to those caught on the banks of Newfoundland. With the westerly winds, which may be reckoned to blow for nine months in the year, the produce of these fisheries might always be sent to ready markets at Bath, Bristol, Liverpool, and other great towns on the western and southern coasts of England; yet, either from indolence, want of inclination, or, which is more probable, want of capital, and, most of all, want of regulations, the Irish have hitherto done little more than procure from their fisheries a scanty supply for the chief towns, and the families of those who are resident near the coast. It would seem, indeed, that the Irish have not much taste for a seafaring life, few of their young men volunteering for the navy, whilst they go in shoals into the army; and those few who follow the occupation of fishermen are so much prejudiced in favour of their clumsy method of proceeding as to resist all attempts at improvement."

But as we have official information on the state of the Irish fisheries up to a recent date, we can obtain from the Report of the Irish Commissioners the most authentic information.

The Report for 1859 says:—

"The coast fisheries of Ireland have undergone great changes, if reviewed with reference to the last forty years. The abundant herring

fishery which at one time prevailed has been much less frequent, and with the failure of that vast supply which, in former times, periodically visited our coasts and bays, the quantity of the larger fish, which usually follows them, has in proportion lessened; and together with the lessening of the population in most localities, and a preference for agricultural pursuits, the fame of Dungarvan, Kinsale, Bantry, Roundstone, Killybegs, Rutland, and other places, as prosperous fishing stations, has passed away; but while we point to this rather gloomy retrospect as applying to certain places and certain branches of the fishing, which induces some who witnessed and enjoyed the fruits of former prosperity and abundance to depreciate, by comparison, the present aspect of things, still we are gratified in being able to state some evidence of improvement and growing prosperity in the general prosecution of this source of industry. The means of conveying fish in a fresh state to market have recently become greatly increased by the extension of railroads; and by returns received from the two principal companies, the Great Southern and Western, and the Midland Great Western, it appears that an increase of 354 tons of fish has occurred in the conveyance to Dublin, in 1859, as compared with 1858, the aggregate amount of fish conveyed by these two railways, for the twelve months ending December 31st, 1859, being 1764 tons; the amount for the same period in 1858 being only 1410 tons. The further extension of railways contemplated, as well as those in progress of completion to the south and west especially, will be of great advantage; and while we are enabled thus far to report favourably of the trade in fresh fish, we are glad also to be enabled to state that in the curing department on some parts of the coast remote from markets, increasing activity is observable. Parties of respectability have recently embarked in the purchase and cure of fish on the Galway, Mayo, and Donegal coasts. Curing houses have been erected in the vicinity of Belmullet and Achil Sound in Mayo, and at Teelin and Malinbeg in Donegal. Trawling continues to be steadily and successfully pursued in Dublin Bay and in the Channel, from off the Isle of Man to the coast of Waterford. At Dingle, Galway, and other minor stations, jealousies and disputes between trawl and line-fishers, which some time since prevailed, appear to have much subsided, and we believe the bylaws and regulations made by the Board applying to this branch of the fishery have tended materially to this more amicable state of things, as well as being salutary in other important respects."*

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* Mr. Worthington settles upon Howth as a splendid place for a great fishing station. He says:—"We take upon us to say there is not in the British Empire a town to surpass Howth in all the concomitants of a first-class fishing station. Its harbour cost half-a-million; a few miles in the offing a 'ball' of herrings, eight or ten miles in length, and one or two miles in thickness, moves annually along in its huge and mysterious migration. The Cornish men take a handful or two of them (some 20,000*l.* or 30,000*l.* worth) each season, and then leave them unmolested to wend their way in slow and successive shoals along our coast. A railroad has its terminus close to the harbour: we have stepped the distance, and it is just forty paces from the turn-table of the terminus to the gunwale of the fishing-boat. Our Dublin Billingsgate, the

In addition to what can be procured at home by the industry of many thousands of anxious people, large quantities of all kinds of fish, and a great number of lobsters, are imported from abroad. The Dutch, as has been mentioned, send us a supply of turbot, and we get lobsters from Norway by the million. Eels are not eaten in Scotland to any extent, although large quantities of them can be obtained with very little trouble; large numbers of eels, however, are eaten in England, and considerable supplies of them can be had from the muddy places at the mouths of rivers, harbours, &c.* The statistics of the different kinds of white fish used in London, given by Mr. Mayhew a few years ago, were understood to be as correct as it was possible to obtain them, considering that there was no official department responsible to the public for such details; and judging from his figures, and relying on personal information derived from the salesmen of Billingsgate, we may fairly conclude that with all the industry now organized it will not be possible greatly to augment the supplies.

Were we better acquainted with the natural history of fish, it would be easy to regulate the fisheries. The everlasting demand for sea-produce has caused the sea-fishing, like the salmon-fishing, to be prosecuted at improper seasons, and fish have been to a large extent sold that were quite improper for human food. Another cause of our lessening supplies may be also mentioned. Up till a recent period it was thought *all* fish were migratory, and the reason usually assigned for unsuccessful fishing was that the fish had removed to some other place! This migratory instinct, so far as our principal sea-fish are concerned, is purely mythical. The re-discovery of the Rockall cod-bank must tend to dissipate these old-fashioned suppositions of our naturalists. All fish are local, from the salmon to the sprat, and each kind has its own

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wholesale fish-market, is reached in forty-five minutes, and as a market is not perhaps equalled in advantages by any in Great Britain: the fish are sold by auction at an early hour to the trade, and if a glut of herrings, salmon, turbot, or other fish is poured in, the bulk of it is on board a steamer in three hours afterwards on its way to Liverpool. Not to waste time in details, those fish next day are exposed for sale in Manchester, Birmingham, and other inland towns, 'bleeding fresh,' to use a market phrase, in which state the commercial value is greatest, and thus a renumerating price is obtained. Such is Howth, and such are its natural advantages."

* "There is one branch of the fisheries in Scotland that I understand is altogether neglected, that in Ireland is very valuable—namely, the eel fisheries. On the Lower Bann, in Ireland, we have two eel fisheries that let for 600*l* a year each. The eel fisheries at Toom are let for 700*l*. a year to a very solvent man, a fish-monger in Belfast, and it is supposed that he nets another 700*l*. by them. Below these fisheries, eight or ten miles, there is another fishery let for about 600*l*. Our Board also derives about 700*l*. from the eel fishings on the Shannon. All those eels come to Liverpool and London alive."—*Evidence of Mr. W. J. Ffennel before the House of Commons*, 1860.

abiding-place. The salmon keeps unfailingly to its own stream, the oyster to its own bank, the lobster to its particular rock, and the herring to its own bay. Fishermen are beginning now to understand this, and can tell the locality from which a particular fish is brought by the marks upon it. A Tay salmon differs from a Tweed one, and Norway lobsters can be readily distinguished from those brought from Orcadia. Then, again, the fine haddock caught in the bay of Dublin differs much from those taken in the Frith of Forth, whilst a Lochfine herring and a Caithness herring has each distinct peculiarities.

At one period the herring was universally held to be migratory, and a poetic theory of its grand tour was elaborately sustained. It was described as coming home to our bays and friths to spawn all the way from the high latitudes of the Arctic Seas in a stupendous army numbering millions of fish. The vast "heer" broke up at different parts of its journey into divisions, which, going in opposite directions, and breaking up in their turn into brigades or columns, were so distributed as densely to populate the various seas of our own and other countries. This elaborate but clumsy invention has long since been overthrown, and the herring, like other fish, has been proved to be native to our own seas, and quite as local as the haddock or turbot.

In a paper which was read before the British Association at Liverpool in 1854, Mr. John Cleghorn, of Wick, who has devoted many years of his life to the study of natural science, brought out the facts of the herring being a native fish with sufficient clearness to convince all who were willing to be convinced. The following is a summary of the conclusions arrived at by Mr. Cleghorn:—

"I. That the herring is not migratory, but a native of the waters in which it is found; but within very narrow limits races exist, distinct in size, quality, and time of spawning, and always maintain their distinctive features; that in congregating for spawning the herring is brought within the scope of those agents employed for their capture, and those agents he found are, 10,974 boats, 41,045 seamen, employing 81,934,330 square yards of netting, an extent of netting that would cover an area of 26½ square miles, or if extended lineally, would reach 4741 miles.

"II. He found that, about twenty-five years ago, the extent of netting was far less than that now used, and the produce of the fisheries nearly as great as at present, or that the increase of the herrings taken bears no proportion to the extended netting.

"III. In the rise and fall of stations, he saw in the statistics a steady increase in their produce up to a culminating point, then violent fluctuations, and final extinction.

"IV. He found that the races nearest the large seats of population, and in the most accessible waters, have first disappeared;

and that in districts where the tides are rapid, as among islands, and in lochs, where the fishing grounds are circumscribed, the fishings are precarious and short-lived; while, on the other hand, extensive seaboards, having slack tides, with little accommodation for boats, were surer and of longer continuance as fishing districts."

From these premises he concludes, that the extinction of districts as fishing stations, and the fluctuations in the fisheries generally, are imputable to *over*-fishing, and that we are now doing for the east-coast fisheries what has already been done for those on the west coast; that, therefore, the attention of the British Association, and through it, of the Government, should be called to the subject, that such arrangements may be adopted as will make the herring fisheries a perennial source of wealth to the nation.

There has been much controversy about Mr. Cleghorn's views, particularly as to the "netting question," but it is reasonable, we think, to admit, that if there be still the same quantity of fish in the water, a double allowance of netting ought to secure a double allowance of herrings. It is clear to impartial observers that the circle about Wick, where the herrings have been hitherto taken in the greatest numbers, is narrowing, and that as the netting extends from year to year the take of fish is becoming smaller and smaller. It is reported by able statists that an important and marked decrease may speedily be looked for in the quantity of herrings obtained. It is already known from the annual statistics of the Scottish Fishery Board, that with an annually increasing fleet of boats and a much larger drift of nets than was formerly used, the take of fish in Scotland is slightly but surely diminishing. From the elaborate returns of the herring fishery of 1861, published by the *Northern Ensign* (a Wick journal), we obtain the following information. The total number of crans taken at Wick (the largest herring fishery in the kingdom) during the season of 1861 was as nearly as possible 90,000, being an average of 81 crans for each boat, of which there were 1100. The same journal gives us the statistics of the Wick fishing since 1820, and we find that in that year the total catch at Wick, *with* 604 *boats* and with, in all probability, a third part of the netting, was as near as possible *the same as that of* 1861, which required 500 boats more and an immensely larger quantity of netting. The average number of crans caught by each boat in 1820 was 148. To make it quite clear that the fish is affected by the largeness of the machinery employed in the capture, it may be stated that in 1831, when more than a thousand boats were out from the Wick district, the average take of each fell at once to 82 crans, while the previous year's take yielded an average of 148 crans! The weather is always set down as having great influence on the

fishing, and therefore whenever there is a short season the weather is blamed; but the weather of a series of years will average, and the real cause of the scarcity will ultimately be discovered in the slowly but surely diminishing shoals.*

After the controversies which have taken place about the natural history of the salmon, and after the fact that the salmon supplies of this country were and are suffering a rapid decline, who will now venture to assert that it is *impossible* to exhaust our herring supplies? What do we know about the herring—its conditions of growth, or capabilities of multiplication? Literally nothing; and it is yet, as we have previously stated, undecided by naturalists whether or not the sprat be a young herring. Some say yes, and some no. *We* have never (despite anxious search) seen a sprat with either roe or milt; and after having examined many hundreds for the purpose of making such discovery, we have naturally grave doubts about the sprat being, like the parr, a distinct fish, instead of the young of the herring. The great argument of all who are concerned in the killing of herring is, that that fish can never be exterminated, because of its fruitfulness. But we suspect that even in a herring shoal it is not all gold that glitters, and that although a shoal of herrings will emit a countless supply of eggs, these will yield but a narrow per-centage of marketable fish. It is evident, at any rate, that our have much to learn before we can with confidence assert that we herring shoals, great as they undoubtedly are, are inexhaustible.

The natural history of our white fish is likewise but imperfectly known.† It is not easy to say when the *Gadidæ* are in proper season. Some of the members of that family are used for table purposes all the year round; and as different salmon rivers ought to have different close seasons, so undoubtedly will the white fish of different seas or friths have different spawning seasons. In reference, for instance, to so important a fish as the turbot, we are very vaguely told by Yarrell that it spawns in the spring time, but have no indication of the particular month, or

* The present year's catch (1862) at Wick is very far short of an average.

† "As an instance of the very limited knowledge we possess of the natural history of even our most favourite fishes, we may state that at the recent meeting of the British Association, a member who read an interesting paper 'On the Sea-Fisheries of Ireland,' introduced specimens of a substance which the Irish fishermen considered to be the spawn of the turbot; stating that wherever this substance was found, trawling was forbidden; the supposed spawn being in reality a kind of sponge, with no other relation to fish except as being indicative of beds of mollusca, the abundance of which marks that fish is plentiful. It follows that the stoppage of the trawl on the grounds where this kind of squid is found, is the result of sheer ignorance, and causes the loss in all likelihood of great quantities of the best white fish."—*Chambers's Journal*, Oct. 10, 1857.

how long the young fish take to grow. Even so well-informed a naturalist as the late Mr. Wilson was of opinion that the turbot was a travelling fish, which migrated from place to place.

The combined ignorance of naturalists and fishermen has much to do with the scarcity which is now beginning to be experienced, and unless some plan be hit upon to prevent over-fishing, we may some fine morning experience the same astonishment as a country gentleman's cook. She had given directions to the gamekeeper to supply the kitchen regularly with a certain quantity of grouse. For a number of years she found no lack, but in the end the purveyor threw down the prescribed number, and told her she need look for no more from him, for on that day the last grouse had been shot. "There they are," said the gamekeeper, "and it has taken six of us with a gun apiece to get them, and after all we have only achieved the labour which was gone through by one man some years ago." The cook had unfortunately never considered the relation between guns and grouse.

After all it may become patent to us by inquiry that there never were such enormous fish supplies as people imagined; that the supposed plentifulness was in some degree a myth, or at least but relative, and built upon their regular capture and fluctuating demand. Were there not an unseen demolition of the fish shoals, and were these shoals as gigantic as people imagine them to be, the sea would speedily become like stirabout, and in time ships would not be able to sail from port to port. Imagine a few billions of herrings multiplying at the rate of thirty thousand each per annum! Picture the codfish with its million ratio of increase, and then add, by way of enhancing the bargain, a million or two of the *Pleuronectidæ* throwing in their annual quota to the total, and figures would be arrived at far too vast for human comprehension. In fact, without some compensating balance, the waters in the globe would not contain a couple of years' increase! If fish have that tendency to multiply which is said, how comes it that in former years, when there was not a tenth of the present demand, the ocean did not overflow and leave them on its banks? It seems perfectly clear that we have hitherto exaggerated the supplies—they could never have been of the extent indicated, because then no draughts could have had any effect on the stock—no matter how miraculous they might have been. From various causes at work the stock has been kept in balance; and it seems now perfectly clear that by a course of fishing so excessive as that now followed, coupled with the natural destruction incidental to unprotected breeding, we must at any rate speedily narrow the capital stock. We have done so in the case of the salmon; and the best remedy for this evil, which has yet been discovered, is cultivation—pisciculture, in short. In ancient days the land

yielded sufficient roots and fruits for the wants of its then population without cultivation, but as population increased and larger supplies of food became necessary, cultivation was tried, and now in all countries the culture of the land is one of the main employments of the people. The sea too must be cultivated, and the river also, if we desire to multiply or replenish our stock of fish.*

The French have done it, and what they can do we can do; in fact, we set them the example and showed them the way.† In the conduct of the English and French oyster-fisheries we have an example of what may be achieved by cultivation. The annual demand for oysters is enormous, and is ever on the increase. The number consumed in London alone is not less than 500,000,000, and it is quite clear that if some means other than the chances incidental to the natural mode of spawning did not exist for keeping up a proper supply, there would very speedily be an oyster famine. Although it is asserted by naturalists that oysters yield their young by the million, it is equally well known that if the *spat* has no adhering point from which to develope itself, it is lost for ever to the epicure; and on the natural banks it is known that about nine-tenths of the spawn is so destroyed. But in some of the English fisheries care is taken to grow the oyster in a systematic manner. The French too are adepts in ostreoculture. The oyster-banks of France were at one time so completely exhausted that they were unable even to yield a supply

* Pisciculture may be shortly described as the art of breeding fish artificially, and it has been said that what the art of agriculture has become to the land, pisciculture might become to the sea. The French fisheries have been entirely re-created by means of this system; their rivers and bays had been depopulated by over-fishing to such an extent that in many instances there was not fish enough to procreate seed. The artificial system, as it obtains in France, was rediscovered by M. Remy, a fisherman at La Bresse, and his method of collecting fish eggs, and protecting fish in their infantile stages, was found greatly to augment the, till then, annually diminishing supplies. The art was speedily extended to most of the French rivers, and was at once adopted by Government and aided by grants of public money; M. Remy, and his coadjutor M. Gehin, being chosen to teach the practice of the art. A laboratory or egg dépôt was erected at Huningue, and to this institution eggs of fish were brought from the streams of Germany and Switzerland, the parties bringing them being paid at the rate of two francs a thousand. These eggs were carefully tended in the boxes, and when nearly ripe, were despatched to such streams as were in urgent want of repeoplement. By this means the fresh waters and canals of France have again become productive, and the fish markets of Paris and other large cities are once more abounding in all kinds of fish, which is quite a *necessity* of life in all Catholic countries.

† Mr. Shaw, forester to the Duke of Buccleuch, at Drumlanrig, proposed some very successful experiments on the breeding of salmon, in connexion with the parr controversy, many years before the French people took up pisciculture as a commercial phase of their fisheries.

to breed from. M. Coste, however, who had revisited the river fisheries of that kingdom, soon remedied this misfortune by laying down artificial breeding-beds on various parts of the French coasts, and notably in the Bay of St. Brieux. These banks, which were simply composed of builders' *débris* and fragments of pottery-ware, have been signally successful, and annually yield a very large supply of oysters. Ostreo-culture is one of the easiest branches of pisciculture. The grand secret consists in affording a holding-on place to the "spat" which otherwise would be lost. This desirable service M. Coste has accomplished by laying down fascines, or branches of trees, on the new banks, which answer this purpose admirably. The cost is trifling, and the crop of oysters affords an ample remuneration to all engaged in the enterprise.

The latest official documents in reference to Haningue inform us that that great laboratory—

"Has been incorporated into the Commission for the Construction of Bridges and Highways. In passing into the hands of this comprehensive and able body such an impulse has been imparted to it that it has already become an instrument for the universal artificial propagation of the best kinds of fish, and it is making provision to continue on a grand scale the re-stocking of the rivers of Europe. According to official documents this establishment, during the season from 1856 to 1857, has conveyed the ova of various kinds of fish to 191 different places scattered over 59 departments, and to 30 French or foreign establishments of pisciculture or agriculture, and to 9 different states. In the season 1857 to 1858, the establishment forwarded the ova of various kinds of fish to 490 different places, extending over 66 departments, including Algeria, to 32 societies for pisciculture, and to 10 foreign states. The establishment has experienced no difficulty in supplying fecundated eggs in sufficient quantities to meet all these extended demands, and the commissioners are adopting measures to supply this increasing demand for them by rearing in their fish-ponds a greater number of parent fish. In 1858, according to a report of one of the engineers to whom this duty was intrusted, 1,500,000 young eels had been deposited by means of the methods recommended by M. Coste in the waters of the Sologne, where they are already confirming the complete success of this great experiment."

In addition to efforts with fresh-water fish, M. Coste has also ventured on the improvement of the sea-fisheries, and has tried several experiments on the flatfish family, which have been entirely satisfactory. In Germany, particularly on the Danube, pisciculture has been tried with success, and it is now being rapidly extended into other countries. On the river Tay, in Scotland, it has added considerably to the revenues of that river, where it is still successfully practised.

Bearing in mind the proverb that "Prevention is better than

cure," what we should like to see in regard to the fisheries would be a strong effort to prevent that awful waste of fish-life which is incidental to the present system. One principal source of the inadequate supply of fish is the continued destruction of the spawn. In the case of the herring this waste is unceasing and of enormous amount. Now the only way by which the present extraordinary demand for fish can be met is to make it certain that there is no waste at the fountain-head—that, in fact, *all* the eggs are hatched, and that we do not kill the animal before it is able at least for once to perpetuate its kind, or when it is in the act of doing that. As an Irishman once said, "If you kill all your sheep when they are lambs, where are you to get your mutton?" If it be a crime to kill spawning salmon, it should be equally a crime to kill spawning herring; yet the period of that fish congregating to spawn is the very time that is chosen to massacre it in millions every season. Every fish taken before it can spawn for the first time is a certain draught on the shoals; its individual value is nothing, merely representing as it does a halfpenny; but the effect of the capture of that one fish on our future supplies, who can foretell? However, to set the question of failing supplies at rest, can we not have an official placed at, say, a dozen of our fishing ports, with power to take stock of the number of boats, men, and lines, and their daily catch? This done for about three seasons would yield sufficient data for a definite settlement of the question. According to present information we cannot help arriving at the conclusion that WE HAVE BROKEN INTO OUR CAPITAL STOCK.

ART. III.—RAILWAYS: THEIR COST AND PROFITS.

Roads and Rails, and their Sequences, Physical and Moral. By W. BRIDGES ADAMS, Engineer. London: Chapman and Hall. 1862.

THE year 1825 was a memorable one. Money was abundant, the rate of discount low, and consequently new companies were projected daily, professedly to afford additional facilities for profitably employing capital, but really that knaves might speedily enrich themselves at the expense of honester and more ignorant men. Two hundred and seventy-six joint stock companies were then formed, in order to carry on all possible, and not a few impossible, kinds of business. Denmark, Mexico, and the South American Republics were offering high rates of interest to those who would lend the

sums which they desired to borrow, but which since then they have not all of them manifested either anxiety or capacity to repay. Peruvian gold and silver mines attracted many visitors, while others as rashly sunk their money in English, Irish, or Scotch tin, lead, and copper mines. That gold mines were safe investments none could contend: that they were profitable speculations was strenuously and truly asserted by those who, possessing shares in the Real del Monte Gold Mine, on which seventy pounds had been paid, were able to dispose of them in the market for *one thousand four hundred* pounds each.

A good notion of the way in which the speculative fever then raged will be gathered from the following contemporary account of the various undertakings which, having fluttered into existence, died, and were forgotten by all except the duped and ruined shareholders. "We have mining associations for Scotland, Ireland, and Wales, to all of which we heartily wish success; we have in progress stone breakwaters and iron chain-piers—bridges suspended over rivers, and tunnels bored under them. We have steam engines of all sizes and for all purposes, steam vessels, steam coaches, steam cannon, steam ovens to hatch chickens, and steam kitchens to cook them in, steam hot-houses to ripen grapes and pine-apples at Christmas, and steam laundries to wash, and to wear, our linen; we have London, Westminster, and Alderney Milk Companies; we have Metropolitan and Westminster Fish Companies, trying their baits to catch Thames gudgeons; coal-gas, by which we are to ride among the clouds at the rate of forty miles an hour, and whirl along a turnpike road at twelve miles an hour, having relays at every fifteen miles of bottled gas, instead of relays of horses." Even the absurdest of these bubble schemes was deemed practicable and praiseworthy by the clever writers of that day when compared with the startling proposal to make a railway between London and Woolwich, on which carriages were to be drawn by locomotives at the rate of from eighteen to twenty miles an hour. The writer in the *Quarterly Review*, from whom we have borrowed the foregoing passage, states,—"We should as soon expect the people of Woolwich to suffer themselves to be fired off upon one of Congreve's *ricochet* rockets, as trust themselves to the mercy of such a machine, going at such a rate." In so writing he expressed the opinions of many sensible persons of that day, of those thoroughly practical men who will not be convinced of the feasibility of what they know to be visionary projects. There were thousands of educated and clever men then living who, when they perused the following passages, would exclaim that they exactly embodied their own sentiments:—"We scout the idea of a *general* railroad as altogether impracticable." "As for those persons who speculate on making railroads general

throughout the kingdom, and superseding all the canals, all the wagons, mail and stage coaches, post-chaises, and, in short, every other mode of conveyance by land and by water, we deem them and their visionary schemes unworthy of notice." "The gross exaggerations of the powers of the locomotive steam engine, or, to speak in plain English, the steam carriage, may delude for a time, but must end in the mortification of all concerned."*

We do not wonder that ludicrous mistakes were made by those who wrote about railways when such undertakings were first brought forward; for it is a rule, to which there is hardly an exception, either improperly to over-estimate the merits of a new scheme, or ridiculously to decry them. In all ages and countries two classes of persons have existed, and will continue to exist so long as the world lasts. The members of the one class uniformly assert of every novelty that it must be completely successful, while those of the other maintain with equal uniformity and confidence that it will prove a miserable failure. If a new cannon be invented, the one class joyfully proclaims that war has been rendered impossible, because every regiment which comes within five miles of the wonderful cannon will be instantly and utterly annihilated; the other class dolefully assures everybody that the cannon is worse than useless, that it will prove quite unserviceable in the field, and that, when fired, instead of mowing down the enemy, it will certainly explode and kill all the artillerymen who work it. Should a steamer of vaster proportions than has ever been constructed be got ready for launching, the members of the sanguine class will announce that the day of small vessels of two or three thousand tons burden is gone by; that steamers, instead of being floating hospitals filled with sea-sick passengers, will become floating hotels filled with persons enjoying unwonted health, and engaged in circumnavigating the globe in an incredibly brief space of time, at a very small cost, and without having to encounter any perils. The members of the desponding class are equally ready to demonstrate that to launch a ship which exceeds a certain tonnage is an impossibility; that, even if by some mistake the ship be launched, it will be impossible to steer her, and that the foolhardy persons who attempt to cross the Atlantic in her will only escape sea-sickness by meeting with a watery grave. Once, and only once, did both classes cordially coincide in opinion. After the Exhibition of 1851 was opened in Hyde Park, it was universally agreed that the Millennium had begun.

The writer of the extracts quoted above was unquestionably a member of the desponding class. Yet he was not a downright

* See "Quarterly Review" for March, 1825.

opponent of railways, like the majority of his contemporaries. He advocated the construction of a railway between Liverpool and Manchester at the very time when George Stephenson was hunted like a wild beast by the servants and tenants of Lords Derby and Sefton because he would persist in surveying the ground for that line. The canal monopoly had become intolerable. A longer time was required to convey a bale of cotton from Liverpool to Manchester than to transport it across the Atlantic from America to England. To make a new canal was impossible. But to get the consent or countenance of the canal proprietors to the construction of a railway was as impossible as to find water for a new canal. They scouted the idea of railways as vigorously as their forefathers had scouted the idea of making navigable canals. They loudly declared that railways, if constructed, would never answer, and yet spared no efforts to prevent Liverpool and Manchester being connected by a line of railway. The canal proprietors would not have been men had they acted otherwise. It was not their craft only, but their pockets that were in danger. Their profits were fabulous. The thirty-nine shareholders in the "Old Quay Navigation" had pocketed the whole amount of their investment in the shape of dividend every year during half a century. The original price of these shares was seventy pounds each; they had been sold for one thousand two hundred and fifty pounds. Fortunately for England and the world at large, the opponents of the Liverpool and Manchester line were defeated. The railway was made, and the canal monopoly was at an end. In one respect the projectors of the line made a miscalculation as gross as any made by their opponents. Mr. Porter has justly remarked, "that of all the railways constructed, or contemplated, up to the opening of the Liverpool and Manchester line, not one was undertaken with a view to the conveyance of passengers."* Although that line was an exception, yet it was estimated that the chief business and source of profit would be the conveyance of goods; however, before it had been long in operation, it was discovered that whereas the sum derived from the goods traffic was less than half what was anticipated, the profit made by conveying passengers was three times greater than had been estimated.

We do not intend giving a detailed account of the manner in which the first great English railway was planned, constructed, and completed. Undoubtedly, the subject is a fascinating one. Should the history of this century be adequately written, the most striking page in it will be that which records how the heroic George Stephenson bridged Chat Moss; a feat requiring a degree

* "Progress of the Nation," Ed. 1847, p. 332.

of courage, an amount of energy, a display of foresight not inferior to the qualities which enabled Hannibal to lead his army over the Alps into Italy.

Neither shall we criticise at length the work by Mr. Bridges Adams which heads this article. Happily, there is no necessity for introducing the author of it to our readers, since he must be well known to them, by reputation at least, as a skilful engineer and practised writer. Besides, his work cannot be spoken of in other than general terms, seeing that it is composed of various papers on subjects relating to the formation, construction, and government of railways. Some of these papers have been published before; yet all of them deserve to be read, and the practical suggestions contained in many of them to be carefully weighed. Certain of the plans propounded by Mr. Adams will be adverted to in the course of this article. We shall proceed to enumerate the obstacles which were, and are still, interposed to hinder the development of our railway system, and we hope to prove conclusively that something besides bad management has caused English railways to be less remunerative than those of any other country.

Our landowners and Parliament gallantly struggled to prevent railways being constructed. They have succeeded in making nearly every line in the kingdom cost double what it should have done. Mr. Smiles has very ably condensed the assertions which the country squires of the generation now passing away used to make regarding steam locomotion. They said that the formation of the railway would prevent cows grazing and hens laying. The poisoned air from the locomotives would kill birds as they flew over them, and render the preservation of pheasants and foxes no longer possible. Householders adjoining the projected line were told that their houses would be burnt up by the fire thrown from the engine chimneys, while the air around would be polluted by clouds of smoke. There would not be any use for horses; and if railways extended, the species would become extinguished, and oats and hay unsaleable commodities. Travelling by road would be rendered highly dangerous, and country inns would be ruined. Boilers would burst, and blow passengers to atoms. But there was always this consolation to wind up with—that the weight of the locomotive would completely prevent its working, and that railways, even if made, could never be worked by steam power.* When railways were first proposed it was often sheer ignorance which impelled the landowners to oppose them. As examples of this, the following cases may be cited. Once when a railway Bill was before Parliament, a noble

* "Life of George Stephenson," 4th Ed. pp. 216, 217.

marquis succeeded in compelling the company to make the line pass his dwelling at a distance of about five miles. After the line was opened, he found it so inconvenient to be at a distance from the station, that he requested the company to construct a branch line for his own convenience. The company having very properly declined to do this, he was obliged to make a branch line at the expense of one hundred and sixty thousand pounds, and which he begged the company to work for him.*

The inhabitants of the town of Northampton acted with even greater folly. It was at first intended that the London and Birmingham line should pass that town; but the outcry against this was so great that it became necessary to construct the Kilsby tunnel, in order to avert the determined opposition of the inhabitants of Northampton. As a matter of course, this town soon desired and obtained the railway accommodation which had been so obstinately rejected by it; but the company had to incur a loss which could never be made good. The length of the Kilsby tunnel was 2400 yards; the estimated cost ninety-one thousand pounds. After being commenced, it was within an ace of being abandoned on account of a quicksand which was unexpectedly met with. However, the skill and perseverance of George Stephenson proving equal to the emergency, the obstacle was surmounted and the tunnel built, after an outlay of three hundred and fifty thousand pounds had been incurred. It can excite no surprise that seminaries of sound learning and invincible prejudices like Eton and Oxford should have insisted on the insertion of special clauses in the Bill of the Great Western, forbidding the directors to make a station at Slough or a branch to Oxford. Before long both Eton and Oxford were glad to undo their work, and to avail themselves of the means of transit they had denounced. The clergy of Hampshire petitioned against railways in general, on the ground that the rustics would gaze at the trains on Sunday instead of coming to church.

The opposition to railways which originated in ignorance was persisted in out of cupidity. When experience had demonstrated that locomotives and horses could increase and multiply in the same districts without detriment to each other; that hay and oats, so far from becoming unsaleable, were in greater demand than ever; that pheasants could be bred, and foxes hunted as well after as before the introduction of railways, and that the locomotive was not the terrible dragon which had been imagined, the landowners, in place of relaxing in their opposition to railways, opposed every new company with unabated spirit and vehemence. They did not wish to prevent railways passing through their properties.

* "Life of George Stephenson," 4th Ed., p. 345, footnote.

On the contrary, they rejoiced when a railway was projected which ran through their estates, as it enhanced their value and was a pretext for demanding a large bribe from the company for permission to construct it. On one ocasion a landowner strenuously opposed a line. The company found that by diverting the line a short distance his estate would be avoided. To do this, would have occasioned the expenditure of fifty thousand pounds in the construction of a tunnel. The landowner generously offered to withdraw his opposition on being paid the price of the tunnel, and was finally induced to do so for thirty thousand pounds. One man claimed eight thousand, and accepted eighty pounds, by way of compensation.*

We have already quoted the opinions of a writer in the *Quarterly Review* for 1825, on the subject of railways; and we shall now quote what was said in the same publication twenty years later, concerning the way in which railway companies had been used by the landed proprietors of England. It is unlikely that the latter class would be unjustly treated or undeservedly stigmatized by any writer in that Review. The writer observes that "the railroad companies appear, in almost every instance that we are acquainted with, to have been disposed to treat *individuals* whose property was required for their works, with a candour and liberality which were too often met in a spirit of unreasonable opposition and unjustifiable extortion; and so strong was the general feeling against anything that looked like a violation of private property, that the companies submitted to the most unjust demands rather than venture to come into collision with individual interests, either before committees or juries. The principle of *buying-off opposition*—legitimate to a certain extent—soon assumed a great variety of monstrous shapes. Sums of five, six, ten, thirty, thirty-five, and one hundred and twenty thousand pounds have been given, ostensibly for strips of land, but really to avert opposition. Many of these cases have found publicity in the courts of law; but the mischief done will be best exemplified by the broad fact, that in one narrow neighbourhood it was found expedient to buy off opposition at a price which, under the ordinary calculations of railway profits, would oblige the company to raise fifteen thousand pounds per annum of additional tolls—a sum equivalent to the fares of above sixty thousand third-class passengers from London to the neighbourhood in question."†

Although no name is mentioned, yet we can easily divine that the person alluded at the close of the foregoing passage was Lord Petre. The transaction in which he played the chief part was at

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* "History of the English Railway," by John Francis, vol. i. p. 298.
† "Quarterly Review" for 1844, p. 240.

once so gigantic and so anomalous as to merit being given in detail. On the Eastern Counties Railway being planned, it was found that a few miles of it would have to pass through that nobleman's property. Before applying to Parliament for a Bill, the provisional committee entered into a contract with him, stipulating that in the event of his not opposing the scheme, he should receive one hundred and twenty thousand pounds for the land which might be required. After the Bill was obtained, the directors hesitated about paying the money. They justly said that the sum demanded was exorbitant, and doubted whether the payment of it would be consistent with their duty to their fellow-shareholders. Besides, the real value of the land was very trifling. Accordingly, they talked of compromising the matter by referring it to arbitration; but Lord Petre thought differently. He did not share the doubts of the directors, and did not heed their misgivings. Having fulfilled his part of the bargain, he was resolved that the directors should pay his bond. He instituted proceedings against the company in Chancery, and obtained an injunction against it. Meanwhile, the company was under the necessity of applying to Parliament for an amended Bill. Lord Petre joined himself with Mr. Labouchere, through whose estate the line also passed, in effectually frustrating this application. Driven to despair, the directors were compelled to pay the one hundred and twenty thousand pounds to his lordship, and nearly two years' interest in addition.* It is indisputable that the provisional committee made a most improper agreement with Lord Petrè. The apologists of his lordship alleged that his honour being at stake he could not suffer the contract to be cancelled. With equal justice, the same excuse might have been urged on behalf of Shylock; but it is doubtful whether the bond entered into by the Venetian Jew was more censurable than that contracted with the English nobleman, if, as was commonly said at the time, and has never been contradicted since then, the land for which one hundred and twenty thousand pounds were paid was really worth five thousand only, and if the estate through which the railway passed was thereby vastly enhanced in value!

Mr. Labouchere also drove a very hard bargain with the directors of this unfortunate company. He obtained thirty-five thousand pounds from them. It is gratifying to have to record that his successor, the Right Honourable Henry Labouchere, finding the estate not deteriorated to the degree he had expected, voluntarily returned fifteen thousand pounds to the Company. There is no record of the amount which either Lord Petre or his successors refunded.

The ruling maxim with those who claimed compensation from railway companies was to make an exorbitant demand, so as to

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* "History of the English Railway," by John Francis, vol. i. p. 256.

ensure their obtaining more than they deserved. Thus the directors of the Glasgow Lunatic Asylum asked forty-four thousand pounds damages from the Edinburgh and Glasgow Railway Company. The case went before a jury. Before trial, the claim was reduced to ten thousand pounds. The jury awarded eight hundred and seventy-three. The same company was opposed on grounds so frivolous and absurd as to call for special notice. It was said that the locomotive engines, in passing through the Princes-street Gardens in Edinburgh (a deep valley in the middle of the town), would throw out sparks, and set fire to the powder magazine on the top of the Castle—a building, let us remark, situated full four hundred feet above the level of the place, and described in Arnot's "History of Edinburgh" as bomb-proof!*

Nothing can be more conclusive of the way in which the majority of landowners fleeced the railway companies, than the fact that any company which required additional land after its line was in operation had to pay a much higher price because of the value having risen. Mr. Pease, of Darlington, the originator of the Stockton and Darlington Railway, on being examined before a Committee of the House of Commons, stated that when his company purchased more land, fifty per cent. was added to the original price by the very men who had obtained large sums by way of compensation for the supposed injury which the line would occasion to their estates. A land-valuer was once put into the witness-box to prove how much a certain property would be deteriorated by a projected line, in order to substantiate a claim for compensation. The counsel for the company produced a newspaper, containing an advertisement drawn up by the witness, in which it was stated that the construction of the railway would make the property through which it passed infinitely more valuable.

It was truly remarked by the late Robert Stephenson, in an address before the Institute of Civil Engineers, "that Parliament has never, on any occasion, considered improvement as an element in favour of a railway; but it has always been ready to tax the railway company on account of possible depreciation. The extent to which claims on account of depreciation have been carried is well known. Great was the ingenuity of the agent who discovered the use of the word 'severance.' To railway companies constant repetition has made that term but too familiar. In every case in which the line passes through an estate, a claim is set up for compensation on account of 'severance;' which means simply, that the property having been previously in what is called a ring-fence, it becomes, by the passage of a railway through it, less convenient for purposes of cultivation. Agents of the highest

* "Our Iron Roads," by F. S. Williams, p. 87.

respectability make the claim, on the ground that it is customary,' admitting that there is no substantial reason whatever for it. In one recent case, a claim for compensation for 'severance' was made by the owner of some marsh land in Essex, whose whole estate was taken by a company, but who claimed for 'severance' on the ground that the loss of his marsh-land on the Thames was injurious to an arable farm which he possessed many miles distant." With these facts before us, we must maintain that the late Dr. Arnold spoke too hastily when, standing upon a bridge over the London and Birmingham line, he exclaimed, as a train whirled along, "I rejoice to see it, and think that feudality is gone for ever. It is so great a blessing to think that any one evil is really extinct." Until English law shall deal with land as with any other commodity, and until it shall cease to be English custom to consider the possessor of land entitled to special immunities and peculiar honours, it will be incontrovertible that in one respect England is as barbarous in the nineteenth, as she was in the twelfth century.

One of the most consistent opponents of railways was the late Colonel Sibthorp. He denounced them as "public frauds and private robberies." Now, he was right in asserting that the public had been robbed on account of railways; but the railway companies were not the wrong-doers. If shareholders get insufficient returns for their capital, and the public is made to pay a high rate for conveyance, it is because the companies were plundered by the landowners, and because Parliament sanctioned both the spoliation and the ruinous contests which were conducted by competing lines before its Committees. Up to 1854 no less than fourteen millions sterling had been expended by the various companies in engineering, legal, and Parliamentary costs. It is no exaggeration to say that ten millions were needlessly squandered in this manner, and it is certain that had such a sum been employed in the construction of the existing lines, conveyance by rail would be much cheaper than it now is, and railway dividends double their present rate. The following tables, extracted from the "History of the English Railway," by Mr. Francis, put the matter in the clearest possible light. Although only four companies are named, yet they are very fair samples of the rest. The figures tell more eloquently than any words a tale of reckless, ruinous, and, for the greater part, of superfluous expenditure:—

Law, Engineering, and Direction.

London and South-western . . .	£ 900	per mile.
London and Birmingham	1500	„
London and Brighton	1800	„
Great Western	2500	„

Parliamentary Expenses.

London and South Western . . .	£ 650	per mile.
London and Birmingham	650	"
Great Western	1000	"
London and Brighton	3000	"

Land and Compensation.

London and South Western . . .	£4000	"
London and Birmingham	6300	"
Great Western	6300	"
London and Brighton	8000	"

We have given several examples of the usage which railway companies received at the hands of landowners, and shall now speak of the way in which they were treated by Parliamentary committees. No better illustration can be chosen than the case of the Trent Valley line, which is cited at length by Robert Stephenson in the address already referred to. This railway was first proposed, under another name, in 1836. The Standing Orders Committee then threw it out because a barn, valued at about ten pounds, and represented in the general plan, had been omitted in the enlarged sheet. In 1840, the line went a second time before Parliament. The Grand Junction, now merged into the London and North Western Company, opposed it. Four hundred and fifty objections to it were raised before the Standing Orders Sub-Committee. It took twenty-two days to consider them, and reported that four or five of the objections were well founded. Notwithstanding, the Standing Orders Committee suffered the Bill to proceed. Sir Robert Peel spoke in support of it on the second reading, and there was a large majority in its favour. In committee, sixty-three days were spent over it, and Parliament was prorogued before the report was ready. Mr. Stephenson doubted very much whether the ultimate cost of the whole line greatly exceeded the amount expended in obtaining permission from Parliament to make it.

The case of the Great Northern was, if that be possible, a still more scandalous one. That company's Bill was introduced in 1845. It was opposed by the London and North Western, the Eastern Counties, the Midland, and by two rival schemes, the London and York, and the Direct Northern. For eighty-two days the contest went on, when the close of the session put an end to it. In the succeeding session, it was resumed before the Upper House. After three or four weeks of discussion the Bill was passed. Meantime, the directors of the Great Northern had bought off the rival schemes, and consented to pay the costs of the other opposing lines. The preliminary expenses of this com-

pany exceeded half a million. A further sum of about two hundred thousand pounds was required to get a Bill amending the first. Thus seven hundred and sixty-three thousand pounds were expended in obtaining the sanction of Parliament to make a line two hundred and forty-five miles long. Nearly two millions were given for land and compensation. The Parliamentary, land, and compensation charges amounted to two millions six hundred pounds sterling. In round numbers, the payments on capital account may be estimated at eleven million two hundred thousand pounds. Hence, one fourth of the capital had vanished before a sod was turned.

Is there no remedy for these abuses? Must the present system on which Parliament legislates for railways be patiently endured, or is there no possibility of altering or improving it? In 1858 a select committee of the House of Commons was appointed to consider this question. It recommended that paid chairmen should be nominated to railway committees, that witnesses should be examined on oath, and that power should be given to award costs when opposition was clearly frivolous. These suggestions have not yet been acted upon, and are not likely to be put in practice. Nor is there any chance of changes like these satisfying the engineers and chairmen of companies who desire an alteration in the present system. Robert Stephenson advocated the appointment of a tribunal before which all railway questions were to be brought. He said: "Give us a tribunal competent to form a sound opinion. Commit to that tribunal, with any restrictions you think necessary, the whole of the great questions appertaining to our system. Let it protect private interests, apart from railways; let it judge of the desirability of all initiatory measures, of all proposals for purchases, amalgamations, or other railway arrangements; delegate to it the power of enforcing such regulations and restrictions as may be thought needful to protect the rights of private persons or of the public; devolve on it the duty of consolidating, if possible, the railway laws, and of making such amendments thereon as the public interests and the property now depending on them may require; give it full delegated authority over us in any way you please; all we ask is that it shall be a tribunal that is impartial, and that is thoroughly informed; and if impartiality and intelligence are ensured, we do not fear the results."

At the last half-yearly meeting of the London and North Western, the present chairman of that company, Mr. R. Moon, spoke in the following terms of the procedure of Parliament respecting railways. He was certainly justified in making some complaint, seeing that his company is regulated by no less than one hundred and eighty-six different, and, it has been said, con-

tradictory Acts of Parliament:—"There was nothing to guide railway companies in any way as to what the policy of Parliament was or what it might be. One committee upheld one principle, and another the opposite. In fact, the only principle seemed to be that of encouraging the enterprise of one company to promote and establish one thing, and then to encourage some other scheme to knock down and destroy what had been done at an immense cost."*

That Mr. Moon and the chairmen of other railway companies should bemoan the inconsistency of Parliament is not wonderful: that the late Robert Stephenson should have believed the tribunal he demanded would redress their grievances was perfectly natural. Nevertheless, the tribunal is not required. Were it instituted, Parliament would be deprived of some of its most important powers, and the existing courts of law of their necessary functions. All large bodies of business men are disposed to consider there is something peculiar to their calling which requires the supervision of a specially constituted court. Merchants, for instance, are never weary of proclaiming that mercantile disputes ought to be settled by arbitration instead of being laid before a jury, and decided on by a judge. They fail to perceive that a court presided over by an arbitrator differs in nothing but the name from one in which a judge of the land hears causes and pronounces decisions. If a court be incapable of administering justice between man and man, it ought to be instantly abolished. But there is no surer way of defeating the ends of justice than to multiply tribunals, and at the same time to restrict the jurisdiction of each.

We repeat, there is no just call for instituting a separate and independent tribunal to settle questions appertaining to railways. Neither is it right that the present vacillating and blundering system of Parliamentary legislation should continue. The peculiar province of Parliament is to guard the public interests. Hence, when a joint-stock company applies for a charter of incorporation containing extraordinary powers, it must be seen that to grant these powers will not be detrimental to the public. Unfortunately, the practice of railway committees has frequently been to inquire into the merits of the schemes they are called upon to sanction. The broad rule ought to be laid down and recognised that railways are public benefits. With the special advantages of any scheme a Parliamentary committee has nothing to do. To the objections urged against a new scheme by an established company it should never listen. The canal proprietors once demonstrated that to make a railway between Liverpool and Manchester was a work of pure supererogation. The directors of all old banks

* The Report in the *Times*, for August 23, 1862.

and insurance companies unanimously assert that ample facilities exist in their particular districts for banking and insurance purposes. If medical men differ in everything else, they always agree in thinking the profession to be overstocked with practitioners. There are few points regarding which barristers will not wrangle; but they never dissent when it is said that there are too many men at the bar.

It was once customary to urge as a reason why Parliament should grant a Bill to a railway company, that the projected line would yield certain profits. To "prove" a dividend became a trade. On the Sheffield and Lincolnshire line being planned in 1837, its promoters "proved" that the dividend would be eighteen and a half per cent. An enthusiastic and lucky holder of shares contended that eighty per cent. would be paid in dividend. Some years later, the line, now known as the Manchester, Sheffield, and Lincolnshire, was constructed. For two years the dividends were five per cent. During eight years nothing was paid, and for four years a quarter per cent. was the average dividend. Were it a standing order of either House of Parliament for the promoters of a railway to prove that the sky would fall if they got their Bill, clouds of witnesses would give evidence that the sky would certainly fall, and all the larks in the kingdom be caught the next minute after the desired Bill had received the royal assent.

The originators of a new scheme can invariably demonstrate to their own satisfaction that it is the most remarkable, most important, and will prove to be the most lucrative undertaking ever concocted. Those whom it may damage will be equally dogmatic in denouncing it as a bubble. A more hopeless task than the discovery of an honest man, is to find truth in the prospectus of a joint-stock company, and the one place where impartiality of statement need never be expected is a Parliamentary committee-room, in which one railway company is battling for the monopoly of a particular district, and another for power to share a portion of the traffic.

Existing railway companies complain that any new company is sure sooner or later to get its Bill, and that if opposition be successful one session it is useless the next. Let this uncertainty cease. Let it be proclaimed that Parliament will countenance all new railway schemes, and the result will be a long truce to Parliamentary contests. There must be a pleasure experienced by the instigators of those contests similar to what Lucretius tells us is felt by those who, standing on the seashore, behold others buffeting with the waves. The directors have the whole of the excitement of the fight, and the shareholders have to defray the major part of the expense. No man would stake a penny at

cards if everybody who gambled invariably lost. Were the directors of established companies debarred from battling in committee with intruders, or each other, they might begin to improve their lines and study the safety and comfort of travellers. Their real grievance is competition: the grievance we deplore is uncertainty. They secretly strive after monopoly: we demand entire free-trade in railways. They will consider the remedy as both an insult and an injury: its adoption, however, will immensely benefit the public. There cannot be too many railways, although there may be too few, and as regards the old-established lines, they cannot possibly be so greatly damaged by rivalry as they now are by struggling for monopoly. If there be one fact more certain than another, it is that the traffic on railways never permanently declines. Now and then, it may be stationary. During one or two years it may fall off; but in the long run it is certain to increase. It will increase in spite of competition, provided only that the line be prudently worked. Perhaps the most striking instance of this is the case of the Midland Railway. At one time the sole route to the North of England and to Scotland was over that line. When the Caledonian was opened, the London and North Western, working in conjunction with it, managed to secure a large portion of the Scotch traffic. Then the Great Northern was completed, and an almost direct route opened to Nottingham, Leeds, York, and Edinburgh. In consequence of this the Scotch traffic was wholly lost to the Midland. Notwithstanding, its traffic returns continued to rise, and its profits to become larger every year. At the present moment, its shares command as high a premium and its dividends are as good as when it enjoyed a virtual monopoly of the Northern trade.

At one time Parliament might have determined what lines of railway ought to be made, and might have granted the necessary powers to those companies that offered to make them. Such a course is no longer possible. And we are glad of it. Had our railways been constructed under these conditions, their managers would have been justified in raising the cry of vested interests whenever competing lines were proposed. As it is, we can afford to laugh at that cry, and can feel confident that the utmost efforts of the one hundred and fifty directors who have seats in Parliament will be baffled should they persevere in attempting to make of some railways monopolies. Act after Act of Parliament has been acquired in the hope that no interlopers will venture to dispute the supremacy of a company in a particular district. The chief result of that policy has been to increase the mileage of several companies, to swell their receipts and diminish their dividends. Robert Stephenson calculated that every farthing saved upon the train mileage of the country represented a saving

of eighty thousand pounds yearly. We should like to know how many millions would be saved if the existing companies were to cease obtaining useless, and opposing useful Acts of Parliament! Were the directors of the Great Western, for example, to abandon their aggressive and spendthrift policy, it is possible their fellow-shareholders would receive a more satisfactory half-yearly dividend than a quarter per cent.

We have specified with considerable minuteness the shortcomings of landowners and of Parliament relative to railways, but have said little concerning the failings and mistakes of the directors of the various companies. We are perfectly aware that the management of our railways is a public scandal; but it is no part of our duty to enlarge on the demerits of railway directors. The shareholders in the different lines are principally to blame for this, and are at the same time the chief sufferers. If they do not suffer unrepiningly, at all events they suffer voluntarily. The remedy is in their own hands. They cannot compel Parliament to abrogate ridiculous and injurious standing orders, but they can always compel incompetent directors to resign. Unfortunately a bad director is generally popular. The more lavish he may be, under the pretence of acting energetically, the greater is the certainty that the shareholders will pass votes of thanks to him. This being a free country, if large bodies of men choose to delegate to others the power to squander money, bystanders have no call to interfere. Every man may do what he likes with his purse; may either keep it closed against every appeal, or else cast it out of the window in a fit of charity or folly.

The leading defect of the existing system of railway management is the absence of a direct interest on the part of the managers in diminishing the expenses and producing profits. A board of directors is as incapable of superintending the affairs of a large company, as a board of commissioners of directing the movements of an army. The chairman of a company such as the Great Western or Great Northern should be entrusted with powers similar to those exercised by a general, should receive equally large pay, and should possess natural or acquired talents of an equally high order. In addition to a handsome salary he should receive a per centage of the net profits. His duty would be the management of the line, while the board of directors would supervise the finances. In fact, all the officials ought to have a direct interest in the prosperity of the railway. That plan has been tried on the Paris and Orleans line. Upwards of eighty-three thousand six hundred pounds were divided among the officers and servants of that company in 1859, in addition to their pay. The shareholders received a dividend of twenty per cent., and it is very

likely that the profits would have been much smaller had those who worked the line been less splendidly remunerated.*

Mr. Bridges Adams has very accurately shown how the companies have in many cases revenged themselves on their former opponents and persecutors, and have to a certain extent justified the evil prognostications which were formerly rife with respect to them. "In olden time the lords of the land were the reiver barons, who levied black mail on all those travelling by land or by water. In the modern time the lords of the rail levy—not black mail, but mail fares, or express fares, at their own pleasure, up to Act of Parliament limit. They do not, it is true, for the most part, go to this limit, because they cannot. There is a limit to the paying power of the public. But they have the power to raise fares, or alter fares, or take off trains, or alter train-times at their own will and pleasure, and also to open or close stations, or vex people with bye-laws; and while they keep to themselves the power to do these things, people will not build on their borders, will not make streets of their lines, will not put their heads into the lion's mouth, roar he never so gently. Were it optional to the street paviours to raise a toll-bar in Regent-street, not long would it be a street of magnificent shops. Houses are not built on land without freehold or leasehold security. The owners of railways, who would draw population to their borders, will have to admit that population to a voice in their councils, or the borderers will have to buy up the railway and work it for their own convenience, even as a parish road, or they will have to make a new rail of their own. Otherwise any rail-owners—supposing no competition—would hold the surrounding country at their mercy; they would be practically an irresponsible body, and consequently tyrannical. The difference in value of property, inside and outside of the toll-bars that cramp London, is proof of this" (p. 191). It is the opinion of Mr. Adams, and one in which we entirely concur, that some day or other independent goods and passenger lines will require to be made. The double traffic has already outgrown the capacities of many existing lines. Indeed, it is as absurd to run fast and light passenger, and slow and heavy goods trains on the same line of rails, as in former times to have made the light mail-coach also do the work of the lumbering carrier's waggon. Most of the railway accidents are caused by goods and

* The principle for which we contend is that the chairmen of all joint-stock companies should be their real and not merely their nominal chiefs. At present, if a company be fortunate enough to possess a skilful manager or an active secretary, it is efficiently conducted, while the chairman is only a puppet.

express trains coming into collision; and the longer the present arrangement continues, the more numerous and unavoidable will these accidents become. Mr. Adams calculates that, supposing the land could be procured at its agricultural value, and nothing spent in litigation or before a Parliamentary committee, a high-speed passenger line might be constructed between London and Liverpool for three millions sterling. "Four high-speed trains, with seventy-five passengers each, going and returning the whole distance at two pounds per head, say four hundred miles, at one penny farthing per mile, would pay all expenses, and give five per cent. to the shareholders, and the passengers might go and return the same day within twelve hours, giving an interval of four hours to business, and all this without any hard work on their bodies to affect their health." The objections we anticipate to the latter statement shall be noticed afterwards. If, instead of buying the land, it could be hired, two thousand yearly subscribers of one hundred pounds each might maintain a subscription line between these towns, be entitled to make fifty double journeys, and have each the power of accommodating thirteen friends weekly with free tickets. Mr. Adams might have cited in support of his proposition the case of the Peebles Railway, which is given in the last edition of the "Encyclopædia Britannica," as an example of how cheaply a line may be made. It is a single line; including sidings, is twenty-one miles in length, and runs from the Peebles Station to the junction with the North British Railway at Eskbank, which is eight miles distant from Edinburgh. There was no opposition to it. The landowners parted with the required land for a sum equal to thirty-five years' purchase of the agricultural value, the value and severance damage being fixed by arbitration. No claim for damages was made by the turnpike-road trustees. In 1853 the Act was obtained at a cost of six hundred and fifty pounds, no fees being paid to counsel. Fifteen hundred and sixty-nine pounds were the total Parliamentary expenses, up to the time of obtaining the Act; but a further outlay had to be incurred in 1857, on applying for power to raise additional capital. The charges for land and compensation amounted to twenty-one thousand two hundred and twenty-two pounds, or eleven hundred and thirty-one pounds per mile. Seven stations were built, at an average cost of twelve hundred pounds each. The works were constructed for about three thousand six hundred pounds per mile. The total cost per mile was a little more than six thousand pounds, and the line was opened two years after the passing of the Act. Five years afterwards the dividend had risen to five per cent. That this is not a solitary instance will be understood from the statement that whereas, up to 1848, the average cost of railways in Great Britain and

Ireland was thirty-five thousand pounds per mile, the average since then has been eleven thousand eight hundred. We cannot think that the minimum has yet been reached, as we believe that eight thousand pounds per mile ought to be the average cost.

Of late, much has been said about the prejudicial influence of railway travelling upon health. It has been shown that habitual railway travellers undergo considerable physical sufferings. The marvel would be that they should travel without detriment to their constitutions. But it does not follow that the mischief cannot be remedied, or that travelling by rail cannot be rendered as agreeable and safe as any other mode of travelling. Do those who ride constantly in broughams and similar conveyances ever have cause to complain of maladies caused by that custom? If they were to spend the same time daily in a rude country cart would they feel equally well? On the contrary, would it not be speedily demonstrated that to ride for several hours daily in a rude cart was the surest way to shorten life? Now, an English railway carriage of the present day bears the same relation to what such a carriage ought to be as the rudest cart of the most barbarous country does to a softly-cushioned and well-balanced brougham. A proper railway carriage ought to run on wheels: the carriages we are doomed to ride in slide on rollers. Each wheel ought to revolve independently so as to accommodate itself to the inequalities of the surface, whereas the wheels of our carriages are keyed solidly on to the axles, so that whenever the road is uneven the carriage becomes a very bad sledge. The permanent way is likewise faulty. Instead of the rails being rigid and fixed immovably in the chairs, they move and spring up as the train passes over them, thereby causing much of the noise which is so unpleasant, of the oscillation which is so trying, of the jerks and bumps which are so painful at the time and produce such a feeling of fatigue afterwards. There is no mechanical difficulty in making a railway train to move along at forty miles an hour as smoothly, noiselessly, and agreeably as a brougham. On some of the Swiss and German lines the carriages, though still far from perfect, are so constructed that travelling in them is almost a luxury. We fear that it will be long before the same thing can be said of our English railways. It is a law of nature that men should sleep during the night and should recline when doing so. Our fathers who travelled by stage-coach could not observe the latter clause of this law. We are equally unfortunate, although it is quite possible to fit up a railway carriage with comfortable couches. In France, Germany, America, and Canada special sleeping carriages are set apart for the accommodation of night travellers. But English railway directors, unlike their brethren on the continent and across the Atlantic, disregard the comfort of their passengers. Perhaps they know it is

almost impossible to sleep when journeying by night over their imperfectly constructed lines, or else they consider it an effeminate and improper habit to recline in order to sleep, instead of doing so while sitting bolt upright on the badly cushioned seat of a railway carriage! However, the fault lies wholly at the door of railway directors, managers, and engineers, if habitual travellers on English lines need have exceptionally strong constitutions in order to escape various painful maladies and untimely deaths.

Any remarks on the railway system would be incomplete without some reference to the American, Colonial, Indian, and Continental railways. Respecting American lines we shall only observe that, whereas in the Northern and Southern States up to 1855, there were seventeen thousand four hundred and eighty-one miles of rail in operation, which had cost one hundred and forty-four millions six hundred and forty-six thousand nine hundred and fifty-three pounds sterling; in the United Kingdom up to 1857, nine thousand miles were in operation, the cost of which was three hundred and fourteen millions nine hundred and eighty-nine thousand eight hundred and twenty-six pounds, and that, as a necessary result of this disparity, the holders of shares in American lines get an average dividend of six, and in English ones of four per cent.

Obviously, the rules which ought to regulate the formation of railways in England are inapplicable to Canada, Australia, and India. The defect of the colonial governments is that they are too weak. The hóme Government, on the contrary, has too much patronage, and is always in danger of becoming too powerful. That our Government should be entrusted with the management of our railways would be a national disaster: that a colonial Government should manage the railways is often unavoidable, and is generally advantageous. As regards India, it were simply impossible for such works to be undertaken without the co-operation and control of the Government. No doubt, a time may come when, our colonies being peopled, and India filled with capitalists, it will be as expedient for independent companies to initiate and manage large public works as it is now inexpedient and impracticable. The first settlers in a colony resemble in one respect those Nicobars of whom Dr. Scherzer gives an interesting account in the "Voyage of the Novara." The Nicobars become prematurely old and die soon; they are among the child-races of the world. Colonists are child-races in this sense, that they have not, like the people of old countries, any accumulated capital to sink in speculations which are unlikely to yield rapid and large returns. But the competency which the father acquires is inherited by his son, who thus has the means of risking something in undertakings which will benefit the public, but may not immediately remunerate

him. Hence, the Government of a young colony must do many things for it which the people of the mother-country and of an old and wealthy colony have both the wish and the power to do for themselves. Disapproving, then, of Government interference in general, we nevertheless approve of the Indian Government having taken the initiative as regards railways. We also think the Government of Victoria has done wisely in making the railways of that colony public works, and we condemn the supineness and folly of the Canadian Government in refraining from doing likewise.

It should be clearly understood that colonial lines are usually worked at a loss for several years. Yet the colony is enriched by them, and the fact of a loss being certain is no argument against making the lines. If an English railway run through a district wherein there are no towns, little trade, and few inhabitants, the shareholders need never hope to receive any dividends. But make a railway in a rising colony under the same conditions, and in a few years the untilled waste will laugh with harvest, the silent neighbourhood become noisy with inhabitants; the line will first create a traffic and then profit by it.

Perhaps the most unsuccessful undertaking of the day is the Grand Trunk Railway of Canada. It has been made fifty years too soon for profit, but not a day too soon for the province. The Canadian Government ought either to have made the line in the first instance, or else, like the Government of Victoria, have borrowed money in the London market to purchase the line from the company. When it was projected, investors were dazzled with the fallacious prospect of a large dividend, while the provincial parliament sanctioned, and advanced money to the undertaking. Several members of the late Canadian Government were appointed directors in Canada, and used their patronage to promote political objects. This was done at a loss to the company; but they knew that they would never be called to render an account of the sums which they unhesitatingly squandered. Had the line been public property, these men would not have dared to pursue the same reckless and improper course, as they would have had the fear of their constituents and of the provincial parliament before their eyes. It is sad to think that the English shareholders will get nothing for many years to come, although the line is already aiding in developing the resources of Western Canada. Those who participate in the immediate gain should likewise bear the larger proportion of the inevitable loss. The colony of Victoria has acted with greater foresight and fairness. Nearly all the lines in that colony have been purchased by the Government. Some of them have been made at a large cost, on account of labour being scarce, the prices of imported

materials high, and the engineering works very difficult. Two hundred and fifty miles of rail have been constructed; at an outlay of thirty-five thousand pounds per mile, including rolling stock and stations. In order to acquire and complete these lines, the colony has burdened itself with a debt of eight millions eight hundred thousand pounds, on which it has to pay five hundred and seven thousand pounds for interest. Though the sum be a large one, yet the same amount could not have been more judiciously, and, as experience will doubtless show, more profitably expended.

The late Lord Dalhousie, with a sagacity which cannot be too highly applauded, left no efforts untried to introduce a complete system of railway communication throughout India. As an inducement to private companies to take the works in hand, the Indian Government guaranteed interest at the rate of five per cent. on the capital expended by them with its sanction. There cannot be any question about the liberality of that Government, although it may be disputed whether it has always acted with wisdom. We think it would have been better to have selected less costly models for these railways than our English ones. In so choosing, the promoters of these railways have shown the usual fondness of Englishmen for the "grand style." As a people we are singularly averse to adopting temporary expedients, no matter how well these expedients may answer. Had the American, in place of the English system of railway been adopted for India, that country would have been covered with lines in a much shorter time and at a much less expense than is now possible. Unquestionably, the majority of American railways are not superior to the temporary ones laid down by our contractors, or as Mr. Bridges Adams puts it, are "scarcely better than our private colliery lines." Surely, it would have been better if India were covered with lines of rail as good as our private colliery ones than with none at all, or with lines which cost so much that in order to make them pay it will be necessary to charge high fares! American railways are generally admitted to be cheap, but are sneered at as being badly constructed. Yet they serve all the purposes of traffic, and, what is more, are remunerative investments. At one time they were detestable. The rails were flat pieces of iron spiked down on longitudinal timbers. In the course of time the spikes worked loose and the rails became bent up at the points of connexion. These bent-up rails were commonly termed "snakes' heads," and they well deserved their nickname, for it was a frequent occurrence for the end of a rail to perforate a passing carriage and impale an unhappy passenger. But these are things of the past, and Americans can boast of having constructed very serviceable

railways at an average cost in round numbers of eight thousand pounds per mile.

Indian railways are great experiments, both as regards the effect they will have in increasing the prosperity of the country, and as regards the mode in which they should be constructed and worked, so as to prove remunerative. That they will have a material influence in rendering India more prosperous than she has ever yet been cannot for an instant be doubted. How to manage them with economy is acknowledged to be a difficult and important matter. It is thus commented on by Mr. Juland Danvers, the Government director of the Indian Railway Companies, in his report for 1861-2, addressed to the Secretary of State for India:—"The two great objects are, of course, to develop the traffic, and to reduce the working expenses. In regard to the latter point, one matter for serious consideration, as the lines become finished, is the *permanent* staff requisite for working and maintaining them; and unless strict economy is exercised in this department a very heavy charge will be thrown upon revenue. A large establishment of highly-paid Europeans would soon absorb much of the earnings, and yet a certain amount of European supervision and example is requisite. The object should be to keep the latter within strict bounds, limited to the utmost extent that is consistent with efficiency." (p. 22). Even more important than the constitution of the permanent working staff is the construction of the permanent way. Unlike this country, India is exposed to sudden inundations, which play sad havoc with a line, damaging the surface works and destroying the embankments. It has been already found that the wooden sleepers speedily rot. Besides, in that country all wood-work is liable to be eaten up by ants. Mr. Danvers is obliged to confess, as the result of experience, "that the wooden sleepers, whether imported or made of Indian woods, whether seasoned or chemically prepared, have in parts of the line already become unserviceable, and many miles have to be renewed. This circumstance, together with the difficulty and expense of obtaining wood for them in the country, have led the consulting engineers of some of the companies strongly to recommend the use of iron sleepers, constructed in the shape of an inverted cap, and called 'Greaves' pot sleeper.'" That sleeper has not been found to be uniformly successful in this country. Where the traffic is light it has been used with advantage; but under heavy trains the rails between each sleeper are very liable to fracture. This question regarding the sleepers indicates a great probability of the estimates being considerably exceeded in the cases of some of the Indian lines.

If the latter event should occur, very serious inconvenience would be caused to all who are interested in these undertakings,

There are nineteen thousand four hundred and sixty-nine persons who hold shares in these railways, and six thousand six hundred and ninety-one holders of debentures. The public at large believes that, come what may, the possessors of these shares will obtain five per cent. interest for their money. It is well known that the Indian Government has guaranteed that amount of interest to the shareholders in the different companies; but the conditions of the guarantee are by no means clearly understood. That guarantee, though absolute so far as the companies are concerned, is yet only conditional with respect to the holders of shares. Let us explain why this happens. Such an explanation will be more valuable if given, as we shall endeavour to give it, in the very words of the official documents. In his report for 1859-60, on the subject of Indian railways, Mr. Juland Danvers makes the following statements regarding the above subject. For all moneys paid into the Government treasury by the companies, and expended with the sanction and approval of the Government, interest at the rate of five per cent. is to be paid during ninety-nine years. That payment is to be made whilst the works are in progress, as well as after the lines are in operation. The Government is to be reimbursed by sharing in half the profits in excess of five per cent.; "the following arrangement is made for the application of those profits. The net receipts from the railways are paid into the Government treasury. If they amount to less than the sum due for guaranteed interest, such an addition is made to them from the revenues of India as makes up that sum." "If the receipts should not reach the amount paid for working and maintaining the railway, *the deficiency is chargeable against the guaranteed interest.*" "For example, if the railway, upon completion, yields a net profit of four per cent., the Government would have to add one per cent. (supposing the guarantee to be five per cent.) to make up the rate of interest guaranteed; if it yields a profit of seven per cent., the Government would then pay nothing, but would receive one per cent., and the remaining six per cent. would be paid in dividend to the shareholders; and when by this process the whole of the sums previously advanced by Government (with interest) is repaid, the shareholders would receive a dividend of seven per cent. If, on the other hand, the following should be the result of a year's traffic operations—namely, that the working expenses were one hundred thousand, and the receipts only ninety thousand pounds, ten thousand pounds of the sum paid by Government on account of the guaranteed interest would go to make up the deficiency, and *the dividend to the shareholders would be rateably reduced;*" in other words, the shareholders would receive four per cent. only. Carry the supposition a few steps farther: suppose the lines to yield no profits,

but to be worked at a loss of five per cent., then the whole of the guaranteed interest would go to make up the deficiency, and the shareholders in Indian, like those in certain other railways enjoying no Government guarantee, would receive nothing.

Were the latter contingency to arise, the companies would probably avail themselves of their right to surrender the works to the Government. This may be done "at any time after any portion of the line has been opened for a period of three months, upon giving six months' notice to the Government, who would then have to repay the whole amount that has been expended, with their sanction, on the undertaking." This is a most liberal and praiseworthy arrangement. If these lines cannot be worked except at a loss, it is perfectly just that the Indian Government should bear the burden of that loss. Unfortunately, there is great uncertainty whether or not the shareholders whose line has been made over to the Government are to receive back the full amount of the sums subscribed by them. In order to make clear our meaning, let us suppose the case of a line of which the total cost is ten millions, which it takes ten years to construct, and that during these years the Government has paid five per cent. on the amount raised from time to time, the result being, when the line is opened, two millions have been so advanced. If, three months after it has been in operation, the company should resolve to ask the Government to take the line off its hands, would the Government repay the ten millions which had been expended, or would it deduct the two millions it had advanced? that is, would each shareholder receive back every one hundred pounds he had subscribed, or would he receive instead only eighty pounds? We are well aware that much might be said as to the propriety of the Government making the reduction; but we also know that the majority of shareholders imagine they will either receive, under any circumstances, five per cent. interest for money invested in Indian railways, or else have the option of demanding repayment of their capital intact. Much future heartburning and disappointment will be prevented if an official declaration were made of the course which, in such a case as the foregoing, the Government means to follow. That all the Indian railways will prove unremunerative undertakings is as improbable as that they will all pay equally well. Eventually, they may become exceedingly profitable, and in any case will be of vast service to India. The amount of profits they may yield, and the space of time within which they yield them, will wholly depend on the cost at which the lines are made and the economy with which they are managed. If the cost of construction be sufficiently low, and the working expenses sufficiently moderate, it will be found that Lord Dalhousie was not too sanguine in stating as his deliberate opinion, "that the

Government will never be called upon, after a line shall have been in full operation, to pay the interest guaranteed upon the capital."*

We do not anticipate, however, such an immediate and palpable benefit to India from the railways, as from the operation of the projected "Indian Tramroad," and "Branch Railway" Companies, as well as the general employment of "traction engines." That these undertakings will pay handsomely we hold to be certain; unless, as we remarked in our last number, the managers attempt to run express trains, instead of working the traffic at remunerative rates and at a moderate speed. It will be strange, indeed, if the "traction engine" which we stated last quarter had been announced to run between Moorshedabad and Nulhatee should not return a large sum to its spirited proprietor.† We rejoice that these most useful engines are being used, not at home only, but also in our colonies. Their history is a curious one. It is upwards of thirty years since "steam carriages for common roads" were the rage. The late Dr. Lardner, writing of them in the *Edinburgh Review* for 1833, said:—"Travelling steam-engines are in preparation in every quarter for the common turnpike roads; the practicability and utility of that application of the steam engine having not only been established by experiment to the satisfaction of the projectors, but proved before the legislature so conclusively as to be taken for the foundation of parliamentary enactments." There cannot be a more stinging satire on the wisdom of our legislators than the fact that at the very time Parliament was discountenancing, and throwing every possible obstacle in the way of railways, a committee of the House of Commons, appointed to investigate the question of steam carriages, reported it had been ascertained "that a determination existed to obstruct as much as possible the progress of an invention" which is "one of the most important improvements in internal communication ever introduced." Yet parliamentary sanction availed as little to promote the use of these wonderful carriages, as parliamentary opposition to retard the construction of railways. The failure of the steam carriage was as complete as the success of the locomotive was extraordinary. The former failed because it was brought forward by way of rival to the latter. It was found that while the locomotive could maintain a speed of thirty miles an hour

* For full and trustworthy particulars concerning Indian Railways, see, in addition to the official reports of Mr. Danvers, "Railway Intelligence," No. XI., by Mihil Slaughter, Secretary to the Railways Department, Stock Exchange.

† See article on "English Rule in India," in the *Westminster Review* for July, 1862, p. 123.

with ease, the steam carriage could not maintain that speed on an ordinary road, and, what was most damaging of all, the steam carriage was a more costly machine to work than the locomotive. A "traction engine" is to a steam carriage what an elephant is to a racehorse. If the road be smooth and level, a steam carriage will carry considerable load at a high speed; but let the road become rough or spongy, be covered with gravel or deep with mire, and the steam carriage will either come to a stand-still, the wheels revolving but the machine not advancing, or else it will break down. The traction engine, on the other hand, will drag a still heavier load over the same ground with ease and certainty. It will do this because of its wheels being formed so that the largest degree of bite is obtained, and consequently the utmost possible power can be exerted by the engine.

Of the various machines of that kind which have been produced those of Mr. Boydell and of Mr. Bray are the most efficient. The distinctive feature of the former is, that it carries with it, and runs upon, its own rails. As the wheels revolve, large wooden shoes are caused to fall down in front of them, and on these shoes, or rails, the engine advances. Whatever be the nature of the ground, the wheels have always a smooth and even surface to run upon. One of these engines, which was sent to Brazil, accomplished the almost unparalleled feat of ascending the zigzag road which winds up the side of the Soerra mountain, and actually reached the city of Petropolis, which is situated three thousand feet above the level of the sea. In 1859 the Secretary of State for India ordered one to be forwarded to Bombay, after it had been severely and satisfactorily tested in Hyde Park.* The principle of Bray's engine consists in the "circumference of the wheel having small apertures through which, by means of an eccentric, 'blades' or teeth can be protruded or withdrawn as required, according to the nature of the ground over which the engine is travelling. In many cases the ordinary surface of the wheel is sufficient to gain the requisite amount of tractive power; the blades can then be thrown out at the top, or on that part of the wheel not coming in contact with the road; while, in the event of the ground being soft or slippery, or of the engine having to ascend a steep incline, the auxiliary power of the blades can be brought into action, and the additional bite or grip on the road obtained, as may be necessary to gain progress." This engine has been found to answer quite as well as Boydell's. Heavy goods, which it would cost eight pence a ton per mile to transport over average roads, can be profitably transported by means of this machine for fourpence per

* See "Practical Mechanics' Journal" for September, 1860, p. 162; and "Mechanics' Magazine" for August, 1859.

ton. One of them has been used for some time at Woolwich, and the dockyard authorities have reported that were two such engines in operation, the work done would be equivalent to the labour of twenty-five men and one team of horses, and the annual saving upwards of six hundred pounds, or about the original cost of one engine. Consequently the Government has ordered an engine for permanent employment in the dockyard. Although the Secretary of State for India directs one of Boydell's engines to be sent to Bombay, and the Government purchases one on Bray's plan for home use, yet with that ambiguity of conduct which characterizes our rulers, the Secretary of State for the Home Department employs his authority to throw obstacles in the way of those private firms and public companies that are desirous of employing traction engines in and around the metropolis. Moreover, a company which has been formed for their manufacture languishes for want of capital, at a time, too, when the investing public readily lends money to any foreign Government that gives a plausible reason for requiring it; subscribes millions to form joint-stock banks, which may never get any customers or pay a farthing in the shape of dividend, or to work mines in which ore may never be discovered. The majority of our capitalists live in a fool's paradise, and delight in sprinkling golden water over plants which, so long as they are nourished by the auriferous shower, are covered with the semblance of golden fruit. As soon, however, as the fruit appears ripe, it is found on being plucked to resemble the Dead Sea apples, in either collapsing when pressed by the hand or leaving a bitter ash in the mouth when bitten by the teeth. The more valuable, though outwardly less promising plants, which one shower of the golden rain would cause to bear precious fruit, are contemptuously neglected and wilfully left to pine and decay.

To India and our colonies, traction engines will prove real boons. It has been estimated that were they employed in Australia, it would be possible to raise wheat at the cost of one shilling in place of, as now, at six shillings per bushel. At home, their general adoption will first economize transit by enabling labour to be dispensed with, and will afterwards increase the demand for labour by widening the sphere in which it may be profitably employed.

A brief notice of the continental railway system will exhibit the difference between the course pursued towards railways by this and by other countries. The system which prevails in France may be taken as the type of the continental system in general. Each nation of the continent has acted on the maxim that it is the function of the Government to initiate and superintend the railways of a State, and although this maxim has been diversely

applied, yet the principle involved and the results achieved have been the same in nearly every case.

In 1842, when France was ruled by a king and blessed with a free Parliament, it was hotly debated in the Chambers whether or not the State should make the railways, or empower private companies to do so under certain restrictions. A compromise was the result. In place of laying down a general rule, it was determined that each case should be judged on its merits. Consequently, the conditions of every concession varied. Sometimes the Government made the lines; sometimes they were made partly by a company and partly by the Government. At length it became the practice for the Government to provide the earthworks and one-third of the land, for the commune to pay another third, and the company to bear the remainder of the outlay. Besides, the Government advanced money by way of loan. In spite of this fostering care, the companies did not prosper, and it even became necessary in the case of one of the most important lines, the Paris and Lyons, for the Government to cancel the concession and complete the works.*

When Napoleon III. was elected Emperor he made sweeping changes in the above system. Railways were declared to be Government works; the Government was to take no direct and immediate part in their construction, but after the lapse of ninety-nine years it was to take possession of them; till then they were to remain in private hands. France was parcelled out into so many regions, in each of which one company had the absolute control of the railways. Instead of helping the companies by advances of money, the Government guaranteed 4·65 per cent. for interest and sinking fund. Before the advent of the Emperor only twelve hundred and seventy miles of rail were in operation, and the condition of the companies was far from flourishing. They have to thank him for having made their undertakings the admiration and envy of railway shareholders all over the world. Within ten years the number of miles in operation has increased from twelve hundred and seventy to above five thousand. Instead of struggling for existence, hardly a railway in France does not yield a large return. The average dividend is eight per cent. There are lines which regularly pay fifteen, and some which have paid twenty per cent.

At the end of ninety-nine years, dating from 1852, the French railways revert to the State. In order to indemnify the original holders of shares, sinking-funds have been established for the redemption of the capital. Every year so many shares are drawn by lot, and paid off at par. Besides repayment of his capital, the

* "Ten Years of Imperialism in France," p. 108.

holder receives a share *de jouissance*, or, as it may be translated, a dividend share, entitling him to receive his proportion of dividend along with the other proprietors during the remainder of the term of concession. Previously, however, to the dividend being determined, five per cent. is to be paid to the holders of unredeemed shares.* A better system for the enrichment of the shareholders it were impossible to frame than the French railway system; but they gain their money, it may be said, at the expense of the public. It must be borne in mind, however, that though the public, as represented by the Government, contributes the earthworks and one-third of the land, while the communes contribute another third, the public reaps the benefit of that increase of general prosperity directly due to the existence of the railway; and that the communes derive advantages still more definite, if not more certain, from the same source, as railways increase the value of the land through which they pass, and by their powerful stimulus to activity, rapidly augment the local wealth. The present railway system of France, while accordant with the ideas and institutions on the other side of the Channel, is not likely to be viewed with favour by Englishmen. It has nevertheless great and obvious advantages. But so long as the English Government leaves the construction and ownership of English railways wholly to private enterprise, unfettered competition in them is the best, if not the only practicable policy. Parliament ought consistently to act on the maxim that what is best for the public must really be best for the railway companies. Some years hence the cry in France will be for more railways; there will then be a danger that the existing lines will be able to prevent that cry being answered so long as their concessions last. Whenever a district in England requires a new line, a company is formed, an Act obtained, and the works commenced. Nothing more is requisite for the perfecting of our system than to make it a cheap and an easy thing for every new company to obtain its Act of Parliament, and to introduce individual responsibility into the management of railways. If competition between our companies were at an end, improvements in railway machinery would cease. As it is, engineers are too much disposed to tread in beaten paths, and employ the machinery and system of working invented and used by their fathers. In calculating costs, they do not like to contemplate any changes in the present lists of prices. In short, the absence of competition is the death of improvement.

It was about the year 1824, when the Stockton and Darlington line was nearly ready for opening, that George Stephenson spoke

* See Address by the late Mr. Locke, delivered before the Institute of Civil Engineers in 1858.

as follows in the presence of his son Robert and John Dixon:—"Now lads, I will tell you that I think you will live to see the day, though I may not live so long, when railways will come to supersede all other methods of conveyance in this country, when mail-coaches will go by railway, and railroads will become the great highway for the king and all his subjects. The time is coming when it will be cheaper for a working man to travel on a railway than to walk on foot." The prophecy seemed most audacious at the time, yet its author lived to see it verified to the letter. Even the vigorous imagination of the Great Engineer could not, however, have indulged in the flight of picturing the face of the habitable globe wholly changed through the agency of his favourite locomotive. Railways have become the highways of nations. They would seem to have superseded the great rivers of Europe, yet, while goods are transported over them which used to be carried by water, the traffic on the rivers has increased. Professor Ansted gives a striking example of this in his recent "Trip through Hungary and Transylvania." Speaking of the vast alluvial plains extending eastward to the foot of the Carpathians, he says:—"Being now traversed along its whole length by the railway, some of the produce that was formerly carried by the Danube takes another course; but the result of railway communication has been to cause an increase of the traffic on the stream far greater than the amount of this loss, while a carrying trade has been opened for the railway which bids fair to exceed anything of the sort in Europe." A still grander enterprise than any yet undertaken will some day be carried to a successful issue; Calais will be connected by rail with Calcutta, and the capital of our Indian Empire brought within a ten day's journey of the metropolis of England. The scheme is still in embryo, but it is perfectly practicable, and will certainly be carried into effect. Of course there are plenty of old women of both sexes, who shake their heads and predict failure. But we may apply to them the remark made to Moore by Luttrell, when speaking of those who had opposed the building of Waterloo-bridge, "Gad, sir, if a few very sensible persons had been attended to, we should still have been champing acorns."

Sensible persons may retard, but cannot hinder the commencement of any undertaking in which the human race has an interest and by which the whole world will be benefited. To complain that such persons exist, is equivalent to complaining that in all ages and climes men occupy high positions and wield large powers who are faint-hearted, short-sighted, ignorant, and obstinate. Whatever influence they may exercise over this generation, it requires no sagacity to foretel that before another generation passes away, a traveller, after crossing the Channel, will be able to enter a railway carriage at Ostend and be whirled over the

cultivated plains of Belgium to the city of Cologne, thence by way of Augsburg, famous in the annals of theology, he will reach Trieste on the Adriatic; thence he will proceed towards Turkey, in which, it is to be hoped, the Mussulman will have been expelled from the mosque, and the Cross have supplanted the Crescent; his course will be onwards till he is whirled along the fertile valley of the Euphrates; he will then pause, perhaps, to take refreshments at Babylon, journey through Persia, through Beloochistan, till the Indus being crossed, he will alight in the terminus of the East Indian Railway at Calcutta.

Wherever railways are constructed, whether they cross the American continent and link the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, or line the banks of the Thames, the Rhine, the Danube, and the Euphrates, traverse the burning plains of Hindostan or the snows of Siberia, the maxim enunciated by Mr. Pease, of Darlington, when railways were only experiments, on the success of which he had risked his fortune, will equally hold good, and remain unquestionable evidence of his largeness of view and soundness of judgment—"Let the country but make the railroads, and the railroads will make the country."

Art. IV.—Gibraltar.

The History of Gibraltar, and of its Political Relation to Events in Europe, with Original Letters, &c.; and an Account of the Fourteen Sieges the Rock has sustained since it became a Fortress. By Captain Sayer, Civil Magistrate at Gibraltar. London: 1862.

THE "History of Gibraltar" is a fair sample of what histories in general used to be before modern criticism had introduced a more scientific spirit into that species of composition. We are among wars and rumours of wars from the beginning to the end of it. The progress of the arts is hidden in the flash of arms, and the voice of science is drowned in the din of camps and the roar of artillery. We travel over a thousand years of the history of Europe, marking the steps of advancing civilization only by the introduction upon the scene of more terrible instruments for the destruction of human life. Siege is followed by blockade, and blockade by bombardment in rapid succession, till having commenced with the attack of the Moslem host, we end with the defence of General Eliott.

The author of the work before us has, however, made the best of the materials he had in hand. He has collected together a number of somewhat repulsive details in a not uninteresting narrative, and has written in the main a clear, but here and there rather pompous book upon a subject which the present condition of European politics and the present colonial system of England render important.

We will assume that our readers are sufficiently acquainted with elementary geography to be aware of the position and character of the Rock of Gibraltar. They will know that it is a lofty headland promontory, some two miles and three-quarters long, by three-fourths of a mile broad, running nearly due north and south from the coast of Spain into the sea at the junction of the Atlantic and Mediterranean. It is connected with the mainland by a low sandy isthmus, nowhere more than ten feet above the sea level, from which the rock rises abruptly to the height of about 1400 feet. The western face seems to be the only side upon which the fortress is accessible or open to the slightest chance of successful attack. The eastern face, towards the Mediterranean, is a bare cliff, forming a series of rugged chasms quite unscalable, and on the south is Europa, the southermost point of the Continent. The population, according to the census of 1860, amounted in all to 25,179, and the civil residents were of these 15,167. It appears to be a very heterogeneous mass, including Jews, Turks, Infidels, and every variety of heretics. Captain Sayer says that "precautionary prohibitions forbid that the fortifications should be described in this work" (p. 491). This reticence commands less of our applause than it would were it not notorious that the fortifications of Gibraltar are perfectly well known to every engineer of eminence in Christendom. But it is always satisfactory to believe oneself in the possession of an important secret, and to show how well one can keep it.

"Wandering," he says, "through the geranium-hedged paths on the hill-side, or clambering up the rugged cliffs to the eastward, one stumbles unexpectedly upon a gun of the heaviest metal lodged in a secluded nook, with its ammunition—round shot, canister, and case—piled around it, ready at an instant. The shrubs and flowers that grow on the cultivated places, and are preserved from injury with so much solicitude, are often but the masks of guns which lie crouched beneath concealed within the leaves ready for the portfire. Everywhere all stands ready for attack. Huge piles of shot and shell, built up with many thousand rounds, are crowded into convenient spaces, screened from an enemy's fire, long rows of spare guns are extended under the shelter of impenetrable walls, and sentries posted at every turn narrowly watch the movements of every passer by." (pp. 491-2.)

"In times," continues the Captain, warming into eloquence with

his theme, "when the bow and arrow, the battering-ram, and the catapult were the most destructive engines of war that man's ingenuity could invent, its walls and heights withstood successfully the desperate onslaughts of barbarian hordes, and treachery alone opened its gates. In later days, when war had become a science, and artillery with its still unknown power had thrust aside the rude inventions of our forefathers, and established a new system in the art of strategy, this impregnable Rock mocked the united efforts of two great nations to subdue it, though every hostile resource that the skill of the besiegers could devise was employed against it." (p. 489-90.)

In fact, as Lord Tyrawly wrote in 1756:—"That Gibraltar is the strongest town in the world: that one Englishman can beat three Frenchmen, and that London Bridge is one of the seven wonders of the world, are the natural prejudices of an English coffee-house politician." The total number of guns upon the fortifications is now 700, mostly 68 and 32 pounders, and the garrison is of 5600 men.

"Sayer's History of Gibraltar," like "Knickerbocker's History of New York," commences *ab ovo*. We have the opinions of Strabo and Pomponius Mela on the first page, and plenty about "the Mons Calpe of the ancients." There is no evidence of its having been inhabited till the eighth century, when Tarik-Ibn-Zeyad, with his Arabs and Berbers, planted a colony on the Rock, and gave it the name of Gebal-Tarik, or Tarik's Mountain. From that time to this, Gibraltar has sustained some fourteen sieges, ten of which are of no peculiar consequence in the present day. The efforts of the Spaniards to turn out the Moors, or again, of the Moors to turn out the Spaniards, form, to say the least of it, the burden of a somewhat monotonous record. In 1309 Ferdinand of Castile besieged Gibraltar and took it from the Infidels, but after an unsuccessful attempt in 1315, in 1324 the Infidels took it back again. The Spaniards tried to capture it in 1349, but failed, and then the African Moors and the Spanish Moors fought among themselves for its possession. In 1462, Guzman finally secured the place for the Christians. In the fifteenth century Gibraltar became the property of the Duke of Medina-Sidonia, by whose descendant it was resigned into the hands of Queen Isabella. In the sixteenth it was besieged by Turkish pirates under Hayradin Barbarossa, and in consequence Charles V. employed the celebrated engineer Juan Baptista Calvi to strengthen the works. It was bombarded by the French in 1693, and was taken by the English, under Sir George Rooke and Prince George of Hesse, in 1704. It is from this time that Gibraltar commences to be of any importance to this country or to have any special interest for Englishmen.

The death of Charles II. of Spain, in 1700, and his appoint-

ment of Philip, Duke of Anjou, grandson to Louis XIV., as his successor, gave rise to the "War of the Succession." A coalition of England, Austria, and Holland was then founded for the ostensible purpose of supporting the claims of the Archduke Charles to the Spanish crown, but, in fact, to avert the anticipated consequences of the Franco-Spanish alliance. William III. acknowledged the Duke of Anjou to be the rightful heir of the late monarch, but this was likely to have little weight with him, and Louis XIV.'s boast, "the Pyrenees are no more," was sufficient to obliterate from his mind any trifling scruples about Legitimacy that may have survived his own usurpation. Hardly had the coalition been formed than William died, but Anne inherited his policy. War was commenced with vigour, and whilst Marlborough was appointed Captain-General of the Forces, Rooke was made Vice-Admiral of England.

In the summer of 1704, the Archduke Charles, who was then in Holland, determined to make a demonstration upon the Spanish frontiers of Portugal, in conjunction with the Portuguese King. His emissaries everywhere reported the people favourable to his cause, and he expected risings in many parts of the country as soon as he reared his standard in their vicinity. Sir George Rooke was appointed to the command of a fleet to carry the Archduke from Holland to Lisbon, and after he had performed this duty he was ordered to pass through the Straits of Gibraltar, and proceed to the relief of Nice and Villafranca. The Archduke, on the other hand, entreated him to convey Prince George of Hesse, and a body of troops, to Barcelona, where he had reason to believe a rebellion in his favour would shortly break out among the Catalans. The Admiral yielded to the Archduke's solicitations, and herein committed the error which finally led to the capture of Gibraltar. The expedition under Prince George was a complete failure, and on the 17th July, Rooke found himself in the Mediterranean, a few miles from Tetuan, with a powerful armament under his command and nothing done with it. Knowing full well the treatment he was likely to receive under these circumstances at home, he was determined to do something that should shield him from the imputations which a "generous public" always cast upon an inactive commander. He called a Council of War on board his flag-ship, the *Royal Catherine*, which was attended by Prince George of Hesse, Rear-Admiral Byng, Sir Cloudesley Shovel, Sir John Leake, Sir Thomas Wisheart, and the Admirals of the Dutch division, Collingbourg, Vassenaec, and Vanderdussen. At this Council numerous schemes were proposed and rejected. A second descent upon Cadiz was contemplated, but it was at last determined to attack Gibraltar. Three reasons are given for this course,—

"First—Because the place was so indifferently garrisoned that there was every probability of the attack succeeding.

"Secondly—Because the possession of such an important fortress would be of infinite value during the war.

"Thirdly—Because the capture of the place would add a lustre to the Queen's arms, and would be likely to dispose the Spaniards in favour of the Archduke Charles." (p. 102.)

Four days were spent in making the necessary preparations, and on the 21st July, a body of some two thousand marines, under Prince George of Hesse, were landed on the isthmus at the north face of the rock to intercept reinforcements and provisions from the mainland. A summons to surrender was then sent, in the name of King Charles (the Archduke), to the Governor, Don Diego de Salinas. A refusal was returned, saying that—

"The garrison having taken an oath of fidelity to Don Philip V. as their natural lord and king, they would, as faithful and loyal subjects, sacrifice their lives in the defence of the city." (p. 106.)

The rival forces were very unequal. Rooke had under his command 45 sail of the line mounting from fifty to ninety guns each, 6 frigates mounting from twenty-four to forty, 7 fire-ships, 2 hospital-ships, 2 bomb-vessels and 1 yacht, and could not have had on board less than 20,000 men.* On the other hand, the fortifications of Gibraltar had long been neglected by the Spanish Government, in spite of the urgent remonstrances of the Governor. They then consisted chiefly of the long Line-wall, terminating at each end in the Moles. It ran along the western face in front of the town from north to south, the northern extremity being termed the Old, and the southern the New Mole. A few hundred yards to the north of the New Mole was a bastion, and this, as well as the two moles, was armed with heavy ordnance, whilst throughout the wall were guns of lighter calibre. The Spanish historians have sought to detract from the fame of our force by exaggerating the numerical weakness of the garrison. They have stated that not more than 500 men could be mustered for the defence, only 150 of these being regular soldiers; but the better opinion seems to be that of Colonel James, (cited by our author†) who finding that the town contained 1200 houses, says:—

"Supposing that one man in each house was able to bear arms, the garrison would have consisted of 1500 men, a force sufficient to have held out against the allies for a longer time than six hours, though final success was not to be expected." (p. 118.)

Rooke was so well aware of the disparity between his own power and that at the disposal of the Governor, that he seems to have

* He had 19,603 on the line-of-battle ships alone.

† "History of the Herculean Straits," by Colonel James, 1777.

thought the latter did not intend seriously to defend the place against him. He fired a few shots into the town to test the intentions of the garrison before the bombardment commenced, but as these were returned, only one course was left open to him. His forbearance and the unfavourable weather postponed the action till the 23th July (O.S.), or the 4th August (N.S.), 1704.

The attacking squadron, consisting of 12 third-rates, 4 fourth-rates, and 6 ships of the Dutch, was under the command of Byng and Vanderdussen. They took up a station extending along the Line-wall from the New to the Old Mole. At the same time the *Yarmouth*, *Tiger*, and *Hampton Court* (two 70 and 50 gun ships), moved to the westward of the New Mole, against which point the principal attack was directed. The fire from the ships was briskly returned from the batteries. Fifteen thousand shot were in a short time flung into the town, the fortifications gave way before this damaging cannonade, and the New Mole was at last abandoned by the enemy. Rooke determined to take the defences in flank by effecting a landing. Signals were hoisted for all the boats of the fleet to be armed, and orders were given for Captain Whittaker, of the *Nottingham*, to lead the storming party. But Captain Hicks, of the *Yarmouth*, and Captain Jumper, of the *Lenox*, who were some hundred yards nearer land than Whittaker, made out the signals, and manning their own boats and pinnaces were ashore before the rest could come up.* Scarcely had they reached the land ere the enemy sprung a mine, blowing two officers and forty men into the air and capsizing seven of the boats. The storming party now advanced along the Line-wall northward, while Prince George and the marines on the north, and the ships on the north-west, continued to pour in shot upon the besieged garrison. Ere long the whole southern portion of the Rock was in the hands of the Allies, Fort Leandro was destroyed, and the Old Mole was disarmed. The firing from the fortress ceased, a flag of truce was displayed, and in six hours after the commencement of the siege the garrison capitulated. Prince George of Hesse entered Gibraltar in the name of the Archduke Charles. The Imperial banner was triumphantly floated from the citadel, but by Rooke's orders was speedily hauled down

* "The Admiral, considering that by gaining the fortifications at the South Mole Head he could of consequence reduce the town, ordered Captain Whittaker, with all the boats of the fleet armed, to endeavour to possess himself of it, which was performed with great vigour and success by Captains Hicks and Jumper, with their pinnaces and other boats. The order was no sooner issued to Captain Whittaker to arm the boats, than Captains Hicks and Jumper, who were nearest the mole, pushed to shore with the pinnaces, and seized the fortifications before the rest could come up."—Boyer's *Annals of Queen Anne. Quoted by Captain Sayer.*

There is still a work at Gibraltar called "Jumper's Bastion."

and supplanted by the standard of England. Gibraltar was then occupied in the name of Queen Anne by 1800 British sailors and two Dutch battalions under Prince George of Hesse, who was appointed our first Governor. The loss of the Allies was 60 men killed and 216 wounded.

The capture of Gibraltar was the most important incident of the "War of the Succession" to this country. Spaniards have attempted to diminish its glory, but it was left to the Whigs at home to deny the importance of the achievement. Bishop Burnet, who pursued the Admiral through life with mean and malignant enmity, only expresses the general opinion of his party when he doubts the value of the possession.* After the battle of Malaga, fought in August, 1704, Rooke returned to England. For the capture of Gibraltar he received no reward; the Court treated him with undeserved coldness; he was driven by calumny to resign all his appointments, and he died neglected in 1708, four years after obtaining for his country this most solid guarantee of her weight in the councils of Europe. In the House of Commons an address of congratulation to the Queen upon the taking of Gibraltar was carried with difficulty, but the Lords maintained a sullen silence.

However ignorant the English may have been of the value of Gibraltar, the Spaniards were fully aware of its importance. No sooner had the supine carelessness of their Government permitted it to fall from their grasp, than every nerve was strained for its recovery. Its loss was a national calamity; and worse, it was a national disgrace.† The operations which were being carried on upon the frontiers of Portugal were abandoned, and all the resources of the country

* "It has been much questioned by men who understand these matters well, whether our possessing ourselves of Gibraltar, and our maintaining ourselves in it so long, were to our advantage or not. It has certainly put us to a great charge, and we have lost many men in it."—*History of His Own Times.*

In 1740, the Duke of Argyle, who sat in the same House with Burnet formerly, said: "With regard to what he says against Admiral Rooke, I know, I have heard it from those who were present, that the greatest part of it is a downright lie. The Bishop, it is well known, was no friend to that Admiral, and therefore he easily gave credit to every malicious story he heard against him." *Cited by Captain Sayer.* (p. 126.)

† "Gibraltar was a question nearly touching the Spanish pride. It is almost incredible what deep and deadly resentment had been raised in that haughty nation, who had extended their conquering arms so far, to see a fortress upon their own shores held and garrisoned by England. They viewed it with still more bitter feelings than the French had formerly our possession of Calais, and there was scarcely a Spanish statesman of this period who might not have applied to himself the saying of Queen Mary, and declared that when he died the word *Gibraltar* would be found engraven on his heart."—Earl Stanhope's *History of England*, vol. iii. p. 192. *Cited by Captain Sayer.*

were turned against the fortress. An expedition of 9000 Spaniards and 3000 Frenchmen, under the command of the Marquis de Villadarias, marched against it. A French squadron of twelve ships of the line and seven frigates, under the command of Commodore Pointe, co-operated in the bay. The garrison of the fortress did not exceed 3000 men; many of these were undisciplined, and many, according to Ayala, were vagabonds and deserters from the Spanish army. Some additions had been made in the works since the English had been in possession. A few bastions had been thrown up, the Land Port Gate had been armed with twenty guns, a tower had been raised commanding the enemy's camp, and the inundation, which even now is an important obstacle to approach from the north, had been constructed. There were provisions to last only till December, but Sir George Rooke had been commissioned to urge upon the Admiralty the necessity of sending out reinforcements and supplies at once.

By the 9th of October the Spaniards had advanced their trenches to within 400 toises of the walls, and on the 15th they opened fire from their batteries. No steps were taken for the relief of the garrison until the siege had actually commenced, and the camp of the enemy continued to gain in strength every day whilst their numbers were continually increasing.

Sir John Leake was then in command of the British fleet at Lisbon, and he lost no time in hurrying to the scene of action. On the 29th of October he surprised the French squadron, and Commodore Pointe, unable to escape, ran his vessels ashore, when they were burnt by the Admiral. The guns of the ships now raked the trenches of the Spaniards, and rendered a change of tactics necessary on their part. In this emergency they decided upon a desperate experiment.

"Despairing," says Captain Sayer, "of success, through the slow and regular operations of a siege, the enemy conceived the bold and desperate idea of scaling the precipice of the Rock, and falling upon the garrison by surprise. The danger and indeed hopelessness of such an enterprise must have been unknown to the gallant men who volunteered to attempt it. Early in November, a goatherd, by name Simeon Susarte, a native of Gibraltar, who was intimately acquainted with the paths and passes on the Rock, came to the Marquis of Villadarias and made known to him the possibility of reaching the summit of the hill by a pathway on the eastern side but little known, and termed the 'Senda del Pastor:' the Marquis, too cautious to risk the lives of his men on the mere statement of the goatherd, sent an officer accompanied by Susarte to examine the road.

"This officer reported that the project was feasible. Accordingly, on the night of the 31st October, 500 men, under the command of Colonel Figuero, were selected for this forlorn-hope, and

having taken the sacrament, marched with cautious step from the advanced trenches round the eastern side of the rock. Following their guide, the goatherd, they crept silently up the narrow and precipitous track by the pass of locust trees, and reached St. Michael's cave in safety. Here they secreted themselves until morning. Shortly before daybreak they emerged from their concealment and advanced to the signal-station, where they surprised and massacred the guard, and with the assistance of ropes and ladders succeeded in pulling up from the steep declivity on the eastern side many of the party who had been left behind. In the meantime the alarm was given to the garrison below, who were astonished at the appearance of an enemy on the very summit of the Rock. A regiment of grenadiers, under Prince Henry of Armstadt, was ordered to dislodge them. Advancing under great disadvantages, having to climb up a steep and stony ascent, they lost many men before they could close with the Spaniards, who, with an inaccessible precipice behind them, and left to their fate without support, fought with desperate energy. But courage would not avail them. Their ammunition, which did not exceed three rounds per man, soon failed them, and after losing 160 of their number, they surrendered unconditionally." (pp. 136-7.)

The siege continued with little other incident to enliven its dull monotony until the early part of December, when the garrison was reduced to the last extremity of want. Few men remained fit for duty, the damaged parapets were unrepaired, and yet nothing but promises, of succour arrived from home. However on the 7th supplies came in, and the scale of fortune seemed now to turn. Heavy rains filled the enemy's trenches with mud and water, malignant fever broke out, provisions became scarce, and in spite of several vigorous attacks, the siege seemed as far as ever from a successful conclusion.

In this conjuncture of affairs Marshal Tessé was sent from France to take command of the Spanish army, and in February, 1705, he superseded the Marquis de Villadarias. No sooner had the marshal arrived than he discovered the hopeless prospect of the troops under his orders.

"Here I am," he writes to the Prince de Condé, "before the Pillars of Hercules; and this siege, which has been undertaken with more perseverance and spirit than means of insuring success, would have been happily terminated if those means had been provided. But in Spain, to use the old proverb, we live only from day to day, and think not of remedies till evils appear. I found the siege indeed further advanced than I had reason to expect, notwithstanding the supplies of succours to the besieged, one instance of which I had the misfortune to witness. The English set us an example in keeping the sea in all seasons with as much tranquillity as your swans at Chantilly. But when the breaches had been rendered practicable, and only a few days were

required to batter down what remained, our ammunition failed, and our useless artillery could not be changed." (pp. 144-5.)

And again, in the same letter, the Marshal continues :—

"I was told on my arrival here that I should find 20 pieces of artillery and 300,000 pounds of powder, but the cannon are still at Cadiz, and I have no intelligence of the powder, which was to have been forwarded from Toulon.

"If you ask why we do not raise the siege, I reply, the cannon and stores cannot be carried away by land, and we have no means to convey them by sea." (p. 146.)

Commodore Pointe a second time made his appearance at the head of a fleet in the bay, and a second time was defeated by Sir John Leake. Tessé now saw that it was useless to continue operations, and on the 18th April, 1705, the twelfth siege of Gibraltar was raised. The loss of the besiegers was estimated at 10,000 men. Only a few Spaniards were now left to keep up the blockade. Writing to the King of France, about a week after he had departed from before Gibraltar, the Marshal says :—

"The general spirit of the Spaniards, even of the most zealous, is to foresee nothing, to think that they are exculpated from the misfortunes they bring upon themselves by yielding to superior power. The king himself seems occasionally to desire that chance should furnish what can only be hoped for from the best combined precautions, and his specific orders have an air of obstinacy which must injure his service."

The present hopes of Philip for the recovery of Gibraltar for the Crown of Spain were at an end. The English had learnt to associate its name with the deeds of gallantry of their countrymen and the shedding of their blood, and it thus obtained a factitious importance in their eyes. Six years after the raising of the siege under Marshal Tessé, the Treaty of Utrecht was signed, and the cession was formally made to the British Crown.

"The Catholic king," says the 10th Article of the Treaty, "does hereby, for himself, his heirs, and successors, yield to the Crown of Great Britain the full and entire propriety of the Town and Castle of Gibraltar, together with the port, fortifications, and forts belonging thereto. And he gives up the said propriety to be held and enjoyed absolutely with all manner of right for ever without any exception or impediment whatsoever."

The English Government, on the other hand, undertook that no Moors or Jews should be allowed to reside within the territory, a condition which it need hardly be said was never adhered to.

Gibraltar was little likely to be lost to England whilst left to the protection of her soldiers and sailors. It was only through the folly of her king and the intrigues of her ministers, that the safety of the place could be endangered. No sooner had the Elector

of Hanover obtained the British Crown, than he seems to have entered into negotiations for the restoration of Gibraltar to the Spaniards. In 1715 he proposed it to the king, as a bribe to induce him to join the Quadruple Alliance. The Regent of France was his channel of communication, and he pledged himself to secure the fulfilment of George's promise. After the destruction of the Spanish fleet off Palermo by Admiral Byng, the matter came into discussion, and it was then for the first time that the British Cabinet became aware of the diplomatic performances of their master. They had to fear, on the one side, the loss of the French alliance if they did not surrender the fortress; and on the other a storm of popular fury if they did. In this dilemma a motion on the subject was brought forward in Parliament.

"We have made a motion," writes Lord Stanhope, "relative to the restitution of Gibraltar, to pass a bill for the purpose of leaving to the king the power of disposing of that fortress for the advantage of his subjects. You cannot imagine the ferment which the proposal produced. The public was roused with indignation at the simple suspicion that at the close of a successful war, so unjustly begun by Cardinal Alberoni, we should cede that fortress." (p. 157-8.)

When the king discovered the temper of his people, he sent Lord Stanhope to Paris to excuse his conduct to the Regent. Stanhope carried with him a letter apologetic but still firm and decided in tone. It acknowledged that an offer of cession had been made, and that had Spain then accepted the offer, and performed the condition upon which it was based, she might now have been in possession of Gibraltar. But instead of entering into an alliance she had entered into hostilities with England, and that a voluntary concession made for the purpose of preventing war could never be considered the necessary preliminary to a peace. The force of this reasoning had its due effect upon the Regent. Stanhope's mission was successful, and the not less difficult task of appeasing the Court of Spain was committed to the hands of Sir Luke Schaub:

Soon, however, another price for Gibraltar was fixed upon. It was contemplated to exchange it for a part of Florida or for St. Domingo. "Reasons," writes Lord Stanhope to Secretary Craggs, from the King, with whom he was in Hanover, "have induced his Majesty to order me to lay before the Lords Justices for consideration whether they ought not to profit by the strong desire that the King of Spain evinces to recover Gibraltar, to endeavour to obtain an equivalent advantage to our commerce. . . . . In this case it seems to his Majesty that Gibraltar would not be regretted by us."

A stormy discussion took place upon this proposition. Such a cession, it was said, would be disgraceful to Great Britain. Yet in the end it was determined that the fortress should be given up, if Florida were made the equivalent. But Philip refused to give any equivalent. He took his stand upon the promise of the British King, and called for an unconditional surrender. George, however, shielded himself with the excuses of a constitutional monarch. He refused to take any step without the sanction of his Parliament, a sanction which he full well knew would be withheld. For two or three years this question bred a series of disputes between the Courts of St. James's and the Escurial, till at last it came before the Congress of Cambray; but in 1725 Louis XV. suddenly married Maria of Poland, the Infanta was ordered from Paris, war declared between France and Spain, and the Congress of Cambray was broken up. On the 30th of April a public treaty was ratified between Spain and the Emperor, and on the 1st of May a secret one was signed at Vienna, which in substance amounted to an offensive alliance. It was soon rumoured about that England would be compelled to yield up Gibraltar. An explanation was demanded from the Spanish King. He assured our minister that these reports had received no authority or encouragement from him. But before Mr. Stanhope could transmit these royal assurances to his Government, the Spanish minister had delivered a note giving England the alternative of an immediate restitution of Gibraltar or a declaration of war. Negotiations dragged on after this, until the English Government became fully aware of the force of the articles of the secret treaty of Vienna. In 1727 the King, in his speech to Parliament, announced the intention of Austria and Spain to put the Pretender upon the throne of Great Britain, and what is more to our purpose, the intention of the Spaniards at once to besiege Gibraltar. In answer to the royal speech, the Emperor's ambassador in London, M. de Palme, published and circulated a defamatory libel upon his majesty. By the desire of the House of Commons he was ordered to quit the country, and Spain prepared again to besiege the Rock.

The Marquis de Villadarias had not forgotten the experiences of 1705. He entreated his master to desist from so hopeless an enterprise; he refused the command of the army, which was pressed upon him; and preferred to retire into obscurity and poverty, to again contributing to an useless expenditure of his country's treasure and his country's blood. But Philip was not so easily to be convinced, and found, not without difficulty, a less scrupulous leader for his legions, in the Count de las Torres. De las Torres was, like too many of his countrymen, a man of more words than deeds, a braggart, if not a fool. Gibraltar was

to be reduced within a few weeks or even days, and the boasted power of England was to be scattered to the winds.

Admiral Sir Charles Wager was in command of the British fleet in the Mediterranean, and the Earl of Portmore, a veteran of some eighty years, was governor of Gibraltar. The earl was absent from his post, and General Clayton was first in command.

The siege of 1727 passed over with the ordinary accidents of such operations. In the five or six months which it lasted, the garrison lost 378 men, the enemy over 6000. Only sixty guns, and these mostly six-pounders, were employed from the Rock, whilst the Spanish batteries were mounted with 92 guns and 72 mortars, casting on the average 700 shot an hour into the works. Several men of fashion and distinction, as was the custom in those days, attended the siege as amateurs, and among them were Prince Frederick and the Duke of Wharton—Pope's Wharton—who was wounded in the trenches. Several amusing incidents are mentioned in "The Journal of an Officer kept during the Siege," and several are quoted by Captain Sayer, to whom we must refer our readers.

In June the siege was raised, and the Spaniards again resorted to diplomacy. A suspension of arms only had taken place, and the Spanish King availed himself of every imaginable shift and quibble to avoid the ratification of the preliminaries of peace. Miserably unimportant obstacles were pronounced insurmountable, and all the while in direct contravention to express agreement, the camp before Gibraltar continued to be fortified.

"Were it not," writes Wager, "that they have so many of our ships in their ports, nothing would hinder me from firing upon them. If the Court of Spain have a sincere intention to continue the cessation, and come into a sure and lasting peace, I should be very sorry by anything that may be called rashness in me, to be the occasion of a new breach; but the Spaniards do act in such a manner that it is very difficult (I believe for anybody) to guess at their intentions. Their fleet are all kept in a seeming readiness to sail; their army here, though said to be ordered into quarters, do yet continue in camp; and they relieve their trenches every day as they have done ever since the cessation, so that we are obliged to be continually on our guard." (pp. 224-5.)

The King and Queen of Spain seem both equally to have desired the restoration of Gibraltar to their crown. In their keen pursuit of this object, they invariably lost sight of the interests of their country, and sometimes of the dignity of their station. Hatred to the English was the leading sentiment in her Majesty's heart; and she, it seems, urged her consort to pursue his course

of foolish and dishonest procrastination. Twenty times she exclaimed to De Rottembourg,* "You have sold yourself to the English, who lord it over you as your masters," or, "Mr. Walpole is your master in France. I wish I had Mr. Walpole and the Cardinal here. We would see whether my arguments would not preponderate." The description of one audience is too characteristic to be passed over.

"In his subsequent interview De Rottembourg explained to the Queen the orders with which he was charged, viz.:—First, to express to the King his master's regard for their Catholic Majesties, and his great joy at the reconciliation. Secondly, to entreat them to execute the preliminaries. Thirdly, to assure them of the King's readiness to concur in the establishment of their family.

"He was impatiently interrupted by her Majesty, who asked, 'What is required from us?' and upon his replying, 'The execution of the preliminaries.' 'What,' exclaimed the Queen, 'do you mean by the preliminary points?'

"'The restoration of the 'Prince Frederico' and the distribution of the effects of the flota,' answered De Rottembourg.

"'Did I not say so?' she broke out. 'See these English, these masters of the world, how they explain all things as they will! Were the ship your master's,' she continued, 'he should have it; but the English shall never have it.' The diplomatist urged the point.

"'Well,' exclaimed the queen, 'who is to judge of this satisfaction? The king claims the vessel as his, for a thousand contraventions of the Asiento; the English pretend that it belongs to them: let the Congress decide. But if nothing more were necessary than to ask, give us Gibraltar, and we will give the vessel.'

"'Were Gibraltar in the hands of my master,' replied De Rottembourg, 'he would sacrifice it; but it is not the time to stipulate new reciprocities after the signature of the preliminaries which restored all things to the same situation as before 1725.'

"'Sir,' replied the Queen, 'do you know why we acquiesced in this date of 1725?'

"'To facilitate the peace, by smoothing the difficulties which could not be settled until the Congress of Cambray,' remarked the envoy.

"'I shall give you,' she rejoined, 'other reasons.' She asked the king for the key of his casket: he gave it, and she went towards the head of the bed to open it. Still searching in the casket, she continued, 'You in France are nothing but English; you were not enemies to the emperor till since his alliance with my husband.' At length she found a letter from the King of England, promising the restitution of Gibraltar, and dated the first of June, 1721. Giving it to De Rottembourg, she remarked, as he was reading it, 'Perhaps it is forged.' On his replying that it was no doubt original, she exclaimed, laughing,

* The French Ambassador.

'I was glad to furnish you with such an excuse; see, sir, the principal reason for admitting the terms of 1725. Let your allies fulfil their part, we will fulfil ours. Let them restore to us what they have. With what right do they come to blockade our ports?'" (pp. 221-2.)

In England the people became impatient of these continued delays. They preferred open hostilities to this uncertain state of truce, and forced upon their Government a firmer and more definite policy. The Spaniards wavered a short time between peace and war, but on the 8th March, 1728, Philip acceded to the demands of Great Britain and accepted the preliminaries to a treaty.

Our space will not permit us, even if we had the inclination, to trace the numerous negotiations which followed each other till nearly the end of the century. In 1756, however, another offer to cede Gibraltar to Spain was made, and as one of the greatest statesmen of the time, William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, was seriously implicated in it, we notice it. In 1754, France and Great Britain, although they had not formally declared war, had committed various acts of hostility against each other, and an open rupture was clearly close at hand. Spain showed no desire to favour either belligerent. It became therefore the object of each to secure her alliance. France knew the value she set upon Minorca and Gibraltar, and the influence which a restoration of one or other of those fortresses would have upon her policy. It was therefore determined by the French Government to besiege Minorca, and in the event of the attack being successful, to offer it, together with a promise of co-operation in reducing Gibraltar, as the price of the ratification by Spain of a treaty of alliance. A French fleet was fitted out with the avowed object of making a descent upon the English coast. Its real destination was Minorca. The governor to whom the English had entrusted that important station was bedridden from age. The island was lost, and the loss was followed in England by a burst of national indignation. Admiral Byng, whose conduct has been attributed to various motives, and characterized by various names, was tried by court martial. His services were forgotten, and he was sacrificed to the fury of the mob and shot. In the midst of these disquietudes, William Pitt became Secretary of State. Sir Benjamin Keene was our minister at the Court of Spain. The influence of France, especially after the capture of Minorca, was daily gaining ground with the Spanish King. Unfair advantages, such as would have been withheld by any really neutral power, were permitted to the French, and in this emergency the Secretary determined to counteract French intrigue by outbidding France for the favour of Spain. In a secret despatch, dated August 23rd, 1757, he authorized Sir Benjamin Keene to offer the cession of Gibraltar to the Spanish

Crown on condition that Spain would enter into an alliance with Great Britain against France.* It was in this manner that the great commoner attempted to gain power, "to wield the democracy of England with the one hand while he smote the House of Bourbon with the other."

As the war continued the successes of England became complete and numerous. The French fleet, under De Conflans, was defeated by Sir Edward Hawke. The battle of Minden was fought and won, Quebec was surrendered, and Canada was conquered. The Queen of Spain had died in 1758, and Charles III. had shortly after succeeded to the throne. Chatham's policy had proved completely abortive. In 1761 the "Family Compact" was signed, by which the Bourbon kings pledged themselves to mutual assistance. A war broke out between Great Britain and Spain, which was terminated at the end of a year by the execution of the Treaty of Paris, signed 10th February, 1763.

From this time until the commencement of that great and last siege which has made the name of Gibraltar so dear to Englishmen and so celebrated in the annals of warfare, a space of fourteen years intervened. The power of England had declined in Europe, the American Colonies had been lost to her for ever, and that pernicious course of policy which for so long rendered her contemptible abroad and discontented at home had been inaugurated under the auspices of George III. Since the siege of 1727 the defences of Gibraltar had been suffered to lapse into decay. The guns were dismounted, its walls were in ruins, its ditches were choked with rubbish, and its ammunition and provision stores were empty. In 1770 France and Spain had alarmed Europe by a sudden increase in their armaments. The Falkland Islands had been seized by order of the King of Spain, and it was not till then that the attention of Government was called to the helpless state of the fortress. This now became the favourite theme of popular declamation. An inquiry, under the Board of Ordnance, was the fruit of this agitation, but the subject was soon suffered to drop, and when General Eliott was appointed governor in 1777, Gibraltar was

* It is amusing to compare this despatch with the speech of the Earl of Chatham, delivered in the House of Lords, Dec. 2, 1777, in which he pompously enumerates the defences of Gibraltar when he was in office. "Nothing has been offered which may lead to inform us," says he, "of the actual state of the garrisons of Gibraltar and Minorca, those two very important fortresses, which have hitherto enabled us to maintain our superiority in the Mediterranean, and one of them (Gibraltar) situated in the very continent of Spain, the best proof of our naval power, and the only solid check on that of the House of Bourbon," &c. &c. This is what Chatham was desirous of bartering away some twenty years before.

as weak as ever. In the autumn of the same year an attack upon the Rock was anticipated. In September Eliott received from home an intimation of the fears of the Ministry. At Cadiz, they said, a large fleet is in readiness to attack Gibraltar, and they called upon him to use his greatest vigilance. "No vigilance," writes the General to the Secretary of War,* "shall be wanting. In case of service, the garrison must be increased considerably more than double the present number, especially artillerymen: not less than 8000 men, artillery included, will be sufficient."

The fears of hostilities which had so long floated in the public mind were at last confirmed. On the 16th June, 1779, the Spanish minister in London, the Marquis d'Almodovar, delivered to the King a diplomatic note, which amounted to a declaration of war, and on the 21st Gibraltar was blockaded by the Spanish army at the camp of St. Roque, and by the Spanish fleet in the bay. The British Government, so long deaf to the appeals of Eliott, had tardily and insufficiently armed and provisioned the station. Instead of the 8000 men which he had considered as only enough for the work to be done, he had 5382, officers and men, under him. Of these 504 were artillery and engineers, a body quite inadequate to the requirements of the batteries. Admiral Duff lay in the New Mole with the *Panther*, three frigates, and a sloop; but the enemy mustered not less than 13,700 men under Don Martin Alvarez de Sotomayer, whilst the fleet of 14 vessels was committed to the charge of an experienced leader, Don Antonio Barcelo. Even now provisions were scarce among the besieged. Rations were reduced to one-half their former quantity. No one was permitted to keep a horse who could not produce 1000 pounds of fodder, and the general had one of his own animals shot as an example of self-denial for the garrison. The object of the besiegers was evidently to reduce the besieged by hunger. "Every succeeding day," says Drinkwater, to whose journal Captain Sayer's book is a good companion, "confirmed us in the opinion that their object was to distress us as much as possible; the blockade became more strict and severe, their army was in force before the place, and their present plan seemed to be to reduce Gibraltar by famine." Every encouragement was given to the Barbary traders to bring in their cargoes, and to prevent monopoly and extortion they were invariably sold at auction to the highest bidder.

Active operations were begun by the British squadron, which was enabled to capture a few convoys carrying provisions to the Spanish fleet. But it was not until daybreak on the 12th of September, that the firing was commenced from the fortress, by

* Oct., 1777.

the wife of an officer of the garrison, whose name is not preserved, applying a match to one of the guns of Willis's battery, the governor giving the signal in the words "Britons, strike home!"

As the year advanced the blockade was kept with the greatest care; the straits were watched by countless cruisers, which stretched in an unbroken line from Ceuta to Cabrita, and intercepted any communication between the Rock and the Barbary coast. In October the small-pox broke out among the Jews, "a class of people," says Captain Sayer, "whose habitual filth was at all times sufficient to engender any malignant disease." (p. 293.) Fortunately infection did not extend, but food became scarce and more scarce every day. "At this time," says Drinkwater, "the governor made trial what quantity of rice would suffice a single person for 24 hours, and actually lived himself eight days on four ounces of rice per day. Sir George is remarkable for an abstemious mode of living, seldom tasting anything but vegetables, simple puddings, and water." On the 27th of December the Spaniards opened an experimental fire on the extremity of the King's Line, but beyond frightening the garrison gardeners they do not seem to have done much damage. We have again to lament the dreary monotony of a siege. Few incidents of any interest are recorded, but we find in "Ancell's Journal," quoted by Captain Sayer, entries of this kind:—"Bread getting very scarce; enough only for two months. It is a terribly painful sight to see the fighting among the people for a morsel of bread, at an exorbitant price. Men wrestling, women entreating, and children crying, a jargon of all languages, piteously pouring forth their complaints;" or again, "Want of supplies severely felt. Another bakery shut up. No more flour. Salt meat, even, scarce, and no vegetables." At this time a goose was sold for two pounds and a turkey for four.

Early in January, 1780, Admiral Rodney having been appointed to the command of the West Indian fleet, sailed with a powerful squadron from Spithead, with orders to relieve Gibraltar on his way. On the 8th he fell in with a convoy of fifteen merchantmen laden with wheat, flour, and provisions, bale' goods and naval stores, in charge of a 64-gun ship, four frigates, and two other vessels, sailing from St. Sebastian to Cadiz. The whole of these the Admiral captured, and the merchantmen were despatched to Gibraltar. About a week afterwards he came up with the Spanish fleet off Cape St. Vincent, and after capturing six ships of the line, and blowing up another, Rodney despatched two frigates to acquaint the consul at Tangiers with his success, and to order him to send a supply of fresh provisions to Gibraltar. Had not this relief arrived when it did, the garrison must have surrendered. Whilst Rodney's fleet lay in the bay, a curious

mistake, which since the Crimean War may be called a "green-coffee" blunder, was made.

"Three vessels were sent over from Gibraltar, under convoy of the *Bedford*, but by a lamentable error, which was not discovered until too late, the naval authorities selected ships fitted for troops, already full of provisions and without any capacity for stowage. Very few of the live-stock, and an inconsiderable portion of the fascines only, could be taken on board; before the wind turned easterly, the ships had to return. This unfortunate mistake had no small effect upon the future provisioning of the garrison, as after Rodney's departure the Spanish cruisers regained the mastery in the Straits."—(p. 306-7.)

On the 13th of February the admiral, having fulfilled his instructions, sailed for the West Indies; and Don Antonio de Barcelo, who on the advent of the British fleet had retired within the harbour of Algeciras, again anchored his ships in the roadstead and renewed the blockade with his cruisers.

Whilst these events were occurring at Gibraltar a strange negotiation, equally disgraceful to England and to Spain, was carried on between their respective Governments. An Irish priest, of the name of Hussey, the confessor of Charles III., who happened to be in London, was made the instrument for carrying it on. An officer of the name of Johnson, the commodore of a coasting squadron, seems to have dropped some hints at Lisbon that Gibraltar might be made the price of Spain's allying herself against France with England. That political scavenger, a private secretary, was employed by Lord George Germaine, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, to superintend this nefarious intercourse, but when the Spanish Minister, acting upon the representations of the Popish priest and Mr. Cumberland the secretary, came to more direct communications with the members of the Cabinet, the news of Rodney's victory having just arrived, they jointly and severally disavowed the instructions which they undoubtedly had given to their subordinates.*

A more important piece of diplomacy was undertaken at the

* Coxe says this negotiation was at no time a Government measure, and *formally* it was not. He says, "It was proposed and continued by Lord George Germaine alone, with the tacit permission of Lord North, whose known pliancy of temper was overcome by the impetuosity of his colleague. Mr. Hussey, when on his journey to Spain, triumphantly observed to a friend that 'he had Gibraltar in his pocket.' In the course of conversation he, however, admitted that although Lord George Germaine had decidedly and explicitly expressed his readiness to agree to the cession as the price of a separate peace, yet the case was far otherwise with Lord North, whom he had only once seen, and then received from him the declaration that '*Gibraltar*' was a forbidden word, which must never pass his lips. The negotiation was *thrown into the cabinet*, and a series of conditions were proposed as equivalents for Gibraltar."—Coxe, *Hist. of the Bourbon Kings of Spain*, vol. iii. p. 427.

same time by the Count Florida Blanca, the Spanish Minister, with the Russian Court. The naval power of Great Britain had long excited the jealousy of the other maritime states. The Empress Catherine was fully aware that any measure calculated to subvert or diminish that power would be readily acquiesced in by other Governments. The principle that a friendly or neutral flag might carry on the trade of belligerents, had never been acknowledged by England. To establish a new naval code involving the regulation that free ships make free goods, was the scheme of Russia at the instigation of the Court of Madrid. On the 26th of February, 1780, the Empress issued the celebrated declaration known as "The Armed Neutrality," and the European States who were parties to it bound themselves to the principle that formed its basis.

Meanwhile the spring of 1781 had opened without any remarkable occurrence at Gibraltar; but on the 12th April, the inactivity of the Spanish army ceased, and the long-threatened bombardment of the garrison commenced. Every gun in the enemy's lines opened fire, and salvo after salvo, from 170 pieces of the heaviest metal and 80 mortars, was hurled against the Rock. The batteries of the fortress replied with almost equal rapidity, and the mountain itself trembled, whilst the air was rent by the terrible roar of its artillery. We find in "Ancell's Journal" the following:—

"April 12th.—A shell falling in Southport-street, blew an old Genoese woman out of the window, but did not hurt her beyond bruises."

"The inhabitants exhibit the most impetuous grief and apprehension, precipitately retreating to the southward of the Rock for shelter, like sheep destined for the slaughterhouse. The Romans count their beads and worship their idols."

But the Protestants were affected in a different manner:—

"A soldier of the 73rd regiment declared himself a prophet, and prophesied that within six weeks and six days and six hours, the garrison would be taken and the Governor killed. He was taken to the provost-ship there to await the expiration of the time, and then be flogged."

The town was soon in flames, and crackled and burnt like firewood, whilst the starving inhabitants, crowded together on the south of the Rock, had nothing to shelter them from the rain, heat, and dew, but thin pieces of canvas. The scurvy, that terrible scourge of our soldiers and sailors in the last century, had broken out some time before in the garrison, and had carried off many more men than the fire of the enemy. Luckily, a ship laden with lemons and oranges had been brought ashore by our cruisers, and the disease was arrested. Exposure to the unhealthy climate now proved more deadly than the iron and powder of the Spaniards.

The deserted town became a prey to the excited and demoralized soldiery. The shells breaking through the buildings and bursting the walls of the storehouses, opened a vast accumulation of spirits, provisions, and stores, accumulated by the greedy Jews and other merchants waiting till they should gain usurious prices from their famishing defenders. When the troops discovered this they gave unbridled licence to their resentment, and plundered without restraint. The requirements of discipline stopped the merited punishment of these traders, the Governor considering it necessary to shoot some of the offenders. For six weeks the bombardment continued without intermission, and 56,000 shot and 20,000 shells were thrown into the fortress, but only 70 of the garrison were killed. A few months' quiet succeeded this formidable cannonade: with all the reinforcements which had arrived, the garrison numbered but 5952, officers and men, not a single man more than was wanted for the ordinary duties of the station. The Spaniards, however, had been lulled into a false security and Eliott thought he saw a chance of a successful sortie. On the 26th of November an order was suddenly issued for a party to assemble at twelve o'clock that night upon the Red Sands. At the appointed hour everything was in readiness: the detachment was drawn up in three lines, and behind them was a powerful staff of pioneers with tools for destroying the enemy's trenches. The Spanish force in their lines and advanced works was about 60 cavalry and 600 infantry, composed of the Spanish and Walloon Guards, Cassadores, and light troops, besides artillery and armed workmen. The sortie party 2000 strong, under Brigadier-general Ross, shortly before three o'clock, when the moon was down, fell upon the enemy. They were quickly in possession of the principal batteries; a panic spread amongst the Spaniards, the whole line of works was precipitately abandoned; the pioneers speedily levelled and destroyed the parapets, gabions, and platforms; the débris was set on fire, mortars and cannon were spiked, and all the magazines blown up. At five o'clock in the morning, the troops returned within garrison, having achieved a complete success and having destroyed, in rather less than two hours, works which had cost months of labour in their erection, and which were guarded by an army of 14,000 men. Just as the rear column passed the barrier gates on its return, the grand magazine exploded and formed a fit parting salute to the gallant band. Only one officer and four soldiers were lost by the party, and General Eliott bravely but injudiciously exposed himself to all the dangers of that night.

The Duc de Crillon, after his successful expedition against Minorca, had taken command of the Spanish forces before

Gibraltar, large reinforcements had arrived to the army, a fleet of ten sail of the line and many gun and mortar-boats, under Admiral Moreno, anchored in the adjacent waters, whilst transports, men, materials, and stores of war flocked daily into the harbour of Algeciras. Interest in the siege was spread throughout Europe, and persons of quality crowded as spectators to the camp: even the sedate temper of Charles III. was not proof against the general ardour, and he was wont every morning anxiously to inquire of his chamberlains, "Is it taken?" and replied to the invariable negative, "It will soon be ours." Prizes were offered for the best plan for the attack, and amidst the thousand and one schemes that were submitted to Madrid, that of the Chevalier D'Arçon was selected. The plan embraced two leading features: first, a bombardment from the isthmus, and secondly, an attack by sea along the whole length of the Line-Wall. Not only was the garrison to be reduced, but not one stone was to be left standing upon another in its fortifications. The favourite instruments which were to achieve this result were some floating batteries invented by D'Arçon which were at once incombustible and unsubmergeable. To form these, ten ships of from 600 to 1400 tons burden had been cut down, and upwards of 200,000 cubic feet of timber were used in their construction. The crews varied in number from 760 to 250. Each battery was clad on its fighting side with successive layers of wood three feet in thickness; within this wall ran a body of wet sand, and again a line of cork soaked in water, to prevent the effect of splinters. To protect the crews from shells or dropping shot a hanging-roof was made, composed of strong ropework netting covered with wet hides, and beneath this was a reservoir of water furnished with pipes, which gave a constant supply to every portion of the vessel and precluded the chance of ignition. Each of these arks was propelled by one large sail, and was fully armed with cannon and mortars. Twelve hundred pieces of heavy ordnance were in the artillery park on land and 83,000 barrels of gunpowder formed the reserved store alone. The fire from the enemy's works was almost neglected, and every other circumstance passed unheeded in the preparation for the grand attack. On the 9th of September, 1782, at daybreak, a battery of 64 guns opened fire, and a discharge of 170 pieces of cannon announced the commencement of the final bombardment. A squadron of seven Spanish and two French line-of-battle ships got under way at the Orange-grove, and delivered several broadsides against the South bastion and Ragged Staff until they arrived off Europa. Then, having formed line to the eastward of the Rock, they attacked the batteries from the point as far as the New Mole with energy. On the two following days this manœuvre was repeated; but the loss of the

garrison was exceedingly small, although 6500 shot and 2080 shells were cast into the fortress every twenty-four hours. On the 12th, the combined fleet of France and Spain amounted to fifty ships of the line and the ten arks before described. On the land there were 40,000 men, and 246 pieces of cannon in constant employ. Some 300 smaller craft were waiting in the bay for the signal of attack. The great effort of the bombardment took place on the 13th September. Shortly before ten o'clock "the Invincible Armada," resuscitated in the shape of D'Arçon's batteries, took up its station opposite the King's bastion, about 1000 yards from the walls. The batteries had no sooner let go their anchors than a tremendous cannonade of hot and cold shot was opened upon them all along the line. The ponderous vessels replied from all their guns, and their fire was supported by the batteries on the isthmus. Throughout the morning the garrison produced no effect upon D'Arçon's arks; but about two o'clock slight jets of flame were observed issuing from the *Pastora*, in which was Admiral Moreno, and at the same time a strange confusion was remarked in the *Talla Piedra*. Flames on board the latter soon made their appearance, and to prevent an explosion the crew rendered it useless by turning the water into the powder-magazine. The fire in the admiral's ship was subdued for a time, and when the sun went down little impression had been made upon the armaments of the enemy; but at midnight, hidden fires, which had smouldered unobserved in the floating batteries and ships broke out with irresistible fury, signals of distress resounded from every part of the bay; D'Arçon's vessels were everywhere abandoned, and those which had resisted the effects of red-hot shot were set on fire, or sunk, by the orders of the admiral. As the grey morning dawned the bay was a mass of wrecks, and the flames of the burning ships cast a lurid light over the scene of defeat. Whilst these disasters were occurring in the bay the batteries on the isthmus continued the cannonade; but at daybreak, when the Spaniards discovered the fate of their comrades on the water, the firing ceased, and the siege was virtually at an end. The united strength of two ambitious and powerful nations had been humbled by a straitened garrison of 6000 Englishmen, and an ill-provisioned and under-manned fortress had sustained with success a siege of more than three years.

On the 2nd February, 1783, the news of the signature of the preliminaries of a general peace reached the garrison by a flag of truce, and on the 12th March the gates of Gibraltar were again thrown open. The loss of the garrison, from all causes, was not 1200 men, and in the last bombardment only 16 persons, officers and soldiers, had been killed, whilst 1473 of the enemy

were lost in the floating batteries alone. General Eliott received the Order of the Bath and a pension of 1500*l.* a year, but it was not till four years after that he was raised to the peerage as Baron Heathfield of Gibraltar.

Before the conclusion of peace it is certain that Lord Shelburne's administration contemplated a cession of Gibraltar to Spain, and as much was hinted by the seconder of the address in answer to the royal speech upon the opening of Parliament in 1782. The proposition was received with indignation by men of all parties in the House, and the Spanish minister, when he heard how useless it was to press the subject upon the British people, was forced to exclaim, with undisguised mortification, "No British ministry of the present age will have the courage to look the question fairly in the face, and I will think no more of it." (p. 419.) In fact, Gibraltar is the most popular of our colonies. It may be a matter of doubtful morality that we should retain the possession of a portion of the territories which the novel theory of "natural boundaries" would point out as of right belonging to another Power; but the laws of nations are rough and ready rules, unfitted to be treated with the hair-splitting of lawyers or the subtlety of casuists. We hold Gibraltar by right of conquest, the right which secures to our country a vast majority of her possessions, scattered as they are all over the world; and moreover, a right which, in the present condition of mankind, it would be neither wise nor safe to abandon. The possessor of Gibraltar must be the guardian of the Mediterranean, and Great Britain would indeed be unmindful of her duty to herself and to Europe were she to give up so important a station to a weak State. It would be an object of ambition to every aggressive Power, a new bone of contention in the already too troubled society of the West. England has shown, by the moderation and liberality of her policy, especially of late years, that she, of all the nations, is most fitted to be entrusted with this post. There may be a time coming when "the lion shall lie down with the lamb, when swords shall be beaten into ploughshares and spears into pruning-hooks," and when therefore we shall be justified in adopting the colonial policy of M. Comte, Mr. Congreve, and Professor Goldwin Smith, and glad to hand over to a "regenerate Spain" a very expensive and then useless dependency. Meanwhile, in the words of Edmund Burke, "We hold it as a post of war, a post of commerce, a post which makes us valuable to our friends and dreadful to our enemies; which gives us the command of the district of ocean in which it lies, that which is the incontestable evidence of our pre-eminence and power, that which is of all places what we ought with most religious determination to maintain." These reasons have now a tenfold force, when Italy is becoming

a maritime Power and the dockyards of France are in such unparalleled and threatening activity. But whether or not in some future day Gibraltar shall become the property of another Empire, it will for ever remain associated with deeds of British daring and valour, and Englishmen will never cease to point to the frowning fortress as a fair and lasting monument to the courage and fortitude of their sires.

ART. V.—THE ENCYCLOPÆDIA BRITANNICA.

The Encyclopædia Britannica, or Dictionary of Arts, Sciences, and General Literature. Eighth Edition. With Extensive Improvements and Additions, and numerous Engravings. 21 vols. 4to. Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black. 1859.

MORE than ninety years have passed away since the first appearance of the ENCYCLOPÆDIA BRITANNICA. The fact, noticeable in itself as an instance of longevity in a work originally pretending to be little more than a manual of useful information, becomes memorable if we take into account the progress of mankind during that period in nearly every branch of knowledge. In the year 1771, when the first edition of this Encyclopædia was completed, sciences now established were unknown, or at most the germs of them only existed in sanguine and speculative minds: others had scarcely passed the threshold of their present position; and even such as then seemed mature have since been either re-constructed or materially expanded. Still more striking has been the advance of science in whatsoever tends to the comfort, convenience, and well-being of the human race. Ninety years ago the streets of our cities were little better lighted than they were in the century preceding; our journeys were rendered tedious by the general badness of roads and the general cumbrousness of vehicles; our ships were impelled by winds or waves alone; the laws which regulate commerce, or adjust the relations between supply and demand, had been defined by Adam Smith and some few far-seeing foreign economists, but had not made their way either into the legislature or the heart of the nation, and by most practical statesmen were distrusted as unsafe theories, if not indeed as baseless visions. The voice of the people was then comparatively feeble and uncertain; and unless on occasions when Government was unendurably corrupt or careless, was never raised in maintenance

of public rights. Regions now covered by myriads of the English Saxons or their descendants, were then the sole property of men impossible to civilize, or of beasts impossible to domesticate. The greatness of a people was then generally believed to consist in its warlike prowess, and not in its peaceful energies. Bishops could declare in Parliament, without incurring reproach or even exciting much surprise, that the people had nothing to do with the laws, except to obey them. That a certain 'divinity hedged kings' was still with the many an uncontroverted maxim; that the Church had authentic power to bind or to loose in matters of opinion was still, except with a few philosophers, a cardinal point of faith. Science was not the hundred-handed Briareus of our time, and although Literature had broken many of the fetters with which Ignorance and the Church of the middle ages had encumbered her, yet she was still the luxury of the few, and not as now, a minister of knowledge to the many. The political revolutions of these ninety years have been as momentous as the intellectual. And inasmuch as Encyclopædias are the abstract, if not the brief chronicles of human progress, this period of expansion has materially affected such works both in their scope and structure.

The need of such expansion is strikingly exemplified in the history of the "Encyclopædia Britannica"—and it is a need which its successive proprietors have justly acknowledged and supplied. Originally, it was published in three quarto volumes of moderate size, and with no pretensions to merit beyond those of a sensible plan and decent abridgment or compilation. Its first editor, and in great measure its sole projector, was Mr. William Smellie, an Edinburgh printer, and the author of an interesting but now almost forgotten book on natural history. Its earliest contributors were a few undistinguished citizens of the 'good town,' who neither possessed nor pretended to any unusual degree of literary skill. The peculiarity of the work, which, though unassuming, was sound at heart from the first—consisted in its treating each branch of science or literature under its proper name and in a systematic form—the technical terms and subordinate heads being likewise explained alphabetically. Details more remotely connected with either the principal or the subordinate departments were supplied with independent niches of their own. Such was the original good ship Argo, which in the course of nearly a century has circumnavigated the globe of knowledge, has expanded and multiplied itself into the splendid convoy of instruction now before us, and has numbered on its books not a few obscure writers who took Mr. Smellie's pay, and doubtless partook at fitting seasons of his hospitality—and ninety years ago the suppers of 'auld Reekie' were, like those of the Roman augurs, meetings to

talk of, and perhaps to repent of, for days after—but, on the contrary, men famous in their day, and some of them likely to remain so for all time. *Sic fortis Etruria crevit:* the three quartos which Mr. Smellie doubtless regarded with decent pride, have now dilated into twenty-one goodly volumes, and if literary news reach Hades, Mr. Smellie's gratification must by this time have become *eight*fold.

The history of Encyclopædias generally is not without interest. In the first place the demand for such works indicates not only intellectual progress, but also the diffusion of knowledge over a wide surface. It was long before the Greeks felt such a want; and it was nearly as long before they could gratify it. We can hardly conceive without some effort of the imagination, how ignorant an intelligent people may be among whom writing-materials are scarce and costly, and who derive such knowledge as they possess mainly from hearing. The most crowded of the philosophic schools of Athens did not number more than a few hundred disciples: of the thousands who usually filled the vast semicircle of its theatres, not a tenth part probably could have read, had written copies been common, a play of Euripides. Of the multitude the good rustic Strepsiades was a tolerable sample: he could make profit out of his garden, his pastures, his vineyard, and his beehives, but of letters he was as ignorant as his own oxen. Men there were then as now of encyclopædic minds, who, like Aristotle, took knowledge for their province, and, like Theophrastus, were equally skilful in discriminating the characters of men and of plants. But such men were the exception; and since they knew all that could then be learned, they needed not such collections of learning. Of such collections we have some some hints after the foundation of the Alexandrian Library. Surrounded by books and not very fertile in invention, the *savans* who took the pay of the Ptolemies prudently and usefully set themselves to arrange their literary wealth, and to compose from the writings of others abstracts and abridgments of the stores of earlier ages. With the realms and wealth of a conquered world the Romans inherited also the learning of its most intellectual races; and from the number and variety of the subjects they treated we may justly term Varro and the elder Pliny encyclopædic men. But the works of the former, eighty-eight volumes or rolls in all, subsist only in fragments, and the "Natural History" of the latter is a congeries of facts, of which the arrangement is capricious and the connexion not always clear. They who borrow learning from other nations and content themselves with systematizing what they borrow, are the first to feel in its full force the necessity for encyclopædias; and accordingly the merit of their invention, at least under such forms and conditions as befit the term, is due to the Arabians. Propelled like an arrow

from the bow-string, from their arid wastes upon the civilized regions of the world, these fierce enthusiasts, after a few generations, applied themselves to the arts of peace with as much zeal as they had formerly cultivated those of war. But they were an impulsive, rather than a patient race; they grasped at the results, instead of labouring at the foundations of knowledge: they admired the science, while they despised the arts and learning of their Greek subjects; and while they flung aside with aversion or indifference the historians and poets, they embraced with almost the ardour of lovers the mathematical and physical productions of Asiatic and European Greece. The first encyclopædia worthy of the name, is that of the Arabian Al-Farabius, of which the manuscript exists in the Escurial. So long as nearly all knowledge was supposed to consist in subjects directly or derivatively connected with theology, and so long also as the Church could dictate how far that knowledge should go, science could not exist in any other sense than as a captive may be said to exist at the bottom of a dungeon and under a load of fetters. Churchmen borrowed nearly all their ideas of the earth, the sun, the stars, of animate and inanimate nature, from the Hebrew Scriptures or from Aristotle; and inasmuch as their oracles had pronounced the earth to be a plain or an unmoving ball, and the sky to be made of stone or brass, and to be shaped like a vaulted oven, all and sundry were commanded to believe that the earth did not move, that the firmament was solid, that the sun rose diurnally somewhere east of the Hyphasis and set somewhere west of the Tagus. The Canons, Decretals, and the Summa Sententiarum were the only encyclopædias required by such devout and ignorant ages. In many books the wise man has said there is weariness: he might as justly have said there is weariness in ignorance also. Greek learning revived in Europe —for this is a more correct phrase than the "Revival of Learning," inasmuch as such lore as the Romans had was at no time entirely extinct—and with acquaintance with Greek books arose also a more active spirit of inquiry. And now it was discovered that the Church had given its sanction to very imperfect copies of Aristotle: that it had lauded his logic, rhetoric, and metaphysics, because these treatises strengthened or still further obscured the enigmas of theology; but, on the other hand, the Church had passed a very qualified approbation on his writings on *physics*, for they might perchance lead to dangerous investigations and experiments. The orbit of knowledge, and still more the range of intellectual freedom, were greatly enlarged by a better acquaintance with Greek science. There came in the 15th century a general breaking up of the great frost of ignorance. New worlds were discovered; the telescope confuted

Moses and the prophets; the veil of the Church was rent in twain by the Reformation of Religion; and though the dark places of the earth still far outnumbered the partially enlightened, science began to run its course, and literature regained much of its earlier freedom. The more that was known, the more necessary it became to collect and arrange the scattered fruits of knowledge. Dictionaries and *compendia* of facts as well as words were called for. Henry Stephens composed what we should now term a Dictionary of History and Biography, and in 1630 Professor Alstedius, of Weissembourg, published in two volumes folio the first general encyclopædia that really deserves the name. His own name well merits record. He died at the age of fifty, in 1638; but besides two editions of this work, he wrote nearly sixty other books, and his definition of the nature of an encyclopædia makes it probable that his discernment equalled his diligence. "Encyclopædia," Alstedius wrote, "est systema omnium systematum, quibus res homine dignæ, methodo certa explicantur." The plan of his work was even more extensive in one respect than that followed by some of his successors. From the famous *Encyclopédie* of the 18th century history and biography, which Alstedius had admitted, were excluded, and the critic La Harpe approved of the omission, assigning for his opinion this singular reason: "L'histoire," he says in his "Cours de Littérature" (Tom. xv., p. 74), "n'est point une acquisition de l'esprit: ce n'est pas dans une Encyclopédie qu'on doit la chercher." Had this once celebrated but always small critic been listened to, we should have far less cause for commending on this or any other occasion the *Encyclopædia Britannica.*

In our own country, the first respectable approach to a general work of this nature was the *Lexicon Technicum*, or Dictionary of the Arts and Sciences, of Dr. Harris, which was published in two folio volumes, the first in 1706, the second in 1710, and which still retains its place in booksellers' catalogues and in public or private libraries of any dimension. It is, however, less an encyclopædic work than, as its title-page imports, a dictionary of mathematical and physical subjects. Dr. Harris's Lexicon was followed in 1728 by a work of much greater compass and utility—the Cyclopædia of Chambers, in two very large folio volumes, of which five editions were published in the short period of eighteen years. Its reputation extended to Europe, and it was translated into French and Italian. In the ancient fable it is intimated to Jupiter that it is his destiny to beget a son stronger and mightier than himself; and had augurs been still in fashion in the eighteenth century, a similar prophecy might have been whispered into Mr. Chambers' ear. The French translation of these tall volumes was completed in 1745; and at that time an enterprising French Abbé was projecting a work of the same kind for

the use of his own countrymen. We have not the means of knowing whether the Abbé de Gua was a sound divine or no; but we much fear that it took many masses to get him out of Purgatory, for his project ended in the famous *Encyclopédie Française*. Not that the Abbé was entirely or indeed to any great degree responsible for this act of *lèse-majesté* towards his own profession. Before he went to press, he managed to quarrel with the booksellers, and the editorship passed into the hands of Diderot and D'Alembert. They were as fair representatives of literature and science as France could furnish, even at that brilliant period of her intellectual life; but they did not act towards Chambers quite fairly. Him they described as a servile compiler from French writers, while almost in the same breath they admit that but for his folios they should not have had the courage to undertake their own! "Il n'y a presque aucun de nos collègues, qu'on eût déterminé à travailler, si on lui eût proposé de composer à neuf toute sa partie; tous auroient été affrayés, et l'Encyclopedie ne se feroit point faite." Great was the jubilation and high were the hopes of the philosophic party in France—and philosophy in the middle of the eighteenth century was studied, or affected to be studied by nearly every one who pretented to wit or politeness—while the encyclopædia was preparing for the press. Woe to the Church and woe to the Sorbonne was proclaimed through all the coteries of Paris; the new learning would batter down the old "mumpsimus;" reason would supplant faith, and if reason were singly unequal to the task, all the light artillery of sarcasm was at the editor's command; for, to pass over rank and file, was not the great sagittary Voltaire among their allies? But they crowed too soon: they boasted of victory before they had put off their armour; and so their joy was turned into mourning; their triumph, as the Epirot said of his victory, was little better than a defeat. On the last ten volumes of the encyclopædic series Diderot and his contributors had principally expended their care and *virus;* by these volumes they hoped to put their heels on the neck of princes, and to bind priests for the future with links of iron. But when the sheets were ready for the binder, it turned out that they had been cruelly castigated, and some of them actually cancelled by the connivance of the printer and publisher, M. Breton (who was also a joint-proprietor in the work) and his foreman. There is a curious account of this transaction in the Baron de Grimm's "Correspondence." The utter dismay of the philosophers on the discovery of this slaying of their first-born may be conceived by all who know what it is to deal with zealots, or to mortify a Frenchman's vanity. Grimm himself, too much a man of the world to be a zealot in any cause, manifestly laughs in his sleeve

all the time that he is affecting to condole with his much-abused friends; and this tone of half-earnestness and half-banter renders his story of their discomfiture one of the most amusing among the "Calamities of Authors." His heroi-comic style of narration, however, falls far short of the language used in his earnest wrath by poor Diderot. In a letter addressed to the sacrilegious printer he announces his determination of continuing the management of the work for the sake of the remaining contributors, and of keeping secret the nefarious mutilation of his and their handiwork. Had the fortunes of the world depended upon the fatal scissors of M. Breton, the language of Diderot could not have expressed deeper horror or blanker despair. This famous *Encyclopédie* is now chiefly remembered for its wit, but seldom resorted to for its wisdom; and "hæc certamina tanta" now excite a smile only, or in the more charitable a sigh at the vanity of human expectations. Perhaps the greatest compliment it received, even at the time when half Europe was applauding or exclaiming against it, came from the lips of one who was neither devout nor philosophic. "These good people," said Louis XV. of the *encyclopédistes,* "will never rest until they have upset the monarchy." His majesty judged soundly in so far as he discerned the force of the encyclopædic lever. But that force would have been ineffectual had it not aided more potent elements of destruction. What Johnson in his "Irene" said of the decrepid empire of the Comneni was equally applicable to that of the Capets:—

> "A thousand prodigies foretold their fate;
> A feeble government, eluded laws,
> A starving populace, luxurious nobles,
> And all the maladies of sinking states."

Within twelve years after the appearance of the first edition of the "Encyclopædia Britannica" a second was published on a more comprehensive plan. The three volumes were now expanded into ten; biography and history were admitted; and thus the work attracted numerous readers to whom the arts and sciences singly offered few charms. The ten volumes thus became a kind of family library, in which old and young, learned and simple, might find matters suited to their respective ages, tastes, or capacities.

Still it was evident that the *Encyclopédie* was ahead of its congener in two important respects. Its editors and many of its contributors held a high rank in science or literature; its philosophy, if not very deep, was extremely popular. Hitherto if Touchstone's question to the shepherd, "Hast any philosophy in thee?" had been put to the *Encyclopædia Britannica,* the reply might have been in similar phrase, "Such an one is a natural philosopher," since to physics alone, but neither to ethics nor meta-

physics had as yet been assigned their compartments. Accordingly, in the third edition both these defects were remedied; contributors of a higher order were enlisted, and to psychology was assigned its rightful place between science and literature.

Before we mention this third edition more particularly, it may be not out of place to glance at the estimation in which science generally, and works of an encyclopædic character in particular, were held even to a late period in the eighteenth century. The contrast between their repute ninety years ago and at the present moment is both curious and instructive. The name of Bacon was held in reverence, and the discoveries of Newton, as well as the scientific merits of Flamsteed and Halley, obtained their just share of contemporary wonder and applause. But how ignorant much of that applause was may be inferred from Pope's epitaph on Newton, a couplet that, as Coleridge has remarked, contains as much error as was ever "hitched into rhyme:"—

> "Nature and Nature's works were hid in night:
> God said, 'Let Newton be,' and all was light."

The brilliance of the "Principia" and "Optica" indeed almost hid the fact that many branches of science had scarcely, when Pope was writing, streaked the eastern sky of knowledge. But the position which the physical sciences then held in popular estimation may be inferred from the tone which men of the highest pretensions in literature employed in speaking of them. If we turn to the "Spectator" or the "Rambler," we find that the cultivators of the physical sciences in general are viewed as merely curious and ingenious gentlemen, *virtuosos*, who having much leisure in hand, and at the same time little or no capacity for "polite learning," deserve pity, and sometimes contempt. Bentley, indeed, could venture to recommend from St. Mary's pulpit, at Cambridge, the Newtonian discoveries; but Bentley was reckoned a grammatical barbarian by those who, like Pope, accounted all dictionary-makers as blockheads.

For such estimation of physical science there was, indeed, this plausible excuse. Science still kept bad company, and was pestered then as now with false pretenders to the name. Astrology had not quite shaken hands with astronomy, and chemistry and botany were confounded with experiments in search of the elixir vitæ and the philosopher's stone. And so the wits of Button's coffee-house had little difficulty in persuading the public, and perhaps half-believed themselves, that an astronomer was but a little above an almanack-maker, and that chemists and botanists were merely cunning in the use of drugs, or active in the culling of simples. Pope dared not praise Handel until he had been assured that the composer of "The Messiah" and "Judas Maccabeus" was something more than an excellent fiddler; and he would have kept the

choicest niche in the "Dunciad" for him who had dared to insinuate that Ray or Leibnitz were at least on a par in intellect with himself or the Drapier. The college of Laputa and its professors show the estimation in which science was held by the greatest of our prose-satirists; nor did Pope and Swift stand alone in their misapprehension of the claims of science to parity with polite literature in public esteem. We find Gray affirming in his letters that encyclopædias and universal dictionaries afford very unfavourable symptoms of the age in regard to literature, since they only served, he thought, to supply a fund for the vanity or for the affectation of general knowledge, or for the demands of company and conversation. A few years later, Goldsmith, who, as Johnson truly said, scarcely knew a camel from an ostrich, undertook, with fair prospects of remuneration for his publishers, a history of *Animated Nature*, and expressed very similar sentiments in his "Enquiry into the Present State of Polite Learning in Europe;" and we need only refer to the text and notes of that once popular satire, "The Pursuits of Literature," for proofs of the aversion and suspicion with which political economy was viewed by men who regarded eloquence as the "be-all and end-all" of intellectual merit. To write like Johnson, or to speak like Burke, were regarded as fairer claims to immortality than to speculate on the wealth of nations or on political justice.

Encyclopædias however, established themselves among the mass of less coy and dainty readers in spite of such discouragement, and we are able to cite the following instance of their practical use from Forbes's "Oriental Memoirs." Forbes had not been many weeks in Dhuboy before he was attacked by an army of 100,000 Mahrattas. In the hollow of a quill, so small as to be concealed in the messenger's ear, he received a note from an Englishman, who was kept as a hostage in their camp, telling him that the Mahrattas were determined to recapture the city, and advising him, as he could not expect relief, and as all resistance must be vain, to make the best terms he could. The British force was very small; yet as they were aware that the Mahrattas entertained a high opinion of its strength, Mr. Forbes and the commanding officer hoped to hold out until re-inforcements could arrive from Baroche. The "Annual Register" and the *Encyclopædia*—either that of Chambers or the *Britannica* necessarily—were called into use; in the former they looked for precedents of capitulation, that they might demand terms in the most honourable manner; in the latter, having no artillery officer or engineer in the fort, they studied gunnery and fortification, and began to strengthen the ramparts, repair the tower, and put the old guns in order. Fortunately General Goddard came to their relief in time, and the Mahrattas retreated. The

Encyclopædia was in high estimation with the Hindoos; they could understand the universal language of its *prints*, and were constantly consulting it.

We now return to the third impression of the "Encyclopædia Britannica" as the real corner-stone of all succeeding editions. This was completed in eighteen volumes in the year 1797, and thenceforward it rose greatly in estimation, owing to the enlargement of its basis, and to its entrance upon fields of research and speculation hitherto unknown in this or in similar works. Among its subjects were now included general or philosophical grammar, metaphysics, philology, and the philosophy of induction. Perhaps, however, its most important features were the contributions of Professor Robison to various departments of physical science; these, taken in connexion with articles on the same subject, and by the same author, which were published in the supplementary volumes, were pronounced by a most competent judge—the late Dr. Thomas Young—"as exhibiting a more complete view of the modern improvements of physical science than had ever been in the possession of the British public." A fourth edition, in twenty volumes, completed in 1810, confirmed and extended its predecessor's reputation. The most conspicuous additions were to the articles on chemistry and natural history, subjects which undergo such rapid changes, as even then to require supplementing or recasting almost every decennium. These articles in the fourth edition are consequently now comparatively out of date; not so Professor Wallace's treatises on the more permanent topics of algebra, conic sections, fluxions, geometry, mensuration, porisms, series, trigonometry, &c. With the completion of this edition, the progress of improvement was for some time suspended; the fifth and sixth were little more than reprints. But we must pause upon the *supplement* to the fourth edition, in six volumes, which in fact may be said to have almost imparted a new character to the entire work.

In the first place it set an example, since followed in more recent collections of similar kind, of calling in the aid of learned foreigners. M. Arago and M. Biot were enrolled among the contributors, and thus the work acquired a European character, as well as European fame. Nor, setting aside their unquestioned position in science, should the annexation of these distinguished *savans* to a British work be regarded as an unimportant circumstance. Whether through our own or our neighbours' fault we will not undertake to decide; but it was long our mistake or our misfortune to stand aloof from the Continent both in literary and scientific pursuits. British and French chemists have contended with one another for the prior right to discoveries. Astronomers have been little less jealous of their contemporaries. Newton and Leibnitz contested for more than one mathematical palm; and

Porson and Hermann made the philological world ring with their common recriminations. The realm of science, like the territory of Elis in old time, should ever be a region exempt from strife, and all party or national hostilities should cease the moment its sacred border is crossed.

Never perhaps were two men better qualified for the task they undertook, by the character of their intellects and their studies, than were the late Mr. Dugald Stewart and the late Sir James Mackintosh. In each of them the critical faculty surpassed the inventive; and without detracting from their merits, we may ascribe superior genius to Sir William Hamilton or Samuel Taylor Coleridge. But for a record of mental and ethical science from its earliest to its latest developments Stewart and Mackintosh each possessed the gifts required. What has been written truly of Cicero's philosophical treatises may as truly be repeated of their contributions to the "Encyclopædia Britannica." Like the great Roman, they were perhaps unequal to the feat of extending the bounds of psychology; but from their intimate acquaintance with every stage of its progress, their clear perception of what it had performed, and what it had hitherto failed in performing, their skill in exploring its recesses or illustrating its surface, they stand apart from earlier or later writers, and have furnished in their respective dissertations models of acute discussion, and of classical eloquence. How easily and naturally the mind of Sir James Mackintosh turned itself to criticism appears in his letters and diary. Passages never meant for the public eye abound in his correspondence and his private journals, in which poets, orators, historians, and essayists, are characterized with the grace of Addison and the vigour of Johnson. In his "History of England" Mackintosh sometimes fatigues attention by his proneness to disquisition, and sometimes falls short of the mark in his efforts to be picturesque. He lacked the art of painting in a few strokes the scenes he is describing; he has no passages equal in vigour or selection of incidents to Gibbon's account of Julian, or Hume's narrative of the Popish Plot. With the dramatic power of Sir Walter Scott or Lord Macaulay he has little in common; he comments upon men's actions, but he does not embody or represent them. But these defects do not appear in his "Dissertation;" there pictorial powers would have been out of place; but there, on the other hand, disquisition is seasonable. Mackintosh delineates the heroes of thought as only a deep thinker can; he probes what was dark to them, he adorns what was clear, and he often supplies what was deficient. His record of the "Progress of Ethical Philosophy" is the summing-up of a judge who, versed in all the weightier matters of the law, does not disdain to embellish its rules and precepts with the eloquence of Tully or Descartes.

In his sketches of Smith, Robertson, and Reid, Dugald Stewart

combined the gifts of the philosopher and the biographer. He sets vividly before us the writers as well as their works. It is therefore perhaps to be regretted that in his "Dissertation" he did not indulge occasionally in portraiture, and by a few strokes of his pen sketch the personal as well as the mental features of "those great lights of the world by whom the torch of science has been successively seized and transmitted." He indeed purposely avoided such sketches; yet from the skill he displayed in them, on other occasions, we have every cause for thinking that they would have illustrated the subject while they lent animation to it. In all other respects he has left nothing to be desired; nor would the defect have been felt, had he not himself made us aware that he possessed in words the skill displayed by his countrymen, Raeburn and Ross, in colours. The style of Dugald Stewart is perhaps more ornate than the reader of the present day approves, and is on the whole less vigorous than that of Sir James Mackintosh. But Stewart had learned and practised the art of composition when it was still usual to consider Cicero and Addison models of eloquence and good taste. He had ceased to write, when it became lawful, if not laudable, to cast English into German moulds, and to evoke from their resting-places in forgotten books words that would have made Quintilian stare and gasp. In some remarks which he appended to certain strictures by Edmund Burke on the style of Gibbon and Robertson, Stewart, in his memoir of the latter historian, lets us into the secret of his own taste and practice in composition. They are a key to the conceptions he had formed of a just style.

In all works of an encyclopædic character there is a permanent and an evanescent portion; and in the latter especially appear the merits of a new edition, as well as the recurring necessity for it. Physical science is always advancing; a new experiment, a fresh discovery, may effect an entire revolution in *chemistry* or *geology*. The department of *medicine* again is liable to similar fluctuations; forms of disease either yield to the remedies applied to them, or vanish with the social circumstances which produced them. The epidemical disorders of the nineteenth century differ as widely from those of the Middle Ages as the practice of Sir Henry Holland differs from that of Sir Theodore Mayerne. The systems of classification in the animal and vegetable kingdoms demand also occasional modification, if not entire revision, and Jussieu and Linnæus would alike admit that their arrangement of plants did not now meet all the conditions required by Sir William Hooker. On the other hand, history and geography are partly permanent, partly evanescent portions of such a work. No one, competent for the task, would now-a-days abridge for the columns of an encyclopædia, Hooke or Mitford's Histories of

Rome or Greece, or pin his faith on Lacretelle, if he were composing an account of the French Revolution. Geography also is a department liable to fluctuations to a degree little inferior to natural history. Yet of both history and geography there is a constant as well as a transient stock; and where some parts must be remodelled, others may be safely retained in a new edition. When, however, we come to the subject of metaphysical or moral philosophy, that which has once been well written needs little or no alteration, since those branches of knowledge are as unprogressive as physical science is expansive. As knowledge increases its circle, public morality also as a whole improves. But the rules and maxims on which it rests are little in advance of the principles laid down by Plato, Epictetus, and the imperial sage, Marcus Aurelius. Theology, on the other hand, as regards its creeds, articles, canons, and ceremonials, is generally steadfast, and, indeed, oftener reactionary; since there is no indisposition in divines to retread the ancient ways, and to apply to an age of reason the obsolete dogmas of the ages of faith. But as respects other inseparable attendants on exegetic theology, this department is reluctantly expansive; science will not permit us to accept any longer the rude conceptions of nature and her works that sufficed for the Jews and for many centuries of the Christian era; and philology forbids us to regard with implicit credence the received letter or canon of Scripture.

We might carry farther the contrast between those portions of an encyclopædia which are properly steadfast, and those which, from their nature, are transitory. But we must now hasten to lay before our readers such estimate, as our space will permit, of the edition before us. On the whole, it is a work of which the proprietors, the editor, and all concerned in it may be justly proud, and for which the subscribers to it have much reason to be thankful. The labour and the cost bestowed upon the successive re-issues have been immense, and upon each re-issue there has been much partial reconstruction, and often much entire renovation, bestowed. We shall presently mention some cases where, in our opinion, the pruning-hook is called for, or where entirely new matter is indispensable. But in a work on which so many hands are engaged, it is impossible but that there should be some "diversity of operation." Through the whole, however, "the same spirit" is visible—a desire to render the "Encyclopædia" an accurate synopsis and a useful record of learning and science in their most recent forms.

Among the numerous difficulties which beset the re-editing of an "Encyclopædia" of such high and long-standing repute as the "Britannica," not the least onerous and perplexing to an editor is his proper and delicate respect for great names. In the scientific

portions of this work these perplexities must frequently present themselves. Articles that twenty years ago conveyed to the reader a satisfactory account of the state, progress, or prospects of some particular branch of knowledge, become even in a shorter period imperfect, if not obsolete. Time, which as Sir Thomas Browne quaintly says "antiquates antiquities," makes terrible havoc with the records of science. Time, with its irresistible companion, change, is as terrible to an editor as was Friar Bacon's head of brass to the dismayed *famulus* of the English Faustus. *Time was* is in a moment supplanted by *time is*, and the scientific present is perhaps swiftly to be cancelled by an innovating and revolutionizing future. Must the editor then inexorably sweep away in some cases the entire structure, and raise an entirely new edifice, or can he be permitted, with due reverence for illustrious or respectable names, and with proper consideration also for public interest, to retain in part, and to renew in part, to piece the old garment, which may have gone out of fashion, with the new cloth that has come in? With every disposition to make allowance for this recurring dilemma in a work of this nature, we cannot refrain from lamenting that in some of its departments the eighth edition of the "Encyclopædia Britannica" is not up to the level of modern progress and discovery; that there is some degree of caprice visible in the editorial corrections; and that while in many instances nothing is left for us to desire, in others we have to regret that the present state and condition of knowledge are very imperfectly represented. The principal instances we shall allege of such deficiencies are taken from the sections on *Astronomy, Physics,* and *Natural History*, or, as we prefer terming it, Biology.

As well from its early position in the Encyclopædia, as from its foremost place in the "History of Inductive Science," astronomy is among the first subjects to arrest our attention and to invite our criticism on the four distinct treatises into which the article upon it is divided. In the first of these, that devoted to the "History of Astronomy," we find an old article with the new matter put into a supplement. It is in the latter, therefore, that we have to look for the account of that greatest triumph of mathematical science, the discovery of Neptune, of which the first presage was perhaps that announcement in felicitous language by Sir John Herschel, of a mass of matter moving far beyond the distant orbit of Uranus. We feel it trembling along the far-reaching line of our analysis; we see it as Columbus saw America from the shores of Spain. And as the faith and constant gazing to the west revealed the new world to Columbus, so were the toil of brain of a French and of an English mathematical student rewarded when "nature fulfilled her compact with genius," and the

planet Neptune swam into the ken of the astronomer. Mr. Main tells the story as a Greenwich official ought to tell it. On the neglect of the astronomer-royal to take by the hand at the right moment the young Cambridge student, and on the supineness that had allowed the Observatory at Cambridge to be without the German star maps as soon as they appeared, there is, of course, no comment. Unfortunately for the pre-eminence of English astronomy, the precedence of Leverrier in the discovery was thereby secured, but the credit was in no way dimmed that will give for ever to Mr. Adams a twin glory with that of the French savant in the discovery of Neptune. The treatise on theoretical astronomy is like the historical one, an antiquated article with a supplement at the end of it. It seems a pity that one should have to wade through pages of the older views of the nature of celestial bodies, only to find in a detached and fragmentary form, supplementary statements communicating the more recent hypothesis on such important questions of astronomical science as the nature of the solar orb, and the structure and substance of comets. In connexion with this, we may allude to the article on meteorolites, in which the exploded views of Laplace, that they are masses projected from the moon, finds place; and in which one fails to meet either with recent facts or with the more modern attempts to explain and illustrate them.

In point of fact, this curious subject links astronomy with geology and chemistry; and it is to these aerolitic masses of matter that reach our world from space we must look for the means of speculating on the nature of the material of those bodies that thought may climb to, but that our hands may never touch. It is to be regretted that the wonderful spring in quite recent days to an approximation to an analysis of solar light, and so of the incandescent matter of the sun by the results of Kirchoff and Bunsen, find no place in the Encyclopædia; though they have an interest all the more exciting when considered in conjunction with the constitution of aerolites.

Physical astronomy is treated of in an antique article of Professor Playfair's. Such an article, to effect the object it should have in view, ought to consist of a comparison of the facts obtained by observation, with the results arrived at by theoretical calculation. It should be, in short, the testing by experience the completeness of the theory of the motions of celestial bodies. This certainly is done in Professor Playfair's article in a few of the simplest cases; but we look in vain for such a comparison of observation with the results of theory as such an article should contain, if it is to give us anything of a satisfactory view of the degree to which theory is still at fault in the explanation of celestial motions. An enumeration of theoretical results is indeed

subsequently given, but even this is but as a series of results, unaccompanied by any indication of the methods by which they have been arrived at.

In the practical part of astronomy we should expect to find Mr. Main at home and in a position to fill up the deficiencies in the work of Wallace and Henderson. The problems given here are thoroughly useful, and the description of the instruments used by the astronomer is good; yet the methods given for using the instruments are extremely incomplete, and so necessary an adjunct as a description of the modes of reducing observations is entirely wanting. In fact, on the whole, the articles on astronomy are inferior to what the "Encyclopædia Britannica" should have asserted as its standard, and that not from want of the requisite space, for ample room is assigned to the subject, but apparently from a willingness on the part of the editor to be content with an inferior handling of so great a subject rather than to tear up the obsolete matter of articles written long years ago, and give *carte blanche* and the same number of pages to some two able men of the astronomical world of to-day.

The article by Ivory on attraction is not included in the criticism here passed on those on astronomy. It is able and excellent; but it is too good for the place it fills. The theorems on attraction which it demonstrates stand isolated in the Encyclopædia. They are not employed in the articles on astronomy, and in fact they belong to an order of treatise much higher than that which is admitted into the volumes where they appear.

The article on the telescope, by Sir John Herschel, is admirably clear, and worthy of its illustrious author; but we miss in it a statement of the methods that may be employed for testing the quality of an instrument. That we should find a long article (far too long a one) on the subject of burning glasses is rather startling. It, however, repays the reading of it. It is clearly written, and very interesting; but here, as elsewhere, we have to complain of the antiquated tone, and seek in vain for the newer methods that have been employed for constructing lenses.

The article on optics by Sir D. Brewster ought to be a good one. No one has worked more fruitfully in the field of experimental optics than the Sir David Brewster of half a century ago. But the venerable head of the University of Edinburgh, notwithstanding his well-known energy of mind, has failed in showing that he has retained his grasp on optical science and kept up in the race in which so many younger and ardent minds have toiled for distinction. It was perhaps hardly a well-considered resolution in the veteran philosopher to offer to occupy a field that has been so ably filled before by Sir John Herschel in the "Encyclo-

pædia Metropolitana" of former days. That remarkable treatise has become the text-book of optical science, in which the phenomena observed, and the laws that govern them on the one hand, and the theoretical views that have been propounded to explain them on the other hand, are put forth with a most happy clearness of demonstration, and in well-considered order. Here, however, no allusion is made to those great flights of human reason which have soared even into the eye of the sun, and have dared to see in light a pulsation of matter, to measure with a discriminating standard the very lengths of its various kinds of waves, and to proclaim the laws which those waves obey, and which regulate even their form. The laws of the undulatory theory are not to be read here, nor has the patriarch of Scotch science given us a substitute for them in a lucid chapter on the emission or on any other theory of light.

The barometer, and barometric measurements, are treated on in an excellent article by Leslie, though a few more facts about the changes, secular and diurnal, of that vast aërial sea that envelopes our world, and bringing the article down to our time, would be welcome; these, however, will be found admirably detailed in the article on meteorology. To weigh the atmosphere in any given place from day to day by means of a barometer is in fact to find each day the sum total of a series of unknown figures—figures which represent the measure of many different phenomena: the sum of the temperatures of the different zones or strata of the air, the amount of moisture, the pressure from atmospheric motions still operating from afar. These all are so many values, the aggregate of which alone is attained by the reading of the barometer. To ascertain each separate value one needs must investigate each one of the items that build up the sum. Nor are we yet in a position completely to resolve these several problems. The recent ascents of Mr. Glaisher in a balloon to above the height of Chimborazo, have for their object the collection of data that may hereafter furnish an approximation to the solution of some at least of them. But the day is still far off when we may look on the readings of the barometer as other than the answer of a complicated sum, the separate items of which are unknown to us, or as a root of an equation involving several unknown quantities whose values vary for every time the barometer is read.

But the discussion of these atmospheric problems belongs rather as before observed to a treatise on meteorology; and on turning to this word in the Encyclopædia we find ourselves presented with one of those articles that shine like "bright metals on a sullen ground," and go far to atone for the shortcomings of inferior essays. This most interesting, exact, and comprehensive

article will one day take a conspicuous place among those luminous works for which our generation is indebted to Sir John Herschel. There is a satisfaction in sitting down to a subject in which we can feel that our guide is entirely trustworthy; and it is pre-eminently the character of the works of Sir John Herschel that, apart from the confidence inspired by the high name of their author, one feels that one's footsteps are on solid ground. Sir John's pure and resonant English too is the very type of what we may call scientific eloquence. Accurate scholarship, to use the word in its wide sense, marks every statement, and no one who shall give a couple of hours to the article on meteorology but must be conscious of having reached a very clear point of view for contemplating those grand operations of which the atmosphere is the scene, and which in their accumulated strength produce the tornado, the cyclone, and the hail-storm, while to their more genial co-operation under other circumstances we owe the charm of sunny weather and the beneficent influences of dew and rain. That the production of thunder and lightning should be the effect and not the cause of the rain or the hail that accompany these great manifestations of electric force, Sir John proves by most convincing reasoning. The gradual accumulation of electricity in the atmosphere, first from the development of the electric tension on the small vesicles of vapour resulting from the first condensation of the gaseous steam that arises from evaporation where accompanied by chemical change, to which the oceans, the rivers, even the exhalations of vegetable life contribute; then the accumulation of this feebly intense electricity, by a gradual conduction, or by the induction of the neighbouring earth, to the surface of the cloud, till it reaches in its further intensification the point where its discharge through the air takes place in the crash of the thunder clap; the result of the sudden condensation into denser vapour, and the rushing together of vesicles into drops, or their congelation into hail, when some ice-cold air-current has converted the floating cloud into the falling rain shower or the hail-storm;—the whole of these phenomena are successively brought on Sir John's canvass, and the way it is all told only leaves one in wonder that there could have been ever a doubt as to what was cause and what effect, and that the whole cycle of these and other atmospheric operations were not self-evident to every reasoning intellect. We are referred in this article to another on climate, but the reader must not hope to find another treatise by Sir John Herschel's pen. The article on climate is a great falling off from that on meteorology; in fact, it is a somewhat slovenly intermixture of the new with the antiquated, making a motley out of which one chooses the good, rather than a harmonious and

compact whole, to which one may turn on any subject with a reasonable hope of finding that subject fairly and ably handled.

The practical and readable article on the thermometer is a fair companion to that on barometric measurement. If we miss in it a master's hand, we find that of a careful student; while for the philosophic handling of the subject of temperature we look in vain in the Encyclopædia; as we are told to search for such topics under the article on heat, an article which is, unfortunately, entirely without any philosophy whatever. The production of a perfect thermometer has taxed the ingenuity and the skill of the best of workmen, and the wisdom of the most learned philosophers. It has contributed to results at once among the most important and the most exact that science has achieved. Yet is this simple instrument an evidence of the imperfection of our highest efforts at exactness. No liquid or solid substance is known which expands with exactly equal amounts for equal increments of temperature; and if it did, the material used for retaining the thermometric substance, or as a standard by which to measure its expansions, must follow a law of expansion of its own. So that theoretical and absolute perfection is unattainable in even the best-constructed thermometer; though here, as in so many other cases, familiar to scientific experimentalists, the errors of one kind are often nearly compensated for by errors of another, and an approximation to truth is attained that is almost within the extremest limits of the human powers of observation. Regnault has shown that thermometers properly made of a certain kind of glass, and made with careful precautions as regards the treatment of the bulb, are so far exact, that the unequally increasing expansion of the mercury at the higher temperatures is compensated for by a corresponding expansion of the glass tube containing it. Perhaps Mr. Tomlinson, in his article on the thermometer, might have gone a little farther with advantage into this part of the subject. The pyrometer, for measuring furnace temperatures, is dealt with in a separate article, and the exquisite apparatus employed by Melloni for his investigations into the nature of radiant heat, the intensities of which he measured by measuring the electric current produced by heating a small thermo-electric pile, composed of little bars of bismuth and antimony soldered together into a sort of tessellated surface, are left to be treated of in detail in the article on heat. That article, however, by Professor Traill, is quite below the calibre of the better treatises in the Encyclopædia, and one cannot but regret that so important a subject as heat had not been placed in the very ablest hands that could be found to write it in the English language.

Even without going out of Scotland, surely an illustrious

writer could have been met with to handle this, almost the most important of physical sciences. It is ludicrous in this age, and in such a work it is disgraceful, to find such a statement as that the heat developed by hammering a bit of iron is the heat latent in the iron! Nor is it more satisfactory as a conclusion to such an article, to be told with some thing like a sneer at the wildness of the vision, that Melloni at last came in to the view that "light and radiant heat differ only in the length of their undulations!" Truly, into such a view Melloni never came; for Melloni at least understood the theory he subscribed to, and certainly never asserted that, for instance, the radiant heat accompanying yellow light possessed a greater wave-length than the light ray it was so associated with. Melloni's declaration that he could not define a ray of heat or light, except by its wave-length, had a meaning, and has furnished food for many a long pondering to a scientific mind; but it has had neither meaning nor suggestiveness for the author of the article in question.

As regards the articles on electricity and on magnetism, they are tedious and tautological. These terms apply especially to the latter treatise, in which, indeed, one looks in vain for such a detailed account of Gauss' researches as their high importance ought to have secured for them; such a point as his method of determining the absolute value of the earth's magnetism being left without demonstration. So, too, in the article on voltaic electricity, one finds no account of Ampère's determination of the mutual influence of two electric currents; of Kirchoff's investigations on conductibility; or of Weber's researches, and his method for determining the absolute intensity of a current. Nor is a word said of the polarization of this marvellous power in nature, a property of the greatest importance as establishing a point of comparison, and, so to say, a link of intimate relationship with other forms of force, from which, in so many other respects, it seems to differ in essential particulars.

The subject of steam is one of the highest theoretical no less than practical interest, and has occupied the attention of great observers. The article on steam gives a good account of these, though one would have been glad to find a more detailed account of the general properties and relations of gases, and a chapter on the mechanical theory of heat, that might in some degree atone for the inefficient treatment of that great subject, in the article devoted to the science of heat.

The subjects of mineralogy, geology, and mining are comprised under the head of the first of these titles, and are presented to us in a series of articles of very different calibre and merit. We will

give precedence to the second, in consideration of its superior interest to the general as well as to the scientific student.

Second in importance, indeed, to no one of the physical sciences, and forming as it were the crown of the whole of those which treat of the phenomena manifested on the surface of our earth, geology takes a proud position in the great circle of the sciences, yielding to astronomy alone in the sublimity of the ideas connected with it, and at the same time descending to the consideration of those minute details which from their very minuteness almost produce the effect of the sublime upon the student's mind. And geology has this advantage—that the traces of the grandest phenomena are accessible to our immediate observation; that we may, so to speak, handle the monuments of vast changes, and even of grand catastrophes which have occurred at inconceivably remote periods of time, bringing home to us, almost as if they had happened before us, magnificent spectacles upon which no human eye ever rested. But this view of the grand history of our planet is only to be obtained by the patient study of many details; and although the genius of the literary geologist may enable him to depict many of the scenes of the distant past with sufficient vividness to produce a startling effect upon the imagination of the unlearned reader, the true appreciation of such efforts cannot be effected without a sufficient knowledge of the general phenomena of geology to enable the student at least to understand the evidence upon which the asserted facts are founded.

Professor Jukes' treatise on geology supplies this necessary information in an admirable form, the section on geognosy, treating of the nature of rocks, the mode of their formation and the various physical agencies by which they have been brought into the positions where we now find them, furnishing the reader with a most excellent digest of physical geology. The analysis of the different formations with their component beds, forming the second part of the article, is also exceedingly valuable; its arrangement is very clear and intelligible, and the amount of information communicated upon the foreign equivalents of our British rocks, the latter being taken as the standard of comparison, is really surprising, considering the space occupied by this section of the article. The palæontological information is indeed somewhat meagre, the fossil remains of animals being consigned to a distinct article under the care of Professor Owen; but wherever certain fossils are characteristic of particular beds, we generally find them referred to. The difficulty in writing such an article as Mr. Jukes', consists in no small degree in adjusting the space it covers equitably among the different parts of the subject. It is curious to see how many encyclopædias and other dictionaries have fallen into the evil of commencing on a scale that has to be contracted as

the work proceeds; and the same tendency is often to be found in individual articles. Their authors begin on the scale of a treatise and conclude on that of a review, or they give ample room to the details of some subject that has been their individual speciality, and have left for the remainder of their article a space too confined for the material that has to be got into it. But Mr. Jukes has not fallen into this error; and his very readable article is a good illustration of what such encyclopædic summaries should be.

Professor Owen's treatise on palæontology we shall have occasion to notice with reference to the peculiar views advocated by its author as to the nature of the Protozoa and the distinctions between animals and plants; and although we differ from the learned professor in some other minor points of classification, these are not such as to detract from the general excellence of his work. By far the greater part of his treatise is devoted to the vertebrate animals, and not without reason, as it is upon these that he speaks with the greatest weight of authority; in this portion we have an exposition of the characters not only of the classes, orders, and families, but even of the genera of fossil vertebrata. The fishes, indeed, are not treated in so much detail as the other classes, probably because an article by Dr. Traill on fossil ichthyology, containing an abstract of the generic characters of fossil fishes, and a table of the species, arranged stratigraphically, is appended to Sir John Richardson's article on ichthyology.

The invertebrate fossils, for great assistance in the elaboration of which Professor Owen acknowledges his being indebted to Mr. E. P. Woodward of the British Museum, are treated of chiefly in classes and orders, the families being introduced as systematic entities only in a few instances. This circumstance, which of course is unavoidable from the vastness of the subject of invertebrate palæontology, gives a different character to this part of the article, and will render it of far less importance to the palæontologist than the latter portion, which treats more in detail of the objects of Professor Owen's special studies; but for general purposes of reference it is admirably adapted, the principal genera and many species, especially those characteristic of particular formations, or presenting in themselves any remarkable peculiarities, being carefully noted, and each group illustrated by admirable woodcuts, exhibiting forms characteristic of different geological epochs.

A treatise on mineralogy in the present age should be something more than an exposition in popular language of the rudiments of crystallography, followed by a still more popular and vague account of the physical and optical characters of crystals, and concluding with a *réchauffé* of the antique classificatory sys-

tem of Mohs and a short description of mineral species. Yet no better than this is the treatise which Professor Nichol has written for the "Encyclopædia." A good article on mineralogy in such a work would have had a very valuable tendency towards raising an important and somewhat difficult science to its proper place in this country. It is a remarkable thing that a science so widely and so well studied on the Continent should be so generally neglected here. It may be owing perhaps to a reaction from the unsound popularity which mineralogy and mineral collections enjoyed with us some thirty or forty years ago. The system of Mohs professed to bring mineralogy to every man's door. The mere aspect of a mineral, a scratch to try its hardness, a couple of weighing operations to determine its specific gravity, a few other equally simple experiments, and presto! the characteristics of a mineral were to be recognised and the mineral referred to its species. Then, too, there were in England at least two competent dealers in minerals who would set up the amateur mineralogist at once with a complete stock-in-trade, and from time to time also with the additions requisite to keep it up to the mark of discovery; or, if wealth wanted a hobby, they were there with choice and splendid specimens ready to gratify the curiosity or flatter the vanity of Plutus himself had he taken to this science. They knew their business, and were men of some pretension to a scientific acquaintance with the objects they sold. But though a few of the collections thus founded became the nuclei round which subsequent care and the scientific study of enlightened owners have thrown a value which science has appreciated, the majority of the collections formed in those golden days of mineralogy have become the dusty denizens of cabinets in the lumber-rooms of country houses, or have fallen under the hammer of the auction-room at prices which are the best measures of the depreciation of popular mineralogy in England. The truth is, that people found out that mineralogy was not to be properly studied in the spirit of the mere amateur. It was felt by those who were doomed by nature, or their education and circumstances, to the hungry spirit of the collector, that other subjects presented easier intellectual problems and were associated with equally facile means of spending money and aggregating specimens, rare or beautiful in their aspect, of which the differences and characteristics were attainable without scientific toil. Heuland and Sowerby ceased from the dealing world; mineral collections ceased to be fashionable, for the study and the collection of shells and of fossils offered greater variety and presented a study that might be carried to a considerable extent as an intellectual acquirement by even an uneducated person, for it was a study that needed only a quick perception and a ready memory. Chemistry and ma-

thematics at the same time claimed mineralogy as their domain. Hence the English mineral-dealer was no longer a mineralogist, but became the mere seller of spars and shells and curiosities. Abroad, this reaction never occurred, because collecting from the pride of wealth, or from the spirit of acquisitiveness, was, except in Paris, unattractive, or did not accord with people's circumstances. Mineralogy, therefore, has never ceased to be studied earnestly abroad, more especially in Scandinavia and in Germany; and each successive generation of the student youth of those countries has brought to it the fresh vigour and the new light which the rapid progress of chemistry, of mathematical crystallography, and of physical optics has shed over mineralogy; for indeed there is no science that has shared in the same degree in the triumphs of all these three departments of human knowledge.

Yet one finds in Professor Nichol's pages no hint even of this great progress, or of the fact that England, at the same time that her band of amateur mineral collectors is nearly extinct, has a small but valuable school of mineralogists in the best sense of the word. Professor Nichol indeed does not even allude to the characteristics of a system of crystallography thoroughly English in its origin, and which the best class of the younger mineralogists and mathematicians of Germany have long ago adopted. He could hardly have been unacquainted with the work on crystallography of the Cambridge Professor of Mineralogy, and it is as difficult to suppose him ignorant of its having been translated into French by Sinamont, and into German by Grailich, and that some of the best work done in crystallography and optical physics in German and Italian is to be found in memoirs and treatises written according to this system by the younger school of scientific men at Vienna and at Bonn. Yet the Encyclopædia Britannica adopts a foreign system of notation for the planes of a crystal, which is clumsy, and must become ere long obsolete by the side of a method of notation so typographically simple as Professor Miller's—a notation which at the same time is capable of expressing, not merely the general form to which a crystal face belongs, but the relative position of every plane belonging to that crystallographic form. This great simplicity and universality in its notation, combined with the happy use of spherical trigonometry introduced by Professor Miller, should have given his system a place in a treatise in an English Encyclopædia. Instead of a chemical method of classification which can alone express the relation of substances, the interest of which for science, or even in the arts, lies almost entirely in their chemical composition, we have an artificial and elaborate method of arrangement founded upon, yet not identical with, any one of

the innumerable and unsuccesful attempts to harmonize what was unsatisfactory, and what, in fact, cannot be harmonized in the system of classification of Mohs. In ten years' time that system will exist no more, except in the history of what Dr. Whewell, somewhat pedantically, yet with an excellent philosophical purpose, calls the Analytico-Classificatory Science. This system the younger men even in Vienna are abàndoning, and it will only linger in some venerable shrines of mineralogy where the professors of to-day may hereafter be enjoying life in the conservatism of old age.

The article on *Mining* is also unsatisfactory. The initials belong, we are told in the introductory volume, to a Mr. Leifchild. A small stock of the mining vocabulary of Cornwall and other mineral districts, and a very rudimentary acquaintance with the art which that singular vocabulary—in part venerably local and partly foreign in its origin—illustrates, appear to be the acquirements which Mr. Leifchild considers sufficient to justify him in accepting so important a duty as to write an article on mining for a great encyclopædia.

The subject of collieries, on the other hand, is most ably handled. Here at least the reader feels himself in the presence of a man who has lived in and about a coal-district, and knows practically the working details of a coal-pit and even of a coal-field.

There is no class of subjects with which an Encyclopædia re-edited at only long intervals, deals so unsatisfactorily as it must deal with those sciences whose progress is rapid and the matter of which is cumulative in its character. Of these sciences chemistry and geology are good illustrations. The fundamental principles of astronomy have been long ago sufficiently deeply laid. New observations, new generalizations, new triumphs of mathematical analysis, new ventures in the form of theoretical suggestion, may and do give an interest perpetually renewed to astronomical science; but they are of a kind that may well be left to be recorded in the successive editions of a great encyclopædia. But the vigorous vitality of a science like chemistry is exhibited in a growth too rapid for so slow-paced a record. The article on chemistry, by Dr. Gregory, was already antiquated before the present edition of the Encyclopædia had half emerged from its former skin. That article was indeed written at a somewhat unlucky moment in the history of the science. The ideas of Laurent and of Gerhardt, the development of which in the last eight years has infused a new philosophical element into chemical science, were, at the time Dr. Gregory's article on chemistry was penned, only looked on by many orthodox and plodding chemists as visionary novelties and vagaries. But others were then reading the ideas

put forth in the "Annuaire" edited by those two remarkable Frenchmen, and finding in them the germs of a simplicity and comprehensiveness that went far in their minds to give form and system to what seemed unphilosophical and confused in the notation and the language of chemistry. The old controversy as to whether water was to be called a combination of one chemical unit of oxygen with one, or whether with two chemical units of hydrogen, broke out again; but it was a controversy fraught now with a revolution in chemical notation, and in the method by which chemical thought and language were to be employed and applied. The controversy, in fact, turns on the question whether it is simpler and affords a more ready key to the *relations subsisting between chemical compounds*, to suppose that the volume occupied by substances in the gaseous form is the most philosophical indication of the relative amounts of those substances which are to be accounted their chemical units, irrespectively of the relations of volume of their constituent parts. Water can be decomposed into two elements, hydrogen and oxygen. Two volumes of the former unite with one of the latter, and the three form two condensed volumes of water. The oxygen weighs eight times the weight of the hydrogen. Is water a compound of two equivalents of hydrogen and one of oxygen? In that case a volume represents an equivalent of hydrogen, and, as a gas, is equal in bulk to an equivalent of oxygen; in which case the oxygen equivalent (or volume) is sixteen times as heavy as the hydrogen equivalent. Or, is water a compound of one equivalent, consisting of two volumes, of hydrogen with one equivalent, composed of one volume of oxygen, wherein the oxygen equivalent is therefore eight times the weight of the hydrogen equivalent?

This controversy is as old as the early days of Berzelius; but it has acquired, in recent times, a new importance. That electro-chemical decompositions should be looked on as the most fundamental kind of dialysis to which a chemical compound can be submitted, and that the units of chemical matter are to be held to combine in the most simple ratios only when the Voltaic divellent force separates them from each other in certain ratios, is a view that has yielded, for the present at least, to the theory that the specific gravity of elementary bodies in the gaseous form, represents the relative weight of their combining equivalents; in other words, that equal volumes represent the chemical units or so-called atoms.

Compound bodies, indeed, present a modification of this law, in so far as that the equivalent of a compound body has to be represented by a doubled volume, inasmuch as its specific gravity is found to be only half that indicated by theory for its volume.

But this apparent inconsistency was met by the recognition of two theoretical conditions of elementary matter—the one, the single-volumed, which such matter is held to represent in combination; the other the double-volumed, when two volumes may be considered as combined, or in which the elements may be held to exist when in the free state. This view of the constitution of a chemical compound has certainly been fertile of results. It has afforded a standing-point from which all the facts of chemistry have been seen under new aspects. It may be that it is but a transitional state of chemical theory. But assuredly chemistry already owes much to it. The idea of ranging chemical compounds, and indeed the chemical elements, in homotypical series has received a logical form from this view of chemical combination. The elements fall into groups defined by the number of their chemical atoms that represent, or are equivalent to, the unit of combination in certain typical compounds. Thus in water one equivalent of oxygen combines with two equivalents of hydrogen; and represents, therefore, two volume-equivalents of the chlorine, which unites on equal terms, so to say, with hydrogen. So, again, hydrogen typifies a long series of metallic elements, oxygen a series of energetic electro-negative elements, and chlorine a group, the halogens, which from their one-volumed equivalent are capable of representing hydrogen itself, and even displacing it, on equal terms. Nitrogen, once more, typifies a group of elements of which one volume associates with three volumes of the hydrogen group; and includes phosphorus, arsenic, antimony, and bismuth. The compounds of these elements (or of compound chemical molecules condensed, so to say, into the character and playing the part of such elements) are ranged again under certain general typical genera. Water, hydrochloric acid, ammoniacal gas, and marsh-gas, form the type-members of four of these great serial divisions of the chemical world.

It is, then, by the development of this idea of typical series, by an infinite variety of interchanges and substitutions, in such typical symbolic expressions of one body for another, in the ratio assigned by such simple laws, that the chemist holds in his hand the vast variety of chemical combinations; grasping them and reducing them to order and system, and converting what else were a very kaloiodescope of ever-shifting forms and bewildering varieties of matter, into an organized series of graduated phenomena and of tabulated facts, each held to each by a relationship endowed with the characteristics of every other series of related phenomena in nature. For within them there is to be found a fundamental simplicity and singleness of ordered law, that underlies and controls, as everywhere else, an infinitude of

effects, often so complex in their first aspect as to repel all but the most ardent mind, yet to him who pursues and investigates them step by step, continually yielding new light to guide him, revealing relationship unsuspected even at first; until ever toiling higher and higher up the ascent, man is able to see his horizon extend beyond at least some of the confused images that at first seemed far even beyond his ken. Chemistry is rapidly achieving this reward of a century of toil; and it is no small evidence of the eagerness with which it is pursuing that reward, that no treatise on chemistry can be written fast enough to represent at its publication the contemporary condition of the science.

We now turn to a subject of more general interest than the foregoing. Amongst the scientific articles contained in the Encyclopædia Britannica, few, perhaps, will be more consulted by general readers, than those which treat of natural history. There is scarcely a traveller in distant countries who does not consider himself competent, in describing his adventures, to give an account of the animals and plants he met with, generally using technical terms with a glib freedom which, although it may certainly give a very exalted notion of his varied and accurate knowledge, must not unfrequently prove somewhat puzzling to the uninitiated. We have, moreover, almost an infinity of so-called popular books and magazine articles in which subjects connected with natural history are treated with more or less display of scientific knowledge, and not a few of these must be somewhat unintelligible to readers not possessing a certain acquaintance with zoology. As the Encyclopædia Britannica does not profess to contain scientific articles adapted for the instruction of men of science, and such as we look for in special dictionaries of the sciences, it would hardly be fair to require that those devoted to natural history should develope new views either in physiology or classification, or even adopt the most advanced opinions upon these matters, unless these be apparently so well-founded and so generally received by those best acquainted with the subject in hand, as to have become as it were a settled portion of the domain of science; but we may justly demand that the treatises on various branches of natural history should occupy the position of good handbooks of the departments of science of which they profess to treat—that they should furnish those consulting them with information on a level with the state of science at the time of their publication. It is in this light that we must examine the natural history articles of the Encyclopædia, and even thus regarded, many of them will be found far from satisfactory.

This is seen very clearly in the general treatise on the animal kingdom, which is at once antiquated and weak, containing a

vast number of details treated in the so-called popular style, but giving little information of the kind which we have a right to look for in an article purporting to furnish a general view of the functions and classification of animals. In treating of the distinctions between animals and plants, which must be confessed to be a somewhat difficult subject, we find the animal and vegetable kingdoms compared to "two great pyramids, intimately united at their bases, but diverging more and more as they ascend;" and a little further on we are told that "the extraordinary beings which by their ambiguous nature may be said to have thus blended two kingdoms into one, are called zoophytes, or animal plants." Surely the writer ought to have been aware that the real point at which the distinction between plants and animals becomes doubtful is far below the position of any creatures to which the name of zoophytes has ever strictly been applied, amongst those minute creatures which by the slight advance that they have made from the general character of organized bodies, can scarcely be referred to either of the great kingdoms into which those bodies are generally divided. We may admit that the general character of animals consists in their receiving their organized nourishment into an internal cavity, in which we may suppose some process of digestion to occur, whilst plants imbibe nourishment, generally of inorganic nature, by some points, or the whole, of their external surface; and for this reason it is impossible to accept as satisfactory the view propounded by Professor Owen in the introduction to his treatise on palæontology in this work, according to which the Protozoa and motile Protophytes, which have so long formed a bone of contention amongst naturalists, are placed together in a distinct group intermediate between plants and animals. "The two divisions of organisms called 'plants' and 'animals,'" says Professor Owen, "are specialized members of the great natural group of living things; and there are numerous beings, mostly of minute size and retaining the form of nucleated cells, which manifest the common organic characters, but without the distinctive superadditions of true plants or animals. Such organisms are called Protozoa." The distinctive characters of the two great organized kingdoms are given by Professor Owen as follows:—"When the organism can also move, when it receives the nutritive matter by a mouth, inhales oxygen and exhales carbonic acid, and developes tissues, the proximate principles of which are quaternary compounds of carbon, hydrogen, oxygen, and nitrogen, it is called an 'animal.' When the organism is rooted, has neither mouth nor stomach, exhales oxygen and has tissues composed of 'cellulose' or of binary or ternary compounds, it is called a 'plant.'" Even by applying these characters to the creatures included by Professor Owen in his great division of

Protozoa, we shall find that great numbers of them admit of being ranged either as animals or plants. The whole of the Infusoria, as far as we can speak positively of their chemical and physiological characters, are true animals; and the Rhizopoda are in the same case if we admit that in taking their nourishment they virtually form a mouth at the point where the food is taken in. Again, in their chemical nature as in their chemical effects, the Diatomaceæ and Desmidieæ, which we take to be the plant-like members of Professor Owen's group of Protozoa, are true plants; and the sole reason for hesitating to place them within the confines of the vegetable kingdom consists in their motile power, which is certainly insufficient for this purpose. Professor Owen's proposed classification may be regarded as cutting the knot rather than untying it.

On the nature of species we find two distinct views advocated in the two articles above referred to, a circumstance which can hardly prove satisfactory to the reader. The author of the article "Animal Kingdom" adopts the notion of the fixity of species and of their creation by independent efforts of the Divine Will, adducing of course all the old arguments in support of his view. Professor Owen, on the other hand, without positively committing himself to any theory, admits the possibility of the gradual evolution of species in accordance with secondary laws, and certainly treats the notion of independent specific creations with very little respect. In their views of classification, however, the two writers are more in accordance, both regarding the groups established amongst organized beings as arbitrary. Professor Owen, indeed, in his article on mollusca, appears to advance still further in the direction of Lamarck and Darwin than in the introduction to his palæontology: in order to show the impossibility of establishing a definite lower limit for the sub-kingdom Mollusca, he points out the gradual passage from *Vorticella* amongst his Protozoa, through the Bryozoan genus *Pedicellina,* in which the molluscous structure is as it were sketched out, to the true molluscan forms of the Tunicata and Brachiopoda; and further refers to the great similarity in many points of the Planarian worms to the genera *Glaucus, Calliopœa, Rhodope,* &c., of which he forms his molluscan order Apneusta. If any argument in favour of the non-limitation of the mollusca can justly be derived from these considerations, it must depend, not upon mere external resemblances, but upon morphological grounds, and this must give a heavy blow to the doctrine of types as commonly understood. All recent zoological research seems to tend towards the establishment of a theory of evolution of species one from another; whether in accordance with the complex system of laws propounded by Mr. Darwin under the comprehensive name of "Natural Selec-

tion," or upon some other and perhaps more simple principle, still remains to be seen.

Even if we admit to the fullest extent the notion of the non-existence of a classification in nature, we can by no means regard classification as a matter of no consequence: on the contrary, it must be of the highest importance, if only as a help to the comprehension of a subject so vast as zoology, that animals should be grouped as much as possible in accordance with their true affinities. Our author, however, appears to be of a different opinion—at least if we may judge from his practice; for after a long discussion of the zoological systems proposed by various authors from Linnæus to Cuvier, he rests contented with that of the last-named naturalist, and adopts it without modification as the system to be followed throughout the zoological sections of the "Encyclopædia." In fact, for anything that appears to the contrary in the article "Animal Kingdom," zoologists, since the time of Cuvier, have done nothing to produce any effect on classification; and yet, before 1853, when the volume containing this article was published, modern researches had already modified the system of Cuvier in several important particulars—the Protozoa had already been separated from Cuvier's Radiata, rendering that group a far more natural one, and paving the way for the subsequent establishment of the great natural division of the Cœlenterata; the Entozoa and Bryozoa had taken up their true position as articulate and molluscoid animals, and the Cirripedes and Epizoa had been transferred from the Molluscan and Radiate divisions to their natural place amongst Crustacea. These and other minor changes are wholly unnoticed in the general view of zoological classification, and some of them are equally disregarded in the special articles devoted to particular groups.

The total absence of all reference to the views of recent zoologists is particularly striking in the article on Animalcules. Here we have, first, a reprint of the article from the last edition of the Encyclopædia Britannica, in which the few forms referred to are classified in accordance with Lamarck's system, and Bory de Saint Vincent is represented as the "latest and most assiduous writer on this department"! This is followed by some supplementary observations containing a discussion of the views of Ehrenberg and Dujardin upon the nature of Infusoria, but still referring to Diatomaceæ, Desmidieæ and other vegetable organisms as animalcules, and in fact leaving the whole subject in a state of confusion. We find here no recognition of the division Protozoa (which in Professor Owen's opinion, as already stated, seems even to constitute an intermediate kingdom), although that group must be considered to have been well established in 1853, when the article "Animalcules" was published; nor does

it make its appearance in the treatise on Zoophytes, of which, however, the Rhizopoda are represented as a class. The only reference to the existence of the group of Protozoa is to be found in Professor Owen's palæontology, where, as has been said, it bears a very different value from that usually attached to it by zoologists.

The Rotifera or wheel-animalcules, arranged by Ehrenberg and the older writers amongst the Infusoria, have been removed by the common consent of later naturalists to a more elevated rank among the Annulose classes. Their annulated structure, their possession of a distinct alimentary canal with two openings, and the production by them of regular eggs, must justify their being placed in such a position, and it is only their minute size and their possession of an apparatus of vibratile cilia for carrying their food into the mouth, that can lead to their being considered as allied to the far simpler organisms, for which we retain the term of Infusoria. Under these circumstances, their omission from amongst the Animalcules would be a matter of little surprise, but unfortunately they make their appearance nowhere else: the genera are, indeed, given in the table of Bory de Saint Vincent's classification, but no further notice is taken of them in the original article which forms the foundation of the present treatise, and the abstract of Ehrenberg's families contained in the supplementary portion includes only the Polygastrica of that author. We have sought in vain in the index and throughout the zoological articles for any mention of these creatures, and thus an entire and by no means an uninteresting class of animals has been allowed to drop quietly out of the system!

Cuvier's sub-kingdom of Zoophytes, even after the removal of the Protozoa, constituted a somewhat incoherent assemblage of groups whose internal constitution was in most cases not much better; and it has been chiefly by the revelation of the true nature and affinities of the animals included in it, that the researches of modern zoologists have exerted an influence upon classification. Cuvier himself, indeed, seems to have been fully aware of the provisional and incongruous nature of his fourth great division of the animal kingdom, and nothing perhaps would have astonished him more than the knowledge that after more than thirty years it would be retained in its entirety as a primary group, and that in a work like the present. Yet such is very nearly the case. Zoophytes, according to the "Encyclopædia Britannica," include the classes Entozoa, Echinodermata, Acalepha, and Polypes, besides the lower forms of Infusoria, Rhizopoda, and Sponges, which we now regard as forming a distinct sub-kingdom. The establishment of the sub-kingdom Cœlenterata, and its division into the classes Hydrozoa and Anthozoa, which must be regarded as

constituting one of the most important of our recent advances in the knowledge of these low forms of animal life, are passed over without notice; and although the editor has appended to the account of the Acalepha an abstract of Professor Huxley's classification of Hydrozoa, this is so isolated as to be more likely to increase the reader's confusion than to lead him to any clearer comprehension of the general subject.

When we descend to the details of the different classes we find, in many cases, an equally lamentable deficiency. The class of Entozoa, which ought to have been removed bodily into the sub-kingdom Annulosa, is treated in accordance with antiquated views. The article contains a long argument in favour of their spontaneous generation, in which, in spite of M. Pouchet, we cannot readily believe; and those recent researches by which the difficulties surrounding the access of parasites to closed cavities in the bodies of the animals infested by them have been explained away, receive no notice at the editor's hands. We may now consider it as proved that the so-called cystic worms of the glands and muscles of animals are the larval forms of tapeworms inhabiting the intestines of other creatures which prey upon the former; but in this treatise the Cystica still constitute an order of Entozoa, and nowhere do we find any indication that the existence of a relation such as that above mentioned between them and the Tæniæ has ever been thought of.

Few facts in natural history are more interesting, or more important in philosophical zoology, than the singular relations existing between the Acalepha and Hydroid Polyps of Cuvier. these are, indeed, indicated by the editor, but so briefly and with so little apparent appreciation of their bearing, that the student will gain little by their being referred to. The remarkable observations of J. Müller and others upon the development of the Echinodermata are still worse treated, all notice of them being omitted, if we except the following passage with regard to the Stellerida:—"When excluded from the egg they are, according to Sars, very unlike the parent, for they are then binary, and do not become radiated until after some weeks." This is in the original article published in 1842; the editor has found nothing worth adding to it in 1860.

With respect to the Annelida, and the higher classes of Annulose animals, the historian of the progress of zoology has few of those striking researches to refer to, such as have completely altered our views regarding the lower forms of animal life. Nevertheless much has been done during the last thirty years towards the determination of the true affinities of many of these creatures, and still more towards the elucidation of their physiological peculiarities. In the article on "Annelides" the author has shown

some appreciation of the latter fact, having taken considerable trouble in introducing the results of recent researches, especially those of Dr. Williams, into the general view of the class; but his classification is still that of Cuvier, who is followed even as to the genera. The treatises on Insects and Arachnida, however, appear to be almost verbatim reprints of the corresponding articles in the last edition, which were confessedly derived, and in many cases absolutely translated, from Latreille's volumes of the "Règne Animale." Any one who has followed, even afar off, in the steps of the entomologists and arachnologists of the present day, must be aware that the genera admitted by Latreille, numerous as they were, bear but a small proportion to those adopted by modern writers, and that in the minor groups superior to genera, very great alterations and improvements have taken place. Hence these articles, although still retaining considerable value on account of the great amount of useful information brought together in them, cannot be regarded as furnishing such a view of the classes of insects and arachnida as would be most useful even to the general reader. The principle on which these articles have been prepared is in itself erroneous, as it is manifestly impossible to give all the modern genera of insects within the limits of a treatise in a general encyclopædia; and it would be far better, and indeed more useful, to furnish only a classification of families with references to a moderate number of illustrative genera.

The article on Crustacea in the seventh edition was prepared somewhat on this principle; but for some reason, perhaps to compensate for the great length of that on Insects, was reduced to such meagre dimensions that even when first published it could hardly be considered satisfactory. As there is no class of the higher Annulosa in which so many remarkable facts have been discovered of late years as in the Crustacea, it was natural to look for a considerable change in the article devoted to them; but instead of this we find the old article reprinted in all its primitive nakedness, with merely a few lines of supplementary remarks by Dr. Traill, intended, we may presume, to bring this unimportant matter up to the present state of science. The singular metamorphoses of the crabs, which were regarded as so wonderful when first described by their discoverer, J. Vaughan Thompson, that some of the leading naturalists of that day were inclined to consign his observations to the limbo of the Zoological Apocrypha, are just noticed in a few lines; but the still more remarkable physiological facts connected with the parasitism of many of the lower Crustacea and the metamorphoses by which this is brought about, receive no attention whatever; indeed, the Lernæadæ are placed with the Entozoa. The Cirripedes, whose wonderful history has been worked out in so much detail by Mr. Darwin, fare

almost worse than their parasitic cousins: they receive a passing notice in the supplementary remarks on Crustacea, and are likewise mentioned by Professor Owen in his treatise on Mollusca, but solely to show cause for their removal from that sub-kingdom; and thus between the two groups they literally, like the Rotifera, obtain no systematic position whatever.

Of the treatises on Reptiles, Birds, and Mammals there is little to be said: they are chiefly founded on the "Règne Animale" of Cuvier, and are open to much the same objections as that devoted to Entomology. But there are two other articles which must not be dismissed so summarily, namely, those by Professor Owen on the Mollusca, and by Sir John Richardson on Ichthyology, which by their excellence form a striking contrast with the rest. Of the former, indeed, we need say but little, the general system of the Mollusca, and the leading facts in their economy, being so well established, that one looks for little departure from the ordinary course in any new treatise upon this department of natural history. It may be remarked, however, that in opposition to the views of Lacaze-Duthiers, Professor Owen still places the *Dentalia* amongst the Gasteropod Mollusca, and that he separates from the so-called Nudibranchiate forms those genera which possess no distinct respiratory organs, or dermal appendages representing such organs, forming of them a distinct order under the name of Apneusta. The advantage of this separation is more than doubtful. The so-called branchiæ of the majority of Nudibranchs cannot be regarded as the equivalents of the true gills of other Gasteropods, so that their presence or absence is a mere question of greater or less extension of the dermal covering; and lastly, the cæcal processes of the intestine, upon which Professor Owen lays much stress in his comparison of these low Gasteropods with the *Planariæ*, are common to the whole Nudibranchiate group.

In Ichthyology, the first step in advance of the Cuvierian method was made by Agassiz, who proposed the division of the whole class of fishes into four great orders, characterized by the nature of the dermal covering. The system of Agassiz, the chief novelty of which consisted in the establishment of a distinct order (GANOIDEI) for the plated fishes so abundant in earlier periods of the earth's history, and of which we have a few examples in the bony pikes of the American lakes and the sturgeons of our own waters, met with but a cold welcome from zoologists, who had already found that a classification founded upon characters derived solely from one part of the organism could never be satisfactory. It was reserved for the late J. Müller, whose name is connected with so many important researches in comparative anatomy, to place the systematic part of Ichthyology, a

subject environed with the greatest difficulties, upon a sound footing. In his important memoir "On the Structure and Limits of the Ganoidei,"* he pointed out that in establishing this order, Agassiz, by depending solely upon the nature of the dermal covering, had included in it many species which, in their general structure, were more nearly allied to the ordinary fishes of our seas and fresh waters, than to the living representatives of the extinct fishes of the Palæozoic and Secondary epochs, for the benefit of which the order was mainly established; at the same time indicating certain characters derived from the aorta and intestine which, when taken in conjunction with the nature of the scales, sufficed to distinguish the Ganoids from all other fishes. Starting from this point, Professor Müller showed that the ordinary and familiar fishes which agreed with the Ganoids in having free gills covered by bony lids or opercula, might stand on one side of them; whilst on the other, the sharks and rays (the Placoids of Agassiz, and the typical cartilaginous fishes of Cuvier) might be placed, the latter uniting the characters of the main artery and intestine of the Ganoids, with fixed branchiæ and a peculiar armature of the skin. Another group was formed for those singular fishes, the Lampreys, and called *Cyclostomi,* from their circular sucking mouths; and another, again, for the still more remarkable *Amphioxus,* which appears from the simplicity of its structure to form a passage from the vertebrata to the lower types of the animal kingdom. We thus get five primary groups of true and undoubted fishes, to which a sixth must be added if we include the *Lepidosiren* in this class, a course which, although adopted by Müller and Owen, is rejected by other naturalists of authority, and seems, to say the least of it, still open to many objections. The five groups established by Müller under the title of sub-classes, furnished the outline of a grand and simple classification which it remained for the labours of subsequent writers to fill up, and so generally were its advantages recognised, that it has been adopted by almost every writer on fishes since its publication. Some modifications, indeed, have been introduced into it, and the system adopted by Sir John Richardson is that of Müller as altered by Professor Owen. In this modification the five primary groups established by Müller amongst true fishes are got rid of by the simple expedient of dropping out the sub-classes altogether, a proceeding which, unfortunately, destroys one of the chief beauties of Müller's system, namely, the perfect equivalence, not in number of species, but in anatomical significance of the primary groups. The only other departure from

* Ueber den Bau und Grenzen der Ganoiden, Abhandl. der Berliner Akad. der Wiss. 1844.

Müller's system involves a worse fault, it consists in the union of the two lowest groups of the great anatomist of Berlin (the Leptocardii, including *Amphioxus*, and the Cyclostomi or Lampreys) in a single order, characterized by the absence of true rays in the fins! How a creature like the *Amphioxus*, destitute of a heart and brain, respiring and apparently obtaining its food by a mechanism very similar to that which is employed for the same purposes by creatures so low as the Ascidia amongst the Tunicated Mollusks, should be placed by a philosophical naturalist in the same *order* with fishes like the Lamprey, which although certainly low in the scale of organization, are still indisputably fishes at all points, is not easily understood; and the arrangement is rendered still more incongruous by the introduction amongst the already sufficiently heterogeneous components of the group, of a family of small fishes allied to the Morris (*Leptocephalus*) of our own shores, and which, although apparently of low organization, respire by regular operculated gills, instead of the separate sac-like organs of the Lamprey. We have here another example of the impossibility of adopting any single character in classification to the exclusion of all others, without violating natural affinities.

Notwithstanding these objections, the treatise on Ichthyology is perhaps the most valuable of the Natural History articles, and certainly approaches most nearly in its execution to what we should regard as the perfection of such an article, in which the characters of all the genera are to be given. For the benefit of the cursory reader it has a popular portion, printed in large type, and containing a sketch of the general characters of the different groups, with references to the habits of a few of the most remarkable species; whilst side by side with this the student who wishes for more detailed information will find, in smaller print, a regular systematic analysis of the orders, families, and genera of fishes, arranged in accordance with the most modern views on classification.

From its very nature, Botany is a subject far more easily treated from a general point of view than Zoology: the structure and mode of life of one plant resemble those of another far more closely than is the case even in animals of the same primary type, and the facility with which a general notion of the phenomena presented by the vegetable kingdom may be given is increased in a corresponding degree. Moreover, these phenomena are generally so well ascertained, at all events for the greater part of the vegetable world, that any competent writer sitting down with a conscientious determination to bring together to the best of his power the chief results of botanical investigation, could hardly fail to produce an elementary treatise on the science of Botany

which should be tolerably satisfactory. Hence, although Professor Balfour has been confined here within the limits of a single treatise, the reader will obtain from it a better general notion of the subject treated, than, in the case of animals, from the zoological articles, which meander through so many volumes. The author arranges his subject in the ordinary way, commencing with the anatomy and physiology of plants, of which his first section contains a good account. Some allowance must, however, be made here for the length of time which has elapsed since the publication of the article,—the numerous remarkable and interesting discoveries which have been made lately with regard to the reproduction of the Cryptogamia, were only commencing when Professor Balfour must have been writing his treatise, which will consequently appear imperfect to those acquainted with the great advance made within the last ten years in this department of Botany.

In his second section, Professor Balfour discusses the subject of botanical classification, and gives an analysis of the natural orders of plants; and his third section is devoted to the important question of Botanical Geography. In a fourth part we have a short sketch of Palæontological Botany, chiefly with reference to the carboniferous formations, but also noticing some of the vegetable remains found in other strata.

We sincerely wish that we could have bestowed more general commendation than the foregoing strictures contain, on the scientific portions of this last edition of the "Encyclopædia Britannica." It is scarcely to be expected, nor is it indeed to be desired, that every re-issue of so costly and comprehensive a work should be from alpha to omega a *rifacimento*, and we have admitted that as regards chemistry it is next to impossible for any encyclopædic record to keep up with the pace of discovery. A survey of the Platonic or scholastic philosophies once fairly executed, suffices for a work intended for general readers. The student of such intellectual phenomena has his proper guides and manuals, and does not require, or may possibly disdain, the summaries of an encyclopædia. Into the departments of History and Biography we remark with pleasure the infusion of new life. The Rev. Charles Merivale's "Compendium of Roman History" leaves us nothing to desire beyond the vain wish that more space had been allotted to him; and the late Lord Macaulay's biographical portraitures are among the happiest productions of his learned and picturesque pen. Archbishop Whately's dissertation on the "Rise, Progress, and Corruptions of Christianity," forms a useful adjunct to the earlier treatises by Stewart and Mackintosh on "Metaphysical and Ethical Science," nor until philology shall be allowed full play in the theological domain, have we reason to expect that

this subject will be more ably handled. Perhaps the Geographical sections, principal and secondary, might have been improved by a more liberal resort to modern travels: and those on Indian philosophy and history will not bear comparison with the corresponding articles in the excellent *Encyclopädie* of Ersch and Gruber. In the account of Art, if we do not find any marked originality or eloquence, neither are we called upon to dissent from rash and sweeping theories: and the readers for whom these volumes are specially intended have no reason to complain of the provision made for them under the heads of criticism, poetry, and general literature. In noticing the defects in the scientific treatises we have, in fact, exhausted our quiver of objections to this eighth edition, and will refrain from further regret at its occasional shortcomings in other departments.

The aspect of a work on which so many hands have been employed, resembles in some measure the aspect of a great library. Each is a memento of the old yet ever impressive truth, that art is long and life is short. To fill those shelves, to collect these records of human knowledge and progress, has been the labour of generations. Each worker has perhaps promised or whispered to himself some recompense for his toil—a name at the moment or for the future in recognition of it. Few have attained a passing, still fewer a permanent reputation. The lights of one age are eclipsed by the lights of another, and even the greatest names are subject to the mutations of fashion or to changes in the current of human inquiry. Has it, then, been lost labour to rise up early and so late take rest? is the pursuit of learning or science, as the dying Brutus said of liberty, "a name only?" and is it not wisdom therefore to desist from labour that apparently avails not, and adopt the Epicurean's conclusion in *Persius*—

> "Indulge Genio: carpamus dulcia: nostrum est
> Quod vivis: cinis et manes et fabula fies.
> Vive memor lethi: fugit hora: hoc quod loquor, inde est?"

Let not the earnest worker be disheartened: that which is so commonly denied to the individual is often granted to the species; and he has not laboured in vain who has added his mite to the treasury of human knowledge. Every error that is removed, every inroad that is made on the realms of ignorance, credulity, and falsehood, bring mankind so much nearer to the Image in which they were created, tend to increase the stock of human happiness, and help the torch of science to burn more steadily and clearly.

The list of contributors to this encyclopædia, published at the end of the index-volume, has partly suggested these reflections. It contains a roll and count of names as memorable as have ever been combined in a single age or for a common task. For to DUGALD

Stewart, Mackintosh, Jeffrey, Thomas de Quincey, James Mill, Thomas Young, Sir William Hamilton, Walter Scott, and Thomas Babington Macaulay were given intellects, analytic, synthetic, or imaginative, as eminent in degree and as various in kind as have ever ministered to the instruction or delight of mankind. In the fact that all these opulent minds were contemporary, we have a steadfast pledge and a joyful assurance that the intellectual lamp of Britain burns as brightly as ever, that although the course may vary in different ages, the succession of the runners will not fail, and that those who have entered "the mighty nations of the dead," are but the precursors of an equally illustrious line of contenders for the prize in the arena of literature and science.

Art. VI.—Idées Napoléoniennes: the Second Empire.

Ten Years of Imperialism in France: Impressions of a Flaneur. Edinburgh and London. 1862.

THE wildest schemer of modern times asked for the greatest realm on the Continent, to use it as the field for gigantic experiments, suggested by what he himself called his "Reveries;" and the gift was accorded to him without condition or reservation. When Louis Napoleon requested the French people to hand over themselves and their territory into his single hand, if they did not thoroughly know the man, their leaders knew what his views had been, with one exception; and that exception was supplied by the very fact of his enormous request, which showed that he contemplated a perfect and absolute centralizing of the Government in the one. Despite the boastfulness common to every nation, and the fondness for wonderment that mankind has indulged in all times, there is, we believe, no adequate sense of the huge theoretical and practical problem involved in the Napoleonic experiment now working out in this year 1862. Huge problems, indeed, are commonplaces just now. Glancing abroad we see, apparently on the eve of a crisis, the long-maturing contest of nationalities against dynasties and bureaucracies—the Austrian and German Governments being in no way sufficiently daunted by the fate of the Italian monarchies to yield up with a good grace the obsolete prerogatives that they have heretofore contrived to retain in the face of awakened public opinion. At the same time, throughout vast regions of the world, intermingled with the

perplexities of administration, but yet essentially distinct, are great questions of nationality; and convulsively yet tediously working out a semi-political and semi-ethnological problem, are immense tracts of Germany, Scandinavia, Poland, Pansclavonia, and Russia Proper—if there is such a thing. The question of its hierarchy is forced upon Catholic Christendom, about one quarter of which is prepared to handle the subject. Before our living eyes, Italy, for the first time in her history, is establishing herself as a consolidated nation. The theory propounded by Adam Smith in the days of our great-grandfathers is now marching substantially across the Continent of Europe, even into the precincts of protection, as in the case of France, Belgium, and the Zollverein. But in many respects, more startling than all these agitations is that problem which may be summed up in the single word France.

It is not very many years since statesmen and public writers were wont to discuss the condition of states foreign to their own, as dependent mainly upon the form of government, and we ascribed all the evils in France or Austria to the despotism of their rulers or the bigotry of their official servants. We were encouraged to do so, because our knowledge of such countries was partial and uncertain, drawn principally through the library, through the imperfect reports of official documents, or patriotic accusations, with the very scanty and precarious addenda afforded by the observations of intelligent travellers. It is only in our own time that facilities of intercourse have so greatly multiplied the number of those travellers, and of residents in foreign countries, that we have to a certain extent procured a transfusion of society; and to the same degree we have got together the solid raw materials for a genuine international public opinion. In proportion as we have thus acquired an intimate knowledge of other countries, we English have been confirmed in our repugnance to the centralized despotic powers which maintained their rule by "keeping down" the public; but we have also discovered how much every policy of the kind was the product of the state of knowledge and opinion in each country, or derived its licence to exist from deficiencies in the intellectual and moral condition of the people. In a general sense, it may be safely said that every Government is an equation of the capacity of the people for managing its corporate affairs; and thus, while we have learned to regard the excesses and vices of the most obstinate despotism, if not with greater respect, at least with more charity, we have also been led to trace important distinctions between the tendencies and movements of the nations themselves. It would be absurd to imagine for a moment that any state in Europe is completely isolated, or has ever been so since travelling commenced. With regard to

many countries, they have been subjected to external influences, and there are some few which have been the steady object of foreign interference. Italy, Poland, and France present conspicuous examples: the last in a more transitory fashion, the first ever since the Middle Ages; and in this instance the reasons are sufficiently obvious. The beauty of the land, and its richness in many resources besides those of mere material wealth, conspired to attract the ambitious of foreign princes; while at various periods the residence of the chief of the priesthood of Catholic civilization invited the intriguers of every court to make the capital of Italy their head-quarters. It has thus happened that, while some nations have been able to develop their own faculties and purposes in far greater freedom than others, Italy has been the most remarkable example to the contrary; her innate faculties, and the designs of her best reformers, having been of the highest order, but having been throughout the last ten centuries thwarted, baffled, and frustrated by combinations of every conceivable character. To recognise this influence of one country over another, is to admit the importance of international sympathies and of foreign action upon the development and growth of each body politic; and when once we have gone so far, we perceive how momentous it is to the growth of each nation, according to its own genius and convictions, that it should promote the development of countries harmonizing with it in its instincts and opinions. This truth has been more distinctly perceived heretofore by the preachers of loyal right divine and the advocates of perfectly centralized government, than by the champions of constitutional rule. Nevertheless, the gradual spread of intelligence and intercourse, with the inevitable impulse to freedom of thought through the material freedom of action, has resulted in multiplying the states governed by constitutional administration, and the influence of constitutional opinions has proporionately gained in strength as well as in territory. It has not been by any direct intervention. Hitherto, constitutional states have been content to rely upon a certain dogmatic form of political free-trade, which they call the doctrine of "non-intervention," and for which they have undoubtedly many powerful arguments. No nation, they say, can maintain its independence until it has at least sufficient internal conviction and strength to assert that independence. The first step towards freedom is to abstain from needless interference with others. We must assume that foreign states desire to be as we find them; and if we wish to uphold respect for public law, we must not trespass upon the grounds of others. The liberty we assert for ourselves compels us, therefore, to abstain from meddling where we have no jurisdiction. It has so happened that empirical deviations from this doctrine, as in the case of Greece, have not turned out

very happily. The result has been that, upon the whole, constitutional states have deliberately observed this dogmatic species of self-restraint, debarring themselves from promoting the development of similar communities; although to multiply the number of governments of their own genus, and to enlarge the territory of constitutional rule, is practically to fortify the outposts of their own strength, and so far to secure themselves against the chance of those fluctuations in human affairs which have submerged many a state that believed itself above danger. It is perhaps only within the last year or two that statesmen have begun to see through the fallacy that has heretofore fettered the legitimate action of constitutional states in support of their younger imitators; but the question is brought to an issue in a manner so unprecedented and so close to us, the oldest and most powerful of constitutional states, that we, as well as the rest of the world, are compelled to study it intently. France constitutes bodily a problem which is the exact opposite of that worked out by England from the time of John downwards. England illustrates the proposition of self-government, carried through local ramifications to the furthest extent; France embodies the reverse proposition —government by proxy through one man, the whole power of the state concentrated in his single grasp. It is now ten years since Louis Napoleon asked France to give him herself and her territory, with all her possessions and forces, in order that he might carry out that proposition; and amongst the many books that have been written upon so fertile a subject, there is not one that brings it to so distinct a focus as the unpretending anonymous volume entitled "Ten Years of Imperialism in France: Impressions of a Flaneur."

Statisticians usually allow twenty years to a generation, and within the last four generations, France has appeared before the world in half-a-dozen aspects,—as the ancient kingdom of the Most Christian King, governed by peremptory absolutism; as the savagest republic ever witnessed by that experienced and sage authority, history; as a military empire, less barbarous but more dangerous to foreign states, and more rapid in its encroachments and dictations than any previous invader; as a restored monarchy "by the grace of God" and the Duke of Wellington, moderated to suit modern prejudices; as a constitutional monarchy, established by force of barricades, and existing by the grace of the *bourgeoisie;* and then, after the brief interlude of a didactic republic, as the second empire, which, with one remarkable exception, unites in itself all the natural elements of the previous *régimes* except one. It is the centralized personal authority of the old monarchy, restored by the universal suffrage of the first republic, in the name of the first empire, with the original inspirations of

its own author, the second Emperor; carefully excluding the ideas, the associations, and influences of that constitutional monarchy which spontaneously sought its own apotheosis under the sublime name of "Mr. Smith." Twelve years ago, the existence of such a state as this new empire was the dream of one solitary man, who was regarded with indifference, if not contempt itself,—now it is an established reality. Alone he did it. He has changed the entire face of the land,—altered the outward picture of its great towns, imparted enterprise to its agriculture, re-created its army, and restored its potency for dictation abroad. But he has done far more than that,—he has changed the manners if not the genius of the people, and bidden the mind of France to obey his will. The literature of the country has sunk, with its intellect, to be his servant. But he has worked even a greater miracle than that complete subjugation of the countrymen of Rousseau and Voltaire,—he has made the Frenchman an active investing commercialist, and, wonderful as it may seem, a sailor. Although the thing has been done it looks incredible; the more distinctly we present it to our eyes, the more difficult we find it of belief. To account for the fact, we impute it to various Machiavellian purposes; we lighten the burthen of belief, by assuming that much of the pageant is spurious; but we only delude ourselves by struggling to force the facts into accordance with our own predilections, instead of studying them as they are, and plainly confessing the conclusions which they might teach us. It is worth while, at all events, to ascertain distinctly what Louis Napoleon has actually done, if only for the purpose of endeavouring to appreciate what he might do further.

One reason why the result is so difficult of comprehension is, that we begin by blinding our sight with prejudices against the man. We are not now about to consider how far he is bad or good, wicked or beneficent, devil or angel. Our opinion upon his moral character has been placed on record, and it is not yet time to revise that estimate. Nor are we simply going to "give the devil his due." We have a harder task on hand, but one that, perhaps, concerns us and our interest somewhat more nearly. It is to ascertain the nature and measure of that thing called Louis Napoleon, as a natural phenomenon, and as one element in the political and social dynamics of the world. The moment we enter upon this examination, our past crude ideas and hasty judgment are rebuked by the marked contrast between the man as we appraised him and his performances. Few individuals have been less strangers in certain circles of European society. Louis Napoleon has resided in France, in England, in Italy; representative men of all Europe have met him in the drawing-room, on the race-course, at the dining-table; he has been an author, and

his lucubrations, even before the still unfinished "Life of Cæsar," have attracted attention less from their style and force than from the genealogy of the writer and the bold adoption of extreme opinions. A royal adventurer, with solemn countenance, he seemed to have proclivities equally for certain regions of London society which were either eminently didactic or somewhat "fast:" the race-course and the Royal Society in Albemarle-street, the society of accomplished *savans* and of a fair novelist, had equal attractions for that silent, grave-faced gentleman, who, though encumbered by an imperial name, seemed to walk about in a dream of half-intelligible reverie, and was by many supposed to have nought to say. Some who saw him as the regular attendant at the scientific meetings, thought that through the mask of impassibility they detected the inward dulness. To use plain language, he was regarded as a pretender, bursting with unsatisfied ambition, superstitiously imagining himself to be the special object of a wonderful destiny, yet discounting disappointment by a consciousness of inborn incapacity,—in short, as a man at once pretentious, spurious, and stolid.

There were indeed not a few who knew better. More than one literary man of high repute had discovered under that exterior of inexorable gravity, evidences of remarkable understanding and power. Professors of the exact sciences had observed that the royal lounger was an unusually able mathematician, and his military works had attracted interest and attention. Others who knew him more intimately had noted a still larger range of faculties, including a curious power of enjoyment. But there was a reason for the public repute. From the working of motives that are not yet quite apparent—it might be partly policy, partly a natural openness not incompatible with habitual reserve, or the irrepressible force of inward instinct,—the exile did not always conceal the confident expectation which he had of some day attaining to the throne of his uncle. Amongst his more intimate associates was an artist of the highest talent, who was conspicuous for his refined manners and fashionable associations. This gentleman formed one of a very gay party given by Prince Napoleon. The champagne and talk had inflamed the imaginations of the guests, and an English nobleman desired them to fill their bumpers and drink to the Emperor of the French, with three times three, or something very like it. The sudden coldness of Louis Napoleon, his grave and almost disapproving countenance, threw a damp over the fervour. There was an awkward pause; he seemed to be lost in thought; and then, suddenly conscious that the host was not making himself agreeable, he said, as if to account for his mood and to respond to the toast,—"Ah! gentlemen, it will come," or words to that effect. The same inti-

mates, however, observed, that as soon as he entered within the circle of more ceremonious and orthodox society, he instantly assumed that appearance of coldness and constraint which so many took for dulness. Nor is it wonderful if, with all this gravity, his actions made people account him a sort of solemn trifler. The aspirer towards the imperial crown dabbled in revolutions. He and his brother both appeared in the Roman insurrection of 1831; and Louis Napoleon had to fly. A few years later we see him appearing before the fourth regiment of artillery, the first corps entered by the original Napoleon, and inviting the soldiers to recognise him as heir; which they did with instantaneous and furious cries of "*Vive l'Empereur!*" The sudden invasion of Boulogne in an English steamer, with a tame eagle as part of its theatrical properties, was still less felicitous. And the manner in which the constitutional Government of Louis Philippe contented itself at first with sending the insurgent to the United States, and afterwards with sentencing the Pretender to "perpetual" imprisonment at Ham, followed up by tacit permission to escape after a not profitless residence of six years, implied that he was accounted of slight importance. With wisdom acquired after the event, it is possible to form a juster estimate of the man; and we now read by fresh light his "Réveries Politiques," published in 1832, followed by "Considérations Politiques et Militaires sur la Suisse," "Manuel sur l'Artillerie," and the "Idées Napoléoniennes" of 1839. But this was not all. During the thoughtful adventurer's seclusion at Ham, appeared a pamphlet, entitled, "Analyse de la Question des Sucres, par Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, Fort du Ham, Août, 1842," in which he not only showed a due regard for the *eau sucré* interest, but proved that he had penetrated deeply into the peculiar nature of French agriculture and the relative interests of colonial and beet-root sugars.

A retrospective glance at these records of his thought, renders it plain that he assiduously and carefully studied the institutions, manners and customs, industries, and material progress of other countries besides his own; but we are not prepared to say that he understood our institutions as Englishmen understand them, any more than his Anglo-Saxon hosts understood him. There is a foreign bent in thought, sympathy, and even in the perceptions as well as in the tongue; and each nation has its own "accent" of thought and feeling. It is some such complete natural and national identity of sensation which accounts for the fact, that when a second candidature arose for the presidency of the French Republic, the people gave the prize to that man of whom we on this side of the Channel had formed so very humble an estimate. The Presidency, which was originally to last for a short term, was extended to a ten years' occupation, with some-

thing very like autocratic authority; and in December, 1852, by force of the bloody *coup d'état* and the sanction of universal suffrage, Prince Louis Napoleon Bonaparte assumed the title, rank, and power of "Napoleon the Third, Emperor of the French, by the grace of God and the will of the people." The chief conspirator's share in the hideous stroke of State has been extenuated by ascribing the authorship to General St. Arnaud; but it was the master not the man who reaped the large profit.

He now set himself to produce an entirely new edition of the "Idées Napoléoniennes," not in the form of a bound and printed volume, but of an empire entirely re-edited. It would take far more space than we can afford—a book ten times the size of that we are reviewing—to recount step by step the method in which this colossal labour was accomplished; we can only follow the fastigia, and indicate what has been done. One of the most important and most obvious results is the reconstruction of Paris, with a completeness and rapidity which appear to combine the power of magic with that of imperial engineering. The old houses disappeared; the very material of which they were constructed vanishing into space, or rather, through cleverly managed contracts, they slinked into the new buildings, which arise with stone faces, architectural ornamentation, and a general symmetry unknown in the old Lutetia.

"Since the large works began, each year from 800,000 to 1,000,000 tons of cast and wrought iron, from 40,000 to 50,000 tons of cement, 4,000,000 hectolitres of lime, and 400,000 stères of stone, paid duty. The transport of these materials required a permission each year for above 3500 wagons and above 10,000 carts. . . . .

"The demolition and reconstruction of houses, the building or repairing of churches, towers, palaces, markets, and barracks, and the opening of new streets and thoroughfares, represent only one side of the labour and cost bestowed on this work of regeneration. There is another which is equally important, and which comes under the general denomination of '*travail des ponts et chaussées*.' It comprises the construction and reconstruction of bridges and quays, new pavement, *trottoirs*, plantations, squares, and the extension of sewers and water conduits. Three new bridges have been thrown across the Seine—the Pont Napoleon III., high up towards Charenton; the Pont de Solferino, opposite the garden of the Tuileries; and the Pont de l'Alma, connecting the boulevard of the same name on the two sides of the river. Nineteen millions of francs were required to redeem the tolls on nine bridges where they still existed. . . . .

"Great part of the embankment on both sides of the Seine has been removed from the Pont de Constantine down to the Pont de l'Alma—that is, well nigh seven kilomètres of walls, varying from fifty to eighty feet in height—and provided with wharves and broad towing-paths. The new thoroughfares have been provided with a complete system of sewerage and water conduits; besides which, new main sewers have

been laid down in several of the old thoroughfares, nominally in the Quartier du Louvre. To this must be added the metamorphosis of the Bois de Boulogne, of the Champs Elysées, the Avenue de l'Impératrice, the planting of trees on the new boulevards, and a number of smaller squares opened out and converted into gardens.

"A length of about 20,000 mètres of thoroughfares has been opened from the heart of the town in every direction. Other 10,000 mètres are already marked out for further openings. Indeed, as for plans, there is no want of them; the town has not in vain 50,000*l.* to 60,000*l.* for plans and *alignements* on its budget; the portefeuilles are full of them, and others are daily spoken of."

The work grew to the hand of the workman. The estimate of the year was exceeded by the expenses, and a balance was restored by extraordinary credits—184,000,000 of francs having been taken since 1852 for "extraordinary expenses" alone. The growing population and business of Paris have increased its revenues; its revenues have been laid out so as to render it more attractive: and by the incorporation of the *banlieue*, extending the city to the lines of the fortifications, it has taken in additional territory and population, with an augmented number of the tax-payers. The total outlay since 1852 has probably exceeded 10,000,000*l.* sterling, swelled by loans to more than 18,000,000*l.* sterling. The prospects of the city finance, however, are excellent; the receipts constantly advancing more rapidly than the outlay. But the money outlay does not constitute the only cost. The law of 1852 rendered the dispossession of house occupants a summary process, by force of a simple decree, without any public notification or discussion. The plan has been recommended as a short cut to prevent jobbing, but people complain that it does not prevent injustice or favoritism. In the Boulevard de Malesherbes, for instance, "many private hotels of wealthy people not exactly conspicuous for their adherence to the Imperial Government, had to be razed to the ground, to the great inconvenience of the owners." The shopkeepers, a very stationary class in Paris, cried out loudly against the sudden removal, which was always inconvenient, and sometimes ruinous. Government employés and others with fixed salaries, had to move off to the suburbs, the better houses demanding better rents; and with that rise has come a rise in the price of provisions and necessaries. More beautiful than the old Lutetia, Imperial Paris is a great deal more expensive.

But there have been still greater changes. The Prefect of the Seine has been converted to a species of Pasha; the municipality being transformed to a mere tradition, its business administered by a commission whom the Pasha names. The new board may be very able and equitable, but it is irresponsible, and many persons who have not succeeded in obtaining information or in influencing

its course of action, complain that others have known its secrets beforehand, and have somehow or other contrived to buy cheap in unfashionable quarters which have subsequently been cleared out and converted into regions of palaces. But has the change been unpopular? By no means; the buildings employ considerable numbers of the working classes. Managed by degrees, the improvement of the city has, as we have said, attracted an increased number of residents and of visitors, and with them have come greatly increased trade, and greatly increased profits; the total effect being, that profits and wages have expanded in a corresponding degree for a larger number of people.

Nor is that all. The embellishment of Paris has incidentally been made to subserve another vast and surprising reform—the entire revision of the military system.

"Constantinople enjoys the official title of Mahrusé, which means the 'well-guarded.' Many people may think that this title might be claimed with more justice by Paris. Nor, perhaps, would they be wrong. The many broad thoroughfares lately opened are so many military lines for acting with large bodies of troops and cannon. They enable these troops to maintain sure communication between each other, and to isolate the number of small 'quartiers' into which the town has been broken up by these arteries. A number of barracks, and other strongly built and detached public edifices, are dispersed all over the town, forming so many points for concentrating the military force in defensive positions. The fortifications round the town, above all, the forts outside, are in first-rate order, and have been increased; lastly, a corps d'armée, of three divisions, called the Army of Paris, is kept up 'en permanence,' besides the Garde Impériale, a complete corps d'armée in itself, of foot, horse, and artillery."

The Garde Impériale introduced into the political head-quarters of France splendid traditions and a magnificent force. It is a body of soldiers whose prosperity and privileges are peculiarly identified with the general prosperity of the army and with the one man who presides over the whole. For other regiments the expenses of Paris are too severe, and to be stationed there is accounted to be a tax rather than otherwise; but the Garde Impériale is in itself an army formed of promoted men, of picked soldiers, so that it concentrates the ambitions of the whole military order. Almost all its members are decorated, all have a higher rate of pay, and its officers have a mess such as they have in our own regiments; the result being that it constitutes a sort of democratic and military peerage, essentially destined to sustain the system which has created it. Another measure of reform was the creation of the *Dotation de l'Armée*, a sort of military fund, the staple of which is the money paid in for the exemptions of young men who are drawn under the conscription law of 1832,

modified by the law of 1855, and expended in additional pay for re-enlisting soldiers and in pensions for retired veterans. The effect of this measure is twofold. In the first place, workmen, artisans, and labourers may, if they like, have their fling in the army, and retire while still in middle life upon that which to a Frenchman is a competency, either to resume their civil occupations, or to lounge about at ease. By favour of all the allowances, a man thirty-six years old may have an accumulated capital of six thousand francs, besides his pension of one hundred francs a-year. In the second place, the soldier may persevere in the army, and rise to yet higher wealth and dignity. Although sixty or seventy thousand young Frenchmen are still annually drafted for service under the force of conscription, on the whole the force has been converted from a species of militia to a professional class, almost a caste, with interests divided from the rest of the population, its prospects identified with the continued elevation and expansion of the Imperial authority. Incidentally this change of the whole military service has been attended by the removal of many abuses. Such, for instance, as the dealing in substitutions, a trade which defrauded private families and the State. The securities of the conscript for whom exemption was thus obtained, remained always liable for the service of his substitute; and if deserted by that second man, which often happened, they had to purchase a fresh recruit, sometimes being thus called upon to pay several times over. Private families, therefore, regard the present system, under which the whole business of substitution is conducted through the *Dotation de l'Armée*, as a great practical improvement; and society countersigns the opinion of military men, that it is better than that which obtained under the Bourgeois King, who did not understand military matters. The army is entirely identified with the present, and its future is thoroughly cut off from the past. Its whole aspect is transformed—dress, armament, drill, material, have all been changed and improved. The traditions of the African army and its costume have disappeared, to be replaced by uniforms and standards which recal the glories of the Crimea and Italy, so that the soldier of Napoleon III. falls back upon nothing, but advances perpetually with his chief.

Of course this splendid luxury must be paid for, and so it is; but the Bill is not quite so enormous as we might have expected.

"One million of francs for each 1000 men is about the average cost before 1848. The Budget of 1847 gives 349½ millions as the cost of the army; but from this sum 16 millions must be deducted for Civil government and other expenses in Algeria, which now figure in the Budget of the Colonies; so that 333 millions remains as the cost of 337,000 men, which was the effective during the year. The Budget of 1858 shows an expenditure of 377 millions for an average effective

of 415,000 men; and even these 377 millions include 11 millions of arrears of former years, so that properly only 366 millions apply to the year itself, showing an increase of 33 millions above 1847. . . .

"Thus at an expense of from 30 to 40 millions of francs a year more, France has the gratification of knowing that she is able to go to war almost at a moment's notice. . . .

"The financial report lately presented to the legislative bodies, announces a notable reduction in the effective of the army. The average, which was 476,000 men on the 1st of January, 1861, has been reduced to 446,000 in 1862, and is said to be farther diminished to 400,000 men. From what was said above about the elasticity of the furlough system, and the latitude the Government has in calling out whatever proportion it deems fit of the contingent, it will be clear that this economy can be effected without impairing the efficiency."

The Prince de Joinville acquired unprecedented glory by transforming himself from a French Prince into a genuine sailor, and teaching his men to become Jack Tars; but the Prince's father retired from business, the young man himself became an exile and a wanderer; and, excluded from marine employment, he has lately figured as a sort of tutor to his young nephews, who have been volunteers in the Federal army of America. Meanwhile the once contemptible exile has capped the glory of the Orleans admiral,—he has called a navy into existence. He has been foremost in building rapid steamers on the most recent models, and his activity in creating an iron-clad navy has excited apprehension even in maritime England. And these results have been obtained at an expenditure of 10 millions of francs under the lowest outlay of the July dynasty. Do we not begin to observe that the mathematician has displayed some talent for finance in naval as well as municipal and social affairs?

Ever since 1830 the revenues of France have shown a considerable elasticity, but the progress has been still greater during the last decade. At the same time the expenditure has more than kept pace with the revenue, insomuch that from 1840 downwards, deficit has been the rule without a single exception. Even in the years when there seems to have been a surplus revenue, it was owing to extraordinary resources, arising from loans, increase of the floating debt, and similar expedients. The revenue for the eight years ending 1859, for which the accounts are not yet quite made up, is calculated at 12,559 millions of francs, the expenditure at 15,631 millions, leaving a deficit for the eight years of 80,000 millions, or more than 122,000,000*l.* sterling. It may be supposed that the two great wars of 1854 and 1859 were in part chargeable with the deficiency, but the contrary is the case. They were more than covered, severally, by the two loans of 750 millions and 500 millions; for of those sums they only consumed 1,050 millions, leaving 200 millions for other purposes. But the surplus thus occurring was spent, and was not applied in reduction of the deficit indicated

above. Many other extraordinary resources have also been used up for purposes of outlay: the reserve of the Fond d'Amortissement, 756 millions; consolidation of the Bank capital, 100 millions; consolidation of the Caisse de la Dotation de l'Armée, 135 millions; Obligations Trentenaires, for the completion of the railways, 130 millions; increase of the floating debt, 307 millions; besides other little perquisites which it is difficult to specify with sufficient distinctness. The Flaneur reckons that the extraordinary resources thus employed in the ten years of Imperialism amount to not less than 4019 millions, of which 3148 have been covered in the manner that we have mentioned. Still the floating debt is not large. The Treasury is a kind of general cashier and banker for the communes, and has divers public and private establishments under its guarantee; the liabilities which look so bulky are thus considerably dispersed, while the pressure of the floating debt is proportionately diffused and diminished. In the meantime the revenue continues to increase. Comparing the most productive year before the establishment of the Empire, 1846, with the last year of which we have accounts, we find that the revenue has increased from 1351 to 1740 millions, or nearly 29 per cent. But 1858 was a bad year, and the real increase is better indicated by 1859, in which it is calculated at nearly 35 per cent. The actual outlay and deficit are not the real cause of the uneasiness created by the constant growth of the expenditure, but it is traceable to the system of management. There is no solidarity in the Cabinet; there is no collective budget. Each department makes its separate report to the Emperor; and as each is anxious to distinguish itself by the efficacy of its public operations, it proceeds upon the principle expressed by the vulgar saying, "Damn the expense." With an increase in the necessaries of life has come an increase of official salaries, and the departments consume the more pay. The government of "Mr. Smith," thoroughly bourgeois as it was, "had to affect a cynical disregard of appearances;" the government of the Emperor is bound to be splendid, not only in the field but in the palace. The sole check upon the universal tendency to increased spending lies in the one head that thinks for all; and though we have seen that in certain very broad sections of the revenue a striking economy has been effected, the tendency still remains the same.

It is a common idea that the interference of the government in public works, even in commercial enterprise and the regulation of industry, began with the Second Empire; but the writer of the book before us is right in describing that notion as a blunder. The interference did not originate with any one administration; it springs from the genius of the French people, which has called upon its central authority to play the part of a universal Provi-

dence, directing it in its social action, supplying all its public requirements, helping it under sudden calamities; the government being thus far "merely a reflex of the nature of the people."

"There has been a succession of governments in France, bearing the most different names and titles, but all of them animated by the same jealousy against individual freedom, and equally bent on centralizing and meddling with everything. It is easy to understand that such a system of tutelage, long continued, has contributed to weaken individual energy, and to efface by degrees, in the minds of the people, the line of demarcation between individual exertion and government interference. But either this line of demarcation must have been originally rather faint, or the individual energy weak, and consequently the idea of a tangible Providence on earth very attractive; for in all the violent changes within the past eighty years, we never see the slightest trace of a reaction of individual feeling against the system of tutelage.

"The rage is not against the pretension of the government to act the part of Providence, but against the manner in which it has discharged this duty: against the favouritism which it showed for one class of the population, and the injustice which it committed towards another. Those who think that they have not their due share in the boons of terrestrial providence, rise in arms to assert their claims. It is always "Jérome Paturôt in search of the best of Providences"— one which should be even-handed, and find the means of satisfying everybody."

The Imperial Government has proceeded upon another principle. It has undoubtedly adopted the centralizing function more avowedly and explicitly than any of its predecessors. It has not only slighted the dictates of political economists, but in accordance with the reveries and reflections indulged at Ham and other residences, it has, almost in terms, accepted the office of co-operating with the industrial classes on socialistic principles, even courting rather than contesting their prejudices. Not only has the Emperor found work for the *ouvrier* in all directions, but under the fostering direction of the Administration, local bodies and public companies have been stimulated to look after the interests of the workman. Of course some part of the value of industry must be proximately expressed by the rate of wages, which must always regulate the relations of employers and employed; but in the new industrial school, the workman has been allowed something like a profit upon the business which he serves. In one case it has been a share of the sums saved in tools, fuel, and material; in others he has a still stronger inducement to promote the interests of the establishment, by being allowed a per-centage upon the dividends. In 1860, the public body which has taken the lead in this way, the Orleans Railway Company, distributed 84,000*l.*

amongst its workpeople, while its working expenses were lower than those of any other line in France, and its clear profit higher; the shareholders' dividend being 20 per cent. on their shares of the capital. At the same time, however, that the ruling intellect has avoided clashing with the national or industrial predilections, it has by no means neglected the instruction to be derived from the dictates of political economy, and of that fact we have two evidences as conspicuous as they have been unforeseen. The Executive has so managed the distribution of Imperial patronage and aid for public works and improvements, as to diminish the proportion of the funds furnished by the State in comparison with other contributories, and, breaking through the hereditary and apparently indomitable prejudices of the French people, it has actually introduced free trade. It thus co-operates with the people rather than supports them out of the Imperial resources, and trains them into greater self-reliance; teaching the commune to rely upon the improved condition of the commune, the shareholders in the railway upon the success of their project, and the people at large upon the energy of each and all to augment the resources of the community. One of the most interesting chapters in the volume which we are reviewing describes this plan of action, which the writer calls "the Imperial fertilizing system." "The first object to which this new method of government was applied was the railway system—a legacy bequeathed to it by its predecessors." In England and America the construction of railroads has been left to private enterprise, the Legislature aiding it by granting privileges, sometimes of great extent. In France the Government has acted on the opposite plan, furnishing a part of the original resources, and reserving the right to interfere for the advantage of the public. It has enlarged the period to be allowed before the property in the railway shall revert to the State, granting a uniform 99 years' lease. At the same time it has made each company extend its lines; and to facilitate that work, it has divided the territory of France into so many regions, allotted chiefly to six companies. The official subventions are not entirely stopped, but they are reduced from 30 or 40 per cent. of the outlay, the old proportion, to 20 per cent. or less; and in some recent cases a guarantee sum of 4.65 per cent. as interest and sinking fund on a certain maximum of expenditure, has been granted for fifty years. After 1862, all revenue over a fixed sum of old and new lines is to be shared with the companies by the Government. The companies have been rendered more independent in their administration, a far larger proportion of private resources has been called forth, and the success attending these changes has materially aided the process. The same principles have been applied to the departments, which have expended

in roads, &c., ten millions a year more than before the Empire; while the communes and municipalities have "gone in" for local roads and works of improvement.

"These money grants are a kind of gentle pressure and seduction, which is resorted to by the Government, not only in the matter of roads, but in all useful and ornamental works in which the co-operation of departments or municipalities is desirable. There is always plenty of such improvements which are either obvious, or which are easily suggested to municipal councils—rivers require regulating, ports are insecure, quays and bridges are giving way, towns must be improved, streets widened, swamps and waste lands wait to be reclaimed, &c. Government is applied to, and always found willing to take the subject seriously. The only remaining question is the money. With all its good-will and liberality it cannot undertake to defray all these large expenses; but it is ready to contribute a part under the condition that the municipalities do the rest. They are already too heavily burdened to bear so large an outlay, but there are plenty of capitalists who will advance the money; and the advantages resulting from the work will more than repay the outlay, or else the resources are growing so rapidly that a fancy may safely be indulged in now and then. The spirit of emulation does the rest. Paris, Lyons, Marseilles, and other large towns headed the movement, and no one wants to remain behind, the country any more than the towns.

"This system of encouragement by grants of money is not confined to works undertaken by departments and communes; it extends in many cases to individual enterprises. With the view, for instance, of making coal accessible to the consumer at low prices, subsidies are given to mining companies for the construction of roads, canals, and tramways. In order to promote drainage, the Crédit Foncier is authorized to make loans to the amount of 100 millions of francs on account of the government, and this latter guarantees four per cent. on them. In order to fertilize the plains of the Dordogne, depôts of sea-sand are formed at reduced prices. About ten millions of francs go every year to encourage agriculture; and lately, when the new commercial policy was decided upon, similar favours have been extended to manufacturers. A law passed in August, 1860, empowers the government to make a loan of 40 millions of francs to manufacturers for improvement of machinery, with a view to facilitate competition with foreign countries, and so on in an endless list, until the mind is quite bewildered by this attempt to revive the Indian god Vishnu, the many headed and many handed. Nothing seems too large for the power of government, or too small to attract its attention."

Another lure to stimulate private exertion, and to encourage the investment of capital, lies in the promotion of public companies or commercial associations. The year 1846 is marked as the commencement of their rapid growth; but during the revolution they fell off from 2747 to 1511. "They are now nearly close upon 5000, or nearly double what they were in the most

prosperous times before 1848. Institutions of credit, insurance, railway, canal, mining, industrial, gas, and steamboat companies, &c., have sprung up with a rapidity quite astonishing, and have in most cases yielded large profits. "The direct initiation of the Government is reserved for cases where a new idea is to be applied. Thus agricultural shows, industrial exhibitions, horse races, were almost unknown before the establishment of the Imperial régime." Under this stimulus French society has entirely changed its character, and from an uncommercial country France has become more commercial than Holland or England, has plunged into a "faster" style of money-making than New York itself. The chapter on "Moneymania," with its Mirès episode, discloses nothing new, but forms nevertheless an essential part of the survey. It will require some little thought on the part of the reader completely to estimate the extent and power of this system, or the magnitude of its results; but if we reflect upon all the forms in which it has worked we shall attain at least a proximate idea of the change. We have seen that the new military system has furnished the soldier with the means of accumulating some amount of savings. The encouragement given to co-operative societies has afforded at once confidence and opportunity for such of the working classes as choose to become proprietors, or participating workmen, in undertakings of various grades from the humblest to the very largest. Under the same impulse the communes have found the means for their works of improvement,—beautifying towns, extending approaches, restoring lands to utility; deriving the needful funds not only from local taxation, but from a resort to loans based upon the increased value under the improvements. Thus the bourgeoisie has found means for the investment of money which it would otherwise have kept as so much dead "savings." The upper classes, without distinction of birth, have plunged into commercial enterprises, either in some form with which they are connected locally, or in those international undertakings which are so well exemplified by the great stock-jobbing associations of the Bourse. It has been truly remarked that the Emperor Napoleon has thus taught the Frenchman to take his dead savings "out of the stocking," and, sowing them in the ground of agricultural progress, town improvements, joint-stock trade, or grand commerce, to reap a crop of profits, with a continual increase of seed for repeating the process.

But before we can understand the real design or the working of the system, we must take a yet further glance. It will already be seen how far every section of society, down to the humblest individual, has been induced to look up to the one man at the head as the person who presides over the improving prospect of

the whole, and there can be no doubt that a part of the influence exercised by the Emperor throughout the country, in all grades, must be traced to this practical form of realizing the "Idées Napoléoniennes." If we examine the *personnel* of the larger commercial organizations we shall find another peculiar element. If, for instance, we ask who are the Directors of the Crédit Foncier or the Crédit Mobilier, we find amongst them men whose names we know in other capacities. The "Crédit Foncier de France" is an association established for the purpose of advancing money upon landed property; the "Société Générale de Crédit Mobilier" was to furnish similar advances upon tangible security not real property; but this latter company grew to be by far the larger, more wealthy, and more influential, its success having called forth a host of imitators. Now if we examine the directorate of these two modern institutions we find one man in both: it is M. Emile Pereire, "the French Rothschild," as he is sometimes called. Amongst the directors of the Crédit Foncier is M. Drouyn de Lhuys, one of the most eminent of living statesmen, who has recently been spoken of as likely to resume his place in the councils of the Emperor. Amongst the directors of the Crédit Mobilier is M. Benoist Fould, the brother of Achille Fould, the Finance Minister, and the Count de Morny, whose relations with the Emperor and his councils are known to the world. Personal connexions of this kind have furnished a machinery by which the influence of the one man is enabled to make itself felt through the widest ramifications in the most distinct manner. We English are wont to call this the centralizing system; but we now understand something of its converse, which we may call the radiating system. It places every part of the country in direct personal communication with the chief, in some degree dependent upon him, in a greater degree co-operating with him, sharing his successes, and making its successes his.

But among the grand works of reorganization we must not omit that of the Government itself, newly constructed upon the universal principle of the present régime. It all centres in the Emperor.

"This man assumes the whole executive power, without control; he has the initiative of making laws; he declares war, makes treaties of peace, alliances, and commerce; fixes the order of succession, in one word, has unlimited sovereign rights; but he is 'the *responsible* chief of the French Government,' (Constitution, art. 5). Article 6 defines this responsibility: 'the Emperor is responsible to the French people, to which he has always a right to appeal.' The constitution is thus, as it were, a realization of the "pacte fondamental" of Rousseau. The Emperor claims his power from universal suffrage, and recognises popular sovereignty as his judge."

In other words, he admits himself accountable to everybody: a tolerably safe appeal, when we remember the propensity of opinions to conflict with each other, and his peculiar opportunities and powers for guiding, directing, and concentrating. Technically, the Emperor governs by means of his Ministers, the Conseil d'Etat, the Senate, and the Corps Législatif. The Ministers, however, do not form anything which we understand by our word cabinet. It is the Sovereign who is responsible, not they; and each man is kept pretty nearly to his own department, with the very trivial exception, perhaps, that some few of them have access to their chief as personal friends. At the sittings of our Cabinet Councils, the Sovereign is not present; it is so much the reverse in France, that the Sovereign at the head of the table initiates every subject to be discussed. He has previously known all the business that is to come before the board, and it is he who allots to each man, in his own department, the authority to open a discussion upon some particular branch of business. In their turn, all have their say; the Emperor listens in silence; and when the business is completed he graciously bows dismissal, and retires to determine in his own mind what shall be done, every act awaiting his pleasure. The Ministers, however, have one privilege—they may be impeached before the Senate; so we may imagine cases in which the Emperor might please to take the initiative and the "responsibility," and they the punishment. This, again, resembles an obsolete proceeding at our court—the flogging boy. The members of the Conseil d'Etat exercise a certain consultative power in reference to amendments of laws and appeals of causes between the departmental administrations and private individuals. The Senate, whose members are appointed for life, is the "guardian of the pacte fondamental," and no law can be promulgated before it has been submitted to the Senate, which can oppose the project, if it be repugnant to the constitution, religion, morals, and so forth. The Senate is also the interpreter of all dubious points of the constitution, to which it may propose modifications. The Corps Législatif, elected by universal suffrage, is a purely consultative body; it can originate no measure, can amend none, in its public sittings; it can only discuss them. The amendments are made before commissions charged especially to examine the projects in question, including the budget itself. Even from this meagre outline, it will be seen that the whole authority, with the initiative, the final disposal of amendment, and the check upon finance, resides with the One. An exception might be fancied to reside in the Senate, which is a sort of life peerage; but it is obvious that, constituted as the body is of high functionaries, it is always likely to be tractable; and whatever may be its independence, it cannot in any respect alter the *status quo*. In a chapter entitled "Death

and Resurrection," the Flaneur describes the complete extinction of self-government amongst the French; but he points to the manner in which the author of this recognised empire constantly reverts to his origin as the "elect of the people," and to successive steps in the direction of greater freedom, as indicated by peace conventions, commercial treaties, and similar movements. "The steps may seem but small," he says, "but the direction is unmistakeable." It appears to us, however, that although impartial by temperament, the writer, by his very antagonism to opposite prejudice, is inclined to take an optimist view of the inscrutable man, and that he hazards assumptions for the future which go far beyond his data. What we have already ascertained, in great part by the help of his succinct and vividly concentrated memorandum, is, that the Emperor Napoleon, the student of the various forms of government, the doubtful patron of constitutional Italy, has contrived for France the most centralized government ever invented amongst European peoples.

It is quite true that he has initiated the French people into the mysteries of fresh alliances, that he has given an impulse to enterprise, has actually introduced free-trade, and, as our author is careful to tell us, has promoted education; "about 4000 schools for boys and over 7000 for girls having been opened since 1848, and the number of scholars having increased by more than one-fifth." It is true that he has reconciled conflicting factions, and has restored a concord amongst the French people, or rather has created a solidarity of ideas and feelings amongst the vast majority, positively unknown in previous times. Thus, he may be said to have created that which will become one day a greater power than himself. The Flaneur's idea is, that having rescued France from the disordered and anarchical factions which have neutralized and prostrated all her powers, he is now instructing her in local self-government as the best apprenticeship for national self-government. "Local self-government would be at the same time the surest and safest way of rousing gradually the people from that state of political torpor and scepticism in which it is sunk, and to conjure those violent transitions from lethargy to extreme violence, which are so characteristic in French history." This is painting the "Terrestrial Providence" *en beau;* but we are not sure that Napoleon takes this view, or has this intention; and if we pursue the inquiry a little further, we catch the glimpse of a very different and equally curious enterprise, perhaps the largest and most amazing task ever undertaken by an individual.

Throughout the whole system nothing is more conspicuous than the fact that the present Government in Paris has imposed restraints upon literature, upon discussion, even upon the private

thoughts of individuals, as stringent, with one large exception, as anything ever attempted by Austria with its espionage, by the Papacy with the Inquisition, or by the Washington Government during the present year. "There are," the Flaneur confesses, "no traces of a new Augustan era;" and he alludes with regret to that long series of "acute thinkers, bold theoreticians, inspired poets, brilliant historians, charming novelists, inexhaustible dramatic authors, powerful journalists, clever painters and composers, inimitable actors and musicians, who have succeeded each other ever since the Restoration in France." The few who still survive, Victor Hugo, Lamartine, Thiers, Michelet, George Sand, and others, are in exile, in disgrace, or in a practical restraint which they cannot break through. A complete negative is imposed upon the spontaneous action of men in all its forms. Our author describes the transformation which the visitor perceives in every aspect of French society.

"Change, change, change, is written up everywhere. Men, ideas, pursuits, country, town, all things, living and inanimate, proclaim it loud. But short ten years have passed, and a new world has arisen, old types gradually disappear, and new ones take their place. No one would recognise in the civilized being dressed 'comme tout le monde,' swaggering up and down the asphalt of the Boulevard, the reckless, eccentric student, the inhabitant of the Bohème of Mürger. The gay, modest grisette of Béranger, that charming compound of affection and selfishness, devotion and '*gourmandise*,' has dropped her coquettish cap and '*robe de percail*,' and has been metamorphosed into the dashing Lorette. The timid French capitalist, who was invariably left behind by foreign enterprise, now hurries on headlong after the Mirèses, and displays in his race a recklessness calculated to frighten even the bold Anglo-Saxon. The bourgeois national guard, infected as usual by the mania of his betters, seeks for a place where to hide his traditional '*bonnet de coton*,' and brings out his dear five franc pieces, which he had been treasuring hitherto with such anxious care. The imaginative Frenchman, the plaything of theoreticians and agitators, always ready to follow any high-soaring Icarus into the clouds, turns now with scorn from the finest phrases, and has chosen as his motto the advice of Faust, 'that grey is all theory, and green the tree of life.' The gay, witty Gaul, with his keen sense of enjoyment, indolent and violent in rapid succession, finds now no time for rest or enjoyment, and hurries through life as if he wished to make up for the time he has idled and trifled away before. The very cabman and his horse, those emblems of all that was slow and stationary, are trying to get the better of their aversion to rapid evolutions."

But in this account he has omitted the most important metamorphosis, the complete expulsion of the keen logic, the pointed wit, the powerful reasoning, the playful grace, the inexhaustible invention, and vivid illustration which have distinguished French literature, or

that which we may call the spoken literature of society. It is an awful mutilation. We cannot say that the race has been emasculated, but if we may allow the expression, it has been decerebrated. For intellectual and literary purposes it has been treated almost as Spallanzani treated his favourite toad, which hopped about around his garden with its brains scooped out, in order that the philosopher might ascertain how far an inferior creature could dispense with the intellectual department and get along with the remainder of its nervous system. The toad astonished the world by surviving the experiment, and so does France. But the experiment does not terminate at this point. We have said that there is one exception to the suppressive discipline of the Frenchman. Perfect freedom is granted in one direction: the French people are free to use their understanding, their wit, their playful, inventive fancy, their energies and courage, all upon the one condition that they use those powers in accordance with the leave and licence granted to them from the supreme and central authority. If we may judge of motives by actions, the "Terrestrial Providence" does not intend to suppress French intellect, wit, and imagination; he does but set up a wall to surround it in all directions which he thinks mischievous to the national life, or at all events to his own purpose; but he leaves an opening in that wall for the intellect, &c., to travel forth if they so please in the direction that he destines. In other words, literally accepting the function of "God's Vicegerent upon Earth," he is undertaking to mould the national mind, direct the growth as well as movement of its thoughts, and thus to shape its purpose. He is seeking to identify the intellect and energies of all born Frenchmen with his own will and convictions. We have seen the degree of success which has attended his other transformations; but in this branch his prosperity has heretofore been simply negative: he has suspended the intellect, wit, and imagination of his country, and nothing further.

In all the other departments which we have looked at, the success has been positive and great; let us glance but for one instant at the nett result of the whole. The quondam frequenter of the Royal Society has been permitted to use France as the corpus vile for an enormous experiment in political engineering with unexpected prosperity; let us note the grand total of the sum, so far as he has now worked. He had studied political science, especially in England; he used to say that our institutions were excellent for us, but that they would not suit his countrymen; and he has deliberately tried how the exact opposite would answer. He has undertaken to think for everybody—to edit an empire, to be the ruling brain of the entire body politic—to guide its conduct, develop its instincts, direct its thoughts, regulate the very pulses of its

heart. The enterprise we believe to be an impossibility in terms. "English prejudice!" he answers; "I have succeeded."

If Napoleon is using France to work out so marvellous a problem, he himself constitutes a problem not less strange, and for the time far more obscure. We know what he has done already, but the knowledge almost renders it more difficult to discover what he may do hereafter. In working many propositions we can arrive at a conception of the unknown part by "producing" the lines of the portions which we know. The one before us looks very like an exception to that rule; but if we were to suppose that we might apply the method, it would suggest formidable considerations. Let us compare the estimate of Louis Napoleon as he lounged about London in 1847 with the Napoleon the Third who is doing these things in 1862. Let us, however, hastily sum up what he has accomplished as Cæsar, dynasty-founder, Pontifex Maximus for the Gallic people—soldier, economical philosopher, and author, who having invested in ideas, is now realizing. We have seen how far he has revived the traditions of the first empire, but this new edition is given forth to the world with large additions and improvements. The first Napoleon caught at many ideas which France nourished in her bosom, although the most Christian kings had forbidden her ever to indulge or even to disclose them; but the "Petit Caporal" had neither the training, nor the intellect, nor the peculiar sympathies which enabled him to understand some constituent parts of the French mind and its longings.

More thorough insight into the genius of the French people enables the nephew to use it with the greater efficiency against that people; but throughout his really surprising success one trait has attended him—it is his obstinate silence. The next thing is always a secret. In regard to the future which is to follow these astonishing ten years, the world is tantalized by surmises and rumours innumerable, and the Flaneur is as ready with them as all the rest. We might conjecturally indicate what the restless man is to do in Rome, either by stopping there or coming away, with the Pope maintained on the hereditary seat of St. Peter or brought off in tow: We might fancy that a French garrison will abide permanently in Mexico to vindicate the *anti*-Monroe doctrine. Quite recently, the letter to the fellow-students at Augsburg has indicated a tendency to court the sympathies of Germany—not the dynastic congeries of families and bureaucracies that pass by that name in the "Almanach de Gotha," but the nationality, the millions, the multiple sovereign of universal suffrage that is to be. Alarmists point to the fact that he has created an army, and will shortly be more powerful than England

on her own element. Optimists retort that he has reconciled France to free-trade, has taught her to invest, and has thus made her "give hostages to fortune;" the many forms of increased wealth growing up within her bounds being so many pledges to keep the peace. But how purely absurd and useless are speculative safeguards for a nation like England, who has at stake countless treasures of tradition and independence as well as wealth, in the presence of such power and ambition as are lodged next door to her! It may cost something to our taxpayers if we maintain army and navy at the standard which is now fashionable, but the expense is the fine we pay for residing in so distinguished a neighbourhood; and to abate those material guarantees for our safety would undoubtedly cost much more in the end.

Louis Napoleon was thought an idler, a pretender made harmless by incompetency, a sensualist, and a dullard. If any one had supposed he dreamed of the measures we have described, contempt would have turned to pity for the madman; but he has done it. He has attested his power by our own great standard of success; and if we erred in our estimate of him, he may retaliate by a blunder not so irrational, far more gigantic, and proportionately calamitous. In the great programme of the past he consulted only himself, and he has been justified in the wildest egotism of his self-estimate. Such a man, in such a position, might be led to think that where all others had been wrong, he had been right; and that he alone had learned what to do with nations. He is the continuator of the First Consul, the Emperor Napoleon, who is now in the person of his heir recalled from Elba, the treaties of 1815 being torn to tatters. He sits on the throne of the great *German*, Charlemagne, "Emperor of the West," "Suzerain of Italy," crowned by the grateful Pope as "Augustus Cæsar," with the prerogative of confirming the Papal election. He is studying the life of Julius Cæsar. These are the models whose glories he emulates, on whose experience he has improved. We remember our estimate of the man before 1848; we have before us his subsequent deeds; are we to calculate the future by the rule of three?

ART. VII.—THE RELIGIOUS DIFFICULTIES OF INDIA.

1. *Dialogues on the Hindu Philosophy: comprising the Nyáya, Sánkhya, the Vedánt; to which is added a discussion of the authority of the Vedas.* By Rev. K. M. BANERJEA, Second Professor of Bishop's College, Calcutta. London. 1861.
2. *A Rational Refutation of the Hindu Philosophical Systems.* By NEHEMIAH NÎLAKANTHA SÂSTRÎ GORE. Translated from the original Hindi, printed and manuscript, by Fitz-Edward Hall, D.C.L., Oxon., H.M.'s Inspector of Public Instruction for the Central Provinces. Calcutta. 1862.
3. *The Chhândogya Upanishad of the Sáma Veda, with extracts from the Commentary of Sankara Acharya.* Translated from the original Sanskrita, by RÂJENDRALÂLA MITRA. Calcutta. 1862.

OURS is an age of unbelief. Meteors do not warn us; eclipses of sun and moon have lost for us their power of prognostication. We have fowls, like the ancient Romans, but they do not, as Pliny says, "daily govern the minds of our rulers" (hi magistratus nostros quotidie regunt). We kill and roast oxen and sheep, but there is no haruspex or thyoskoos to enlighten us on the mystical properties of their entrails, or on those of the smoke ascending from their flesh. Ants, spiders, and bees, which had so much to tell in olden times, are silent now about future events; and though the aged portion of our fair sex seems still to adhere to the mysterious rules on omens and portents laid down in the learned works of Atreya, Charaka, Susruta, and other fathers of Hindu medicine, we have still a doubt whether it is powerful enough to arrest the sceptical bias of this age. Nevertheless there are signs which we should do well to dwell upon with the same awe as our forefathers did when a comet made its sudden appearance on their horizon.

Five years have passed since we quelled that untoward rebellion of India. Then, we said, it was the inferior race which dared to feel dissatisfied with the governing wisdom of its superiors. Men, deficient in religious notions, with a literature not worth considering, with institutions not heard of in civilized Europe, with laws of inheritance and adoption so inconvenient to the Indian Exchequer, had the presumption to give vent to a feeling of treasonable uneasiness, utterly unjustified, and therefore deserving the severest punishment. We have grown wiser since. We now remember that vast and wonderful literature of ancient India, which still fertilizes the native mind; we no longer close our ears

to the numerous witnesses, dead and living, which testify to the superior intelligence and capacities of the Hindu race; we begin to admit that institutions and laws dating from immemorial times and outlasting all the vicissitudes of Indian history must be congenial to the nation that reveres and upholds them so tenaciously; nay, humbly mindful of our own religious perplexities, we have thought it the wiser course to allow the Hindus themselves to settle their own mode of attaining eternal bliss.

"We desire," says Her Majesty, in that memorable Proclamation of the 1st November, 1858, which will ever be quoted to the glory of her reign, and to the honour of the Minister who then presided in her Councils of India—

"We desire," says Her Majesty, to the Princes, Chiefs, and People of India, "no extension of our present territorial possessions; and while we permit no aggression on our dominions or our rights to be attempted with impunity, we shall sanction no encroachment on those of others. We shall respect the rights, dignity, and honour of our native princes as our own; and we desire that they, as well as our own subjects, should enjoy that prosperity and social advancement which can only be secured by internal peace and good government. . . . . . .

"Firmly relying ourselves on the truth of Christianity, and acknowledging with gratitude the solace of religion, we disclaim alike the right and the desire to impose our convictions on any of our subjects. We declare it to be our Royal will and pleasure that none be anywise favoured, none molested or disquieted, by reason of their religious faith or observances, but all shall alike enjoy the equal or impartial protection of the law; and we do strictly charge and enjoin all those who may be in authority under us, that they abstain from all interference with the religious belief or worship of our subjects, on pain of our highest displeasure.

"And it is our further will that, so far as may be, our subjects, of whatever race or creed, be freely and impartially admitted to offices in our service, the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability, and integrity duly to discharge. . . . . .

"We know and respect the feelings of attachment with which the natives of India regard the lands inherited by them from their ancestors, and we desire to protect them in all rights connected therewith, subject to the equitable demands of the State; and we will that generally in framing and administering the law, due regard be paid to the ancient rights, usages, and customs of India."

It would be in vain to deny that these words have become the Magna Charta of India; and it would be dangerous to misunderstand the signs which have risen on the political horizon of that country since they struck root in the native mind. The Hindus have ceased to look upon themselves as inferior in rights to their fellow-subjects in Europe. Their princes, undeterred by adverse decisions of former governments, firmly renew their claims, and

plead them before the people of England; their native associations hold meetings, discuss and issue reports of the acts of Government, which rival in their form and contents the proceedings of the British Parliament; their press, though loyal, has grown manly, and their political agents in this country offer us the novel and instructive spectacle of convening meetings of Englishmen and of enlightening them on the actual position, the wishes, the rights, and the claims of their countrymen. But whereas those who were in the habit of looking down upon native talent and native acquirements may feel surprised when hearing Hindu politicians descant on international law, with quotations from Grotius, Puffendorf, Vattel, Domat, and Wheaton, others will probably find not less ground for reflection when they discover that religious questions also are dealt with now by native writers in a spirit and with an amount of European erudition which hitherto seemed to have been the exclusive privilege of western scholarship.

While contenting ourselves for the present with these general remarks on the important political changes which are shadowed forth by the actual movements in India, we intend in this article to draw the attention of our readers to that remarkable religious feature of Hindu development just alluded to.

Of all problems concerning the future of India the most problematical at all times has been the religious one. No government, whether Mohammedan or Christian, ever approached it without the strongest misgivings; and no government has hitherto been able to offer any solution of it. We are neither surprised at the attempt nor at the failure. We comprehend that every one who, either through his personal intercourse or through his studies, has become acquainted with the actual religious condition of India, must consider it unsatisfactory in the highest degree; but we understand, too, that neither a foreign government nor foreign zeal apparently possesses the means of improving it. A creed, however objectionable to those who do not share in it, is always congenial to the mental condition of its professor. Beyond all things it is his property; and that property, too, which no oppressor can seize or annihilate. It must be valuable, since it can resist all might; and its value increases in proportion to the strength which oppression gains. No foreign law, no dictatorial force has ever modified the essential aspect of Hindu religion, beyond trifling changes illusory in themselves. Nor need we speak of the result which persuasion has obtained when laws have been ineffectual. Of the various causes which have produced its failure we need mention only one, which, in most instances, has been all-powerful—we mean ignorance. Without inquiring into that which it was

intended to substitute for the creed to be removed, we may fairly assert that scarcely any one of those zealous men who have set out on their missionary tasks had ever undertaken to study the rise, the progress, and the decline of Hindu religion. Appearances alone have captivated their minds, and in appearances only have their successes resulted. "Our religion is that of the East India Company," was the satisfactory answer given to one of these successful missionaries when examining his converted flock before the bishop of his diocese; and experience shows that this answer holds practically good in nearly all other cases in which the worshipper of Brahma, Vishnu, or Siva, has learned to adore the Christian Trinity. To show a pious Hindu that he might abandon his rites without forfeiting salvation, required more than a superficial discourse on their futility; to persuade an orthodox Brahmin that neither Vishnu nor Siva is the creator of the world, necessitated at least a knowledge of what Vishnu and Siva are; and such a knowledge would have compelled the missionary to ascend the height of Hindu antiquity, to study the Vedas and the numerous writings connected with it, to descend from it to the mediæval period of Hindu civilization, and to follow its meandering course through all the intricacies of Sanskrit literature. It is needless to say that the acquirement of such a knowledge was hardly ever dreamt of by any of those who meant to convince the Hindus of the errors of their various creeds.

We consider it therefore a new and remarkable phase in the development of India, not only that researches of the most arduous kind have been commenced in order to pave the way to that knowledge, but that native scholars of position and learning take upon themselves the task which has hitherto engaged the activity of European missionaries. It is a first-fruit we reap from the wisdom of the Royal proclamation. Conversion having ceased to be the means of obtaining or granting favours, the native mind will listen to its indigenous teachers without passion or mistrust, and in their turn English statesmen will have better opportunities for studying the minds of the Hindus by listening to their own scholars, than by learning the views—too often tainted by partiality—of European philanthropists.

We have placed at the head of this article the titles of two works, which illustrate what we have just called the new phase of the religious condition of India. Both works are written by native scholars of great accomplishment, and, though differing in their intrinsic value, tend towards the same goal. The "Dialogues on the Hindu Philosophy," by Mr. Banerjea, it is true, is the more learned and the more comprehensive of the two; it is more attractive in its form, and it has the advantage also of having been written in the masterly English in which it is presented to

the public by the author himself, who gives ample proof that he combines in a high degree the erudition of a Hindu Pandit with that of an English Professor. On the other hand, the "Rational Refutation of the Hindu Philosophical Systems," by Mr. Nehemiah Nîlakantha Sâstrî Gore, originally composed in Hindi, and translated by Dr. Hall, not only enjoyed the benefit of the numerous and valuable remarks of this accomplished scholar, but, as it seems to us, addresses itself more to the understanding and the training of the Hindus, than its more refined rival, which, on account of its superior merits, will necessarily be less appreciated in its own country than with us. When we mention, moreover, that both authors—the one tracing his pedigree to the oldest Brahmanic families of ancient India—have embraced the Christian religion in preference to that of their ancestors, we need not add that their conclusions are in favour of the creed they now profess.

It is essential, however, for a proper and due appreciation of their elaborate works, that no misunderstanding should exist in our reader's mind as to what we mean by the creed of their ancestors. As we shall enter more fully on this question in the course of these pages, it will suffice for the present to observe that the ancient religion of India has become gradually changed into the double form of an exoteric and esoteric creed. The worshippers of Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva, in a great variety of forms in which these deities represent themselves to the native imagination, the adorers of the Saktis or female energies of these gods, of the Sun, Ganesa, and a number of other beings—all pretend that their mode of worship is founded on, and countenanced by, their revealed sacred writings, the Vedas, though its immediate source is to be found in the Purânas. These represent what we may call the creed of the masses, inasmuch as it appeals to the grosser capacities of human understanding. The esoteric creed of the Hindus, likewise appealing to the Vedas, is essentially philosophical. It professes to express the real meaning of these sacred works, by reducing their myths to allegories, and by proving that their essence is the doctrine of one God, the creator of the universe and the source of eternal bliss. Like Sankarâohârya, one of the greatest Hindu divines, the professors of this creed admit the utility, and, as the case may be, even the necessity, of a sensual description of worship, as suited to the intellect of those who are not fitted for the unalloyed reception of eternal Truth; but their object is gradually to elevate the mind of the masses, to wean it from rites based, as they argue, on the misinterpretation of their holy scriptures, and to prepare it for a pure conception of the Deity. Amongst these, the followers of the Vedânta philosophy occupy the foremost rank, and

exercise the greatest influence, so much so that this esoteric creed may be identified to a certain degree with the tenets of the Vedânta philosophy.

It is to this philosophical form of Hindu religion that the "Dialogues" and the "Refutations" are addressed. They do not condescend to deal with the worshippers of Vishnu, Siva, and their kin. For as their object is to penetrate to the *root* of Hindu thought, it becomes superfluous for them to lop branches without a stem. Or, to speak in plainer terms: since they endeavour to prove not only that the doctrine of all Hindu philosophies, the Vedânta included, is erroneous, but that the very source whence they profess to flow, the Veda, is devoid of authority and unworthy of belief, the whole Hindu Pantheon according to them loses its prop and tumbles to the ground.

It is the unenviable fate of those who, while dealing with matters of Hindu religion or Hindu literature, claim attention beyond the narrow circle of professional students of Indian antiquity, to have always to fence their statements with precautions which, in kindred and familiar matters, would be tedious and superfluous. Thus we believe that, in spite of all the encouragement which the study of Sanskrit and Sanskrit literature has of late years received at the hands of the Indian Government, such precaution cannot yet safely be altogether dispensed with, when it is necessary to deal freely with such terms as Veda and Hindu philosophies. Veda will no doubt represent to the popular mind some book like the Bible or the Korân, and with an expression like Hindu philosophies, it probably combines ideas like those suggested by the philosophy of Pythagoras, Aristotle, Plato, or to speak in homelier language, of Bacon, Locke, or Hume. Above all things, it will readily imagine some safe or at least some probable date by which we may not only assign a fixed position to these works in Hindu literature, but also determine the relation which they hold to one another, and the influence which the earlier writer exercised on the minds of his successors. We must at the outset, therefore, destroy such illusions wherever they may exist. We shall have to mention that the Veda is no wise comparable to the sacred writings of Jews, Mohammedans, or Christians; and we will at once confess that no one has as yet been able to connect any personage—in the historical sense of the word—with any of these writings, or the text-books of Hindu philosophy, or to prove at which period of Hindu antiquity they were composed. Nor do the materials known to us justify more than theories on the relative position occupied by the three great branches of Hindu philosophy. So antagonistic is this utter mysteriousness of historical data in Indian literature with the matter of fact predilections of the European mind, that even

conscientious writers on Sanskrit literature thought it indispensable to their task to lay before their readers at least some conjectural date of the antiquarian subject they were treating of; and so easily do personal opinions skilfully expressed become invested with the authority of proof, that authors drawing their information from these writers have transformed their imaginary dates into historical definitions of time. It is necessary, therefore, for the formation of a proper judgment, to reduce these speculations, however interesting in many respects, to their real value, and to free our notions from the fetters they may impose.

We notice on these grounds with peculiar pleasure the sober and cautious manner in which the reverend professor has dealt with questions like these, and though we differ in various respects from the views he has expressed and the judgment he has passed, we cannot do better then attach our own remarks to the summary and ingenious sketch he has given in the commencement of his "Dialogues" of the rise and progress of Hindu theology and philosophy.

"The division of our Vedas," Mr. Banerjea writes (p. 41), "it is well known, is twofold, into Mantras and Brâhmanas. The former may generally be considered devotional, the latter ceremonial and dogmatic. As for the short treatises called Upanishads, they are, with a few exceptions, appendices to the dogmatic parts, and, like codicils of wills, are held to be the most recent, and therefore the most matured, expositions of the authors' minds. They profess to be repositories of *parâ vidyâ* or superior knowledge, and look down on the great bulk of the Vedas as *aparâ*, or inferior. They contain some rude indications of philosophic thought, and, like the twinklings of stars in a dark night, may occasionally serve as guides in a history of Hindu philosophy. They do not, however, exhibit any great attempt at method, arrangement, classification, or argument. Even there the poetry predominates over the logic. Bold ideas abruptly strike your fancy, but you find no clue to the associations which called them forth in the author's mind, and search in vain for the reasons on which they were based. Sublime thoughts are not wanting, but they resemble sudden flashes, at which you may gaze for a moment, but are immediately after left in deeper darkness than ever. Nor are they free from those irregular flights of the imagination in which poets, with vitiated tastes, delight to indulge, setting at defiance all rules of decency and morality.

"The Upanishads appear from their language and style to have been the latest, and the Mantras the earliest, of Vedic compositions. It may be a delicate question, but it is one which ought not to be unfairly suppressed, whether the authors of the earliest compositions, the Mantras, profess to have written them down as inspired records. You are fond of saying that they were breathed out by Brahmâ at the time of the Creation, and yet you speak of the *Rishi* of each *Mantra*. The *Mantra* itself is such that its *Rishi* may well be supposed to have

composed and chanted it, and there is nothing as to matter and style which could possibly require divine illumination. That our ancestors oo ked on the Vedas with such reverence is no marvel. The Vedas were the first national efforts in the department of literature. In the infancy of literature, the ignorant, who did not know how to read or write, would naturally look upon those mysterious talents as divine endowments, as especial instances of Saraswati's grace. They would accordingly feel a sort of religious veneration for such gifted and highly favoured persons, and consider their writings as divine inspirations. . . . .

(P. 46): "Between that period and the age of the Darsanas, however, a tremendous revolution had taken place in the opinion of men. From extreme credulity to extreme infidelity the transition is easy. Those who were called upon to render implicit obedience to the Brahminical college, began to question the very foundations of sacerdotal authority. The Brahminical hierarchy had become so powerful as to set the sovereignty of kings and princes at defiance. The fear of incurring their malediction—an anathema the effects of which would be felt for countless generations—would haunt the priest-ridden minds of Kshetriyas by day and by night, if ever they set themselves in opposition to Brahmins. . . . . . At length, however, a prince arose in the royal line of Ikshwâku, determined to dissolve the charm by which the minds of men were held in servitude to the Brahmins. Sâkya Muni imposed on himself the task of reforming the religion of his country. . . . . . . He pronounced the rites and ceremonies of the Veda to be idle sports, and the exclusive privileges arrogated by the Brahmins to be empty pretensions. He assailed the authority of the very books on which those pretensions were founded. He declared that the division of castes was a mere human invention, and invited all ranks to assemble under his banners on a footing of equality. The Brahmins add that he also denied the immortality of the soul, and pronounced the expectation of a future world to be a vain reverie. Whether Buddhism was really liable to the charge of materialism preferred against it by the Brahmins or not, it certainly had no divine revelation to plead for its support, nor could it appeal to any tradition in its favor. It could only stand on its *rational* pretensions. The study of philosophy and metaphysics was therefore absolutely needed for its very existence. So long as men believed in the infallibility of the Veda, they could appeal to its texts for the decision of controversies and the solution of doubts. But when revelation was ignored, disputes could only be settled by the verdict of *reason*. The necessities of Buddhism rendered the cultivation of logic and metaphysics absolutely indispensable, and thus were the first attempts at philosophy called forth in India. . . . . ."

On the obscure question, as to the chronological position of the different systems of Hindu philosophy and on their contents, Mr. Banerjea expresses, amongst others, the following opinion :—

(P. 49): "Of our six *Darsanas* or schools of philosophy, two, those of Jaimini and Vyâsa, are generally considered orthodox; while the other

four are looked upon with great suspicion by the Brahmins themselves. I think that the Darsanas of Jaimini and Vyâsa (called the Former and Latter Mîmânsâs, or deciders) were written with a view to correct the errors of their predecessors, and were of more recent date than the rest. The Nyâya and the Sânkhya are in fact a sort of compromise between Brahminism and Buddhism. They contain as much of the Buddhist element as could be held without danger to Brahminical supremacy. The authors *profess* to uphold the Veda, because experience had taught them that the dignity of their order could not be maintained without the Veda; and they inculcate the reality of future states of life against the Buddhists. But the spirit of their teaching is quite as hostile to the ritual of the Veda as that of Buddhism. I believe, therefore, that the Nyâya and Sânkhya were amongst the firstfruits of the Brahminical intellect when it sought to enlist the aid of rationalism in the service of the Brahminical order. As to the question of priority between the two systems themselves, the fact of one of the Sânkhya Sûtras making plain reference to the Nyâya, and speaking of its *sixteen* topics, may be considered as decisive proof in favor of the Nyâya. Such evidence, it is true, is far from being conclusive, because there have been many interpolations; but the Nyâya is the least controversial among the systems, and there is no reason of any cogency for rejecting the authenticity of the Sânkhya Sûtra in question. The Nyâya may therefore be considered the first production of Brahminical philosophy after the overthrow of Buddhism in India. The prevalence of Buddhism had convinced the Brahmins of the use of metaphysics in conducting controversies, and expressly in refuting objections; and of the risks they ran of winning the contempt of the community by confining their attention to the simple ritual of the Vedas. The Nyâya, with its orderly array of scientific terms, its physics, logic, and metaphysics, *was manifestly fitted to train and quicken* the intellectual powers. While heresy had been rampant, the vast majority of the Brahminical order were unable to think for themselves, or unlearn prejudices already instilled into their minds. The reasons for which Sûdras were relieved from the task of intellectual exercises, were becoming more and more applicable to the twice-born classes. Traditional teaching, and the prescribed ritual, received with implicit submission, were fast incapacitating them for vigorous mental labour. If the servile tribes had a routine of duties made ready for them, the higher grades had also *their* routine, not indeed of servile attendance on human superiors, but of endless rites and ceremonies no less enslaving to the mind. As far as intellectual activity is concerned, the distinction between Brahmins and Sûdras had become almost nominal.

"The author of the Nyâya would no doubt have the satisfaction of believing that his new system would arrest the progress of heresy, and prevent the gradual decline of the orthodox intellect. If the Brahmin's mind continued to be stinted by the discipline of the Vedas, in the same manner as the Sûdra's was by the authority of the twice-born, what real difference would here remain between the highest and the lowest tribes? Implicit submission of intellect was exacted from both. Was it at all wonderful, then, that heresy stalked abroad, and

that many Brahmins had themselves fallen into the snare? Could minds of any activity acquiesce in the above restrictions? Must they not meditate on the wonders of the creation, except as the antiquated Vedas directed them? And must they always interpret the Vedas in the monotonous way taught by the old Rishis? Orthodox philosophers accordingly came forward to supply the craving of the Brahminical mind, without endangering the stability of the Brahminical order. They did not seem to think very highly of the Vedas, but were unwilling to renounce those time-honoured compositions. . . .

(P. 55): "The same desire of humouring the prejudices of the times, led them to promise supreme felicity as the reward of philosophical speculation. Nothing short of the *summum bonum* was considered as sufficient recompense for the trouble it imposed. That the sentiment of religion predominated in the minds of our ancestors, is evident from the spirit of our ancient literature. It indicates a feeling of dependence on supernatural powers, which is equalled only by the contempt the authors expressed for the perishable objects of the world. Philosophers perhaps imagined that whether they treated on the highest truths which could concern human nature, or merely speculated on the quality of earth and water, they could never find an audience, unless they held out hopes of everlasting welfare as the end of their investigations. In the estimation of their contemporaries, no inferior boon was worth the trouble. The offer of such spiritual rewards on the part of philosophers, for investigations chiefly physical, at best metaphysical, though it must be accepted as a pleasing testimony to the religious feelings of our predecessors, was productive of consequences very much to be regretted. Physics, metaphysics, and theology were confounded in one mass. While the most trifling points of inquiry . . . . were prosecuted with some feeling of religious awe, questions of really vital importance, which regarded the existence and attributes of God, and the permanent interests of the soul, were necessarily robbed of their due solemnity. Theology and physics being placed on the same level, the former could challenge no greater degree of attention than was accorded to the latter. The degradation of the one, and the undue exaltation of the other, were the natural consequences." . . .

(P. 58): "Gotama directed the attention of the Brahmins to the several branches of human knowledge which he thought were calculated to strengthen the intellect, and enable it to conduct polemical discussions with advantage. He classified them under sixteen topics, which he enumerates in his first aphorism." . . .

"Kanâda's system (the *Vaiseshika*) is considered a branch of the Nyâya. His theory is what we call the Atomic—a theory which was simply hinted at by Gotama (the founder of the Nyâya). . . . His categories and his classification of causes bear a singular resemblance to those of the Greek philosopher Aristotle, while his mode of accounting for the origin of the world, by the combination of atoms, is almost identical with that of a sect of ancient European philosophers, the Epicureans, as represented by Lucretius. . . . He does not seem to have entertained the idea of a self-existent Supreme Intelligence existing in the world.

(P. 64): " . . . Kapila came forward next with his remedy for the *threefold evils* of life, which neither the Vedas nor the common sense of mankind had been able to remove. Who this Kapila was, and when he lived, is equally uncertain with the age and personality of Gotama. . . . Kapila went the length of denying outright the existence of the Deity. The wonder is that he is still ranked among orthodox philosophers, and not denounced as a teacher of heresy, like the Buddhists. With Kapila there could be no real freedom if a person were subject to a desire or motive. The soul being essentially free, is, according to his theory, incapable of volition. It is *udásin*, or perfectly unmindful of the external. It is a simple witness. He accordingly argues that since no thinking agent performs an action without a *motive*, the soul could not be supposed to be the CREATOR without being subject to a motive or desire. Such subjection, however, would imply a *bondage*, and detract from its freedom, and, by necessary consequence, from its power. If it had the desire, it would be wanting in the *power*—and if it had the *power*, that is to say perfect freedom, it would not have the *will*. Hence a thinking agent *would* not if he could, and *could* not if he would, create the universe. The acuteness displayed in this argument is indisputable, but subtlety and profundity are not synonymous. . . .

(P. 68): "The objects of knowledge are, according to Kapila's arrangement, twenty-five. *Prakriti*, or nature, defined to be the equipoise of the three qualities of *excellence*, *foulness*, and *darkness*, is the first, as *Purusha*, or soul, is the last. The intervening twenty-three are *mahat*, or intelligence; *ahankâra*, or self-consciousness; the five *tanmâtra* or subtle elements, eleven organs inclusive of the mind, and the five gross elements. Of these Prakriti, the *rootless root*, is the first cause of all things; while *Purusha*, or soul, is a simple witness. Both are eternal: but the former, inanimate and non-sentient, is prolific and active; the latter, intelligent and sentient, is non-productive, because free and indifferent. Prakriti, however, creates *for* the soul and in its vicinity.

"The atheistic part of Kapila's system was rectified by a mystic Rishi of the name of Pâtanjala, who unmistakeably inculcated the existence of *Iswara* or God, and whose system has consequently been called *Seswara* or theistical. It must, however, be confessed, in justice to Kapila, that Pâtanjala does not attribute the creation to his Iswara. His definition of Iswara corresponds exactly to Kapila's idea of the soul, viz., 'untouched by troubles, works, fruits, or deserts.' The only difference is that Pâtanjala considers him to be the Guru, or master, of 'even the elder beings,' merely acknowledging one spirit as supreme over the rest. The non-acknowledgment of some such Supreme Being was a glaring inconsistency in Kapila, when nevertheless he contended for the authority of the Vedas. Who could have inspired the Vedas if there were no Supreme Being? Pâtanjala's is thoroughly a mystical system. It consists mainly of some vague rules of *yoga*, or a sort of mental and corporeal discipline, which cannot be considered as other than chimerical." . . . . . .

(P. 75): "When Jaimini came forward with his *Mîmânsâ*, or decider, he was probably desirous of mediating between the controversialists that

preceded him, and hoped to determine questions which had so long agitated the Brahminical mind. He could not fail to see that neither the Vedas, nor the institutions they supported, could stand long if the Nyâya and Sânkhya were to direct the Indian intellect. Barren speculations, he thought, had been abundantly indulged. Topics, categories, and principles had been sufficiently discussed. What was the result? They had introduced some technical terms, and taught some controversial tactics; but they gave little or no assistance in the discovery of the truth which those terms and tactics were intended to guard. . . . . . He commenced his *Mîmânsâ* with the enunciation of *Duty*, the only topic he had to propound. . . . . . If Jaimini had carried out his proposal of considering the nature of *duty* in a truly philosophical spirit, he might have greatly contributed to the improvement of the Indian mind. . . . Had Jaimini laboured in a similar way to strengthen those moral principles which the Almighty had implanted in the human mind, he might have met with a success honourable to himself and beneficial to the nation; but a servile adherence to the Vedic ritual had unfitted his mind for such speculations. Jaimini had no other idea of duty than as *an injunction of the Sruti;* and that apart from any notion of its Inspirer, or his Will. We have seen previously how Kapila could admit the Vedas as an authority, without a Supreme Intelligence to inspire it. We observe a similar anomaly in Jaimini. He urges the consideration of DUTY, without caring for any to whom it may be *due*. He contends for the authorized Veda without an *authorizer*, for a law without a *lawgiver*, a revelation without a GOD. . . . . To say that Dharma (duty) signifies an injunction of the Veda, can only be intelligible in the sense of its involving the will of the AUTHOR of the Veda. Jaimini, however, has said nothing as to its AUTHOR, nor while talking of its eternity, as Sabda, or the word, has he made mention of any co-eternal Intelligence uttering or revealing it. His Sûtras are so vague on this point, and on the existence and providence of God, that, for anything which may be adduced to the contrary, he may be called a *second* Kapila, maintaining the authority of the Veda without admitting His existence without whom no composition can be pronounced to be inspired. . . . . That the Mîmânsâ of Jaimini met with no success in settling the questions so long controverted is no marvel. . . . . (p. 80.) *Vyâsa*, the well-known compiler of the Vedas, accordingly put forth a second *decider*, the Uttara Mîmânsâ, or Vedânta, in which the old pantheistic doctrine of the Upanishads was reproduced. Not to give an uncertain sound like Jaimini on such a cardinal point in theology as the existence of a Supreme Intelligence, the Creator and Governor of the Universe, he propounded that as the most prominent, and the only great, idea pervading his system. But if there can be no mistake as to the idea of a GOD in his doctrine, it is neutralized, if not nullified, by the identity of that God with everything else—with the whole visible world. He inculcates the existence of one *sole essence*, manifesting or producing itself in the form of the universe before our eyes. If Brahma is the efficient cause or creator of the world, he is also its *substance*, as the gold is of the bracelet. This identity of the universe with God pre-

cludes the idea of duty on the part of the creation towards the Creator, quite as effectually as does Jaimini's theory. . . . . The doctrine which Vyâsa brought to light from the depths of the Veda, is no other than the teaching of the Upanishad, that this universe is God—that the things made and their Maker are identical—that the human soul is one and the same with the Divine spirit. The doctrine is held in two different ways. One way is the *Parinâma Vâda*, which, acknowledging the reality of the visible universe while it identifies it with God, pronounces it to be a formation or development of Himself. The other is the *Vivarta Vâda*, which, maintaining that the one eternal essence, Brahma, manifests himself in various illusory forms, denies the *real* existence of any substance which is not God, and holds the visible world to be a mere shadow or Mâyâ, such as the reflections of the sun and moon in water. . . . . . All ideas of duty and responsibility are openly repudiated in the Vedantism of Vyâsa. The human soul and the Divine Spirit being identical, how can there be an obligation on the part of the one to the other? How or whom can one mind or despise? 'Here,' says Sankara, 'there is no admission of even a smell of works.' Good manners and good works are, however, declared to be *useful* for the attainment of true knowledge."

We have made this long quotation from the interesting work of Mr. Banerjea, not only because it contains the nucleus of the ideas developed, explained, and illustrated in his "Dialogues," but because we are not aware that any writer before him has ever attempted to give so continuous and graphic a sketch of the origin and sequence of the various portions of Hindu philosophy as is presented here in the foregoing extracts. But we should fail in doing justice to him did we not add to them at once the views he takes of the authority of the Veda. After having refuted the arguments of several writers who contend for the omniscience and the eternity of the Veda, he asks (p. 485):

"What can the Vedas possibly be in the conception of Brahminical philosophers? Not the word of God, not a revelation of His will—such as is needed for our guidance under bewildering circumstances, but something which, certain of them affirm, mechanically issued from Brahma, like smoke from burning fuel; something which, others declare, was educed from the elements; something which, others again tell us, is eternal and independent of a cause. But what that thing is it is impossible to gather from them, unless it be a charm or talisman. They talk of it as articulate sound; but what is articulate sound without a sounder or utterer? and they all identify it with the Rich, Yajus, Sâman, and Atharvan. Singularly enough they know nothing about the date or circumstances of these compositions. . . . . Again I ask, what are the Vedas? In the Satapatha Brâhmana it is said: 'He (Prajapati) brooded, &c. over [*i.e.* infused warmth into] these three worlds. From them, thus brooded over, three lights were produced—fire, this which purifies (*i.e. pavana*, or the air), and the sun. He brooded over these three lights. From them so brooded over, the

three seeds were produced.' .... What were these productions? Mere sounds, or writings on paper or palm-leaf? In either case how could they be generated by brooding over fire and the sun? .... The Chhândogya and Manu speak in a similar way of the origin of the Vedas. Kullûka Bhatta, in explanation of the difficulty we have stated, says: 'The same Vedas which existed in the previous mundane era (Kalpa) were preserved in the memory of the omniscient Brahma, who was one with the Supreme Spirit. It was those same Vedas that, in the beginning of the present Kalpa, he drew forth from fire, air, and the sun; and this dogma, which is founded upon the Veda, is not to be questioned; for the Veda says: 'The Rigveda comes from fire, the Yajurveda from the sun.' .... Manu adds: 'Prajâpati also milked out of the three Vedas the letters a, u, m, together with the words bhûr, bhuvar, and svar.' .... What in the name of common sense is the meaning of all this?"

And after having quoted and criticised some other theories of the origin of the Vedas, Mr. Banerjea winds up with the following words (p. 497):

"The assertion of Jaimini that the Richs, Yajus, Sâman, and Atharvan, contain the primitive revelation is not proved. No one knows when, where, or by whom, those four works were written, and consequently no one can pretend that they are a record of the primeval sound. On the contrary a critical examination of their contents, *disproves* their authority. As to the argument that the Vedas must have proceeded from the divinity, because no human author can be shown to have produced it, it is not of much validity. If a stranger, or a man brought up as a foundling, came to you, and no one was able to give you an account of his paternity, you would not surely conclude that he was coeval with the creation. And there is nothing in the general scope of the Vedas to justify the conclusion that they were revealed in the beginning. It is impossible to fancy what edification our first parents could derive from mere praises of the Sun, Moon, and Fire. If historical narrative were entirely excluded, the residuum would be mere invocations of the elements, and a few ceremonial injunctions."

That the reverend Hindu professor has not failed to support the views we have here adduced with his own arguments, and that he availed himself of his knowledge of the mind of his countrymen to impart to them a far greater power of persuasion than they might have obtained at the hands of a European theologian, it is but justice to state. In omitting, therefore, to quote kindred views and sentiments from the "Rational Refutation" of Mr. Nîlakantha Sâstrî, we do not mean to withhold our acknowledgment of the able and clever manner in which this author also endeavoured to lay bare the weakness of Hindu philosophy and the errors of the actual Hindu creed. The remarks we intend to offer apply to both of them, indeed to the whole class of those zealous men who expect to solve the religious difficulties of India

by refuting the conclusions of Hindu philosophy, and by denouncing the assumed sacredness of the Vedic writings.

We must begin, then, with asking them how it happens that some notions they entertain of those philosophies differ so materially from those expressed by so many other Hindus of ancient and modern times. According to the sketch we have quoted, Kapila, the originator of the Sânkhya philosophy, "went the length of denying outright the existence of the Deity." Kanâda, who started the Vaiseshika, "does not seem to have entertained the idea of a self-existent Supreme Intelligence creating the world." Jaimini, the author of the Mîmânsâ, "may be called a second Kapila, maintaining the authority of the Veda, without the existence of Him, without whom no composition can be pronounced to be inspired." Yet Mr. Banerjea himself, as we have seen, tells us that Patanjali, the author of the Yoga philosophy, "rectified" the system of Kapila "by inculcating the existence of Iswara, or God." It would perhaps have been more correct had he said that Patanjali, by way of completing, added some chapters of his own to the Sânkhya-Stras of Kapila, and that both works were intended by him to form in reality only one; so much so, that in our best existing manuscripts—and if we are not mistaken in the very commentary itself which Patanjali wrote on his own doctrine—each of the four chapters of his treatise calls itself part of the Sânkhya-Pravachana, which is the title of Kapila's work. Here we must ask, then, those who speak of the "godless" doctrine of Kapila, how it was possible, at any time, and under any circumstances, to look upon the theistic Patanjali as the completer, or even, as Mr. Banerjea calls him, the rectifier of Kapila? Was theism ever a cap which by being put upon atheism completed or even "rectified" it into theistic respectability? Did it not strike Mr. Banerjea, when passing his judgment on the Sânkhya doctrine, that had it been what he believes it to be, no theistic philosopher or theologian would ever have thought of attaching his tenets to it? and had he done so, that no one, however unskilled in philosophical speculation, would ever have looked upon him as the maintainer of a Deity? Yet the fact is undeniable, that all India calls Patanjali—and rightly so—"seswara," or the believer in a God. Mr. Banerjea, it is true, confesses to find an exact correspondence between Patanjali's definition of God and Kapila's definition of soul; but when he met with this concordance, did it never occur to him that there must have been something in the Sûtras of Kapila to justify a *theistic* writer to complete and rectify it in his own way? So much is certain, at any rate, that the mode in which Mr. Banerjea and Mr. Nîlakantha Sâstrî view the doctrine of Kapila would never explain the fact of a system acknowledged by all Hindu writers to be a

theistical one, having become the appendix, nay, part and parcel of the Sânkhya Pravachana.

Before we explain the reasons which seem to us to have misled the judgment of the learned Hindus who descanted on the atheism of Kapila, it will not be superfluous to advert to the inconsistencies implied by the other charges preferred against Kanâda and Jaimini. Both of them are likewise declared not to have entertained the idea of a creator. But Kanâda's system, as Mr. Banerjea, and indeed all authors engaged in matters of Hindu philosophy admit, "is considered a branch of the Nyâya," and that this system is essentially theistical, is a fact which, we believe, requires no proof, since it has never been controverted before. But we confess that of all assertions the strangest appears to us to be that which turns Jaimini into an atheist. His work, the Pûrva-Mîmânsâ, is chiefly engaged in solving doubtful questions concerning the ritual service of ancient India. These services mainly consist in a series of prayers addressed to, and oblations or ceremonies performed in honour of, fire, sun, Indra, the Aswins, and other beings, real or imaginary, which engrossed the pious imagination of the ancient Hindus, and were looked upon by them either as gods or as personifications of the supreme soul. Should we then not be fairly surprised when we are told that an author who regulated these ritual acts, denied the existence of a God? Might we not sooner expect to find him saddled with a superfluity of that in which he is represented to us to be utterly deficient? That the Purânas and writers hostile to the Pûrva Mîmânsâ, indulged in accusations of this kind, cannot concern those who have no other object than that of ascertaining the real character of these philosophies.

The truth is, that the ingenious theory which Mr. Banerjea conceived of the rise and progress of Hindu philosophy, and his desire of filling up the historical blank by a plausible and interesting narrative, betrayed him into overlooking the facts as they will present themselves to the mind of every one not biassed in favour of conclusions foreign to the subject-matter itself. We quite admit that neither Kapila, nor Kanâda, nor Jaimini, nay, we will in fairness add, Gotama, satisfy us on the nature of God—we quite admit that they leave us as much in darkness respecting Him as any philosophy, but for the simple reason that they meant to be systems of philosophy and not of theology. Even Mr. Banerjea allows one of the *dramatis personæ* of his Dialogues to say that an author has the right of choosing his own subject. And should not the Hindu framers of philosophy have been allowed to confine their research to the investigation of things which they thought were within the domain of human understanding—without soaring too high into regions probably deemed too lofty by them for

human thought? In stating at once that the Nyâya, Vaiseshika, Sânkhya, and in some measure the Pûrva-Mîmânsâ are intended to be philosophies, that the Vedânta is theology, and the mysticism of the Yoga a dreamy speculation, partly theological and partly physical—we have explained the antagonism which existed between these Darsanas severally, for it existed at all periods when philosophy and theology contested each other's rights to the human mind. The theologian who does not care for disquisitions on the atomic theory, or for speculations on matter, syllogism, and language, will spurn the Nyâya, Vaiseshika and Sânkhya, and ridicule the researches into the eternity of sound; he will find his consolation in the mystical definitions given of God by the Vedânta, and in the prospect held out to him by the ascetism of the Yoga, to free himself from all fetters of thought and common sense. The philosopher, on the other hand, will have more earthly longings and interests; he will study with more satisfaction the state of physical and linguistic science at the time of Gotama, Kanâda, and Kapila—whose system, we may, in passing, remark, became the scientific foundation of Hindu medicine—than the exalted doctrine of Vyâsa and Patanjali—so edifying because so incomprehensible.

This is, in the shortest compass, the history of the ancient philosophy and theology of India. To confound both is to do injury to both, and injustice too. Whether Kapila's, Gotama's, and Kanâda's interest in mundane matters were stronger than that of Vyâsa and Patanjali, because they stood nearer than these to the time of the oldest Upanishads which satisfied theological curiosity; again, whether Vyâsa and Patanjali were more eager to inculcate their notions of God, than to inquire into the nature of matter and the human mind, because the researches of the Nyâya and Sânkhya were diverting too much the national mind from the mysterious doctrine of the Upanishads, we have of course no means of deciding. It may be that the sequence of the systems took place in the order in which Mr. Banerjea so graphically describes it; though we hold that the Jaimini Sûtras, in their oldest form, were the oldest of all, because, strictly speaking, they are neither philosophical nor theological, and though we hold that Patanjali's Yoga marks the transition from the oldest Vedânta to its more modern type. But whichever of these views be right, there is obviously a vast difference between understanding that a philosopher does not choose to enter into a discussion on the nature of God, and asserting that he denies His existence outright. That philosophy may jump from the premise of not knowing to the conclusion of denying, there is evidence enough in the history of philosophy, both in ancient and modern times; but we maintain that the charge of atheism,

levelled against these Hindu systems is not justified; and we quite conceive therefore that, in spite of the little satisfaction they may afford to the theologian, Hindu antiquity could rank them amongst those Darsanas which are not antagonistic to the Vedic creed.

This is as little the place to enter into the merits or demerits of the philosophical theories of ancient or mediæval India, as it was the object of the learned Hindus whose works we are speaking of, to solve the many problems suggested by the writings of their ancestors. We have followed them thus far, because a charge of atheism against some of the most valued productions of their literature involved a similar charge against the numerous class of those of their countrymen who, we understand, are still adherents of the tenets of the Nyâya and Sânkhya philosophies. But though we regret that space and opportunity do not permit us to say more here on a question so vital for a proper understanding of the Hindu mind, we must draw closer to the practical end for which the Dialogues as well as the Rational Refutation have made their contribution to modern researches on Hindu religion and philosophy.

We observed before that the creed of the learned and enlightened portion of the Hindus is essentially founded on the doctrine of the Vedânta philosophy, which they hold to be the truest exponent of the spirit of the Vedas, more especially in the sense which Sankara, their greatest Vedânta theologian, elicited from the Sûtras of Vyâsa Dwaipâyana. The Vedânta is not concerned in the logical laws of the human mind, nor do its theories on the development of the world possess any scientific interest after the discussions of the Sânkhya and Nyâya, with which they agree to a certain extent. Its chief object is to explain the nature of God, His mode of creating the world, and the relation between both. It teaches the existence of one Supreme Being, that this Being is the efficient and substantial cause of all things, and "that the universe, therefore, is necessarily co-substantial with Him" (or rather with It). For a scientific appreciation of the gradual development of this doctrine, it is necessary to distinguish between the Sûtras of Vyâsá, the commentary of Sankara, and the more recent treatises which may be called the modern Vedânta. But though Mr. Banerjea, with much learning and accuracy, points out the difference which exists between these various periods of the Vedânta, we nevertheless coincide with the view implied by Dr. Ballantyne's observations in his translation of the Vedântasara, that this difference does not amount to a schism between the modern and the old doctrine, but that the tenet, for instance, of the illusory existence of the world, taught by the modern Vedânta, is merely an evolution of the tenet of the older doctrine, which maintains that the world is real, but a product of igno-

rance. For the popular understanding of this doctrine, it is sufficient to adduce the words of Mr. Nîlakantha Sâstrî, which, supported by original texts, summarize it in this way:—

"'Brahma is true, the world is false; the soul is Brahma himself, and nothing other.' As expanded and expounded by the advocates of the Vedânta, this quotation imports as follows:—Brahma alone—a spirit; essentially existent, intelligence, and joy; void of all qualities and of all acts, in whom there is no consciousness, such as is denoted by 'I,' 'thou,' and 'it,' who apprehends no person, or thing, nor is apprehended of any; who is neither parviscient nor omniscient, neither parvipotent nor omnipotent; who has neither beginning nor end; immutable and indefectible—is the true entity. All besides himself, the entire universe, is false, that is to say, is nothing whatsoever. Neither has it ever existed, nor does it now exist, nor will it exist at any time future; and the soul is one with Brahma. Such is the doctrine of the Vedânta regarding the true state of existence; and it is denominated non-dualistic, as rejecting the notion of any second true entity." (p. 176.)

It may seem surprising, at a first glance, that the professors of a creed so sublime and so meek, should not only have carried on hotter discussions on its merits than the adherents of the other schools of philosophy did on the truth of their theories, but also that they should now be denounced by their own countrymen in terms far stronger than those bestowed by them on the other Darsanas.

But on reflection we shall find the one and the other perfectly obvious. No discussion is more likely to grow warm and passionate than one in which both disputants know nothing, and can know nothing, of the subject of the debate, but are trying hard to persuade each other of the correctness of their views. We humbly submit that a definition of the Creator of the World, and an explanation of the mode in which he created it, is a subject of this kind. It is an innate desire of the human mind to know everything, and as long as human nature remains the same, it is certain that man will not desist from the attempt to penetrate mysteries for ever closed to him. We shall always have, therefore, some kind of Vedânta philosophy, and we shall always also enjoy the satisfaction of meeting with clever men who will explain to us that we know no more by it than we did before. But Mr. Nîlakantha Sâstrî and Professor Banerjea want to prove far more. They infer from the doctrine of the Vedânta, not only that its Brahma is a "non-entity" or "no-thing," and Vedântism therefore atheism in disguise, but that it is "a libel on God," and "a source of immorality."

Now, in spite of the most careful attention we have paid to the arguments of the two learned Hindu Professors, we must entirely

demur to the conclusion they have arrived at. Neither the Sûtras, nor Sankara's commentary, nor the Vedânta treatises which a western barbarian may have the good luck of understanding, would suggest to him the views or the accusations contained in the foregoing words.

All we find is that the Vedânta is the sublimest machinery set into motion by oriental thought, with the result of proving once more that the human mind is incapable of understanding God. All the epithets lavished by the Vedânta on Brahma simply show, that one may exhaust the whole vocabulary of human speech without finding a single word which will enlighten us on what He is. But it is likewise clear that the Vedantists felt the most ardent desire to describe the greatness of God—a greatness so great that it overwhelmed their intellect, and ultimately left it destitute of all thought. There is not the slightest cause to find fault with the confession at which they arrive. That "Brahma is incomprehensible," "beyond thought," is the burden of all their songs—after they have displayed the minutest description of what He is. That He is *nirguna*, or void of qualities, is another of their admissions, apparently strange, after the endless enumeration they give of his attributes. But just as after its unsuccessful attempt of "thinking" of Brahma, the Vedânta owns that "Brahma cannot be thought of," it arrives at the result that whatever qualities it may predicate of Him, He has no qualities, be they material or spiritual, in the sense suggested by this word. In short, we neither believe that the Vedânta in calling Brahma "void of qualities," means to declare God a nonentity, nor can we agree with a distinguished European scholar who presses *nirguna* so hard that it yields the sense of an "immaterial" God. The Brahma of the Vedânta presents itself as the God whom the pious are certain to understand at the outset, and whom they end in finding "incomprehensible." Hence, He is "pure entity," "pure thought," "pure felicity," which words in reality do not explain anything; hence, He has the qualities of "omniscience, freedom, self-existence," and so forth, which description in reality merely reveals an utter vagueness of thought, without conveying any idea of quality at all. It is neither our fault nor that of the Vedânta, when we say that it has not accomplished an impossibility; but it is fair to admit that it has brought on itself the obloquy of the philosopher, by saying so much while telling nothing, and that of the theologian, by confessing to nothing, after having said so much.

A charge of immorality, however, is a far different thing from a charge of ignorance. If the deduction advanced by Professor Banerjea, that the Vedânta doctrine strikes at the root of duty, were founded on fact, the controversy he entered upon with the

most enlightened portion of his countrymen would indeed cease to be one of literary consequence only.

"If you say the universe is of the same substance with God," he makes Salyakâma argue, towards the end of the Dialogues (p. 396), "and that the soul is identical with the Supreme Being in the strict sense of the term (excluding the figurative senses of *sampat*, &c.) then you must either unduly exalt the world or grossly degrade the divinity. In either case you strike at the root of *Dhama*, or duty. You cannot, with any fairness or consistency, impose upon persons duties which on your own theory are impossibilities. Whether you acknowledge the universe to be God, or deny the existence of everything that is not Brahma, you can have no law, no ethics, no discipline." The reply given to this syllogism by the second interlocutor is as follows: "We allow that a man in a state of ignorance is bound by laws, rules, and duties." Whereupon the first returns to the charge: "You allow that which your better sense contradicts; you hold that in truth there can be neither law nor lawgiver. The bolder spirits among you glory in denying injunctions or prohibitions."

We do not know who these bolder spirits are, whom Mr. Banerjea is alluding to, but we do know that they are not to be found amongst the authorities of the Vedânta writers. We have, then, his own confession, that experience does not bear out the conclusion which, he says, *must* result from a belief in the Vedânta tenets, or we are almost afraid to conclude, *ought* to result from it, if the working of the Vedânta were left at his discretion and will. For, according to him, it is the *better* sense of the Vedantists which contradicts their moral practice, the latter being an inconsistency. That a doctrine, possibly good, may, through perversion or misunderstanding, become the source of evil, is sufficiently shown by the political and religious history of mankind; but that a doctrine essentially wrong and practised in its wrongness, should, out of sheer inconsistency, bear good and moral results, is a novelty we had yet to learn.

But though fully aware of the weak parts of the Vedânta, we are spared the necessity of elucidating the moral and ethical greatness of this system, for this task has been fulfilled by a western system of philosophy which occupies a foremost rank amongst the philosophies of all nations and ages, and which is so exact a representation of the ideas of the Vedânta, that we might have suspected its founder to have borrowed the fundamental principles of his system from the Hindus, did his biography not satisfy us that he was wholly unacquainted with their doctrines. From this philosophy the Vedântists might learn what their philosophy really is, δυνάμει, as Aristotle would have said, and what it might have become, had it been stripped of all its cosmogonic vagaries, which, however, do not affect its vital part.

We mean the philosophy of *Spinoza*, a man whose very life is a picture of that moral purity and intellectual indifference to the transitory charms of this world, which is the constant longing of the true Vedânta philosopher.

That the philosophy of a scholar who lived two hundred years ago must possess a value different from that of a philosophy of ancient India requires no remark; but comparing the fundamental ideas of both we should have no difficulty in proving that, had Spinoza been a Hindu, his system would in all probability mark a last phase of the Vedânta philosophy.

Without showing that the charges preferred by Mr. Banerjea and Mr. Nîlakantha Sâstrî against the Vedânta have been repeatedly levelled against the philosophy of Spinoza, we content ourselves with quoting a few critical observations on his system which will perhaps best dispose of the cry of atheism, pantheism, and immorality raised against the system of Vyâsa. They are taken from the works of one of the greatest philosophers of our time, of one who was by no means an adherent of Spinoza's philosophy. In his history of philosophy, Hegel says:—

"Spinozism is reproached with being atheism; for God and the world being one, and undivided, Spinoza makes nature God, or God nature, so that God disappears and nature alone remains. Yet Spinoza on the contrary does not *oppose* God to nature, but thinking to existence; and God is the unity, the absolute substance, in which the world disappears. The adversaries of Spinoza assume the air of being very much concerned about God, but in reality they are much concerned about what is perishable, about their own selves. . . . . Atheism is declaring arbitrariness, vanity, the transitoriness of the world to be the highest principle. Such is not Spinoza's principle. According to him God is the only substance; nature is merely modality. Spinozism is therefore *akosmism*. . . . . Those who charge him with atheism maintain the reverse of that which is true; there is too much of God in his system. 'If God (they may say) is the identity of spirit and nature, nature—the human individual, is God.' Quite right; but they forget that in God they have ceased to exist independently. They can never forget that they are nothing. It follows, therefore, that those who traduce Spinoza in this way, do not mean to preserve God, but that which is perishable, the world. They are offended at the world not being allowed to be a substance. They are offended at their own annihilation. . . . .

"Spinoza says: 'Our happiness and freedom consist in constant and eternal love of God;' . . . . 'the more man comprehends the nature of God and loves God, the less he is under the influence of evil passions, and the less he fears death.' Spinoza demands to this end that man should acquire the true mode of comprehension; he wants him to view everything *sub specie æterni*, in absolutely adequate notions; viz., in God. Man should refer everything to God, God being one in all. Thus Spinozism is akosmism. There are no morals more pure and

more elevated than those enjoined by Spinoza; for he wants human action to be regulated merely by divine truth. . . . . 'All ideas are true, inasmuch as they are referred to God.' "

We have quoted enough to convince the learned Hindus that every one of Spinoza's sentences might be supposed to have been literally borrowed from the system they charge with degrading God and elevating the world. They will perceive that one of the greatest thinkers of our age judged differently from them on the morality of a system which compels man to view everything in the light of God.

Since the philosophical systems which called forth the foregoing remarks, appeal for the soundness of their doctrine to the theological treatises called Upanishads, which are looked upon by many ancient writers as part of the Vedas, and since these, in their turn, are believed to be inspired by the deity, Mr. Banerjea reviews the arguments brought forward by Jaimini, Vyâsa, Gotama, Sankara, and other Hindu divines, for the purpose of establishing the authority of the Veda on the ground of its divine authorship, and shows that they cannot bear the test of logical reasoning. As the Vedas have not been revealed to us, and as we could have no hope of becoming Brahmins even if we "surrendered our private judgment" in favour of them, we might have fully enjoyed that mental pleasure which is always derived from soundness of logic and readiness of wit, had we not found that the whole controversial journey of the learned Hindu was merely undertaken to end in the haven of another revelation. We must confess, therefore, the disappointment we have felt. It is a political maxim of constitutional bodies, a maxim acquired by dint of long experience and preserved with the utmost care, not to allow the name of the sovereign to be drawn into political debate. For nations have learnt that it is unwise to saddle the sovereign whom they want to make inviolable, with errors and shortcomings that may belong to the acts of his ministers. But though the political animal seems to be capable of an increase in wisdom, the religious man evidently remains stationary. Thousands of years have engraved their religious experience in the annals of history, religion has succeeded religion, the followers of each have invariably maintained theirs to have come from above, and controversialists have mutually picked the most damaging holes in their respective revelations. Prudence alone, one might have supposed, would at last have taught theologians not to expose the God whom they adore to the chance of being held responsible for those errors which our neighbours are always so much keener than ourselves in discovering. Kings whom nations might if they pleased make answerable, are raised beyond the reach of responsibility; but God, whom no one can make responsible, is constantly dragged

down by the theologian into his little debate. If Jaimini and his ancient co-religionists set up an elaborate defence of the *divine* authorship of their Veda, we may excuse them at least for want of that experience which we now possess; we may allege in their favour also that they maintained the inspiration of their sacred books, not against other inspirations, but against unbelief. But Mr. Banerjea is not satisfied with merely enlightening his countrymen on the fact that Brahma did not write or dictate, or brood the Veda, he must on his part step forward, not only with a superior religious work, but with one inspired by God. Were we not deeply convinced that he is in earnest, we should have really thought that he was hitting hard at the pretence of the Vedic inspiration, merely in order to arm his countrymen with the most logical weapons against all the arguments which may be adduced for the inspiration of the Bible. For his attack on the Hindu theories is so wonderfully strong, and his defence of the Biblical revelation so wonderfully weak, that a Hindu by comparing both sides will probably feel farther off than ever from embracing the particular revelation which he recommends. Or does he seriously mean that he can grind the intellect of his nation, blade-like, sharp on the Vedic and obtuse on the Biblical side? Did he not become aware, were it only by criticising the religion of his ancestors, that, just as fire and water require an intervening substance to become harmless to one another, reason and faith can coexist only on the condition that a proper consciousness of the limits of the human intellect is powerful enough to bind them over to keep the peace? Did his method of destroying the Brahminical faith in the divine inspiration of Vedas not prove to his satisfaction that this intervening power being withdrawn, either reason evaporates faith, or faith extinguishes reason?

We are far from being disposed to enter here into a discussion of that portion of Mr. Banerjea's Dialogues in which he attempts to *prove* to his countrymen the divine inspiration of the Old and New Testament, and, on this score, to recommend it to them as the source of their future creed. But we cannot refrain from a remark which he has forced upon us. Whoever reads for a first time the evidence he brings forward in favour of the inspiration of the Scriptures will necessarily think that his statements concerning the creation of the world, the prophecies, miracles, and so on, are incontrovertible and uncontroverted facts. It would never occur to such a reader that there existed a very voluminous, very learned, and also a very pious description of works amongst them, in which not a single argument of Mr. Banerjea's has been left unobjected to. He would never dream that the subject which the learned Hindu lays before his countrymen with an air, and no doubt with a conviction, of utter

finality, is to the minds of a large class of Christians, to say the least, as doubtful as possible, and as unsettled as any question can be. We cannot approve, therefore, of the silence he has kept on this momentous point; for any one who is asked to exchange his creed for another has a right to know all the particulars of the bargain he is desired to make; and his acquisition will most likely prove a very undesirable one if he should find hereafter that the knowledge afforded him was exceedingly incomplete. Mr. Banerjea might have refuted, of course, if he could, all the charges preferred against the inspiration of the Bible, and shown that their extreme similarity to the charges he preferred against the inspiration of the Vedas is purely apparent or accidental; but it is certain that in dealing with this part of his subject as he has done, he has failed both in justice to his countrymen and in prudence as regards the cause he defends.

We will give an instance or two of the method which Mr. Banerjea adopted in persuading the Hindus of the inspiration of the Scriptures, after he had exerted all his energy, and availed himself of all his scholarship, to sharpen their logical powers for the dissection of their philosophical theories and their notions of God.

One of the most delicate points in the Old Testament, it is well known amongst western theologians, is the account given there of the act and process of creation. Science has proved that the latter is contrary to facts; and theological writers who perceive the inexpediency of allegorizing, or the danger of equivocating, have generally the discretion to say as little about the matter as possible, especially in connexion with the topic of inspiration. For as the production of the universe out of nothing is, to say the least, incomprehensible by human reason, while its creation out of pre-existing matter is a position not countenanced by the Bible, the ablest writers generally agree to be silent on the subject, and to avow that they do not understand how the world was called into existence. But Satyakâma, who had triumphantly disposed of the Sânkhya and Vedânta doctrine, expresses himself to Agamika on this subject as follows (p. 11):—

"As regards the external universe, the Bible tells us 'In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth,' thus showing that the Nyâya, Sânkhya, and Vedânt were all right and all wrong. They rightly apprehended the truth, as regarded their opposition to each other's systems. The Vedânt was right in its protest against the eternal atoms of the one, and the unintelligent creative *prakriti* of the other; and the Nyâya and Sânkya were equally right on their part in inveighing against the doctrine of the world's identity with God. But they were all wrong in regard to their positive doctrines—the Nyâya in its theory of eternal atoms, the Sânkhya in that of creative Prakriti, and the Vedânt in its denial of a duality of substance. The universe

is neither an illusion nor self-formed, but was called into being out of nothing by the one only, Eternal, and Supreme Intelligence, the author of all things in heaven and in earth."

And Agamika, who has nothing to say on the "nothing," may well become speechless when he is further told that "*all perplexing difficulties are thus cleared.*"

Another weak point which, in the interest of their faith, is generally surrendered by the most learned, and, we repeat it, by the most pious, writers of Biblical disquisitions, as evidence for the inspiration of the Bible, is the question of prophecies and miracles. It is one of the strongest weapons in the armory of Mr. Banerjea. And after he has ridiculed the idea of the Upanishads—a supposed portion of the Vedas—being invoked by the Brahminical believer in testimony for the authority of the Vedas—since, as Sâyana says, "not even a dexterous man can ride on his own shoulders"—he makes Satyakâma explain to Agamika the mystery of the Trinity in the following manner (p. 522):—

"(The Christian religion speaks) not of three Gods nor a plurality of Gods, but a plurality of persons in the unity of the Godhead. This doctrine you can find no great difficulty in acknowledging, (1) because it is inculcated in the Bible which, as we have seen before, is attested by miracles and prophecies; and (2) because the Brahminical sâstras themselves bear some confirmatory testimony to its truth. (Agamika asks, 'how,' and is told,) The Brahminical sâstras speak of a triad of divinities, Brahmâ, Vishnu, and Siva. They speak of it, as *one form and three gods*. They tell us that they are mystically united in One Supreme Being. But the doctrine appears incongruous, and quite out of place in their system. The gods are frequently represented, not as different personal manifestations of the same Godhead ought to be, but as impure characters and antagonistic gods, wrangling and fighting with one another. Siva fights and punishes Brahmâ, and Vishnu humbles Siva. The votaries of Vishnu anathematize those of Siva, and the votaries of Siva anathematize those of Vishnu. And all three are, again, pronounced to be transient and perishable. The doctrine represents an idea which is quite foreign to the Brahminical system, and we can only unravel the mystery by supposing it to be a relic of some primitive revelation, of which a distorted tradition had probably reached our ancestors."

Here Mr. Banerjea himself allows Agamika, in reply, to exclaim, "These appear to be strange and novel views of things." And we cannot but join with Agamika most heartily in his astonishment, though we might have wished he had known a little more of the triad Brahmâ, Vishnu and Siva, to be spared the confession which he subjoins, that he "certainly cannot gainsay them."

There is another serious perplexity into which our learned authors must be aware that they will throw even those Hindus

who may be clever enough to overcome all these difficulties, but it has as little been removed by them as indeed any difficulty which besets the solution of the religious problem in India. Their object, as we have seen, is to persuade their countrymen to embrace the Christian religion; but they have neither explained to them what the Christian religion is, nor where it may be found. Any Hindu who follows the deductions of Mr. Banerjea would simply infer that there is but one Christian religion, which a devout student of the Bible might easily acquire from a perusal of this sacred book. Let him descend, however, from the region of abstraction into that of reality, and he will soon discover the endless variety of opinions which may be founded on the apparently so intelligible scriptural text, and he will soon learn that so far from this being a mere possibility, hundreds of creeds have sprung up from this same scriptural soil, every one of which claims to be in exclusive possession of true Christianity. And if he be disposed to investigate historically the mutual relation of all these creeds, he will find that their difference is so essential that it was strong enough to perpetuate the most inveterate animosities, and to result in wars the like of which cannot be traced in the history of any other creed.

We have no desire to enlarge upon this theme, for we have said enough to explain why we hold the solution proposed by Mr. Banerjea to be an impossibility. When the Royal proclamation combined with a profession of its reliance in the truth of Christianity, a solemn injunction of toleration for the religions of India, its wisdom, by expressing the result of matured experience and profound thought, showed itself far superior to the zeal, however well intentioned, which believes that human happiness can be fashioned according to one mould. Attempts of conversion are too frequently made without examining the limits within which they are possible, and the result in which their momentary success may end. If a man derives his religious views from his own individual imagination, or from sources which are void of authoritative influence, he may yield them to the views which are of a higher range without causing injury to the nobler part of himself. But if the creed of an individual is founded on texts held sacred and authoritative, it is a national creed; and no individual can abandon it without severing himself from the national stem; no nation can surrender it without laying the axe to its own root. For a religion based on texts believed sacred, embodies the whole history of the nation which professes it; it is the shortest abbreviation of all that ennobles the nation's mind, is most dear to its memory, and most essential to its life. No religion has better illustrated this truth than the religion founded on the Bible. It could be, and was, successfully introduced amongst all nations

which possessed no texts supposed to be divinely inspired, and therefore of general authority, and whenever a nation possessing merely the semblance of such a text, adopted it, it thereby decreed its own end. The Romans and Greeks when becoming Christians, ceased to be the continuation of the classical Romans and Greeks, in history, in literature, in character. Their political importance, based on the conditions of their past, was brought to a close, and they had to grow into another nationality. Christianity itself is not one single form of religion, for the character of the nations which adopted it compelled it to become English, or German, or Russian, or Italian, or any other Christianity as the case may be; each so different from the other, that only conventional politeness can comprise these various and historical forms under one common name. But the condition under which this religion introduced itself into the countries of Europe, was always the absence of a book ascribed to divine authorship. When Mr. Banerjea speaks of the Jews, he has chosen an exact counter instance which goes far to prove that even a people without land, without any history which, since they are scattered over the world, can be called their own,—that a people exposed to all the horrors of persecution and all the allurements of seduction, did not, and does not, espouse that very religion which exercises the most powerful influence on its actual destinies, and which it even supports and favours amongst those who profess it. The Jews do not become Christians simply because they believe that their Testament is a sacred book.

But the charm which apparently inheres in that word is by no means a mysterious one. There was and there is no book considered sacred, unless it contains a stock of that which the nobler part of human nature, everywhere and at all times, acknowledges to be *good*. It is quite immaterial whether this stock is more developed or less, as long as it is capable of development; for at different periods new branches will proceed from the same stem, and they will enjoy the same reputation of divine origin as the old stock. When Mr. Banerjea discovers that the Hindu Triad resembles the Christian Trinity, his trover may cause the hair of some good Christians to stand on end, but it nevertheless shows that whoever requires a belief in the Trinity, may even as a Brahminical believer gather it from his own sacred texts. And that the Vedas contain sentiments and injunctions as elevated and conducive to the moral excellence of man as the Bible itself, we might learn from the testimony of Mr. Banerjea's Dialogues themselves. He alleges, it is true, that Vedic passages of this kind are sometimes not unalloyed with statements and descriptions which may impair their exalted quality. But he would have been less hard on the Vedas, had he known that there have

been many writers who from a feeling of hostility as great towards the Bible, as his is for the Vedic inspiration, have culled from the scriptural texts, narratives and injunctions which Mr. Banerjea would be the last to recommend as typical for that which in our age we define as good, moral, or sublime. The Hansa bird is described by the Hindu poets as possessing the faculty of separating milk from water. A sacred text, whatever it be, requires a just man to be such a Hansa; but it requires him also to be the Hansa of the Upanishads, which being the sun, would be able to discover that all those objectionable passages in the Vedas or in the Bible were never meant, when they were written, to imply those conclusions which now the Christian may turn against the one and the Brahmin against the other.

We have been carried, however, with these remarks to the point where we cannot shrink from expressing the views which we entertain of the duties of the Brahminical Hindus of our days. We need not emphasize more than we have already done, that we reject as unwise and unpractical any attempt to persuade them to become Christians or to adopt the Biblical Scriptures as their spiritual code. We want them to become a nation worthy of their ancestors and worthy of the great rôle, which in ancient times they have acted in the history of the human race, and we are satisfied that they cannot regain that position by breaking the springs of their life, and by exchanging their own religious uncertainty for that of any other creed. It is necessary, however, to this end, that they should realize the condition in which they are. We need not prove to them that the minds of the enlightened portion of their nation are wholly estranged from the sectarian worship as it is practised now, but we could satisfy them that they are utterly remiss in examining where the root of the evil lies. Every Brahminical believer, if asked, will tell us that the mode of his worship is founded on the Vedas. He refers us, it is true, occasionally to the Purânas and Tantras, but he himself admits that these works have no authoritative power unless they can prove that the tenets they contain are drawn from the Vedic source. This proof is never offered. On the other hand, a recent work, which, from the impartial spirit in which it is composed, and from the vast learning on which it rests, cannot too strongly be recommended to the Brahmin, we mean the Original Sanskrit Texts of Mr. Muir, enables us to say that its contents may enlighten the Hindu worshipper on the real relation between the principal gods of his Pantheon and the Vedic belief.

The pivot, then, on which all religious questions of India turn, is and remains—the Veda. Philosophers and non-philosophers, Vishnuits and Sivaits, all echo the word Veda; and we must once more therefore raise the question, What is the Veda? since the

answer we have to give to it—though here necessarily unsatisfactory and incomplete—may induce the learned Hindus to consider whether it may contribute to a solution of their religious difficulties or not. We have quoted above the short definition which Mr. Banerjea gives in his Dialogues of what is usually meant by Veda. It is, as he says, a collection of "Mantras and Brâhmanas. The former may generally be considered devotional, the latter ceremonial and dogmatic." It is likewise understood now to embrace four distinct works, each called Veda, and each possessing its own Mantras and Brâhmanas, viz., the Rig-Veda, the Yajur-Veda, the Sama-Veda, and the Atharva-Veda; and the term Veda is ultimately applied to the Upanishads which are appendices, as it were, to each of these Vedas respectively, and contain explanations of the nature of God, the creation of the world, and other matter, which for brevity sake may be called theological or theosophical. Thus the Brahmin who speaks of his Vedic religion, means the religion founded on Mantras, Brâhmanas, and Upanishads of these Vedas. This creed, however, is binding on his conscience only because the Veda was inspired by the deity, and existed from eternity; and that such was the case he holds on the statements and arguments of his oldest divines. No Brahmin will dispute therefore the conclusion which follows from these premises, that no tenet or worship would be obligatory on him, which is founded on other works than the Veda, or on passages which cannot be referred to it. Thus, we may adduce, for argument's sake, that though the standard works on medicine, music, and archery are also styled Vedas (Ayur-Veda, Gandharva-Veda, and Dhanur-Veda), no Hindu would dream of looking upon them as sacred records, although they bear this venerable name.

Yet here we have to advert to important inconsistencies. One of the four Vedas, now called canonical, the Atharva-Veda, was wholly unknown to the oldest Hindu divines, probably even to Manu; they merely speak of the "threefold knowledge," viz., the Rig-, Yajur-, and Sâma-Veda. It is obvious, therefore, that the Atharva-Veda need not be binding on any Hindu, for it cannot have existed from eternity, in the sense of their own writers. And the fate of this Veda is, as a consequence, necessarily shared in by the Upanishads attached to it. But there is no necessity, indeed, to single out so prominently the Upanishads of this Veda, for, to the best of our knowledge, there is no ancient authority which ever ascribes any Upanishad to *divine* authorship. These treatises doubtless are looked upon with the greatest reverence and awe; they are held to be the truest exponents of Vedic thought; they are, in short, the standard works of Hindu theology; but just as little as any of the six philosophies is invested by the native mind with superhuman authority, as little are the Upani-

shads ever placed on the same level with the Mantras and Brâhmanas. Nor can we stop here.

The Yajur- or Ceremonial Veda, emphatically so called, survives now in two different recensions, the one called Black and the other White. There is an ugly legend concerning the origin of this division; but whatever be its worth, it clearly proves that the Black Veda is older than the White, and the researches of a recent work—which might have added other evidence to that given by it—have shown that the White recension of this Veda did not yet exist at the time of the grammarian Pânini. Certain it is that the oldest writers on the Mîmânsâ—the system of philosophy which, as we have seen, is considered so eminently orthodox—take no notice of it. No impartial Brahmin can therefore deny that also the White Yajur-Veda need not, unless he pleases, be binding on him. But is there no evidence at all that, even in the remaining portions of these Vedas, some portions cannot have existed from eternity? In the excellent work we have already mentioned, Mr. Muir has quoted several instances which show that the Rishis or "seers" of the Mantras now and then confess not to have received their hymns from above, but to have "made" or, as the text says, to have "fabricated" them; moreover, that other Rishis speak of "old" and "new" Rig-Veda hymns, thus pointing to a succession in time which, at any rate, does not bespeak the eternity of the "new" hymns. In short, however orthodox a Hindu may be, he must bow to the fact that the sacred canon of his Veda was not at all times the same. Assuming portions of it to be older than eternity, the evidence tendered by some of his greatest authorities tells him in the plainest manner that some portions at least have a beginning in time, and worse than that, have been written by mortal men. Which of these portions belong to the former and which to the latter category, it is not for us to decide, even if the day of Vedic chronology had already dawned on Sanskrit philology. For not only do we hold that, for their own religious purposes, the Hindus themselves must settle this point, but also that this very chronological uncertainty is providential for their own good. Jews and Christians had not a little to suffer from the inconvenient fact that the canon of their Scriptures was settled at so early a date as to preclude the possibility of adapting them at later periods by a process of elimination to the progress of more enlightened ages. The Brahminical Hindus are better off in this respect than ourselves. That which is deplorable from a scientific point of view, may become a boon to them if viewed in a religious light. Let them decide therefore according to their own knowledge and requirements, and with the assistance of the results already obtained by western researches, which portion of their

Veda dates from eternity, or, to speak in our own language, may be held by them to be canonical and binding on their conscience, and which not. But let them not try to settle so momentous a question privately and individually, for such a course would likely end in no more than a literary controversy. The history of other religious communities points out the mode which they may advantageously adopt. Buddhists and Christians settled their difficulties in synods or councils, composed of their most learned and influential men, and such councils met as often as religious problems had become so serious or troublesome as to require a solution by common consent. If the Hindus followed their example, they would not only remove interior disorders which exist in their religious body, but by forming a canon of sacred texts, essentially Vedic, prove to the world at large that they may possess one containing doctrines and sentiments as good, moral, and elevated as that of any existing creed.

We do not anticipate that such a result can be obtained at once. The question of representation in such a council might, for instance, be a preliminary problem fraught with much difficulty, which they would have to solve first. But we hold that it may be taken up with much probability of success, seeing that the analogous problem within the sphere of the political representation of India seems to progress towards a solution by means of the energy displayed by their native associations.

But whatever these difficulties for the moment be, let the end be kept constantly in their mind, and let it be gradually approached by the formation, *for this purpose,* of learned societies in the different Presidencies, with the view of communicating with one another on their religious views, and gradually extending their spiritual influence over the whole nation. By doing so they would also pay a debt to their ancestors, which they have been sadly remiss in discharging for centuries back. As orthodox Hindus they are aware that the sons inherit the property of their fathers only on the condition of their fulfilling the ancestral rites. The modern Hindus claim the spiritual inheritance of their ancestral lore; but with a few honourable exceptions they have discontinued that sacrifice, the performance of which alone would entitle them to this inheritance, the sacrifice which they call themselves "the sacrifice in honour of Brahma," that is to say, the study of their own ancient literature—("adhyayanam brahmayajnah")—a study which not only their oldest lawgiver, but also the Chhândogya-Upanishad, calls one of the three chief duties of man. So slender indeed is the thread by which the remembrance and the knowledge of their own sacred works is suspended in the minds of the present generation, that they may well compare it to the blades of grass by which, in one of the legends of their Mahâbhârata, the

manes of the poor Rishis Yâyâvaras were suspended in a cave, trembling for fear of falling into eternal perdition, through the remissness of Jaratkâru, their undutiful son. But this legend may teach them also that it is never too late to avert even an imminent danger by a proper consciousness of what every individual of a nation owes to his forefathers and to himself. We need not describe to them the deplorable condition into which—if we except a few principal colleges—the study of Sanskrit, their sacred language, and of Sanskrit literature, has been allowed to fall through their own fault. It is impossible to calculate the immense loss which their literature has suffered through the indifference with which it has been treated by them for centuries. A vast number of their most celebrated works are probably lost beyond recovery; and had it not been for the exertions of English scholars this loss would be greater still than it is now. The sense of their religious duty, to which they have become roused by the enlightened portion of their own community and the judgment pronounced on them by the professors of other creeds, we hope will now be strong enough to convince them that it is time to remove this stain from their national dignity. They should take energetic steps to save from destruction all that bears testimony to their intellectual greatness; they should collect all over India the remnants of their ancient, and the products of their modern, literature; they should found libraries, seats of learning, and museums, to show to the world at large that by respecting themselves they have a claim to the respect of others. Synods are the means by which their religious difficulties may be settled; but synods themselves cannot properly do their work unless they are supported by that culture of the mind which bespeaks the vitality of a nation.

Art. VIII.—The Slave Power.

The Slave Power; its Character, Career, and Probable Designs: being an Attempt to explain the real Issues involved in the American Contest. By J. E. Cairnes, M.A., Professor of Jurisprudence and Political Economy in Queen's College, Galway; and late Whately Professor of Political Economy in the University of Dublin. London. 1862.

THIS volume has a twofold claim to attention; on the author's account, and on its own. Mr. Cairnes, one of the ablest of the distinguished men who have given lustre to the much-calumniated Irish colleges, as well as to the chair of Political Economy, which Ireland owes to the enlightened public spirit of Archbishop

Whately, is known to the thinking part of the public as the contributor to English periodicals of the clearest and most conclusive discussions which have yet appeared on some of the most disputed and difficult economical questions of the time. He has now, in a work of larger dimensions, given the result of the study which, both as a first-rate political economist, and in the higher character of a moral and political philosopher, he has devoted to the American contest. A work more needed, or one better adapted to the need, could scarcely have been produced at the present time. It contains more than enough to give a new turn to English feeling on the subject, if those who guide and sway public opinion were ever likely to reconsider a question on which they have so deeply committed themselves. To all who are still open to conviction, it is an invaluable exposition both of the principles and the facts of the case. The last is as much required as the first; for the strange partiality of the nation which most abhors negro slavery, to those who are urging an internecine war solely for its propagation, could not have existed for a moment, had there not been, not merely a complete misunderstanding of principles, but an utter ignorance of facts.

We believe that we shall, on the present occasion, do a better service to truth and right by helping to extend the knowledge of the contents of Mr. Cairnes' treatise, than by any comments of our own. Mr. Cairnes opens up the question in so lucid and natural an order, and so exhausts it in all its more important aspects, that a mere condensation of his book would be the most powerful argumentative discourse on the subject, which could well be given in the narrow compass of an article. Not that, as is the case with lax and diffuse writers, his argument gains by condensation. On the contrary, it loses greatly. In Mr. Cairnes' book there is nothing verbose, nothing superfluous; the effect is nowhere weakened by expansion, nor the impression of the whole frittered away by undue expatiating on parts; the work is artistic as well as scientific, observing due proportion, dwelling long enough, and not too long, on each portion of the subject, and passing to a new point exactly when the mind is prepared for it, by having completely appropriated those preceding. An attempt to convey the substance of such a composition in an abridged form, may give some idea of the skeleton, but none of the nerve and muscle: the greatest merit which it could have would be that of stimulating the reader to have recourse to Mr. Cairnes' own pages.

After sweeping away the idle notion, which never could have been entertained by any one conversant with even the surface of American history, that the quarrel is about tariffs, or anything whatever except slavery, Mr. Cairnes proceeds to the main thesis

of his book, viz., that the Slave Power, whose character and aims are the cause of the American contest, is "the most formidable antagonist to civilized progress which has appeared for many centuries, representing a system of society at once retrograde and aggressive, a system which, containing within it no germs from which improvement can spring, gravitates inevitably towards barbarism, while it is impelled by exigencies inherent in its position and circumstances to a constant extension of its territorial domain." This is what a man of distinguished ability, who has deeply considered the subject, thinks of the new power, which England, by the moral influence of its opinion and sympathies, is helping to raise up. "The vastness," he continues, "of the interests at stake in the American contest, regarded under this aspect, appears to me to be very inadequately conceived in this country, and the purpose of the present work is to bring forward this view of the case more prominently than has yet been done."

Accordingly, in the first place, Mr. Cairnes expounds the economic necessities under which the Slave Power is placed by its fundamental institution. Slavery, as an industrial system, is not capable of being everywhere profitable. It requires peculiar conditions. Originally a common feature of all the Anglo-Saxon settlements in America, it took root and became permanent only in the southern portion of them. What is the explanation of this fact? Several causes have been assigned. One is, diversity of character in the original founders of those communities; New England having been principally colonized by the middle and poorer classes, Virginia and Carolina by the higher. The fact was so, but it goes a very little way towards the explanation of the phenomenon, since "it is certain the New Englanders were not withheld from employing slaves by moral scruples;" and if slave labour had been found suitable for the requirements of the country, they would, without doubt, have adopted it in fact, as they actually did in principle. Another common explanation of the different fortune of slavery in the Northern and in the Southern States is, that the Southern climate is not adapted to white labourers, and that negroes will not work without slavery. The latter half of this statement is opposed to fact. Negroes are willing to work wherever they have the natural inducements to it, inducements equally indispensable to the white race. The climate theory is inapplicable to the Border Slave States, Kentucky, Virginia, and others, whose climate "is remarkably genial, and perfectly suited to the industry of Europeans." Even in the Gulf States, the alleged fact is only true, as it is in all other parts of the world, of particular localities. The Southern States, it is observed by M. de Tocqueville, "are not hotter than the south of Italy and Spain." In Texas itself

there is a flourishing colony of free Germans, who carry on all the occupations of the country, growth of cotton included, by white labour; and "nearly all the heavy out-door work in the city of New Orleans is performed by whites."

What the success or failure of slavery as an industrial system depends on, is the adaptation of the productive industry of the country to the qualities and defects of slave labour. There are kinds of cultivation which even in tropical regions cannot advantageously be carried on by slaves; there are others in which, as a mere matter of profit, slave labour has the advantage over the only kind of free labour which, as a matter of fact, comes into competition with it—the labour of peasant proprietors.

The economic advantage of slave labour is, that it admits of complete organization: "it may be combined on an extensive scale, and directed by a controlling mind to a single end." Its defects are, that it is given reluctantly; it is unskilful; it is wanting in versatility. Being given reluctantly, it can only be depended on as long as the slave is watched; but the cost of watching is too great if the workmen are dispersed over a widely-extended area; their concentration, or, in other words, the employment of many workmen at the same time and place, is a condition *sine quâ non* of slavery as an industrial system; while, to enable it to compete successfully with the intense industry and thrift of workmen who enjoy the entire fruits of their own labour, this concentration and combination of labour must be not merely possible, but also economically preferable. The second disadvantage of slave labour is that it is unskilful: "not only because the slave, having no interest in his work, has no inducement to exert his higher faculties, but because, from the ignorance to which he is of necessity condemned, he is incapable of doing so." This disqualification restricts the profitableness of slavery to the case of purely unskilled labour. "The slave is unsuited for all branches of industry which require the slightest care, forethought, or dexterity. He cannot be made to co-operate with machinery; he can only be trusted with the commonest implements; he is incapable of all but the rudest labour." The third defect of slave labour is but a form of the second; its want of versatility. "The difficulty of teaching the slave anything is so great, that the only chance of turning his labour to profit is, when he has once learned a lesson, to keep him to that lesson for life. Where slaves, therefore, are employed, there can be no variety of production. If tobacco be cultivated, tobacco becomes the sole staple, and tobacco is produced whatever be the state of the market, and whatever be the condition of the soil." All this, not as matter of theory merely, but of actual daily expeperience in the Southern States, is superabundantly proved, as Mr. Cairnes shows, by Southern testimony.

It follows, first, that slave labour is unsuited for manufactures, and can only, in competition with free labour, be profitably carried on in a community exclusively agricultural. Secondly, that even among agricultural employments it is unsuited to those in which the labourers are, or without great economical disadvantage can be, dispersed over a wide surface; among which are nearly all kinds of cereal cultivation, including the two great staples of the Free States, maize and wheat. "A single labourer can cultivate twenty acres of wheat or Indian corn, while he cannot manage more than two of tobacco, or three of cotton." Tobacco and cotton admit, therefore, the possibility of working large numbers within a limited space: and as they also benefit in a far greater degree than wheat or maize by combination and classification of labour, the characteristic advantage of slave labour is at the highest, while its greatest drawback, the high cost of superintendence, is reduced to the minimum. It is to these kinds of cultivation, together with sugar and rice, that in America slave labour is practically confined. Wherever, even in the Southern States, "the external conditions are especially favourable to cereal crops, as in parts of Virginia, Kentucky, and Missouri, and along the slopes of the Alleghanies, there slavery has always failed to maintain itself."

But a kind of cultivation suitable to it is not the only condition which the slave system requires in order to be economically profitable. It demands, in addition, an unlimited extent of highly fertile land. This arises from the other two infirmities of slave labour, its unskilfulness and its want of versatility. This point being of the very highest importance, and the foundation of the author's main argument, we give the statement of it in his own words:—

"When the soils are not of good quality, cultivation needs to be elaborate; a larger capital is expended, and with the increase of capital the processes become more varied, and the agricultural implements of a finer and more delicate construction. With such implements slaves cannot be trusted, and for such processes they are unfit. It is only, therefore, where the natural fertility of the soil is so great as to compensate for the inferiority of the cultivation, where nature does so much as to leave little for art, and to supersede the necessity of the more difficult contrivances of industry, that slave labour can be turned to profitable account.

"Further, slavery, as a permanent system, has need not merely of a fertile soil, but of a practically unlimited extent of it. This arises from the defect of slave labour in point of versatility. As has been already remarked, the difficulty of teaching the slave anything is so great—the result of the compulsory ignorance in which he is kept, combined with want of intelligent interest in his work—that the only chance of rendering his labour profitable is, when he has once learned a lesson, to keep him to that lesson for life. Accordingly, where agri-

cultural operations are carried on by slaves, the business of each gang is always restricted to the raising of a single product. Whatever crop be best suited to the character of the soil and the nature of slave industry, whether cotton, tobacco, sugar, or rice, that crop is cultivated, and that crop only. Rotation of crops is thus precluded by the conditions of the case. The soil is tasked again and again to yield the same product, and the inevitable result follows. After a short series of years its fertility is completely exhausted, the planter abandons the ground which he has rendered worthless, and passes on to seek in new soils for that fertility under which alone the agencies at his disposal can be profitably employed."—(pp. 53—6.)

Accordingly, the ruin, and in many cases the abandonment to nature, of what were once the most productive portions of the older Slave States, are facts palpable to the eye, admitted and loudly proclaimed by slave-holders. And hence that pressing demand for the perpetual extension of the area of slavery, that never-ceasing tendency westward, and unceasing struggle for the opening of fresh regions to slave-owners and their human property, which has grown with the growth of the cotton cultivation, and strengthened with its strength; which produced the seizure of Texas, the war with Mexico, the buccaneering expeditions to Central America, and the sanguinary contest for Kansas; which has been the one determining principle of Southern politics for the last quarter of a century; and because at last, though tardily, resisted by the North, has decided the cotton States to break up the Union.

Such being the economic conditions of a slave community like those of the Southern States, the author proceeds to show how this economic system gives rise to a social and political organization tending in the highest degree to aggravate the evils which emanate originally from the economic system itself.

"The single merit of slave labour as an industrial instrument consists, as we have seen, in its capacity for organization, its susceptibility of being adjusted with precision to the kind of work to be done, and of being directed on a comprehensive plan towards some distinctly conceived end. Now, to give scope to this quality, the scale on which industry is carried on must be extensive; and to carry on industry on an extensive scale, large capitals are required"; moreover, a capitalist employing slave labour requires funds sufficient not merely to maintain his slaves, but to purchase their fee simple from the first. "Owing to these causes, large capitals are, relatively to small, more profitable, and are at the same time absolutely more required, in countries of slave, than in countries of free labour. It happens, however, that capital is in slave countries a particularly scarce commodity, owing partly to the exclusion from such countries of many modes of creating it—manufactures and commerce, for example—which are open to free communities; and partly to what is also a consequence of the institution, the unthrifty habits of the upper classes. From this state of things

result two phenomena, which may be regarded as typical of industry carried on by slaves—the magnitude of the plantations, and the indebtedness of the planters. Wherever negro slavery has prevailed in modern times, these two phenomena will be found to exist. 'Our wealthier planters,' says Mr. Clay, 'are buying out their poorer neighbours, extending their plantations, and adding to their slave force. The wealthy few, who are able to live on smaller profits, and to give their blasted fields some rest, are thus pushing off the many who are merely independent.' At the same time these wealthier planters are, it is well known, very generally in debt, the forthcoming crops being for the most part mortgaged to Northern capitalists, who make the needful advances, and who thus become the instruments by which a considerable proportion of the slave labour of the South is maintained. The tendency of things, therefore, in slave countries, is to a very unequal distribution of wealth. The large capitalists, having a steady advantage over their smaller competitors, engross with the progress of time a larger and larger proportion of the aggregate wealth of the country, and gradually acquire the control of its collective industry. Meantime, amongst the ascendant class a condition of general indebtedness prevails."—(pp. 66—71.)

Side by side with these great land and slave proprietors grows up a white *proletariat* of the worst kind, known in Southern phraseology as "mean whites" or "white trash." The vast districts (becoming, under the deteriorating effects of slave industry, constantly larger,) which are surrendered to nature, and relapse into wilderness,

"Become the resort of a numerous horde of people, who, too poor to keep slaves, and too proud to work, prefer a vagrant and precarious life spent in the desert, to engaging in occupations which would associate them with the slaves whom they despise. In the Southern States no less than five millions of human beings are now said to exist in this manner, in a condition little removed from savage life, eking out a wretched subsistence by hunting, by fishing, by hiring themselves out for occasional jobs, by plunder. Combining the restlessness and contempt for regular industry peculiar to the savage, with the vices of the *proletaire* of civilized communities, these people make up a class at once degraded and dangerous; and constantly reinforced as they are by all that is idle, worthless, and lawless among the population of the neighbouring States, form an inexhaustible preserve of ruffianism, ready at hand for all the worst purposes of Southern ambition. The planters complain of these people for their idleness, for corrupting their slaves, for their thievish propensities; but they cannot dispense with them; for in truth they perform an indispensable function in the economy of slave societies, of which they are at once the victims and the principal supporters. It is from their ranks that those filibustering expeditions are recruited, which have been found so effective an instrument in extending the domain of the slave power; they furnish the 'Border Ruffians' who in the colonization struggle with the Northern States contend

with Freesoilers on the territories, and it is to their antipathy to the negroes that the planters securely trust for repressing every attempt at servile insurrection."—(pp. 75—76.)

Such, then, is the constitution of society in the Slave States; "it resolves itself into three classes—the slaves, on whom devolves all the regular industry; the slaveholders, who reap all its fruits; and an idle and lawless, rabble who live dispersed over vast plains in a condition little removed from absolute barbarism." Of a society thus composed, the political structure is determined by an inexorable law.

"When the whole wealth of a country is monopolized by a thirtieth part of its population, while the remainder are by physical or moral causes consigned to compulsory poverty and ignorance; when the persons composing the privileged thirtieth part are all engaged in pursuits of the same kind, subject to the influence of the same moral ideas, and identified with the maintenance of the same species of property; political power will of necessity reside with those in whom centre the elements of such power—wealth, knowledge, and intelligence—the small minority for whose exclusive benefit the system exists. The polity of such a society must thus, in essence, be an oligarchy, whatever be the particular mould in which it is cast. Nor is this all. A society so organized tends to develop with a peculiar intensity the distinctive vices of an oligarchy. In a country of free labour, whatever be the form of government to which it is subject, the pursuits of industry are various. Various interests, therefore, take root, and parties grow up which, regarding national questions from various points of view, become centres of opposition, whether against the undue pretensions of any one of their number, or against those of a single ruler. It is not so in the Slave States. That variety of interests which springs from the individual impulses of a free population does not here exist. The elements of a political opposition are wanting. There is but one party, but one set of men who are capable of acting together in political concert. The rest is an undisciplined rabble. From this state of things the only possible result is that which we find—a despotism, in the last degree unscrupulous and impatient of control, wielded by the wealthy few. . . .

"To sum up in a few words the general results of the foregoing discussion; the Slave Power—that power which has long held the helm of government in the Union—is, under the forms of a democracy, an uncontrolled despotism, wielded by a compact oligarchy. Supported by the labour of four millions of slaves, it rules a population of five millions of whites—a population ignorant, averse to systematic industry, and prone to irregular adventure. A system of society more formidable for evil, more menacing to the best interests of the human race, it is difficult to conceive."—(pp. 85 to 87, and 92.)

Are there, in the social and political system which has now been characterized, any elements of improvement, any qualities which leave room for a reasonable hope of the ultimate, however

gradual, correction of its inherent evils? Mr. Cairnes has conclusively shown that the very reverse is the case. Instead of raising themselves to the level of free societies, these communities are urged by the most imperious motives to drag down, if possible, free societies to the level of themselves.

It may be thought, perhaps, that American slavery will, from merely natural causes, share the fate of slavery elsewhere. The institution of slavery was once universal, but mankind have nevertheless improved; the most progressive communities in the ancient and modern world—the Greeks, Romans, Hebrews, mediæval Europeans—have been afflicted with this scourge, but by the natural progress of improvement have got rid of it; and why, it may be said, should not this also happen in the Southern States? and if so, would not an attempt to anticipate this natural progress, and make emancipation move forward more rapidly than the preparation for it, be full of mischief even to the oppressed race itself?

Mr. Cairnes feels all the importance of this question; and no part of his book is more instructive, or more masterly, than the chapter in which he grapples with it. He shows, that "between slavery as it existed in classical and mediæval times, and the system which now erects itself defiantly in North America," there are such deep-seated distinctions, as render the analogy of the one entirely inapplicable to the other.

The first distinction is the vital fact of the difference in colour between modern slaves and their masters. In the ancient world, slaves, once freed, became an integral part of free society; their descendants not only were not a class apart, but were the main source from which the members of the free community were recruited; and no obstacle, legal or moral, existed to their attainment of the highest social positions. In America, on the contrary, the freed slave transmits the external brand of his past degradation to all his descendants. However worthy of freedom, they bear an outward mark which prevents them from becoming imperceptibly blended with the mass of the free; and while that odious association lasts, it forms a great additional hindrance to the enfranchisement by their masters, of those whom, even when enfranchised, the masters cannot endure to look upon as their fellow-citizens.

But another difference between ancient and modern slavery, which still more intimately affects the question under discussion, arises from the immense development of international commerce in modern times.

"So long as each nation was in the main dependent on the industry of its own members for the supply of its wants, a strong motive would be present for the cultivation of the intelligence, and the improvement of the condition, of the industrial classes. The commodities which

minister to comfort and luxury cannot be produced without skilled labour, and skilled labour implies a certain degree of mental cultivation, and a certain progress in social respect. To attain success in the more difficult industrial arts, the workman must respect his vocation, must take an interest in his task; habits of care, deliberation, forethought, must be acquired; in short, there must be such a general awakening of the faculties, intellectual and moral, as by leading men to a knowledge of their rights and of the means of enforcing them, inevitably disqualifies them for the servile condition. Now this was the position in which the slave master found himself in the ancient world. He was, in the main, dependent on the skill of his slaves for obtaining whatever he required. He was therefore naturally led to cultivate the faculties of his slaves, and by consequence to promote generally the improvement of their condition. His progress in the enjoyment of the material advantages of civilization depended directly upon *their* progress in knowledge and social consideration. Accordingly the education of slaves was never prohibited in the ancient Roman world, and, in point of fact, no small number of them enjoyed the advantage of a high cultivation. 'The youths of promising genius,' says Gibbon, 'were instructed in the arts and sciences, and almost every profession, liberal and mechanical, might be found in the household of an opulent senator.' Modern slaveholders, on the contrary, are independent of the skill, and therefore of the intelligence and social improvement, of their slave population. They have only need to find a commodity which is capable of being produced by crude labour, and at the same time in large demand in the markets of the world; and by applying their slaves to the production of this, they may, through an exchange with other countries, make it the means of procuring for themselves whatever they require. Cotton and sugar, for example, are commodities which fulfil these conditions; they may be raised by crude labour, and they are in large demand throughout the world. Accordingly, Alabama and Louisiana have only to employ their slaves in raising these products, and they are enabled through their means to command the industrial resources of all commercial nations. Without cultivating one of the arts or refinements of civilization, they can possess themselves of all its material comforts. 'Without employing an artisan, a manufacturer, a skilled labourer of any sort, they can secure the products of the highest manufacturing and mechanical skill."—(pp. 100—3.)

There being thus no inducements *for* cultivating the intelligence of slaves, the mighty motives which always exist *against* suffering it to be cultivated, have had full play; and in all the principal Slave States, teaching a slave to read or write is rigorously prohibited, under most severe penalties both to the teacher and the taught.

There is yet another important distinction between slavery in ancient and in modern times—namely, "the place which the slave trade fills in the organization of modern slavery. Trading in

slaves was doubtless practised by the ancients, and with sufficient barbarity. But we look in vain in the records of antiquity for a traffic which, in extent, in systematic character, and above all, in the function discharged by it as the common support of countries breeding and consuming human labour, can with justice be regarded as the analogue of the modern slave trade—of that organized system which has been carried on between Guinea and the coast of America, and of that between Virginia, the Guinea of the New World, and the slave-consuming States of the South and West." The barbarous inhumanity of the slave trade has long been understood; but what has not been so often noticed is the mode in which it operates in giving increased coherence and stability to the system of which it is a part; first, "by bringing the resources of salubrious countries to supplement the waste of human life in torrid regions; and secondly, by providing a new source of profit for slaveholders, which enables them to keep up the institution, when, in the absence of this resource, it would become unprofitable and disappear." Thus, in Virginia, when slavery, by exhausting the soil, had eaten away its own profits, and the recolonization of the State by free settlers had actually begun, came suddenly the prohibition of the African slave trade, and nearly at the same time the vast enlargement of the field for slave labour by the purchase of Louisiana; and these two events made slavery in Virginia again profitable, as a means of breeding slaves for exportation and sale to the South.

It is through the existence of this abundant breeding ground for slaves, which enables their number to be kept up and increased, in the face of the most frightful mortality in the places to which they are sent, that slavery is enabled, as it exhausts old lands, to move on to new ones, preventing that condensation of population which, by depriving the "mean whites" of the means of subsisting without regular work, might render them efficient workmen, instead of, as they now are, "more inefficient, more unreliable, more unmanageable" than even the slaves, and so might gradually effect the substitution of free for slave labour. The consequence is that population under these institutions increases only by dispersion. Fifteen persons to the square mile are its maximum density in the really slave countries; a state of things under which "popular education becomes impracticable; roads, canals, railways must be losing speculations" (in South Carolina "a train has been known to travel a hundred miles with a single passenger"); all civilizing agencies, all powers capable of making improvement penetrate the mass of the poor white population, are wanting.

There remain, as a source from which the regeneration of slave society is to be looked for, the slave-owners themselves; the

chance, whatever it may be, that these may be induced, without external compulsion, to free their slaves, or take some measure, great or small, to prepare the slaves for freedom. An individual here and there may be virtuous enough to do this, if the general sentiment of those by whom he is surrounded will allow him; but no one, we suppose, is simple enough to expect this sacrifice from the entire ruling class of a nation, least of all from the ruling class in the Slave States, with whom the maintenance of slavery has become a matter of social pride and political ambition as much as of pecuniary interest. "It is not simply as a productive instrument that slavery is valued by its supporters. It is far rather for its social and political results, as the means of upholding a form of society in which slaveholders are the sole depositaries of social prestige and political power, as the corner-stone of an edifice of which they are the masters, that the system is prized. Abolish slavery, and you introduce a new order of things, in which the ascendancy of the men who now rule in the South would be at an end. An immigration of new men would set in rapidly from various quarters. The planters and their adherents would soon be placed in a hopeless minority in their old dominions. New interests would take root and grow; new social ideas would germinate; new political combinations would be formed; and the power and hopes of the party which has long swayed the politics of the Union, and which now seeks to break loose from that Union in order to secure a free career for the accomplishment of bolder designs, would be gone for ever." Accordingly the South has advanced, from the modest apologies for slavery of a generation ago, to loudly vaunting it as a moral, civilizing, and every way wholesome institution; the fit condition not only for negroes but for the labouring classes of all countries; nay, as an ordinance of God, and a sacred deposit providentially entrusted to the keeping of the Southern Americans, for preservation and extension.

The energies of the Southern rulers have long been devoted to protecting themselves against the economical inconveniences of slavery in a manner directly the reverse of either its extinction or its mitigation. To obtain for it an ever wider field is the sole aim of their policy, and, as they are firmly persuaded, the condition of their social existence. "There is not a slaveholder," says Judge Warner, of Georgia, and in saying this he only expressed the general sentiment, "in this house or out of it, but who knows perfectly well that whenever slavery is confined within certain specified limits its future existence is doomed; it is only a question of time as to its final destruction. You may take any single slaveholding county in the Southern States, in which the great staples of cotton and sugar are cultivated to any extent, and con-

fine the present slave population within the limits of that county. Such is the rapid natural increase of the slaves, and the rapid exhaustion of the soil in the cultivation of those crops (which add so much to the commercial wealth of the country), that in a few years it would be impossible to support them within the limits of such county. Both master and slave would be starved out; and what would be the practical effect in any one county, the same result would happen to all the Slaveholding States. Slavery cannot be confined within certain limits without producing the destruction of both master and slave; it requires fresh lands, plenty of wood and water, not only for the comfort and happiness of the slave, but for the benefit of the owner." And this is the doctrine of the *advocates* of slavery! What, to any mind but that of a slaveholder, would seem at once the *reductio ad absurdum* and the bitterest moral satire on slavery, is by them brought forward—such is the state of their minds—as an unanswerable argument for bringing fresh territory under it as fast as it exhausts the old, until, we suppose, all the remaining soil of our planet is used up and depopulated.

Even were they not prompted to this aggressive ambition by pecuniary interest, they would have a sufficient inducement to it in the passions which are the natural growth of slave society. "That which the necessity for fresh soils is to the political economy of such communities, a lust of power is to their morality. The slaveholder lives from infancy in an atmosphere of despotism; he sees around him none but abject creatures, who, under fearful penalties to be inflicted by himself, are bound to do his slightest, his most unreasonable bidding." The commerce between master and slave, in the words of Jefferson, himself born and bred a slave-owner, "is a perpetual exercise of the most boisterous passions—the most unremitting despotism on the one hand, and degrading submission on the other. Our children see this, and learn to imitate it. The parent storms, the child looks on, catches the lineaments of wrath, puts on the same airs in the circle of smaller slaves, gives a loose to the worst passions, and thus nursed, educated, and daily exercised in tyranny, cannot but be stamped with its odious peculiarities." The arrogance, self-will, and impatience of restraint, which are the natural fruits of the situation, and with which the Southern-American character in all its manifestations is deeply stamped, suffice of themselves to make the slaveholding class throw all their pride and self-importance into the maintenance, extension, and exaltation of their "peculiar institution;" the more, because the institution and its upholders are generally reprobated by mankind, and because they have to defy the opinion of free nations, and may have to resist the exertion of their physical power.

Hence it is that the politicians of the Slave States have devoted themselves, with the ardour of fanaticism, to acquiring, by fair means or foul, ascendancy in the politics of the Union, in order that they might employ that ascendancy in gaining territory for the formation of new Slave States; and again to create more and more Slave States, in order to maintain their ascendancy in the Union. Mr. Cairnes has traced with a vigorous hand the history of these efforts: the struggle between freedom and slavery for the possession of Missouri; the compromise by which that new State was given up to slavery, on condition that no future Slave State should be created north of the parallel 36° 30′ of north latitude; the filibustering occupation of Texas in order to detach it from Mexico, its annexation to the Union by means of slavery ascendancy, and the war with Mexico for the acquisition of more slave territory; the Missouri compromise, as soon as all its fruits had been reaped, discovered to be unconstitutional, and repudiated, the principle next set up being "squatter sovereignty" (the doctrine that Congress could not legislate for the territories, and that the first inhabitants had the right to decide whether they would allow slavery or not); the Northern territories consequently opened to slavery, and the race which followed between Northern and Southern occupants for the possession of Kansas; a slavery constitution for Kansas voted at the rifle's point by bands of "border ruffians" from the South, who did not even intend to settle in the territory; when this nefarious proceeding was frustrated by the crowds of free settlers who flocked in from the North and refused to be bound by the fictitious constitution, the principle of squatter sovereignty also repudiated, since it had failed to effect Southern objects, and the doctrine set up that slavery exists *ipso jure* in all the territories, and that not even the settlers themselves could make it illegal; and finally a decision obtained from the highest tribunal of the United States (which Southern influence had succeeded in filling with Southern lawyers) by which not only this monstrous principle was affirmed, but the right of a slavemaster was recognised to carry his slaves with him to any part of the Free States, and hold them there, any local law to the contrary notwithstanding. This was the one step too much in the otherwise well planned progress of the Southern conspiracy. At this point the Northern allies, by whose help alone they could command a majority in the councils of the Federation, fell off from them. The defeat of the Southern candidate for the Presidency followed as a consequence: and this first check to the aggressive and advancing movement of slavery, was the signal for secession and civil war. Well may Mr. Cairnes say that this series of events "is one of the most striking and alarming episodes in modern history, and furnishes a remarkable example of what a small body of men may effect

against the most vital interests of human society, when, thoroughly understanding their position and its requirements, they devote themselves, deliberately, resolutely, and unscrupulously, to the accomplishment of their ends."

Should these conspirators succeed in making good their independence, and possessing themselves of a part of the territories, being those which are in immediate contact with Mexico, nothing is to be expected but the spread of the institution by conquest (unless prevented by some European Power) over that vast country, and ultimately over all Spanish America, and if circumstances permit, the conquest and annexation of the West Indies; while so vast an extension of the field for the employment of slaves would raise up a demand for more, which would in all probability lead to that reopening of the African slave-trade, the legitimacy and necessity of which have long been publicly asserted by many organs of the South. Such are the issues to humanity which are at stake in the present contest between free and slaveholding America; and such is the cause to which a majority of English writers, and of Englishmen who have the ear of the public, have given the support of their sympathies.

What is the meaning of this? Why does the English nation, which has made itself memorable to all time as the destroyer of negro slavery, which has shrunk from no sacrifices to free its own character from that odious stain, and to close all the countries of the world against the slave merchant; why is it that the nation which is at the head of Abolitionism, not only feels no sympathy with those who are fighting against the slaveholding conspiracy, but actually desires its success? Why is the general voice of our press, the general sentiment of our people, bitterly reproachful to the North, while for the South, the aggressors in the war, we have either mild apologies or direct and downright encouragement? and this not only from the Tory and anti-democratic camp, but from Liberals, or *soi-disant* such?

This strange perversion of feeling prevails nowhere else. The public of France, and of the Continent generally, at all events the Liberal part of it, saw at once on which side were justice and moral principle, and gave its sympathies consistently and steadily to the North. Why is England an exception? Several causes may be assigned, none of them honourable to this country, though some, more than others, may seem to make the aberration excusable.

In the first place, it must, we fear, be admitted, that the anti-slavery feeling in England, though quite real, is no longer, in point of intensity, what it was. We do not ascribe this to any degeneracy in the public mind. It is because the work, so far as it specially concerns England, is done. Strong feeling on

any practical subject is only kept up by constant exercise. A new generation has grown up since the great victory of slavery abolition; composed of persons whose ardour in the cause has never been wrought upon and strung up by contest. The public of the present day think as their fathers did concerning slavery, but their feelings have not been in the same degree roused against its enormities. Their minds have been employed, and their feelings excited, on other topics, on which there still remained, as it might seem, more to be done. Slavery has receded into the background of their mental prospect; it stands, to most of them, as a mere name, the name of one social evil among many others; not as, what in truth it is, the summing-up and concentration of them all; the stronghold in which the principle of tyrannical power, elsewhere only militant, reigns triumphant.

It must be remembered, too, that though the English public are averse to slavery, several of the political and literary organs which have most influence over the public are decidedly not so. For many years the *Times* has taken every opportunity of throwing cold water, as far as decency permitted, on the cause of the negro; had its attempts succeeded, the African squadron would have been withdrawn, and the effort so long and honourably persisted in by England to close the negro coast against the man-stealer would have been ignominiously abandoned. Another of the misleaders of opinion on this subject, more intellectual in its aims, and addressing itself to a more intellectual audience, has been from its first origin, however Liberal on the surface, imbued with a deeply-seated Tory feeling, which makes it prefer even slavery to democratic equality; and it never loses an opportunity of saying a word for slavery, and palliating its evils.

The most operative cause, however, of the wrong direction taken on the American question by English feeling, is the general belief that Americans are hostile to England, and long to insult and humble her if they had but an opportunity; and the accumulated resentment left by a number of small diplomatic collisions, in which America has carried herself with a high hand, has bullied and blustered, or her press has bullied and blustered for her, and in which, through the reluctance of England to push matters to extremities, which do not vitally concern the national honour, bullying and blustering have been allowed to prevail. The facts are too true; but it has not been sufficiently considered, that the most foul-mouthed enemies of England in the American press and in Congress were Southern men, and men in the Southern interest; and that the offensive tone and encroaching policy of the Federal Government were the tone and policy of a succession of Governments created by the South, and entirely under Southern influence. If some bitterness towards England has

shown itself rather widely among the Northern people since the commencement of the war, and has been ministered to in their usual style by the hacks of the newspaper press, it must be said in excuse, that they were smarting under disappointed hopes; that they had found only rebuke where they felt that they deserved, and had counted upon finding, sympathy, and when sympathy would have been of the utmost importance to their cause. "If England had but sympathized with us now," said recently to us one of the first of American writers, "it would have united the two nations almost to the end of time."

But none of these causes would have accounted for the sad aberration of English feeling at this momentous crisis, had they not been combined with an almost total ignorance respecting the antecedents of the struggle. England pays a heavy price for its neglect of general cotemporary history, and inattention to what takes place in foreign countries. The English people did not know the past career or the present policy and purposes of the Slave Power. They did not, nor do they yet, know that the object, the avowed object, of secession was the indefinite extension of slavery; that the sole grievance alleged by the South consisted in being thwarted in this; that the resistance of the North was resistance to the spread of slavery—the aim of the North its confinement within its present bounds, which, in the opinion of the slave-owners themselves, ensures its gradual extinction, and which is the only means whereby the extinction *can* be gradual. The ignorance of the public was shared by the Foreign Minister, whose official attitude in reference to the contest has been everything which it ought to be, but who did unspeakable mischief by the extra-official opinion so often quoted, that the Southern States are in arms for independence, the Northern for dominion.

When this was the view taken of the contest in the quarter supposed to be best informed, what could be expected from the public? Could they fail to bestow their sympathies on the side which, they were told from authority, was fighting for the common right of mankind to a government of their choice, while the other had armed itself for the wicked purpose of exercising power over others against their will? The moral relations of the two parties are misplaced, are almost reversed, in Earl Russell's dictum. Could we consent to overlook the fact that the South are fighting for, and the North against, the most odious form of unjust dominion which ever existed; could we forget the slaves, and view the question as one between two white populations; even then, who, we ask, are fighting for dominion, if not those who having always before succeeded in domineering, break off from the Union at the first moment when they find that they can domineer no longer? Did ever any other section of a nation break through the solemn

contract which united them with the rest, for no reason but that they were defeated in an election? It is true, indeed, and they are welcome to the admission, that a very serious interest of the slave-owning oligarchy depended on retaining the power to domineer. They had at stake, not dominion only, but the profits of dominion; and those profits were, that the propagation of slavery might be without limit, instead of being circumscribed within the vast unoccupied space already included in the limits of the Slave States, being about half of their entire extent.

But if the South are fighting for slavery, the North, we are told, are, at all events, not fighting against it: their sole object in the struggle is the preservation of the Union.

And if it were so: is there anything so very unjustifiable in resisting, even by arms, the dismemberment of their country? Does public morality require that the United States should abdicate the character of a nation, and be ready at the first summons to allow any discontented section to dissever itself from the rest by a single vote of a local majority, fictitious or real, taken without any established form, or public guarantee for its genuineness and deliberateness? This would be to authorize any State, or part of a State, in a mere fit of ill-temper, or under the temporary influence of intriguing politicians, to detach itself from the Union, and perhaps unite itself to some hostile power; and the end would probably be to break down the Union, from one of the great nations of the world, into as many petty republics as there are States, with lines of custom-houses all round their frontiers, and standing armies always kept up in strength to protect them against their nearest neighbours.

It is so new a thing to consider questions of national morality from the point of view of nations, instead of exclusively from that of rulers, that the conditions have not yet been defined under which it is the duty of an established Government to succumb to a manifestation of hostile feeling by a portion, greater or smaller, of its citizens. Until some rule or maxim shall have grown up to govern this subject, no Government is expected or bound to yield to a rebellion until after a fair trial of strength in the field. Were it not for the certainty of opposition, and the heavy penalties of failure, revolt would be as frequent a fact as it is now an unfrequent; rebellions would be attempted, not as they now are, in cases of almost unanimous discontent, but as often as any object was sought, or offence taken, by the smallest section of the community.

Would the Government or people of the United Kingdom accept for themselves this rule of duty? Would they look on quietly and see the kingdom dismembered? They might renounce transmarine possessions which they hold only as depen-

dencies, which they care little for, and with which they are neither connected by interest nor by neighbourhood; but would England acquiesce, without fighting, in the separation of Ireland or Scotland? and would she be required to do so by any recognised obligation of public morality?

Putting at the very lowest the inducements which can be supposed to have instigated the people of the Northern States to rush into the field with nearly all their available population, and pledge the collective wealth of the country to an unparalleled extent, in order to maintain its integrity; it might still be thought, that a people who were supposed to care for nothing in comparison with the "almighty dollar," ought to have some credit given them for showing, by such decisive proofs, that they are capable of sacrificing that and everything else to a patriotic impulse. It might have been supposed, too, that even had their motives been wholly selfish, all good men would have wished them success when they were fighting for the right; and, considering what it was that they were fighting against, might have been glad that even selfish motives had induced one great nation to shed its blood and expend its substance in doing battle against a monster evil which the other nations, from the height of their disinterested morality, would have allowed to grow up unchecked, until the consequences came home to themselves.

But such a view of the motives of the Northern Americans would be a flagrant injustice to them. True, the feeling which made the heroic impulse pervade the whole country, and descend to the least enlightened classes, was the desire to uphold the Union. But not the Union, simply. Had they consented to give up the Northern interpretation of the pact; had they yielded to the Supreme Court's Southern exposition of it, they would have won back the South to the Federation by an unanimous voice. It was because they valued something else even more highly than the Union, that the Union was ever in a position in which it had to be fought for. The North fights for the Union, but the Union under conditions which deprive the Slave Power of its pernicious ascendancy. People talk as if to support the existing constitution were synonymous with altogether abandoning emancipation, and "giving guarantees to slavery." Nothing of the sort. The Constitution guarantees slavery against nothing but the interference of Congress to legislate for the legally constituted Slave States. Such legislation, in the opinion equally of North and South, is neither the only, nor the best, nor the most effectual mode of getting rid of slavery. The North may indeed be driven to it; and, in the opinion of near observers, is moving rapidly towards that issue. Mr. Russell, in his letters to the *Times*, was constantly reiterating that the war would before long become an

abolition war; and Mr. Dicey, the latest traveller in America who has published his impressions, and whose book should be in every one's hand, says, that this predicted consummation is now rapidly drawing near, through the conviction, becoming general in the North, that slavery and the Union are incompatible. But the Federal Government was bound to keep within the Federal Constitution: and what, that could be done against slavery consistently with the Constitution, has it left undone? The district of Columbia was constitutionally under the authority of Congress; Congress have abolished slavery in that district, granting compensation. They have offered liberal pecuniary assistance to any Slave State which will take measures for either immediately or gradually emancipating its slaves. They have admitted Western Virginia into the Union as a State, under a provision that all children born after a certain day of 1863 shall be born free. They have concluded a treaty with England for the better suppression of the slave trade, conceding, what all former American Governments have so obstinately resisted, the right of search. And, what is more important than all, they have, by a legislative act, prohibited slavery in the territories. No human being can henceforth be held in bondage in any possession of the United States which has not yet been erected into a State. A barrier is thus set to all further extension of the legal area of slavery within the dominion of the United States. These things have the United States done, in opposition to the opinion of the Border States which are still true to their allegiance; at the risk of irretrievably offending those States, and deciding them to go over to the enemy. What could the party now dominant in the United States have done more, to prove the sincerity of its aversion to slavery, and its purpose to get rid of it by all lawful means?

And these means would, in all probability, suffice for the object. To prevent the extension of slavery, is, in the general opinion of slaveholders, to ensure its extinction. It is, at any rate, the only means by which that object can be effected through the interest of the slaveholders themselves. If peaceful and gradual is preferable to sudden and violent emancipation (which we grant may in the present case be doubtful), this is the mode in which alone it can be effected. Further colonization by slaves and slave-masters being rendered impossible, the process of exhausting the lands fitted for slave cultivation would either continue, or would be arrested. If it continue, the prosperity of the country will progressively decline, until the value of slave property was reduced so low, and the need of more efficient labour so keenly felt, that there would be no motive remaining to hold the negroes in bondage. If, on the other hand, the exhaustive process should be arrested, it must be by means implying an entire renovation,

economical and social, of Southern society. There would be needed new modes of cultivation, processes more refined and intellectual, and, as an indispensable condition, labourers more intelligent, who must be had either by the introduction of free labour, or by the mental improvement of the slaves. The masters must resign themselves to become efficient men of business, personal and vigilant overseers of their own labourers; and would find that in their new circumstances successful industry was impossible without calling in other motives than the fear of the lash. The immediate mitigation of slavery, and the education of the slaves, would thus be certain consequences, and its gradual destruction by the consent of all concerned, a probable one, of the mere restriction of its area: whether brought about by the subjugation of the Southern States, and their return to the Union under the Constitution according to its Northern interpretation, or by what Mr. Cairnes regards as both more practical and more desirable, the recognition of their independence, with the Mississippi for their western boundary.

Either of these results would be a splendid, and probably a decisive and final, victory over slavery. But the only point on which we hesitate to agree with Mr. Cairnes is in preferring the latter, to the former and more complete issue of the contest. Mr. Cairnes is alarmed by what he thinks the impossibility of governing this group of States after reunion, unless in a manner incompatible with free institutions—as conquered countries, and by military law. We are unable to see the impossibility. If reduced by force, the Slave States must submit at discretion. They could no longer claim to be dealt with according to the Constitution which they had rebelled against. The door which has been left open till now for their voluntary return, would be closed, it is to be presumed, after they had been brought back by force. In that case the whole slave population might, and probably would, be at once emancipated, with compensation to those masters only who had remained loyal to the Federal Government, or who may have voluntarily returned to their allegiance before a time fixed. This having been done, there would be no real danger in restoring the Southern States to their old position in the Union. It would be a diminished position, because the masters would no longer be allowed representatives in Congress in right of three-fifths of their slaves. The slaves once freed, and enabled to hold property, and the country thrown open to free colonization, in a few years there would be a free population in sympathy with the rest of the Union. The most actively disloyal part of the population, already diminished by the war, would probably in great part emigrate if the North were successful. Even if the negroes were not admitted to the

suffrage, or if their former masters were able to control their votes, there is no probability, humbled and prostrated as the Slave Power would be, that in the next few years it would rally sufficiently to render any use which it could make of constitutional freedom again dangerous to the Union. When it is remembered that the thinly-peopled Missouri, Arkansas, Texas, and some parts even of the South-Eastern States, have even now so few slaves that they may be made entirely free at a very trifling expense in the way of redemption; and when the probable great influx of Northern settlers into those provinces is considered; the chance of any dangerous power in the councils of the United States to be exercised by the six or seven Cotton States, if allowed to retain their constitutional freedom, must appear so small, that there could be little temptation to deny them that common right.

It may, however, prove impossible to reduce the seceded States to unconditional submission, without a greater lapse of time, and greater sacrifices, than the North may be willing to endure. If so, the terms of compromise suggested by Mr. Cairnes, which would secure all west of the Mississippi for free labour, would be a great immediate gain to the cause of freedom, and would probably in no long period secure its complete triumph. We agree with Mr. Cairnes that this is the only *kind* of compromise which should be entertained for a moment. That peace should be made giving up the cause of quarrel, the exclusion of slavery from the territories, would be one of the greatest calamities which could happen to civilization and to mankind. Close the territories, prevent the spread of the disease to countries not now afflicted with it, and much will already have been done to hasten its doom. But that doom would still be distant if the vast uncolonized region of Arkansas, and Texas, which alone is thought sufficient to form five States, were left to be filled up by a population of slaves and their masters; and no treaty of separation can be regarded with any satisfaction but one which should convert the whole country west of the Mississippi into free soil.

Contemporary Literature.

THEOLOGY AND PHILOSOPHY.

THE principal portion of our space must be devoted on this occasion to three important works which have appeared during the quarter. Of these the first which we shall notice is the second volume of Dr. Davidson's extremely valuable "Introduction to the Old Testament.[1] It embraces the historical books, from Kings to Esther; the poetical books, Job to the Song of Solomon; together with a dissertation of about seventy pages upon Hebrew prophecy, introductory to the books of the prophets themselves, which are to be comprised in the concluding volume. The Books of Kings are shown to be on the face of them a compilation, and to embody materials of different degrees of authenticity not always combined so as to avoid inconsistencies in the narrative, and including, besides the portions which are apparently founded on contemporary annals, legendary insertions, as in the case of the marvels said to have been wrought by Elijah and Elisha. These legends are found to be inconsistent with other parts of the history, contradictory to the order of the universe, dishonouring to the Deity, and offensive to morality. As the Books of Kings were compiled in their present form in the prophetical interest, and not later than the close of the monarchy, so the Chronicles were composed from a Levitical point of view, and with a strong ecclesiastical bias, which, together with other considerations, fixes the date of those books to the period of the Restoration. They vary in the tone of the narrative from the Books of Kings, not only in the general exaltation of the Levite, but in the different presentation of characters and events. Unfavourable transactions in the life of David are suppressed—the matter, for instance, of Bathsheba and Uriah—while his constitution of the Levitical services is described in an exaggerated and evidently untruthful manner. While the Books of Kings, therefore, are assigned to the period of the Captivity, the Chronicler, partly from the evidence of the contents of his work, partly from the later form of his language, must be thrown to a date even more recent than the Restoration. To the same compiler are also attributed the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah, in which he has copied closely the sources at his command for the post-exile history, which is brought down as low as 335-331 B.C. In closing his discussion upon the historical books, Dr. Davidson makes some important observations on the duration of the so-called seventy years' captivity in Babylon. If the period of the Captivity be dated from the destruction of Jerusalem, the death

[1] "An Introduction to the Old Testament; Critical, Historical, and Theological, containing a Discussion of the most Important Questions belonging to the Several Books." By Samuel Davidson, D.D. of the University of Halle, and LL.D. Vol. II. London: Williams and Norgate. 1862.

of Zedekiah, and deportation of the inhabitants by Nebuchadnezzar, that is in 588 or 587 B.C., and be closed by the first return of the Jews for which permission was given in the first year of Cyrus, 538 B.C., the exile did not last more than fifty years. If it be dated even from the deportation of Jehoiachim, 598 B.C., it continued about sixty years; so that Josephus cannot be correct when he says, (Ant. xi. 1, 1,) that the first year of Cyrus was the seventieth from that in which the Jews were carried away to Babylon; but his statement is near the truth in another place (c. Ap. i. 21), that Nebuchadnezzar laid the Temple desolate in the eighteenth year of his reign, and so it remained for fifty years. The notion of the period of seventy years was derived from the prophecy of Jeremiah xxv. 12, and the tradition among Jews and Christians was fortified also by Dan. ix. 2. But the writer of this latter book lived long after the Restoration, and his evidence as to a matter of fact is worthless. The solution of the difficulty is not to be sought in any chronological *tour de force*, but in the acknowledgment that the number seventy in Jeremiah is a round number mistaken subsequently for a definite one. Finally, the Book of Esther, though placed among the historical books in the Canon, is described as having little if any basis of history, while it is a vivid but fictitious account of the origin of the feast of Purim.

It would be impossible for us to give any fair analysis, within a reasonable compass, of the author's masterly treatment of the many questions arising on the Book of Job and the Psalms; but we must make room for an extract on the mischievous effect of deducing dogmas from metaphorical and poetical effusions:—

"A very common mistake consists in understanding the poetry of the Psalms as prose; by which means doctrines are evolved and sentiments inculcated that were never intended by the writers. The language of poetry, and especially of Oriental poetry, is highly coloured, hyperbolical, exaggerated. The figures are bold and daring. Passion and feeling predominate. In the Psalms pre-eminently we see the theology *of the feelings* rather than *of the intellect*. Logic is out of place there. Dogma cannot be established on such a basis; nor was it ever meant to be so. . . . The figures and fictions of poetry must not be judged by the rules of dogmatic theologians intent on their system of divinity, rather the natural utterances of the Hebrew bards. Hence the attempts of theologians to show what they call 'the missionary spirit' of the psalms and prophets is futile. It is contrary to their genius to metamorphose ideal hopes, uttered from the fulness of a spiritual mind, into *fixed beliefs*. They should be left to the shadowy region to which they belong—in the domain of imagination, feeling, hope, longing, where is their true home. As an example of this, take the words of the Psalmist, 'Behold I was shapen in iniquity, and in sin did my mother conceive me,' words which have been converted into a *locus classicus* in reference to the doctrine of original sin; whereas they are nothing more than a hyperbolical expression of the author's feelings respecting his sinfulness. Literal prose they are not; nor should they be converted into it. They are an exaggerated utterance of the speaker, intended to convey a very vivid idea of his moral corruption. 'To take such language otherwise than the theology of the feelings strongly excited—the theology of Oriental poetry—is to misapprehend it most grievously. Yet the manufacturers of theological systems *will* quote it as the calm dictum of David speaking by an infallible and verbal inspiration."—(pp. 309, 310.)

Passing over altogether the treatment of the didactic books, we must reserve ourselves for that which is the most important portion of the present volume, namely, the preliminary dissertation upon Hebrew prophecy. The rest of the book is devoted chiefly to criticism; this belongs principally to theology; for the problem is not only to present intelligibly the phenomena of the prophetic writings of the Hebrews as they fall under observation, but to connect them with a presumed divine source, without contradicting on the one hand our necessary conceptions of the divine nature, or on the other without supposing a transgression of the laws which regulate the functions of the human intellect. It is necessary, in order to clear the question which Hebrew prophecy presents to us, to distinguish prophecy as bound up with institutions of public worship and instruction, and prophecy manifesting itself as a spontaneous activity in some peculiarly gifted individual. And again to distinguish between the office of the priest and that of the prophet; for they are both mediators, but with the difference "that prophets stand on the way which brings God near to humanity; priests on the way that leads humanity to God. The former have to do with the divine revelations, adapting them, as it were, to the apprehensions of men; the latter with the service of their fellow men to God." As the priestly and prophetic characters are thus clearly distinguished, it is also obvious in the history of the Hebrews that the priestly and prophetical agencies were by no means confounded, and even at times were sharply opposed. Nevertheless, as worship, which it is the office of the priest to lead, graduates through lower and higher forms—of abject deprecation and propitiation, of petition for mere material benefits, of thorough submission and full spiritual contentment—so the declarations of the prophet concern either the immediate future and personal particular interests, or the universal plan of the moral government of God. Under the lower forms of religion there has always been a tendency to evoke, as it were by artificial means, revelations concerning coming events, and to anticipate them by means of signs and auguries. And the diviner was supposed to obtain a further insight into the future, according to the completeness with which his ordinary consciousness was suppressed. Dr. Davidson quotes a remarkable passage from Philo descriptive of this state of ecstasy:—

"As long as the understanding gives light about us, pouring out, as it were, a noon-day of splendour into the whole soul, we are not possessed, because we are still in our senses: but when this light verges towards its decline, a divine ecstasy naturally falls upon us, and a prophetic furor. For when the divine light begins to shine, the human sets; and when again the former sets, this springs forth and rises. Which is wont to happen to the prophetic order. For the understanding in us takes its departure at the arrival of the Divine Spirit; and on the withdrawal of the latter, the former enters in again to take up its abode; since it is not fitting that the divine and human should dwell together."—(p. 426.)

And so among the Greeks, the μάντις was carried away by a divine madness (μαίνομαι), and was unconscious of his utterances, which he was incapable of recalling when the *afflatus* of the god had passed

away; the προφήτης was his subordinate officer, who collected and interpreted these utterances. But the higher stage of prophetic inspiration is no doubt that which is attended with personal consciousness and full intelligence, and it is this which meets us for the most part in the prophetical writings of the Hebrews. Such was the general view of Christian antiquity after the Montanist disputes. Thus Chrysostom states the difference between the Greek *mantis* and the Hebrew *prophet:* "It is peculiar to the *mantis* to be ecstatic, to submit to necessity, to be pushed, dragged, drawn like a madman. Not so with the prophet, who speaks all with a sober mind and composure, knowing what he utters." (p. 433.) In modern times, and recently, for controversial purposes, the hypothesis has been suggested, that the prophets spoke at times without full consciousness of their utterances, and irrespectively of the conditions of time and place. For thus if a prediction were fulfilled according to the letter in subsequent history, it would be insisted on as a manifestation of supernatural prescience, if the accomplishment failed in time or other circumstances, that would only be an evidence of the supermundane and ecstatic condition of the seer. If, for instance, the destruction of Tyre by Nebuchadnezzar had been complete, as is apparently foretold Is. xxiii., it would have been quoted as an example of historical prediction; but as the ruin of the city was not completed by him, it is assumed that to the mind of the prophet in ecstasy, scenes separated by many hundreds of years were brought together into one field of view. It is indeed a mere popular impression that the bulk of the so-called prophetical books is taken up with prophecies in the sense of "predictions," or with anything which bears even the semblance of prediction. There is nothing, moreover, in the word *Nabi* which at all implies prediction. The *locus classicus* for the meaning of the word is Exod. vii. 1, *See, I have made thee a god unto Pharaoh, and Aaron thy brother shall be thy prophet*, that is, thy interpreter. Throughout the history and in the books of the prophets we find that their ministry was didactic, social, and not unfrequently political: their functions present analogies to those of the orators, the philosophers, and even the satirists of heathen antiquity. We must make a brief extract or two from Dr. Davidson's excellent treatment of this subject of "prophecy" and "prediction."

"Prophecies, in the true sense of that word, are not to be taken as *predictions*. They are not the announcement of future events for the purpose of satisfying curiosity. God himself must be regarded as their end, idea, and motive. Their leading idea is that of the *divine righteousness*, so far as God appears sovereign of the theocratic kingdom; and that idea is only applied to the case in question in the firm conviction that it must be carried into effect. Hence two peculiarities may be explained—viz., that the idea is *conditioned by historical relations;* and therefore prophesyings do not lose themselves in air without substance; and also, that they are, for the most part, *indefinite* and *general*, consisting of general images of prosperity and adversity. Such images often appear very vague. They should not be taken literally. Wherever definite predictions having special details occur, particularly in relation to *times*, it can be shown that they are supposititious; or that the whole prophecy is spurious—*e.g.*, the predictions respecting Cyrus in Isaiah, &c., which are unauthentic. In like manner Daniel's predictions are spurious."—(pp. 399, 400.)

Other particular prophecies, relied upon by Hengstenberg and Tholuck as exemplifying prediction strictly so-called, are then examined; they are found to be probably either spurious additions or not to fit accurately the events to which they are supposed to relate. Nevertheless, it is allowed that the prophets could in some cases, from their clearer insight into the divine government, project themselves into the near future, and under the influence of the Messianic idea, colour it with anticipations which were only realized in a distant spiritual development. For the most part they foretold such a future as the present merged into, without distinct lines of separation between.

"That which is to come," says Ewald, "presents itself before the prophet's spirit as with palpable form and features; what Jehovah wills and prepares, he beholds as with the clearest eye; while the world about him sees nothing of this wondrous light. This is the atmosphere in which the prophet feels, as it were beforehand, sooner and more acutely sensible than all other men *the approaching future*, and is able, with delicate perception, to anticipate what others arrive at later and more roughly by experience: in which he discerns the inevitable calamity coming from God, while none else has yet marked anything of it, and is conscious of the divine wrath beforehand, from the fire glowing within his own soul."—(p. 463.)

And Dr. Davidson observes with strict justice, writing, as he always does, in no irreligious or anti-Biblical spirit—

"It is time, therefore, that books like those of Newton and Keith on the Prophecies, based on a total misapprehension of the subject, should be discarded. They have done great injury, and violate the very interpretation of the letter which they professedly advocate. Where dim outlines connected present and future to the spiritual sight, *there* the prophets were foretellers. This *mode* of prediction, and *the extent* it was carried to, is grounded in their proper function as heralds of truths relating to God's kingdom on earth. They had a deeper insight into the past and present than other men, because their inner eye had been opened by the Spirit to comprehend the causes at work in the moral government of the world, with the necessary results; and whoever comprehends past and present, sees into the future also, as Von Raumer has said."—(p. 463.)

We trust that Dr. Davidson's Introduction will make its way, in spite of all prejudices, as a standard manual for the use of candidates for the Christian ministry, both in the Established and Nonconformist churches; there is no other as yet in the English language at all approaching it in value for the use of the *bonâ fide* theological student in the department which it covers.

"The Inquiry into the Theories of History,"[2] although anonymous, is a first-rate book. Its object is to reconcile theism with the scientific conception of law, and from that reconciliation to deduce a true theory of history. As the title indicates, this inquiry takes the form in great measure of a critique of M. Comte's doctrine of Positivism. The three principal theories are first stated, which are framed to account for the apparent order and disorder in the events of history. 1. The Theory of Chance or Incoherence; 2. The Theory of Law absolute

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[2] "An Inquiry into the Theories of History, with Special Reference to the Positive Philosophy." London: W. H. Allen and Co. 1862.

and stable, as a mere fact of human observation ; 3. The Theory of Law as the expression of a Supreme Will. Although generally repudiated in words, the doctrine of chance is found to be implied even in some of our reasonings upon facts not yet digested into scientific order; in the practice of life, as manifested in the frequent disposition to reckon upon "something turning up;" in policy and government, wherein contingent events enter largely into calculation ; and even in religious systems, wherein an inconsistent and contradictory providence is little better than a superstitious representation of chance. Opposed to and irreconcileable with the Theory of Chance, whether expressly or tacitly held, is the Theory of Law. This theory, it is observed, has two aspects, which should be carefully distinguished. It has a positive side towards the Theory of Chance, which negatives all order, sequence, interdependence; it may have a negative side towards theism, which affirms a Supreme Will. The three regions or domains as to which the theories of chance and law are in conflict, are the material, the intellectual, the moral. In the material or natural world, although multitudes of phenomena are not as yet reduced by science into any order, classification, or ascertained relation, yet the presumption grows continually stronger and stronger with scientific progress, that the seemingly anomalous is only such relatively to our ignorance. We cannot suppose Law and Chance to co-exist, and when so much evidences obviously the operation of law, it is forced upon us to presume the operation of unknown law where we have not yet been able to observe it. The same reasoning applies to establish our belief in law in the world of thought. For there could be no science of thought if thought were not presumed to be subject to law. And this belief in mental law lies at the root of our instinctive conviction of our personal identity, and of our feeling able, from day to day and from hour to hour, to reckon with certitude upon the uniformity of the mental processes of ourselves and of others.

"There could be no continuous thought, if there were no laws of thought; and without continuous thought, mental life would be made up of unshapen fragments and loose filaments of thought, desultory phantasies, contradictory resolves, unperformed promises. The promises of to-day would be forgotten to-morrow. The bargains of to-day would be unfulfilled to-morrow. The fears of to-day would be the hopes of to-morrow. The hopes of to-day would be the fears of to-morrow. The absence of natural law, in fine, involves the negation, not only of physical science, but of all human law and legislation, of government, of society, and all political, social, and religious institutions; for of all these natural law is the basis and cement, without which they topple and fall and crumble into dust."—(p. 63.)

The question concerning moral order and disorder is rendered more complicated by reason of the ambiguity of the words "order" and "disorder" when they come to be applied to the moral subject matter. For, if moral order be maintained in the sense of law implying sequence and coherence of particulars, it may be thought to be contradictory to that freedom of the will of which we are conscious. But even on the supposition of the Will being a self-determining power, its force acts only within certain limits; we do not will impossibilities, and the range

within which the Will acts freely being limited, and its variations, though not calculable by us in individual cases, yet observable in averages, confirms rather than invalidates the theory that Law reigns also in the domain of moral agency. Again, the existence of evil at all may be called a moral disorder in one sense of the word, but not in the sense which would negative all sequence and coherence in human motives, passions, and actions. And neither when evil is recognised, in the philosophical meaning of the word, nor when it is assumed in theological systems as an inherited disorder in human nature, is order denied in the sense of the interdependency of moral phenomena: but the distinction must be carefully observed between the use of the word moral as distinguished from immoral, and its use as distinguished from physical and intellectual.

"And we are carried still further towards a conviction of the universality of moral order, when we reflect that the distinctions of good and evil, of right and wrong, of truth and falsehood, of virtue and vice do exist, and that we cannot but recognise them; that we recognise them with increasing confidence in proportion as the faculty of making them is cultivated; that we recognise them in the solemn and secret judgments pronounced by ourselves on ourselves; and that we recognise them in the sentiments of approbation and disapprobation, and in the various modes of expressing those sentiments regarding the character and conduct of others. It is quite unimportant to this view that what at one time and in one latitude is called good, at another time and in another latitude is deemed evil. This merely shows a difference of moral culture at different periods and in different localities."—(pp. 68, 69.)

Some inconsistencies of religionists are then treated of—such as the popular conception of Providence interfering specially on behalf of individuals and favoured classes, or in judgments upon those who are under the Divine displeasure. Such interferences would array Providence against Law, whereas the Divine Providence should more consistently be conceived of as embracing Law: Providence, "as the all-comprehending thought; Law, as the expression of that thought in phenomenal causes and effects." Providence is the root of Law, and cannot be more variable than Law, which is its own outcoming. Some excellent observations are then made on the subject of Worship, which is a natural and instinctive expression of the religious sentiment towards a Divine Providence; but those notions of Worship, according to which it is supposed to be literally pleasing to God, to content the Divine Mind, and to operate changes upon it, are justly stigmatized as dishonouring to God and subversive of true religion. So prayer is described as signifying our continual dependence upon God from day to day of our existence, not as a means of persuading him to grant us favours which he would otherwise withhold; and its effect is not upon him but upon ourselves. There is nothing, therefore, in the fundamental conceptions of "Natural Religion," as it is called, which at all conflicts with the theory of Law. Is there any such conflict between that theory and what is commonly called "Revealed Religion?" It may seem, indeed, that the very term "Revelation" implies Divine interference, and an overriding of Law by special energy of the Divine Will; but a little consideration will show that this supposition is only consistent with a persuasion expressly or tacitly entertained that the

laws of the material, intellectual, and moral world have their origin otherwise than in the Divine Will itself. And further reflection will make it evident that phenomena, which appear at first sight to involve contradiction of one law, are themselves due to the operation of some other law—that there is, so to speak, a conflict of laws perpetually going on by which the very equilibrium of the universe is sustained. And it should be remembered with reference to the particular subject, that in whatever way the knowledge or conviction of the being of God is reached, it is equally a revelation to those who have it; and with whatever imperfections it may be clogged, the possession of the idea is a substantive Divine Revelation. Each portion of the truth is in its degree a revelation and a Divine gift—the degree of inception, the degree of increment, and the degree of completion. The same subject is then looked at from another point of view, and a masterly analysis is given of what is commonly called Inspiration. We should gladly extract the whole of this, but must confine ourselves to a portion of it.

"There is no just ground for supposing that in one case more than in another inspiration is bestowed in a mode unconformable to law. To suppose that those who have been pre-eminently gifted with the Spirit of God, who have exhibited in their characters unparalleled moral excellence, or who have promulgated peculiarly important truths, received the communication that enriched and strengthened their souls in some direct, immediate, and extraordinary way irrespective of law, is to suppose them emancipated from the operation of law; it is to suppose God disregarding the laws which are the expression of his own will; it is to suppose Him adopting one mode of operation, and then, finding that ineffectual, another one for ordinary purposes, another for extraordinary occasions; and it is thus to introduce change into the divine mind and chance into human affairs. Let the extraordinary measure of divine inspiration be fully admitted, the extraordinary importance of the truths taught, and the extraordinary dignity of the character formed under this influence, still the mode of communication, whether comprehensible or incomprehensible, must be regarded as subordinate to law." p. 107.

Prophecy, it is then observed, may be regarded as falling partly under the idea of Inspiration, partly under the idea of Miracle: as far as it is regarded as a product of Inspiration the preceding observations apply to it; as far as it implies an insight into the future above all possible powers of the human mind it would be a form of Miracle. Concerning the vexed question of Miracle we are reminded that the first question which occurs as to any miraculous narrative is—Did the events really occur as related? There may be as to some narratives a preliminary question even to this, namely, Is the narrative intelligible? are the events described with sufficient precision for us to be able to put the question whether they occurred? For it must be put—Did *this* occur? not—Did *something* occur? It may be stated, however, that the first question raised is thus one of evidence. The appeal is to the laws of human thought. The second question is—Can this phenomenon be classed with other phenomena already known to us, or be accounted for by the operation of causes already known to us? And the third—May it not be supposed to be hereafter so reducible, when our knowledge and experience shall have been enlarged? But if the subordi-

nation of the alleged event to law, either actual or supposable, be abjured, "then it is *ipso facto* disproved;" for that would be to represent the Perfect and Immutable Source of All as contradicting himself, and the Fountain of all Law as breaking up Law. And this reflection may tend at least to soften asperities in the discussion of the subject of Miracle.

"Just in proportion as the unbeliever finds it difficult to establish that miracle is irreconcilable with law, will be the caution and modesty with which he rejects it. And just in proportion as the believer finds it difficult to establish that miracle is consistent with law, will be the charity and forbearance which he exercises towards those who have less belief than himself." p. 112.

In the remainder of the work the author is brought into direct antagonism with M. Comte. He has hitherto been engaged in establishing Law, to the exclusion of Chance on an atheistic hypothesis, and of interference on the theistic. So far, to a certain extent, he would seem to be maintaining the positive philosophy. He now proceeds to show the reconciliation of the Theory of Law with Theism—that Law is not inconsistent with, rather presupposes and implies a Divine Will, of which it is the expression. He presses M. Comte very hard at the outset, with the fact that he built his whole superstructure of positivism upon the universality of this idea of God in the human mind. The human race generally, and each individual in it, pass through the stages of fetichism, polytheism, monotheism—infantine conditions, but necessary as educational states: man cannot become positivist until he has been theist. It is difficult, therefore, to suppose that theism—whatever errors may belong to its several forms, should not either be truth or contain truth.

"When by the operation of an acknowledged necessary law of his nature he acquires the idea of God, and in one form or another thinks, acts, and lives out that idea in all the generations of his race and in all the ages of his being, then the conclusion seems to be inevitable that, with whatever deductions for the mistakes of his judgment, or the feebleness of his will, or the misdirection of his efforts, there must be some reality to answer to that idea. To suppose otherwise is to strike a fatal blow at the essential truthfulness of his faculties and at the reality of all knowledge whatever. And it is to be remembered that this preponderating influence of the theistic idea is not a doubtful inference or a contested fact. It is not an inference affirmed only by theists or a fact which floats on the mere surface of history. It is a fact and an influence so thoroughly penetrating human nature, human character, and human society in all their phases and forms of development, that it is found impossible for an anti-theistic positivist to frame his system of philosophy without making the theism which he contemptuously rejects the basis and groundwork of all his speculations." p. 157.

Fetichism, astrolatry, polytheism have this truth in common with monotheism, that they infer intelligent will as the source of the phenomena of the universe; but they divide that will and distribute those phenomena among a variety of agents. A clear conception of a system of laws is perfectly consistent with the monotheistic idea, while it scarcely is so with polytheism. The two conceptions of Law and God are not only consistent with but supplementary to each other, and "to disjoin an intelligent will from necessary law would be to shake our

confidence in the perpetuity and salutary operation of law itself." Objections to a Primary Cause, to a Providence, and to the doctrine of final causes are then discussed, as well as the hypotheses of the Perpetuity of Matter, of Spontaneity, of Necessity, and of Spontaneity *and* Necessity, which play so considerable a part in the Comtian philosophy. Certain deductions being made in transferring the term Will to signify the underlying constantly operating Cause of All, the book contains a most able and effective vindication of Theism, and of a rational as opposed to an irrational Positivism.

The first volume of Mr. Herbert Spencer's[3] great work is now issued in a complete form. It consists of two parts; the first of which treats of "The Unknowable," the second of the "Laws of the Knowable." He builds upon the doctrine of Hamilton and Mansel that the Absolute is unknowable and inconceivable, but, it need not be said, he is far from falling into the contradictions imposed upon the latter author by the theological position which he has taken up. He shows that a reconciliation of science and religion is herein possible, that they both of them in their most advanced forms recognise the inscrutableness of the Power which underlies the universe. The origin, indeed, of all particular religions may be traced to an effort to account hypothetically for the phenomena presented by the observable world: and while they have clothed in various dress the mysterious Deity, the Unknown God or gods, they have all along assumed some super-sensible origin of all sensible manifestations. And hence may be possible not only a reconciliation between Science and Religion, but between different forms of Religion, at least between the enlightened professors of all religions. Moreover, we ought to acknowledge that Religion has done well in holding fast to this ultimate truth or ultimate Faith of an Unknown, while from time to time Science has done well in stripping away the errors with which it has been clogged.

"For its essentially valid belief, Religion has constantly done battle. Gross as were the disguises under which it first espoused this belief, and cherishing this belief though it still does, under disfiguring vestments, it has never ceased to maintain and defend it. It has everywhere established and propagated one or other modification of the doctrine that all things are manifestations of a power that transcends our knowledge. Though from age to age science has continually defeated it whenever they have come in collision, and has obliged it to relinquish one or more of its positions, it has still held the remaining ones with undiminished tenacity." p. 100.

And it is to be observed, that although the various forms in which Religion has clothed itself have been forms of imperfection, and have been erroneous in reference to absolute Truth, yet they have been relatively true—as true as the circumstances and attainments of humanity for the time being would permit.

"During each stage of evolution, men must think in such terms of thought as they possess. While all the conspicuous changes of which they can observe the origins have men and animals as antecedents, they are unable to think of antecedents in general under any other shapes; and hence creative agencies are of necessity conceived by them under those shapes. If during this phase,

[3] "First Principles." By Herbert Spencer, Author of "Social Statics," "The Principles of Psychology," &c. &c. London: Williams and Norgate. 1862.

these concrete conceptions were taken from them, and the attempt made to give them comparatively abstract conceptions, the result would be to leave their minds with none at all; since the substituted ones could not be mentally represented."

This is equally philosophical and humane, while the doctrine of Mr. Mansel, that it is "our *duty*" to think and believe of God thus or thus, is neither the one nor the other; and if conservative of a now existing creed, would have been equally conservative of the most barbarous conceptions which the most savage and degraded races have formed of their deities, transferring to them the grossest attributes of their own personality. When we regard religious beliefs in their different stages of purification as necessary elements in the progressive evolution of humanity, and as being themselves an issue of life from the Great Fountain of it, they become entitled not only to our toleration in the ordinary sense of the word, which is more allied to a cynical conceit than to a large charity, but to a reverence and true sympathy. Yet not so as that one who thinks he knows better should remain passive in the presence of predominating errors and superstitions; for it is only by giving free play both to the conservative and progressive tendencies that religious ideas can adapt themselves to the movement of general intelligence. On the duty of those who are, or think they are in advance of their average contemporaries, we must extract a noble passage:—

"Whoever hesitates to utter that which he thinks the highest truth lest it should be too much in advance of the time, may reassure himself by looking at his acts from an impersonal point of view. Let him duly realize the fact that opinion is the agency through which character adapts external arrangements to itself—that his opinion rightly forms part of this agency—is an unit of force, constituting with other such units, the general power which works out social changes; and he will perceive that he may properly give full utterance to his innermost conviction: leaving it to produce what effect it may. It is not for nothing that he has in him these sympathies for some principles and repugnance to others. He, with all his capacities, and aspirations, and beliefs, is not an accident, but a product of the time. He must remember that while he is a descendant of the past, he is a parent of the future; and that his thoughts are as children born to him, which he may not carelessly let die. . . . . Not as adventitious therefore will the wise man regard the faith which is in him. The highest truth he sees he will fearlessly utter; knowing that, let what may come of it, he is thus playing his right part in this world—knowing that if he can effect the change he aims at—well: if not, well also; though not *so* well."—(p. 123.)

The second part commences with a statement of the position in which all cultivated intellects now stand towards a belief in the universality of Law. The stages of growth are traced through which this belief has passed; phenomena occurring in uniform relations impress upon us the idea of Law, according to the directness with which they affect ourselves; according to their conspicuousness; according to their frequency, absolute or relative; according to their simplicity, as distinguished from complexity; according to their concreteness, as distinguished from abstractness. And there has spread and is spreading a conviction of the manifestation of law in all phenomena, even where it

is not as yet ascertainable; a conviction which distinguishes modern thought from ancient thought, and which from having been till recently the belief of scientific persons only, is becoming diffused throughout the world at large. And while extended observation is rendering more and more clear that specific classes of phenomena are subject to their proper laws, a presumption is gaining ground that these groups of laws themselves instance and elucidate the operation of wider and even universal laws. The "Law of Evolution" is set forth by Mr. Spencer, and illustrated in several chapters, as possessing this characteristic of universality. It is seen to prevail in vegetable and animal organisms, and to solve in all probability the astronomical and geological problems of the genesis of our globe in its present state and of our solar system. It is also exemplified in the growth of social and political organizations. Evolution implies a transition from the homogeneous to the heterogeneous: it consists in a continued differentiation and specification of parts, a process which is observable in all evolutions which can fall under our cognizance. But the process of evolution cannot go on *ad infinitum*, because the integrations and specifications of parts in which it consists reach a limit which their conditions do not enable them to pass, and another law comes into operation—that of dissolution. Under these opposite tendencies or processes all changes may be classed. In the case of material changes these processes consist of motions due to force. Matter itself, as is now well understood, is indestructible, and its total quantity unaffected by the motions or changes in its forms. And there is equal reason to suppose that the total force in the universe remains ever the same, although it be now latent, now active: so that ultimately all material phenomena are deducible from the Persistence of Force and the Indestructibility of Matter. Mr. Spencer expressly allows that even if these be the ultimate principles, which will hereafter be found to be postulated in all science, such conclusion is very far as yet from being established in its present fragmentary condition: and that the combined efforts of many will be needed—for how long we know not—before science can be brought to any logical coherence. Finally, Mr. Spencer is aware that by some readers his solutions, in which the terms Matter and Force play so important a part, are essentially materialistic. But after all that can be attempted, the utmost to be attained is to systematize our experience; and the terms which he employs are intended, he says, to denote the widest generalizations to which that experience may conduct, without implying any doctrine as to the Unknown which lies beyond all possible experience—are to be taken as names of manifestations, or as symbols of unseen powers.

Indeed, Matter and Spirit are themselves names of classifications of phenomena, rather than names of substances; according to most opposite views, and even when conceived of as substances, they are allowed to be so intimately connected that both Thought affects Matter and produces Motion, and Matter and Motion affect and produce Thought; but in a purely inductive inquiry it would be unsuitable to assume either the materialistic or the spiritualistic hypothesis. "Moreover, it will be seen," says Mr. Spencer in conclusion, "that though the rela-

tion of subject and object renders necessary to us these conceptions of Spirit and Matter, the one is no less than the other to be regarded as but a sign of the Unknown Reality, which underlies both."—(p. 503.)

Schleiermacher delivered Lectures on Psychology in the University of Berlin, in the years 1818, 1822, 1830, and 1833-4.[4] Of these Lectures there existed manuscript notes by Schleiermacher himself, and others by his pupils Jonas, Schubring, Erbkam, and the editor of the present work. From these materials a connected treatise has been compiled by L. George, who has also added in an Appendix three of the most perfect of his manuscript authorities. In these Lectures Schleiermacher put aside the controversy between materialism and spiritualism, as well as all discussions which properly belong to physiology. He falls back upon the Greek doctrine of *psyche* as a living function in an organism, and thence seeks the *differentia* of the human soul which distinguishes it from the animating principle as manifested in plants and the lower animals. He finds this *differentia* in the consciousness of personal identity (das Ich-setzen); the evidence of this consciousness is given in all forms of speech in which the subject thinker is distinguished from the object of thought (das Ich-sagen): hence it is seen to be developed soon after, though not at once, when children commence to speak: various faculties, modified according to sex, age, and condition of individuals, gather about this consciousness, falling however into the two great divisions of the receptive and active faculties. When the human identity is regarded objectively, it is only by way of logical distinction, or for the purpose of scientific analysis, that the Soul is conceived of as separate from the organism in which it dwells—or that man is divided into Soul and Body as if they were parts. But under the influence of the religious sentiment, originating in a feeling of awe in the presence of the Infinite, and of satisfaction in the beauty of the external universe, the consciousness looks out of the particular corporeal organism in which it dwells, and connects itself with the distant and endless—severs itself, as it were, from its proper body, and thinks itself as pure spirit. Throughout the treatise the preponderating subjectivity in Schleiermacher manifests itself both in method and in doctrine; and if it does not add much to our knowledge of his systems of philosophy and religion, as shown in his other works, fully coheres with and illustrates them.

Heinrich Lang, the editor of the "Zeitstimmen" which have promoted so effectually the cause of liberal theology in German Switzerland, issues the first volume of a series of biographies very brilliant and masterly.[5] St. Paul, Zwingli, Lessing, and Schleiermacher, are here brought together. The character of the Apostle is elicited from his undoubted Epistles to the Romans, Corinthians, and Galatians, rather than his life described from the apocryphal statements in the Acts.

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[4] "Psychologie aus Friedrich Schleiermacher's handschriftlichem Nachlasse und nachgeschriebenen Vorlesungen herausgegeben." Von L. George. London: D. Nutt. 1862.

[5] "Religiöse Charactere." Dargestellt von Heinrich Lang. Erster Band. London: D. Nutt. 1862.

St. Paul, indeed, like the other great ones among mankind, passes before us as a mighty shadow. There is no doubt of the immense influence which he has exercised on the human heart and mind for ages; but we cannot fill up the lineaments of the man himself, or supply with any certitude a historical background to his figure. And this disappointment is the greater in the case of the Apostle, because he stands so close to the Master Himself, yet without touching. To Zwingli no more than due honour is done—his scene of action was narrower than Luther's, and his time was shorter; but he possessed at least equal courage, and his mind was more logical and better balanced. Had he lived, or even worked on a larger field, the later course of Protestant Theology might have been anticipated by some generations. To Lessing it was due that the old Lutheranism and the parsondom belonging to it was shattered for ever; and to Schleiermacher, both to advance the critical cause and to show the possibility of the coexistence of a deep religious instinct with an abandonment of the old dogmatism. At least he reversed the order in which objective theology and subjective religion stood to each other. For the old theologians, both Lutheran and Romanist, maintained, and still maintain, that the credenda stand first in order, and second the effect upon the heart; Schleiermacher, that from the witness of the religious sentiment within, is to be inferred all which it concerns us to regard as truth of the relations between God and man.

A measure of the disappointment and disgust of the "Evangelical" party at the recent decisions of Dr. Lushington, may be taken from Dr. M'Caul's observations on Mr. Fitzjames Stephen's speech.[6] Practically the judge himself has answered Dr. M'Caul, and the present publication is chiefly valuable as showing to what very different conclusions the City Rector and his friends would have come if they had been sitting in the judgment-seat. Dr. Williams and Mr. Wilson may well be thankful, with all the inconveniences of such a tribunal as that of the Court of Arches, and notwithstanding the many irrelevancies and inconsistencies which can be pointed out in the Judgment itself, that the principles of English administration of justice have stood them in good stead, that they have fared infinitely better, and have won infinitely more for the liberty of their Church, than could possibly have been hoped for from a tyrannical majority in such a body as Convocation. As one branch of his argument in defence of Dr. Williams, on one portion only of his subject, namely, of the Inspiration and authority of Scripture, Mr. Stephen had alleged in evidence of *user* of the liberty which he claimed for his client passages from numerous esteemed divines of the Church of England, in which they recognise the human and fallible element in Scripture. Dr. M'Caul thinks to invalidate this argument by bringing forward quotations from other

[6] "Testimonies to the Divine Authority and Inspiration of the Holy Scriptures, as taught by the Church of England. In Reply to the Statements of Mr. James Fitzjames Stephen." By the Rev. Alexander M'Caul, D.D., Rector of St. Magnus, St. Margaret, and St. Michael, Prebendary of S. Paul's, and Proctor for the Clergy of the Diocese of London in the Convocation of the Province of Canterbury. London: Rivingtons. 1862.

and even the same divines in which the doctrine of infallible inspiration appears to be laid down; as if Anglican divines did not contradict themselves as well as Greek and Latin fathers, and as if it was not legitimate for the purpose of counsel to avail himself of that side of the contradiction or inconsistency which would exemplify the liberty for which he was contending—as if it was necessary, in order to establish a right of way, to show that the whole neighbourhood uses it and never uses any other. But the Dean of the Arches,[7] almost as if he had had Dr. M'Caul's book before him, disposed beforehand of this fallacious plea of authority—which he held was of no avail to the prosecution, though it was legitimately available for the defence. Referring to the Judgment of the Privy Council in the Gorham case, in which the same principle had been laid down, he said:—

"Appeal to precedents, or to the opinions declared by eminent theologians, is permissible only by way of self-defence to the person accused. Such opinions, to use the words of the Judicial Committee, are not to be relied upon as 'evidence of the doctrine of the Church of England,' but as evidence only that liberty of opinion on the subject to which they relate has been without censure exercised by the members of the Church of England. . . . . I am therefore relieved from the consideration of all the opinions of the eminent theologians which were quoted to the Court on behalf of the prosecution."

Dr. M'Caul's "catena" therefore of the opinions of English divines is simply irrelevant, and if it could have been put forward in Court in reply to Mr. Stephen, it would have been entirely disregarded by the judge. The judge of the ecclesiastical court has, in the first place, decided generally against the admissibility at all of such authorities adversely to a defendant; against the attempt which Dr. M'Caul would have made, if he could have been heard as an advocate for the prosecution—to turn the floating opinion of various Church divines into definite doctrines binding on the clergy, and to subject the open wording of the Thirty-nine Articles to be limited by the theories of particular authors: in the second place, he has decided specially in favour of liberty to the clergyman on the very point where Dr. M'Caul and his authorities would have carefully closed it, namely, on the point of the infallibility of Scripture in all its parts. However he may have entangled himself, even while protesting that he should do no such thing, in a theory of inspiration, the Dean of the Arches, in his application of his definitions to the *product* of the Scripture, has fully conceded all which the defendants have demanded.

"He then," says Dr. M'Caul, "who disbelieves the first eleven chapters of Genesis as mythical and unhistoric, or who denies that God commanded Abraham to offer up his son Isaac, or who rejects the miracles recorded in Scripture as impossible, or who denies that all Scripture is given by inspiration, or who regards the Book of Daniel as a forgery, and the Book of Jonah as a legend, or who asserts that the interpretations of the prophecies given by Christ and His Apostles are erroneous, or who contradicts the New Testament as to the

[7] "Judgment delivered on the 25th of June, 1862, in the case of the Bishop of Salisbury *versus* Williams, and in the case of Fendall *versus* Wilson." By the Right Honourable Stephen Lushington, D.C.L., Dean of the Arches. London: Butterworth. 1862.

authorship of particular portions, as of the latter portion of Isaiah, cannot say, 'I unfeignedly believe all the Canonical Scriptures.'"—(p. 76.)

The Court, on the contrary, has determined "that the generality of this expression, 'I do believe,' must be modified with reference to the subject matter," because the Scriptures "embrace almost every possible variety of subject, parts being all-important to the salvation of mankind, and parts being historical and of a less sacred character, certainly not without some element of allegory and figure."—(pp. 14, 15.) Dr. Lushington thinks "that it is open to the clergy to maintain that *any* book in the Bible is the work of another author than him whose name it bears" (p. 16), and particularly that the Book of Daniel was not written by Daniel (p. 23), or the Epistle to the Hebrews by St. Paul (p. 25), or the second of Peter by St. Peter (pp. 25, 43); then he thinks (whatever may have been his opinion as to the danger of the liberty so claimed) "that the clergy are at liberty to reject parts of Scripture upon their own opinion, that the narrative is inherently incredible, to disregard precepts in Holy Writ because they think them evidently wrong." (p. 19.) He has laid down that "a general averment that the statements of Holy Scripture as to historical facts may be read and understood in a wholly figurative sense, cannot be deemed a violation of the declaration of belief in the truths of Scripture." "It is a denial of the truth of ordinary, or what may be called orthodox interpretation, but not of the truth of the writing itself." (p. 26.) Notably, the one defendant is acquitted of any offence against the clerical obligations in interpreting the command of God to Abraham to slay his son of the traditional influence of the fierce Syrian ritual; and the other in maintaining that the story of the Serpent, the taking up of Elijah into heaven, and the miraculous particulars of many events are "parable, poetry, or legend." Equally refuted by the decision of the Judge is Dr. M'Caul's statement of the obligation of a Church of England clergyman as to the interpretation of prophecy. He (Dr. M'Caul) argues:—

"The twentieth Article limits interpretation still more by declaring that 'it is not lawful so to expound one place of Scripture that it be repugnant to another.' This binds the minister of the Church of England in his interpretations to have regard to all Scripture, and not to make any portion of it of private interpretation. For him it is not lawful to interpret the 110th Psalm of David or Solomon, for that would be repugnant to Matt. xxii. 43, where Christ interprets it of himself. Neither is he at liberty to expound Isaiah liii. of the Jewish people, or of the prophets, or of Jeremiah, for our Lord appropriates it, Luke xxii. 37, to himself."—(p. 79.)

Of course Dr. M'Caul, with his prejudices in favour of the ordinary Messianic interpretations of the Prophets and Psalms, is not capable of seeing that the principle of *consistent interpretation* laid down in Art. XX. is equally adhered to whether the passage in the New Testament is interpreted so as to accord with the ascertained meaning of the Psalm or Prophecy, or the passage in the Old Testament made to follow the usual interpretation of the New. And thus Bunsen, Ewald, and Dr. Williams recognise an *unison* between the Prophecies and the Gospels, although where Dr. M'Caul sees a literal accomplishment of

secular prediction they observe an analogy, adaptation, or accommodation; according to the now famous dictum of Professor Hey, that ἵνα πληρωθῇ —"that it might be fulfilled"—is equivalent to the French "*apropos.*" So Dr. Lushington determines, and his determinations in favour of large openings for liberty are not the less valuable from the reluctance and ungraciousness with which he has accorded them:—

"The doctrine usually maintained is that the prophecies are beyond doubt Messianic; not that every prophecy is Messianic, not that there are not particular portions of doubtful application, with respect to which criticism may be justly used; but the doctrine is that there is ample and incontestable proof that an adequate portion of the prophecies are Messianic; that the great events of our Lord appearing on earth, and many of the other facts connected with the appearance, are foretold by the prophets through the aid of the Holy Spirit. Such is the doctrine recognised; and it is furthermore esteemed to be one of the fundamental proofs of the truth of the faith of the Church. But this is not the question which the law directs me to consider. . . . For these reasons, though I think Dr. Williams's opinion militates against one of the most important doctrines held by the most venerated divines of the Church, I cannot come to the conclusion that the Articles of Religion or the Liturgy have in this respect been violated."—(p. 22.)

If indeed Dr. M'Caul could have been heard in Court for the prosecution, he would have argued for still greater restraints on the liberty of the clergyman, by means of inferences drawn from the *devotional* forms of the Church. "Still further limitations," he says, "are imposed by the prayers contained in our Common Prayer Book." (p. 79.) Dr. M'Caul does not give any instances of these limitations, but the attempt to impose them would undoubtedly have failed before the judge who quoted, as an authority he was bound to follow, the words of the Privy Council in the Gorham case, that "it is not to be concluded that the Church meant to establish indirectly as a doctrine that which it did not establish as such by the Articles of Faith," and who said, "a Court having to try a charge of false doctrine based upon the Liturgy, must exercise the greatest vigilance to see that the part of the Liturgy quoted is of a strictly dogmatical character, and does not consist of merely devotional expressions." (p. 11.) Consistently with this, the only portion of the Liturgy on which Dr. Lushington founded any part of his judgment adverse to either of the defendants was the Athanasian Creed, as being not of a devotional but a dogmatic character.

On the whole it is very clear that Mr. Fitzjames Stephen and his clients understood their cases much better than Dr. M'Caul would give them credit for; and it is not now in his power, nor in the power of the whole bench of bishops, backed by a headlong majority in Convocation and a headless clergy, to deprive a thinking minority of their brethren of that "liberty of prophesying" which they have extorted from justice. The liberty of discussing the value and truth of the several parts of Scripture which has already been established in the recent trials, cannot now be lost to the Church of England, even if, on the points still remaining for further argument, the defendants should be entangled in some of Dr. Lushington's deductions from

the Thirty-nine Articles. The settlement, however, of the question, not of liberty but of truth, that is, whether the Essayists are right or not about the Bible, will be tried before a more open tribunal. The laity, to whom Dr. M'Caul appeals with an admirable unconsciousness of what is in store for him and his party, are good judges of evidence; and when it is fairly and plainly set before them to judge of the evidence for the marvellous stories which are told in the Bible, the verdict will be very different from that which he anticipates. The clergy are not, as it now appears, forbidden to put these things plainly before the laity, who will be able to judge of them, when directly stated, with nothing else besides their English Bibles in their hands. When the portentous narratives to be met with, especially in the Old Testament, are seen to be unsupported by *evidence*, the doctrinal inferences dishonouring to Almighty God which have been drawn from them will fall of themselves, but without withdrawing the least support from true religion. And this will be for England its second Reformation, when its Protestantism shall be effectually liberated from the bondage of the letter of the Bible.

The circumstances under which the selections from the "Stunden der Andacht" have been translated, and are now permitted to come before the public, will engage for them the widest perusal and the deepest possible interest. They were "selected for translation by one to whom, in deep and overwhelming sorrow, they have proved a source of comfort and edification." And no more touching evidence could have been given of the full confidence and unreserved affection which unites an exalted mourner with the people at large than the permission so graciously granted by Her Majesty "to publish these selections, originally printed for private circulation only." Sorrow is frequently more selfish and niggardly than joy. We are tempted to conceal from others the depths of our own woe, for no others, as we think, can appreciate the value of the treasure we have lost. We cannot communicate to others the sources of our faith and hope, for they lie deep in that memory of the feelings, which has no lip language, and springs from innumerable evidences of the inner life of the departed one, intelligible to us, but untranslateable into the world's dialect. Heart sorrows, moreover, are great levellers of worldly inequalities, and therefore any who set store on earthly distinctions for their own sake, resent sympathy, and are unwilling that the eyes of men fashioned of a baser clay should behold how in such struggles none have any immunities nor any special sources of comfort. But they who rightly estimate the worldly differences, who are of one family, or are as one family, have no concealments and attempt none: they know they shall not be misunderstood, though they should be seen to be subject to the same infirmities as the rest—least of all when they yearn to impart to other sufferers the knowledge of some balm which they have found in their distress. These pages

[8] "Meditations on Death and Eternity." Translated from the German by Frederica Rowan. Published by Her Majesty's Gracious Permission. London: Trübner and Co. 1862.

will be blistered with many tears drawn forth by their own pathos and by the remembrance of what other tears have fallen upon them; the purpose of their publication will be answered if they aid any bereaved ones to submit humbly to the withdrawal of their best blessings by the Allwise Disposer, and to gird themselves up, when the days of mourning shall be ended, for that which yet remains of their own work here below.

We shall not set the example of raising any controversy upon the contents of a volume so sacred in its origin as this: yet it will prove a heartfelt satisfaction to many thoughtful and religious persons, that the consolations here suggested under the severest trials of humanity are not derived from priestly absolutions, or from the mysterious influence of sacraments; not from delusive assurances of conversion and election; not from the possession of an objective orthodox faith; not from the consciousness of the imputation of vicarious merit: but from the conviction, at once practical and devout, at once chastening and encouraging, that here we are standing in the vestibule of an eternal life, and that from this world into the next men's "works do follow them," for good and for ill: they do follow them, mercifully and beneficently in all cases, for so we must think when we humbly reflect on our errors and shortcomings; richly and faithfully we do not doubt, when we remember those who have been sincere and devoted worshippers and servants of the Almighty Father. Their works do follow them *there*. "For in this world we are but put to school to learn our duty and our lessons; we are but as young plants planted in a nursery, until we come to a convenient size and fitness to be removed, and then we shall be transplanted into another and a higher sphere; we are but as the seeds ripening upon their trees or stalks until they be fully digested and ripe, and then as the seeds drop into the earth and become the seminary of a new plantation, so by death we drop into eternity, and become the children of the Resurrection." (Sir Matthew Hale, Divine Origination of Mankind.) And they follow them *here*: "All these were honoured in their generations, and were the glory of their times. There be of them that have left a name behind them, that their praises might be reported. . . . With their seed shall continually remain a good inheritance, and their children are within the covenant. Their seed standeth fast, and their children for their sakes. Their seed shall remain for ever, and their glory shall not be blotted out. Their bodies are buried in peace, but their name liveth for evermore. The people will tell of their wisdom, and the congregation will show forth their praise." (Ecclus. xliv. 7—15.)

POLITICS, SOCIOLOGY, AND TRAVELS.

MR. RUSKIN, in his preface to "Unto this Last,"[1] has given a fresh instance of that exaggerated affection we are all apt to bestow upon our weakest and most helpless offspring. The attention he again claims for the papers he published in the "Cornhill Magazine," will result in a fresh estimate of his powers, and a more correct verdict on his pretensions to the character of a public teacher, which he so unhesitatingly puts forth. His unquestionable love of nature, and his equally unquestionable power of expression, if, indeed, *copia verborum* be not the juster epithet, gave to his writings on painting and the fine arts a popularity which nothing but the general absence of settled principles of taste in the public mind could have rendered possible. When he had nothing but a vague way of thinking, and a set of artificial judgments to contend with, he could display his swashing blow with effect, and his own incoherences passed muster among those of his adversaries, because they were associated with so much that was fresh, original, and strongly felt. In the absence of science his rhetoric prevailed over the arbitrary dicta of schools of criticism from which any animating principle had long since departed. The public, weary of a worship which was carried on in a language almost unintelligible to them, gave a ready ear to the destroyer of idols they had ceased to reverence. Pre-Raffaelitism was welcomed as a fresh start on a road where all had confessedly lost their way; the stumblings and uncertain gait of the new school were excused on account of the resolute effort made to walk without supports. The necessity of a fresh return to Nature in Art was as evident as the absence of definite purpose in those who had resolved to adopt that course. Their practices were accepted with patience, in the hope that from the originality of the experiment principles of true art would ultimately be evolved. That Mr. Ruskin cleared the ground for these experiments, and rendered more easy the first steps of those who were endeavouring to form a new school of taste, is abundantly acknowledged; but only the absence of any well-grounded principles could have made such a success possible, or justified the reputation which he has reaped from his polemics. A reputation, however, which was acquired in a combat with shadows, cannot be expected to maintain itself when its possessor is so far deluded by it as to enter on a similar conflict with the more substantial realities of an established science.

The attack made by Mr. Ruskin on the principles of political economy at once displays not only the weaknesses of his intellect and the utterly unscientific turn of his mind, but also a want of power in seizing upon the real questions at issue between him and his opponents, that is something marvellous in itself. A rigorously inductive body of doctrine is not to be destroyed and scattered to the four winds of heaven by the

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[1] "Unto this Last." Four Essays on the Principles of Political Economy. By J. Ruskin. London: Smith, Elder, and Co. 1862.

most energetic declaimer, even though he patch his motley with apocalyptic spangles. Accustomed to contend only with popular notions, he thinks it sufficient if he attacks equally vulgar conclusions drawn from a misunderstood science. He is so far from having taken the trouble to understand the real doctrines of his adversaries, and is so utterly ignorant of the scope and limitations of their science, that we are sure his rhapsodies are read simply in deference to his name alone; we have no doubt about the fate which would have attended these letters had they been signed Smith or Jones. In the confused *mêlée* of his former conflicts, loud shouting and confident assertion had stood him in such good stead that his first concern is to bring an equal confusion into the fresh subject he has taken in hand. When he defines wealth as life, and political economy as the science of consumption, he at once shows that he has no concern with those he chooses to call his adversaries, and that no true issue can be joined where such misconceptions are paraded as discoveries shamefully neglected by economists. Political economy and common sense alike agree to call commodities wealth, and economists profess only to investigate the laws which have regulated and do regulate their production. Economists have no direct concern with what ought to regulate either consumption or production. They are as well aware as Mr. Ruskin that the second great commandment is as little regarded by mankind as when it was first spoken; ethical inquiries form no part of their science, except in that important sense in which economists show the only ground on which ethical progress can be hoped for. It is quite useless and beside the mark to indulge in rhetorical descriptions of the high majesty of man's moral nature, or to expatiate on his lofty prerogatives and spiritual possibilities; these things are only attainable when lower requisitions have been complied with. Our animal wants must be supplied before our peculiarly human ones can make themselves regarded; the stomach will always take precedence of the head and heart; our material existence must be first secured before our spiritual needs can be felt, much less attended to. Mr. Ruskin ought to be the last to forget that even our sense of the highest natural beauties is incompatible with a situation of peril in which they may offer themselves to our notice. Political economy is the science of the laws of the production of the material bases alone of our existence; whenever these laws involve any determinate relation between man and man, they cease to be purely economical ones, and are determined by conditions with which political economy, as such, has no concern, and to which its conclusions are as subject as men themselves. In such cases, the science is merely declaratory, and publishes its doctrines subject to those well-known conditions. Its duty is discharged when these relations are fully pointed out, and indeed, the full insight into whatever is to be deplored in them is due exclusively to the investigations of economists.

It may be questioned whether Mr. Ruskin's extension of the sphere of political economy to include politics, education, and police, be the result of ignorance or wilful misrepresentation, but as a quibble of the kind would alone make room for the remarks he had to deliver, it is of little importance to trace it to its origin. The whole argument of his

book rests upon the fallacy that the State should constitute itself into a temporal Providence watching over and controlling all its members. However Mr. Ruskin may disclaim socialist tendencies, this assumption is of the very essence of those theories on which he verbally turns his back, only to reproduce them in a dress of his own. The principle of competition which is the *bête noire* of all enthusiastic reformers, is simply the salt of the earth; by it only are men educated to the height of their powers, and their wants supplied with a delicacy of adjustment unattainable by any human intellect without its aid. The whole creation is but a harmony of conflicting claims, and every step onwards is but a new compromise. It is useless to complain of the shallow presumption with which Mr. Ruskin accuses men like Ricardo and Mill of having misunderstood the scope and tendency of their doctrines. This is sufficiently shown by the very title of his book. Does he forget who it was who said, "I will give *unto this last* even as unto you?" The levity which feels itself not out of place in adopting the words of the Master of the Vineyard is not likely to be reached by any remarks of ours. Our ultimate rewards and punishments will no doubt be as little in accordance with the judgment passed on us by our fellows, as the penny given to the labourer of the eleventh hour appeared to his brother husbandmen.

But there is another order of considerations which we would strongly recommend to Mr. Ruskin. Does he not think that the same Master still has his eye upon his labourers, and that he as much educates them by the hard consequences of their own conduct, as rewards them when deserving. If he thinks a milder discipline would have been more benevolent, his next controversy will be the natural outcome of his constitutional irreverence.

In a short essay in which he endeavours to define the notion of value,[2] M. Paul Jacovenco proposes a fresh designation for the science of which it forms the central idea. It is by no means probable that timinomy will displace political economy as a name for the science of the production of wealth; but since Bastiat's famous definition of value as *un rapport de deux services echangés*, most of the disquisitions on the principles of political economy have turned upon the definition of value. It is impossible to exaggerate the importance of the subject, or to ignore the cardinal character of such investigations. A mere enumeration of the various ways in which the term value is qualified by economists, shows how greatly it stands in need of adequate definition. Such expressions as value in exchange, exchangeable value, social value, natural value, relative value, current value, arbitrary value, recognised value, reciprocal value, proper value, intrinsic value, real value, money value, primary value, absolute value, comparative value, disposable value, nominal value, and integral value, all of which may be found in the works of J. B. Say, show at once how greatly the term itself stands in need of some central idea which shall give it fixity and definiteness. M. Jacovenco lays it down that there is no

[2] "Fragments de Timinomie." Τιμη, *value;* Νομος, *law.* Par Paul Jacovenco. Paris: B. Duprat. London: Williams and Norgate. 1862.

such thing as absolute value, but that it consists of the idea which every man forms of any object in the double relation in which it stands to his desires and to the obstacles he must surmount in satisfying them; that the strength of the desire multiplied by the magnitude of the obstacle gives an exact estimate in each case of the value of the desired object. He sets forth the following formula as meeting every possible case. If the desire be D and the obstacle O, then D × O = V value. Thus:—

0 D × 0 O = 0 V.
0 D × 1 O = 0 V.
0 D × 2 O = 0 V.
1 D × 0 O = 0 V.
2 D × 0 O = 0 V.
1 D × 1 O = 1 V.
1 D × 2 O = 2 V.
2 D × 1 O = 2 V.
2 D × 2 O = 4 V.

This scale displaying the elements of value, may perhaps be disputed in its arithmetical exactness, but it is certainly serviceable, as drawing attention to the real constituents of the notion, and valuable in its clear recognition of the personal character of the notion itself. We have not space to criticise the somewhat metaphysical *entourage* with which the author surrounds his theory, but can recommend his essay to the consideration of all political inquirers. Herr Wirth's Outlines of Political Economy[3] are far too little known in this country; there are few foreign manuals of the science which will so well repay an English reader's attention. We have only seen the first volume, but that is a masterpiece of arrangement and clear exposition, and shows a fulness of information that can hardly be equalled. In the form of a preface the author reviews the history of those political principles which have prevailed in every form of European society up to the present time, and adds a most acute appreciation of the characteristic doctrines of every celebrated economist. This part of his work would be most valuable if properly translated. We are not acquainted with any English treatise on the subject which approaches it in clearness of statement or general grasp of the subject.

The characteristic feature of the book itself is an endeavour to discharge one of the usually-received elements from the definition of value. All our English economists have assumed that land, labour, and capital are the necessary elements of production; in this assumption they have been followed by most Continental inquirers. The necessary acknowledgment made by them that one of these elements—land—was virtually a monopoly, when turned against them by Proudhon in his celebrated dictum, *la proprieté c'est le vol*, has been felt as a weakness on the Continent, and Herr Wirth, among others, endeavours to deny that land, or the inexhaustible powers of nature, are in any way instrumental to the production of value as distinguished

[3] "Grundzüge der National Œconomie." Von Max Wirth. Verfasser der Geschichte der Handels-krisen, &c. &c. Erster Band. Dritte Verbesserte Auflage. Köln: Dumont Schauberg. London: D. Nutt. 1861.

from utility. With this view he subjects Ricardo's theory of rent to the most searching criticism, and endeavours to show that there is no radical distinction between rent and the interest of capital. We cannot think that he succeeds in his object. It is impossible to contend against the theory of rent unless its terms are taken in an equivocal sense. When Ricardo speaks of the superior qualities of land as alone yielding rent, he includes in that superiority every advantage which they may possess, whether of accessibility or convenience of any other kind; its fruitfulness is but one element of superiority. The adversaries of the theory always argue as if it were the only one. But whether the theory be true or not, it cannot be denied that even where no rent at all is paid, the powers of nature inherent in the soil contribute to the production of values in a proportion much greater than the physical forces which support manufacturing occupations. And even if it be out of place to compare things equally indispensable, the fact that the quantity of accessible land is in every case limited and appropriated, puts it into a quite different category from other forces of Nature which are really inexhaustible. But however the exigencies of continental controversy may have led Herr Wirth to overstate this side of the question, his book not the less remains one of the clearest and most acute statements of the general doctrines of political economy which is anywhere to be found.

It was an unavoidable misfortune that all criticism of the conflict in America should at first be directed to its deplorable consequences rather than to the nature of the conflict itself. These consequences were flagrant, overwhelming, and touching our own interests so nearly, that a calm review of the causes which had brought them about was hardly at first to be expected. Every serious effort to understand the nature and purpose of the gigantic struggle brings with it new reasons for modifying most of those opinions which were hastily advocated by the popular organs of English opinion at its first outbreak. The daily press cannot aspire to do more than give expression to the prevailing opinions of the time; it spreads, but cannot, consistently with the very conditions of its existence, aspire to lead them. The symptoms of reaction in English opinion are now, as might be expected, becoming every day more decided, the time which has elapsed has allowed of study, the requisite information has been acquired, and before long, in spite of exasperated feeling, a more full measure of justice will be meted out to the North than it has yet received at English hands. The first indication of the reaction came from a quarter which authoritatively called upon all thinking men to pause before they joined in the popular outcry; and Mr. Mill's protest in *Fraser's Magazine*, coming as it did in the heat of our exasperation at the *Trent* affair, could not, in spite of its masterly clearance of all extraneous matters, at once produce its legitimate effect. But every succeeding day brings thinking men to his side, while the courage he then displayed encourages others to come forward with the results of their investigations. No subject more requires patient inquiry. The complaint of the Americans that the nature of their struggle with the South was not understood in England, though laughed at and

evaded, is found to be just and true. The first detailed attempt to master the elements of the subject has been made by Mr. Cairnes,[4] to whose scientific review of the History of Slavery in the States we have devoted a separate article, and therefore only allude to it here. With Mr. Cairnes may be associated the Count Agenor de Gasparin,[5] who takes up the political side of the question, and subjects the whole progress of events, both in America and Europe, since the first secession of the Southern States, to a detailed criticism of which they stood greatly in need. He meets the advocates of the South at every point. The pretension of the Southern party that their only object is to relieve themselves from Northern oppression, and to protect themselves from unconstitutional attack, he reduces to its true value by pointing out, what ought to be the notorious fact, that they have in every point adopted the very constitution from which they have seceded, that they have altered nothing, but simply added fresh and oppressive clauses on the subject of slavery. The simple fact that the only motive of secession was to secure an outlet for their system of agriculture in the south and west, is brought out by both these writers with a clearness of evidence that cuts at the very roots of the controversy. The unreasonable reply that the North is no more abolitionist than the South is shown to be only tenable by those who do not understand the immense importance of the resolution of the Republican party that slavery shall at least spread no farther. This resolution, if not immediately abolitionist, is as ultimately fatal to slavery as the most revolutionary interference with the established rights of property in America. The resolution of the Republican party to make a legal stand against that system with which America has been so long reproached by Europe, instead of awakening those sympathies which might justly have been expected, has been branded as a half measure, and a cordial recognition, which would have been of more value than an army, has been denied to a party who certainly had every reason to believe they could not fail to receive it. We are glad to see that Count Gasparin's work is about to be translated, and feel sure that it will have a great effect in aiding that change in English opinion which we look upon as inevitable. The advocates of friendly separation and European intervention to bring it about are singularly silent upon the terms they would propose, and the bases on which they imagine such a termination of the war possible. Europe could not for very shame intervene to give an extension to slavery in America, which the North has resolved shall no more be allowed to it; and is it supposed that the South would quietly submit to accept terms at the hands of Europe which they have taken up arms to resist, when merely declared desirable by their fellow-countrymen in the North? There is, however, from this very cause, very little real fear of intervention. Before any interference on the part of European governments is to be

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[4] "The Slave Power: its Character, Career, and Probable Designs;" being an Attempt to explain the real Issues involved in the American Contest. By J. E. Cairnes, M.A. London: Parker and Son. 1862.

[5] "L'Amerique devant l'Europe." Par Le Ch. Agenor de Gasparin. Paris: Levy, frères. London: D. Nutt. 1862.

practically dreaded, some formula must be arrived at in which it could be offered to the States. The principles on which Europe, even if it had the power, which may be questioned, could assume to settle the great question at stake, are still to seek; for such bald cynicism as would be implied in putting a stop to the quarrel without entering on its merits, would be too disgraceful to be avowed. If our only grounds of interference are a desire to escape from the disagreeable consequences which the continuance of the conflict entails upon ourselves, we should have no just cause of complaint if the antagonists were to conclude a truce for the purpose of resisting so purely selfish a proceeding. In fact, there is no possible ground of compromise; these the Americans themselves have long since exhausted. The principles at stake have now come face to face; they do not admit of mediation. The South have taken to the sword, and have but hastened the inevitable doom of that institution in whose defence they have drawn it.

The legal question of the right of the South to secede has been well argued by Mr. Rawlins,[6] in answer to Mr. Spence, its great advocate. The limits of Federal and State rights have been a subject of controversy in America from its first existence as a nation; but there is little difficulty in showing that the legality of secession would have been energetically repudiated by all the great men who framed the constitution, and still less that it is in flagrant disharmony with the constitution itself. Whatever may be said in favour of the inherent and inalienable right of revolt against any government which oppresses its subjects, every particular case must stand on its own merits. Revolt is not laudable, but becomes so by the purposes it sets before itself. These purposes, in the present revolt of the Southern States, are simply revolting to every humane mind, and threaten to throw back the civilization of the world by a system of government alike at variance with humanity and progress. The difficulty of any solution of the question by European intervention will be seen by the proposals brought forward in a work by Auguste Carlier,[7] in which, after detailing the impressions which a long stay in the United States has left upon his mind, he suggests terms of compromise which would be equally repelled by either of the contending parties.

The books we have just noticed are the best at present extant for the study of the American question, but those who wish also to see how it is debated in America itself, cannot do better than consult Mr. Trollope.[8] The account he gives of his six months' tour in the North is a complete reflex of Northern opinion to which, but not without some ineffectual struggles, the author is at last converted. Like everything that comes from his facile pen, these volumes are amusing, graphic, and intelligent. Not the least amusing feature in them is the author's evident discomfort in his casual intercourse with the people

[6] "American Disunion, Constitutional or Unconstitutional." By C. E. Rawlins. London: R. Hardwicke. 1862.

[7] "De l'Esclavage dans les Rapports avec l'Union Amerique." Par Auguste Carlier. Paris: Levy, frères. London: D. Nutt. 1862.

[8] "North America." By Anthony Trollope. London: Chapman and Hall. 1862.

he was visiting. Living as he has so long intellectually done in an atmosphere of country-houses and parsonages, he is constantly exclaiming against the absence of those complicated rules of social intercourse which have so long engaged his attention at home. Attached by taste and study to the varied colour of English society, he cannot reconcile himself to the simplicity of American relations, and constantly calls out when his English prejudices are roughly handled; but no sooner has he given expression to his wounded feelings, than a moment's reflection makes him acknowledge that, after all, he should not have been hurt. The book abounds in good stories and judicious remarks, but also in endless repetitions and insufferably long descriptions; indeed, its really valuable information, in which it is far from wanting, might have been well conveyed in at most a quarter of the space he devotes to it. This diffuseness would not be objectionable in any subject on which the reader was well informed; but in so vitally important a question as that debated between the North and South, nothing but the closest argument on its merits can satisfy the majority of those who are anxious to come to some definite opinion. The treatment, however clever, of the momentary and passing features only of the American conflict, must be unsatisfactory. The great impulse which has driven the North Americans to lay their hand on the danger which has so long threatened their republic, meets with but little recognition at Mr. Trollope's hands; *er sicht den wald vor lauter Baumen nicht*, and overlooks, or at least does not give the prominence it deserves, to the simple question at stake. The passions aroused in the conflict, and the manner in which it is carried on, obscure his vision of the greatness of the conflict itself. The effort of the North to draw a Popillian circle round the institutions of the South is one big with the moral life or death of the States, and nothing is so much to be deprecated as description of the noise and dust of a battle on the merits of which no judgment is pronounced. With this reservation, Mr. Trollope's description of American society is a valuable addition to our knowledge of its form and surface, and well deserves that attention which the author's abilities and reputation cannot fail to insure it.

If a pasquinade, made up of forced witticisms and contorted epigrams, restrained by none of the conventional decencies of political controversy, is to be accepted as a history of a political party, the volume just published by the author of "Crispen Ken,"[9] may be received as some account of modern Liberalism. The writer seems to think that if he can show divergencies of opinion among those who own the common denomination of Liberals, he must also succeed in displaying a disorganized and dishonest party. It is only resolute obstruction that can show an unchanged attitude and a complete coincidence between its advocates and their followers; but even this poor consistency cannot be claimed by the constitutional party, as the author newly christens his connexion, lest any better known deno-

[9] "The Present Position of the Liberal Party." By the Author of "Crispen Ken." London: Saunders, Otley, and Co. 1862.

mination should show them in too flagrant discord with the requisitions he makes of their opponents. There is a singular simplicity in reproaching the leaders of the Liberal party with want of courage and principle, because they do not drive rather than lead their followers. A political party is not organized on the principles of a forlorn hope. A Quixotism of that description may well be desired by their adversaries, but hardly called for with the ridiculous affectation of moral authority assumed by the author of this very unreadable book whose sole muses are those amiable ladies called envy, hatred, malice, and all uncharitableness..

To turn from this book to Sir Stafford Northcote's "Twenty Years of Financial Policy,"[10] is like leaving Billingsgate for Belgravia, and exchanging outrages on common decency for refined courtesy and gentlemanly consideration. In spite of the great intrinsic value of Sir Stafford's work, we cannot but think that the tone in which he carries on such parts of it as are controversial, is more admirable still. The financial history of the last twenty years is, of course, substantially a history of the income tax, and nowhere else can so clear an account be found of the change which has certainly come over the popular estimate of that much disputed source of national income. The enormous increase of expenditure which has marked the latter half of the period under his consideration, Sir Stafford traces to the influence exercised on men's minds by the Crimean war. That its effects have been detrimental no one will maintain, however they may have added to the national burthens. Nations, like men, increase with their increasing sphere, and few would now desire to return to the expenditure of 1842, at the price of such a national isolation as would alone render it possible. Books on finance are not generally engaging reading, but few will take up this volume without being tempted, by its masterly clearness and excellent arrangement, to pursue it to the end. The firm hand with which the author excludes all the variety of collateral topics, which would be so tempting to a less business-like mind, makes his volume of the greatest use to the political student, in whose hands it is likely long to maintain itself as an indispensable manual on all that relates to its subject matter.

There is no question of foreign politics on which Englishmen are less informed than on the nature and causes of the quarrel, in 1848, between Denmark and the Duchies of Schleswig Holstein. In itself no question can be simpler, but the progress of events in 1848 so complicated the original quarrel with all the conflicting tendencies of that agitated time, that it may be said to form an epitome of the politics of Eastern Europe. A great part of the indifference of the English public is to be attributed to the difficulty in arriving at any clear views on the subject, which has been introduced into the question by the partisan statements of those who were only collaterally interested in its real issues. This difficulty has now been removed by the publication of the memoranda of Prince Frederick of Schleswig Holstein

[10] "Twenty Years of Financial Policy." By Sir Stafford H. Northcote, Bart., M.P. for Stamford. London: Saunders, Otley, and Co. 1862.

Noer,[11] who took so important a part at the first outbreak of the war. It may be thought that a person so deeply interested in the dispute would be a very unfit witness on the causes of its origin; but this natural mistrust cannot for an instant maintain itself against the manly clearness and straightforwardness of the Prince's narrative. An epitome of the events which led to the armed resistance of the Duchies in 1848, has been drawn up by Messrs. Droysen and Samver,[12] and forms an excellent introduction to this history of the war and its consequences. To understand the nature of the dispute, it is necessary to go at least as far back as the death of Adolph VIII. in 1459; with him the direct succession to the Dukedoms of Schleswig and of Holstein became extinct, and the States of the two Duchies elected Christian I., King of Denmark, as his successor, stipulating for a separate government, and that the two Duchies should always be treated as one, that their union with Denmark should be a merely dynastic one, and should be restricted to the common allegiance to the person of the monarch, while in all details of administration they should be governed through the medium of their own States-General. In the year 1660, Denmark, which had up to that date been an elective monarchy, became, in consequence of the *coup d'état* of Frederick III., one of the most absolute in Europe. One of the first acts of this monarch was to alter the line of succession to his throne by introducing his cognatic descendants. This was protested against by those branches of the royal family whose hopes of succession in the direct male line were thus cut off. This ground of quarrel slumbered until the accession of the present King, when, from the absence of all hope of direct male heirs to his crown, it acquired a fresh importance. In the interval, however, the promulgation of the lex regia of Frederick III. had forced him and his descendants to govern the country by a bureaucratic system, which soon created in Denmark a class of nobles whose interests were in direct opposition with those of the nobility of Schleswig Holstein, where this system could not be introduced. Constant efforts were consequently made by Frederick III. and Christian VIII. to introduce both their system of government and the Danish female succession into the Duchy of Schleswig, and parts of Holstein, which were as constantly resisted on the ground of the old charter of their incorporation. The pretensions of the Augustenberg line to succeed to the Crown as the direct male descendants, made them the strenuous supporters of the special privileges of the Duchies. The prospect of the disruption of the kingdom at the death of the present King was of course highly displeasing to all patriotic Danes, who could not be expected calmly to look forward to the virtual extinction of their country as an European power, for without the Duchies Denmark could hardly aspire to rank as a European kingdom. The threatening tone of the Danish press induced the States-General of the Duchies to send

[11] "Aufzeichnungen des Prinzen Friedrich zu Schleswig Holstein Noer aus den jahren 1848 bis 1850." Zweite Auflage. Zurich: Meyer and Zeller. 1861.

[12] "The Policy of Denmark." From the German of MM. Droysen and Samver. London: Longman and Co. 1856.

a deputation to Copenhagen in March, 1848, protesting against the attitude assumed by the Government, and calling for the abrogation of several laws which had been passed in contravention of their privileges. The arrival of this deputation hastened the democratic outbreak by which the Government of Denmark was revolutionised on the 21st March, 1848. The news of this change at Copenhagen at once made it evident to the inhabitants of the Duchies, that nothing but an armed resistance would save them from the centralising tendencies of the new ministry. A Provisional Government was immediately formed at Kiel, and the next day the fortress of Rendsburg was taken by a *coup de main*. The Duchies were thus in full revolt, from the Danish point of view, while they themselves considered that their course was but a legitimate and conservative reaction against the illegal pretensions of the King's Government. Distinguishing between the King of Denmark and the Duke of Schleswig Holstein, they made war against the King in his own name, and appealed to the German Confederation to protect the rights of Holstein as one of its members. This immediately filled the Duchies with Prussian soldiers as executants of the Confederation. The Danish question thus became complicated with the German one, and the action of the Duchies became hampered by the varying policy of their overwhelming ally. Equally frustrated by the increasing democratic tendencies of their own Provisional Government in 1848, and by the vacillating policy of Prussia in subsequent years, the constitutional resistance of the Duchies was lost and sunk in the controversies of more powerful parties. The ultimate settlement by the Treaty of London in May, 1852, has virtually established all that was contended for by the constitutional party on the question of succession; the lex regia has been abolished in favour of the line of Sonderburg Gluksburg, while the line of Augustenburg, which alone took up arms for the Duchies, has been set aside by purchase in the person of its chief representative, and by exile in the person of Prince Frederick. The European question thus settled, and the Russian succession for the present excluded, the constitutional question is left still to divide the Duchies and the Danish kingdom, with but little hope that the Schleswig Holsteiners will reap the fruit of their patriotic exertions. So little progress has been made during the last ten years towards a more cordial feeling between the Duchies and the Danish Crown, that the question has been recently treated in Paris after a true Parisian fashion.[13] Invoking the principle of nationalities, the author of a pamphlet on the subject proposes the separation of the Duchies, and the union of all the Scandinavian nations under one Crown, as a desirable counterpoise to the advancing power of Russia, and the only solution of the Schleswig Holstein question. This solution is but an echo of the German Democratic opinions of 1848, and may be traced to the party of independent volunteers who joined in the war of 1848–50. Their views will be found in two small

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[13] "La Question Danoise au point de vue des Nationalités." Paris: Dentu. 1861.

pamphlets by Herr Karl Blind,[14] who personally participated in that struggle. The books we have just noticed are all more or less influenced by the opinions of the National German party. Those who wish to hear the other side, cannot do better than take up the calm and patient review of the whole question, by Mr. Gosch,[15] who brings up the series of events to the present day. He very justly observes, at p. 106:—"Scarcely any historical fact of importance is related in the same manner by Danish authors and by Germans. In very many cases, the contradiction is of such a description that the statement of one part necessarily excludes that of the other." His statement excludes the claim made by the Holstein party to an inseparable union with Schleswig, and by so doing, of course sets the whole struggle in a light as strongly repudiated by the Schleswig-Holstein party as it is warmly advocated by the Danes. Although the question has received a practical solution by the provisions of the Treaty of London, in which the new line of succession to the throne was established, it will, we think, be always a point in debate among historical inquirers. Mr. Gosch's book, however, will be found very valuable in the study of those relations with the German Confederation which were made so much closer by the domestic differences among the Danes, and which promise to be a thorn in the side of the Danish Government for some time to come. The author, though always clear, has, from a desire to leave no point untouched, somewhat overloaded his subject, while the disadvantage he labours under in writing in a language not his own, results in a claim upon his readers' attention that is sometimes excessive.

Dr. Howson's little work on deaconesses[16] is a very full and careful account of the ecclesiastical employment of women on the Continent, and a very ardent advocacy of a similar organization in England. The point most laboured by the author seems to us to be the only questionable one connected with the subject; the direct connexion with the clergy seems to us to offer none of the exclusive advantages contended for by him, but rather to draw down on the movement itself a kind of opposition which cannot but impair its progress. We are quite of his opinion as to the wisdom of the motto, *gagnez les femmes*, but we would much more willingly see them gained to the general interests of humanity than to a fresh and closer connexion with any ecclesiastical institution whatever.

We are glad to see a new edition of Miss Shirreff's Intellectual Education of Women.[17] We know of no book that can be so advan-

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[14] "An Outline of the State of Things in Schleswig-Holstein." By Karl Blind. London: Trübner and Co. 1861.

"Germany and the Schleswig-Holstein Question;" a Letter to Mr. McAdam, at Glasgow. By Karl Blind. London: Trübner and Co. 1862.

[15] "Denmark and Germany since 1815." By Charles A. Gosch. London: J. Murray. 1862.

[16] "Deaconesses, or the Official Help of Women in Parochial Work and in Charitable Institutions." By the Rev. J. S. Howson, D.D. London: Longman and Co. 1862.

[17] "Intellectual Education and its Influence on the Character and Happiness of Women." By Emily Shirreff. London: Smith, Elder, and Co. 1862.

tageously placed in the hands of one who is just entering on the duties of wife and mother. Its high aims and freedom from all exaggeration make it a most valuable guide. It is impossible anywhere to find truer conceptions of the present position of women in society, and of the causes which have contributed to make it in many cases so hopeless, or to indicate any means of alleviating much that is complained of by them that can be compared with the intellectual culture which the author advocates as the only panacea. The high ideal striven after in the precepts of this volume is so intimately associated with a practical insight into the means by which it may be arrived at, that it cannot be too warmly recommended to every one who is interested either in their own education or in that of others.

Dr. Ryan's "Essay on Infanticide"[18] is not very fruitful in suggesting means for its prevention. His review of the present state of the law in England, and of the history of the practice in past time, is the most valuable part of his volume. The legitimate result of the facts he brings before his readers is, that infanticide has always stood in an inverse relation to the general moral condition of the countries in which it has prevailed. This seems pretty obvious without inquiry, but the natural conclusion not drawn by the author is, that nothing but a general moral progress in any people is adequate to repress it, and that external palliatives like foundling hospitals, while they weaken the natural incitements to that progress, have also physical objections arising from the mortality of children committed to their charge which have justly discredited them. Infanticide, as a result of poverty, comes under the general head of bad social arrangements, while, as a result of shame endeavouring to escape from the consequences of a thoughtless indulgence of the passions, it can only be combated by better teaching, both of those who suffer and those who inflict the disgrace. It is a moral symptom of too complicated a disease to admit of any simple remedies such as are at the command of the State; calling, as it does, for more charity and more conscientiousness in individuals, it can be met only by a general progress in both, and perhaps the chief use of Dr. Ryan's book will arise from the strong appeal he makes to each.

There are few districts in England so well adapted to a pedestrian excursion as the Peak in Derbyshire; the natural beauty and variety of the scenery, with its strange caverns, wild moors, and interesting mansions and churches, are fully described in Mr. Croston's little volume,[19] which will be found a serviceable handbook for the tourist, in spite of a somewhat exaggerated tone and an abundance of jejune reflections, which, however, can be easily thumb-read.

Gamle Norge[20] is a very pleasing and clever account of a

[18] "Infanticide; its Law, Prevalence, Prevention, and History." By W. B. Ryan, M.D. London: J. Churchill. 1862.

[19] "On Foot through the Peak." By James Croston. London: Whittaker and Co. 1862.

[20] "Gamle Norge (old Norway), or our Holiday in Scandinavia." London: Hamilton, Adams, and Co. 1862.

summer ramble in Norway. The beauty of its lakes, sea inlets and elevated plateaux, seems to be attracting an annual stream of tourists to the country. This little volume is full of information which will smooth all the difficulties of travel in a country so little visited, at least, by ladies. There are, however, no obstacles which need dismay them so long as they keep to the main roads, and those which are met with in cross-country diversions from the public route are more than compensated by the wild beauty of the country. Rough lodging and simple fare do but enhance the pleasure which is sought from change of scene, while the simplicity of Norse manners gives a piquancy to the everyday events of a journey in Norway which is as bracing to the mind as the breezes of its healthy uplands are to the body of the tourist. This little volume has all the freshness of the country it describes, and may be warmly recommended to the larger circle of stay-at-home travellers.

SCIENCE.

AMONG those industrious botanical observers who have of late years sent us from Germany such important additions to our knowledge of the microscopic structure and physiology of plants, there is none who has gained for himself a higher reputation for the value of his researches than Dr. Hofmeister, who has especially devoted himself to the study of the reproductive function in Phanerogamia and the higher Cryptogamia.[1] He was among the first to assert the fallaciousness of Schleiden's account of the impregnation of the vegetable ovule by the implantation of a germ brought into it by the pollen-tube, and to assert that the germ really has its origin in a corpuscle which is previously distinguishable in the embryo-sac, and which only derives its developmental powers from the reception of some quickening influence conveyed to it by the pollen-tube,—a doctrine now established beyond all dispute. And no sooner had the discoveries of Suminski, in regard to the sexual operation which takes place in the *prothallium* of Ferns, encouraged the belief (previously resting only on the observed presence of antherozoids in mosses, liverworts, and characeæ) that a like sexual operation occurs in the Cryptogamia generally, than Dr. Hofmeister most perseveringly followed-out the clue thus given, and was able to demonstrate the existence of sexual reproduction in all those higher forms of Cryptogamic vegetation, to the study of which he judiciously limited himself. His treatise on that subject, published in 1851, contained also certain results of his study of the reproductive process in the Coniferæ, which were not only altogether novel but peculiarly interesting from the relation they tended to establish

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1 "On the Germination, Development, and Fructification of the Higher Cryptogamia, and on the Fructification of the Coniferæ." By Dr. Wilhelm Hofmeister. Translated by Frederick Currey, M.A., F.R.S., Sec. L.S. With 65 Plates engraved on stone. Published for the Ray Society. 8vo. London, 1862.

between the Coniferæ and the Lycopodiaceæ. Since that date Dr. Hofmeister has published several additional memoirs containing the results of his further investigations on the same subjects (besides continuing his inquiries on the fecundation and development of various families of the Phanerogamia); and, at the request of the Council of the Ray Society, Dr. Hofmeister has combined all these publications into one uniform whole, which essentially constitutes a new edition of his former treatise; and this (which is not at present published in Germany) has been translated and prepared for the press by Mr. F. Currey, who possesses the double advantage of being an excellent German scholar, and of being himself practically conversant with the subjects treated of by his author. It would be impossible for us, without going into details far too minute for our present purpose, to convey any idea of the elaborate descriptions which Dr. Hofmeister has given of the subjects of his studies, and of the multitude of explanatory figures which he has given in illustration of them. If we may hint a fault, it is that, alike in the text and in the illustrations, the cardinal facts (which alone are what the great bulk of readers will care about) are so overladen with a mass of *minutiæ*, that a good deal of time and discrimination are required to master them. We may state, as the general result of Dr. Hofmeister's later inquiries, that they fully confirm his original view of the intermediate position held by the *Coniferæ* and *Cycadeæ*, as regards the essential nature of their reproduction between the Vascular Cryptogamia on the one hand, and the ordinary Phanerogamia on the other; whilst they have given increased extent and precision to our knowledge of the reproductive and developmental processes in the cryptogamic series, from its culuminating forms down to the humble Mosses and Characeæ. And it is scarcely too much to say that the difference between the present state of our knowledge on this subject, and that of our ignorance regarding it no more than twenty years ago, can only be compared, as regards the Phanerogamia, with that which separates our present knowledge from the benighted ignorance which prevailed before the promulgation of the "sexual system" of Linnæus.

From M. Claparède of Geneva, one of the most industrious and skilful microscopic observers of our time, we have two additional works,[2] which show that notwithstanding the hindrances interposed by very infirm health, he continues to prosecute his admirable researches in the spirit of his great master Johannes Müller. The account given by Rathke of the development of the Scorpion, and the researches of Herold on that of the common Garden Spider, admirable as they were in their time, left much to be filled up; the requirements of modern embryological science being far greater than those which alone could be satis-

[2] "Recherches sur l'Evolution des Araignées; Memoire auquel la Société des Arts et des Sciences d'Utrecht a décerné une Médaille d'Or, dans la Séance Annuelle du Juin 25, 1861." Par M. Edouard Claparède. Avec huit Planches 4to. Utrecht, 1862.

"Recherches Anatomiques sur les Oligochètes." Par Edouard Claparède. Avec quatre Planches. 4to. Genève, 1862.

fied by the imperfect methods of investigation at the disposal of those who laid its foundation. With the view of meeting these requirements, M. Claparède commenced his researches on the species studied by Herold; but he soon found that in consequence of the opacity of its egg, he could not succeed in observing more than Herold had already described. After making many essays upon other species, he had the good fortune to find one at last—the *Pholcus opilimides*, common in stables, coach-houses, and cellars—in which the study of the development of the egg may be prosecuted with such facility that (as he quaintly expresses it), "elle n'estr elativement plus qu'un jeu." This study he prosecuted for three successive years, always with the same results; and these, of which some are not a little surprising, he has embodied in the memoir before us, together with evidence of the identity of the developmental process in other *Araneida*. This memoir, published in the original French by the Society of Arts and Sciences at Utrecht, with an abundance of beautiful illustrations, is one which no student of development can dispense with; since it now carries our knowledge of the evolution of the Araneida to a level as high as that which we possess in regard to any other members of the animal kingdom.

M. Claparède's second memoir relates to the structure and physiology of a most interesting group of aquatic Worms allied to the common earthworm; of which, although several forms had been previously studied by expert anatomists, very much yet remained to be known. Having simply desired in the first instance to repeat the admirable observations of M. d'Udekem on the *tubifex rivulorum*, he was led on to study other members of the group which present themselves in the streams around Geneva; and he was rewarded by the discovery of several types previously unknown, which have afforded materials for researches of great value towards the elucidation of questions by no means limited to the particular group to which these animals belong, but having reference to the general morphology of the Annelid type.

Another memoir rewarded by the Utrecht Society has reached us together with that which we have just noticed—one, namely, by Dr. Semper, on the embryonic development of a species of *Ampullaria*, a Pectinibranchiate Gasteropod.[3] We are far from finding in it, however, the information we had a right to expect in a memoir so distinguished; the author being apparently unaware of what has been previously made out upon the subject, and giving but a very meagre account of his own observations. It is not without points of interest; but cannot, like the memoir of M. Claparède on *Neritina fluviatilis*, take rank as an almost complete exposition of the developmental history of the species to which it relates.

Although the embryology of the Guinea-pig has been already studied by Bischoff, who gave ten years ago an exposition of his view of its history, yet such is the advance of the science of development that

[3] "Entwickelungsgeschichte der Ampullaria Polita (Deshayes) nebst Mittheilungen über die Entwickelungsgeschichte einiger andern Gastropoden aus den Tropen. Von Dr. Carl Semper." Eine von der Utrechter Gesellschaft für Kunst und Wissenschaft gekrönte Preisschrift. Mit Vier Tafeln. 4to. Utrect, 1862.

even Bischoff's descriptions now fail to satisfy its requirements. Many new questions have arisen; many old questions, which were supposed to have been laid at rest, have been revived; and as Professor Reichert has been among the foremost in the recent prosecution of this department of inquiry, we are very glad to receive from him a systematic exposition of *his* view of the developmental process in this familiar Mammal,[4] which affords peculiar facilities for the solution of the much-contested question.

The complete revolution which has been made by the researches of recent times in the views previously accepted in regard to the zoological and physiological relations of some of the commonest Entozoa by which Man is infested, and the additions to our knowledge of the history of others which have resulted from the extension of intelligent inquiry in that direction, are quite sufficient to justify the production of a new treatise on a subject previously so hackneyed; and the high reputation of Professor Leuckart as a scientific zoologist, together with the merits of his own researches on this particular subject, give the best assurance that the work of which the first part now lies before us will be completed in a manner worthy of its author.[5] We cannot refrain, however, from an expression of our regret that the illustrative woodcuts should be so inferior in point of execution to those of other scientific treatises of the day.

Although the death of Dr. Todd, and the absorption of Mr. Bowman into the vortex of lucrative practice have deprived the Medical School of King's College of two of the luminaries to whom it owed its earlier lustre, their pupil, Dr. Beale, has shown himself their by no means unworthy successor;[6] making up in zeal and industry what may be wanting in that larger grasp of the subject, and that admirable power of exposition, which placed his predecessors among the most successful teachers of the day. Among the cultivators of Histology in this country (who cannot, as a whole, be placed in comparison with those of Germany), he is entitled to claim a leading place; and the College of Physicians, with a due perception of the importance of Histological research in contributing towards sounder views of those minute alterations in the elementary parts of the healthy tissues, which constitute the earliest phenomena of disease,

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[4] "Beitraege zur Entwickelungsgeschichte der Meerschweinchens." Von C. B. Reichert. Erste Abtheilung. Aus der Abhandlungen der Königl. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, 1861. Mit 8 Kupfertafeln. 4to. Berlin, 1862.

[5] "Die Menslichen Parasite, und die von ihnen herrühzenden Krankheiten. Ein Hand und Lehrbuch für Naturforscher und Aertze." Von Dr. Rudolph Leuckart, Professor der Zoologie und vergleichenden Anatomie in Giessen. Erster Band, 1 and 2 Lieferung. 8vo. Leipzig, 1862.

[6] "On the Structure of the Simple Tissues of the Human Body, with some Observations on their Development, Growth, Nutrition, and Decay, and on certain Changes occurring in Disease." A Course of Lectures delivered at the Royal College of Physicians of London, in 1861. By Lionel S. Beale, M.B., F.R.S., Professor of Physiology and of General and Morbid Anatomy in King's College, London. With 70 Figures, and a Descriptive List of 61 Specimens. 8vo. London, 1862.

invited him to deliver an exposition of the views on these points to which he has been led by a prolonged course of investigation. These views differ in many important particulars from those which are current both in this country and in Germany; more particularly in the comparatively small importance which they assign to the "cell" as a physiological unit. The recent expansion of the "cellular theory," by Virchow, into a pathological system, has stirred up an antagonistic discussion of its merits, which will doubtless issue in a more discriminating appreciation of them; and towards such an appreciation we have no question that Dr. Beale's researches will afford a valuable contribution. He has devoted great attention to the best methods of preparing and preserving specimens of the tissues; and lays particular stress on the importance of treating them with an ammoniacal solution of carmine, which enables what he terms "germinal matter" to be distinguished from "formed material," the former being dyed by the colouring matter, whilst the latter, if stained at all, loses its tinge by immersion in glycerine. We think it would not be difficult, however, to show that Dr. Beale has generalized rather hastily in the conclusion he would have us adopt, that the former is the general undifferentiated material of the fabric, whilst the latter is the specialized substance peculiar to each tissue: for there cannot be a tissue more peculiar in its composition and endowments than the axis-cylinder of a nerve-fibre, and yet this is dyed by carmine whilst the surrounding sheath remains untinged. We apprehend the truth to be rather that the carmine dyes those matters which are in a state of active change, whilst it is not taken up by such as are out of the current. We cannot but think, moreover, that Dr. Beale would find it to his advantage to study the phenomena of tissue-formation in those lowest organisms whose bodies exhibit the various grades of transition between "sarcode," which we take to be the same with his "germinal matter," and "formed material" of various kinds. We would specially recommend to him the study of the common *Hydra* with this view, since we doubt not that it will adequately repay him. The well-known fact that its body changes its colour according to the food with which it is for the time supplied, shows that the carmine test would probably act upon it very satisfactorily.

Professor Wagner sends us a continuation of his valuable researches on the conformation of the Human Brain,[7] with especial reference to the disposition of its convolutions, and its relations to the brains of the Quadrumana. In the part before us he gives the results of his examinations of several imperfectly developed brains of idiots and cretins, which will be found of great interest. We cannot but regret that his illustrations were not executed by photography; since we hold it impossible for an artist to delineate the unsymmetrical contour

[7] "Vorstudien zu einer Wissenschaftlichen Morphologie und Physiologie des menschlichen Gehirns als Seelenorgan." Zweite Abhandlung. Ueber den Hirnbau der Mikrocephalen mit vergleichender Rücksicht auf den Bau des Gehirns der normalen Menschen und der Quadrumanen. Von Rudolph Wagner. Mit fünf Steintafeln.

of the cerebral convolutions with even an approach to the exactness obtainable in the sun-picture.

The Lymphatic system, especially in the frog, has recently been made the subject of very careful study by Dr. Recklinghausen, who has devised new methods of investigating its distribution;[8] and, although he can scarcely be said to have discovered any new facts of importance (the relation of the lymphatic system to the connective tissue being very generally appreciated), yet he has doubtless increased the precision of what was previously known less satisfactorily.

There is scarcely a more remarkable instance of the increased precision of modern physiological inquiry, than that which is afforded by the extensive use now being made in Germany, of the beautiful instrumental method, first devised by Professor Helmholtz, for measuring the rate of transmission of nerve-force. A modification of this apparatus has been devised by Dr. Rosenthal for the purpose of determining several questions still remaining open as to the relation of the Vagus nerve to the Respiratory movements;[9] and we must content ourselves with this general indication of the nature of the very elaborate inquiry of which he has embodied the results in the treatise before us—results which cannot but be deeply interesting to all such as concern themselves with the Physiology of the Nervous System.

We are glad to receive from the "New Sydenham Society" a sample of the valuable series of works which they are placing within easy reach of every member of the medical profession.[10] Professor Casper had so long held the highest rank among the medical jurists of Germany, and Germany has so long been the country in which Forensic medicine has been most scientifically cultivated, that a translation of his admirable work cannot but promote the advance of that much neglected study in this country.—Every one of the monographs contained in the second of the volumes whose titles are cited below, is well deserving of being reproduced in this country; and we may specially advert to the first among these, since the recent visit of Professor Czermak to the metropolis, and the self-sacrificing zeal

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[8] "Die Lymphgefässe und ihre Beziehung zum Bindegewebe." Von Dr. F. V. Recklinghausen, erstem Assistenten des pathologischen Instituts zu Berlin. Mit 6 lithographischen Tafeln und 7 Abbildungen in Holzschnitt. 8vo. Berlin, 1862.

[9] "Die Athembewegungen und ihre Beziehungen zum Nervus Vagus." Von Dr. J. Rosenthal, Assistenten am Physiologischen Laboratorium der Universität zu Berlin. Mit drei Tafeln. 8vo. Berlin, 1862.

[10] "A Handbook of the Practice of Forensic Medicine, based upon personal experience." By Johann Ludwig Casper, M.D., Professor of Forensic Medicine in the University of Berlin, &c., &c. Vol. I. Thanatological Division. Translated from the Third Edition of the Original by George William Balfour, M.D. Published for the New Sydenham Society. 8vo. London, 1861.

"Selected Monographs:—Czermak on the practical uses of the Laryngoscope; Dusch on Thrombosis of the Cerebral Sinuses; Schroeder van der Kolk on Atrophy of the Brain; Radicke on the application of Statistics to Medical Enquiries; Esmarch on the Uses of Cold in Surgical Practice." Published for the New Sydenham Society. 8vo. London, 1861.

with which he admitted every scientific inquirer to witness his demonstrations, must have satisfied all who embraced the opportunity thus afforded them, both as to the perfection of his instrumental method, and of the facility with which, in judicious hands, it may be employed. We certainly could not have conceived *à priori* that the play of his "vocal cords" could be made just as apparent to the eye as that of his lips; yet such, without exaggeration, was the case.

A refreshing contrast to the grossly-empirical treatises put forth on the treatment of Consumption by men who trade on the ignorance and weakness of such as are unhappily in a position to be duped by them, is presented by an unpretending little volume lately put forth by Dr. Jones,[11] which gives the results of a large clinical experience, chiefly among the poorer classes, of the remedial use of the perchloride of iron, especially in the earlier stages of the disease. He was led to make a systematic trial of the various preparations of iron, sometimes alone, and sometimes in combination with cod-liver oil, by considerations of which every scientific pathologist must appreciate the force, in regard to that diminished proportion of the red corpuscles of the blood, which is one of the characteristics of the tubercular cachexia, and the known power of iron to promote their augmentation. And having been led by experience to regard the perchloride as the form which may be most advantageously administered in the great majority of cases, he perseveringly tested its therapeutic power, with results which he now submits to the judgment of the profession. In advocating the use of iron in consumption, he makes no pretension to the introduction of a new remedy, for iron has always held a distinguished place among the means of antagonizing its progress; his only claim is to have rendered more precise the rules and method of its administration, its true use, and the causes of its failure. And he commends the result of his experience to the fair consideration of his readers, on the grounds that whatever judgment they may form of the theoretical portions of his work, the facts from which his conclusions are drawn have been collected and tabulated with a rigorous regard to accuracy.

In a volume now before us, Dr. John Davy has embodied some of the results of his lengthened experience in the medical service of the army, now extending over nearly half-a-century.[12] During the greater part of this period, he was in the habit of making notes of the morbid appearances in every fatal case that came under his observation, of which a *post-mortem* examination was instituted; and of then examining the register of the case in the hospital books, from which he made an

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[11] "The Use of Perchloride of Iron and other Chalybeate Salts in the Treatment of Consumption: being a Clinical Enquiry into their Physiological Action and Therapeutic Properties. With a Chapter on Hygiène." By James Jones, M.D. Lond., M.R.C.P., Physician to the Metropolitan Free Hospital, and to the Infirmary for Consumption and Diseases of the Chest. Post 8vo. London, 1862. Pp. 109.

[12] "On some of the more important Diseases of the Army, with Contributions to Pathology." By John Davy, M.D., F.R.S., Inspector-General of Army Hospitals. 8vo. London, 1862.

abstract of the symptoms and treatment recorded, appending thereto some brief remarks on what seemed most peculiar in each. Of these records he has upwards of a thousand, collected in various foreign stations as well as at home; and he has now endeavoured to turn them to good account for the benefit of the service, by publishing such a selection from each principal group of cases as might serve as the basis for definite conclusions of practical import. Dr. Davy has earned so high a title to respect as a painstaking and conscientious observer, that we feel sure that this unpretending digest of his protracted and extensive experience will be received with the gratitude it deserves on the part of those for whose benefit it is more especially designed.

Mr. Beardmore's "Manual of Hydrology" has grown to its present size and importance out of the Hydraulic tables which have been so long associated with his name in the minds of Civil Engineers.[13] It contains four divisions. The first is a new form of the Hydraulic tables just alluded to, and such of the laws which govern the flow of water and other fluids are shown by tabular results derived from the usual formulæ, and the most suitable constants are computed so as to simplify what are at best troublesome and sometimes intricate calculations. The effect of velocity on the materials composing the beds of rivers and drains is specially noticed, bearing as it does on the great question of sewerage and drainage now brought so prominently before the public, such as the metropolitan main drainage, and the serious evils arising out of the recent disaster in the fens at King's Lynn. The work also gives constants for readily computing the flow of gas in mains; other useful tables are added, such as are familiar to the engineer in the wide field of modern practice, including rules for the use of the mountain barometer and computations of the tides from the lunar tables of the Nautical Almanack.

The second division of the Manual is devoted to a consideration of the nature and volume of springs, streams, and rivers, and there is given much curious original information on their maximum, minimum, and average flow, and the slope assumed under the varying conditions which nature offers. The districts under consideration range over the pastoral and hill country of Great Britain, Ireland, and France, to the snow-fed rivers of the Alps, of India, and of the Nile. The author has attempted to connect many of their phenomena with the periodic fall of rain, in order to afford an approximation as to the amount absorbed by vegetation and spent in evaporation, and as to how much passes into the sea. The whole of this portion of the Manual is devoted to ground hitherto almost untrodden by previous writers; the materials appear to be culled from the experiments of a few engineers and scientific bodies, and to a still greater extent from Mr. Beardmore's own researches. The facts collected from various authorities as to the Nile, its volume, rise, fall, and depth of deposit, contain interesting food for speculation.

13 "Manual of Hydrology," by N. Beardmore, C.E. London. Waterlow and Son, 1862.

The third division is devoted to the peculiarities of tides, and more particularly those affecting tidal rivers; this portion of the treatise discusses the intricate questions arising out of new cuts and works, such as the canals and tidal rivers in the fens, some of which, and also the embankments of the Po, are described and explained by plates with great minuteness in this treatise.

The fourth division of the "Manual of Hydrology" is devoted to the consideration of rainfall, evaporation, and the distribution of rain, with notices of the temperature, in so far as it influences the flow of water. The tables of rainfall occupy eighty-four pages, embracing every part of the globe and every variety of mountain, plain, interior of continents, and sea-coast. The collection has been reduced from various foreign measures into English inches, and the whole offers a mass of reference in this department of meteorological and practical engineering science, which has, we believe, not been attempted before on a broad scale by any English meteorologist. It will be seen from this hasty sketch that the work in question contains much that is valuable to the engineer and others of kindred pursuits.

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

DR. MORDTMANN'S "History of the Amazons" is a literary curiosity that only scholars will care to read.[1] In his inquiries into the various aspects of Asia Minor, the learned investigator had his attention called to the famous warrior-women of antiquity, who are said to have founded the city Themiscyra, at the mouth of the river Thermodon, to have had conscientious objections to the institution of matrimony, and to have acquired facility in the use of the bow at the expense of their beauty. It is as the champion of the historical existence of these female lords of the creation that the author of *Die Amazonen* (the Breastless Ones) makes his present appearance. Especially indignant with the symbolism which attenuates all fact into mythological allegory, he assails the explanation given by A. Pauly Bähr in his article on these classical Britomarts. He will not hear of their being priestesses of the moon-goddess; although he thinks that to represent them as the counterparts of the Galli or Corybantes is mere moonshine. The ancient Amazons were, he maintains, a historical reality, the product of some extreme social necessity, and very unlike our modern drawing-room heroines who have usurped their name. They were noble, enthusiastic women, who, impelled by an earnest love of their native country, temporarily set aside the laws of nature. Ancient Hellas had no Amazons; but the regenerate Greece

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[1] "Die Amazonen." Ein Beitrag zur unbefangenen Prüfung und Würdigung der ältesten Ueberlieferungen. Von A. D. Mordtmann, Dr., &c. London and Edinburgh: Williams and Norgate. 1862.

of our own day has not been without them. Other lands, too, have been thus favoured. Bohemia perhaps had a Vlasta and Libussa; France had assuredly its Joan of Arc; Spain, he might have added, had its maid, or indeed maids of Saragossa. Above all, in 1854 the old phænomena reappeared in the shape of Kara Fatme Hanum, who, at the head of her cavalry, hastened from the mountains of Kurdistan to Constantinople to fight for the Fatherland. This revival must have been anything but an agreeable surprise, since the chief equestrian is described as a little old shrivelled-up woman, very different from her predecessors, the serene and majestic Antiope and Penthesilea. To make up for the want of personal attractions, the fire of courage flashed in her eyes, and her appearance is pronounced by her admirer to have been "the most biting satire on the Symbolists." Dr. Mordtmann's monograph contains a considerable number of citations from the writings of Greek and Latin authors, from which the reader is, we believe, intended to extract or conjecture the history of these military ladies. Its erudition entitles it to the respectful perusal of the student of classical mythology; though he is little likely to be convinced of the soundness of the writer's principal conclusion.

Herr Friedländer being of opinion that the period from Augustus to Constantine is divisible into two contrasting and unequal parts, with the reign of Commodus for a common boundary, and finding an abundance of valuable illustrative material in the literary and other memorials of the first two centuries, has turned it to good account, in a preliminary instalment of a work designed to elucidate the manners of the Roman people, from the accession of the second Cæsar to the death of the unworthy son of the noble Aurelius.[2] After a glance at the architectural arrangements of the seven-hilled city, the author sketches, with some detail, the imperial court, its influence on manners, the official and social life, its ceremonial, and its public entertainments. In a third chapter we have an account of the senators, the knights, and the common people. A fourth chapter gives us some idea of the clientela of the old régime, as well as that of the first and second centuries, and also of the general social intercourse of the time. The concluding section of the volume contains various illustrations of the every-day life of Roman women; describes their childhood, their domestic position, their employments and education, their virtues and vices, their superstition, extravagances, and heroism. Some curious matter will be found in the appendices attached to most of the sections. In the final appendix the beautiful story of Cupid and Psyche is made the subject of some valuable remarks. Herr Friedländer regards it not as an allegory shadowing the relation of the human soul to celestial love, according to the interpretation of Fulgentius Planciades and most other interpreters, but as a kind of mährchen or fairy tale, originally emanating from some Indo-Germanic source, adopted into the "folk lore" of the Greeks and Romans, and transferred, with characteristic alterations, to the amusing fiction of Apuleius. To illustrate this

[2] "Darstellungen aus der Sittengeschichte Roms, &c." Von Ludwig Friedländer, Professor in Koenigsberg. Erster theil: David Nutt. 1862.

position he compares it with the Indian story of Tulisa. It is, he is of opinion, merely an antique version of the *rough run* of the course of true love, of the separations, the reunions, the sorrows, and ultimate happiness of that provokingly common-place phænomenon, a pair of lovers.

Nearly two centuries and a-half before the birth of Apuleius, the Roman dominions were first invaded by the Cimbri and Teutones, the latter of whom were certainly of Germanic derivation. Beginning his historical narrative at this remote period, Herr Wirth has written the first volume of a work designed to portray the whole life of the German people, from the earliest time down to the present day.[3] The portion now published comprises the interval between B.C. 114 and A.D. 900. The introduction, drawn up in a reflective and genial spirit, entitles the author to a place among those historians who conceive history as a science, and attempt to ascertain the laws of its development. If there is nothing very novel or profound in Herr Wirth's speculations, they are, at any rate, distinguished by at least a general conformity with experience. After a rapid review of his historical *principia*, he passes to a survey of the external circumstances which belong to his subject, indicating the origin and earliest settlements of the Germans, their contests with Rome, the introduction of Christianity, and the formation of the kingdom of the Franks. The internal relations are described in a second section. The land and its productions, the people and their dwellings, the position of women, the traffic, trade, transport, old guilds and societies, money, finance, law, social classifications, institutions, war, art and religion, are all elucidated in a sufficiently copious manner. Herr Wirth's information is very extensive: he shows research, industry, and some originality, and writes agreeable, intelligible German.

For illustrating the mode in which the great nations of Europe passed from Paganism or the divinity of nature into the spiritual life unfolded by Christianity, the *Gemma Ecclesiastica* is now, the editor assures us, capable of being rendered generally available.[4] This literary *pearl of the church* was of all his numerous writings, perhaps the favourite of Giraldus himself, and was by him presented to Innocent III. during a visit to the Papal court, whither he went to defend his election to the see of St. David. Its strictly historical value appears to us very small, but as "a faithful transcript of a superstitious age," it is not without considerable interest. Most readers will, we presume, content themselves with the perusal of Mr. Brewer's entertaining preface. There are some curious instances of clerical ignorance cited in it, and a remarkable passage from Giraldus is quoted,

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[3] "Deutsche Geschichte von der ältesten Zeit bis zur Gegenwart." Von Max Wirth. Erster Band. London: Trübner and Co. 1862.

[4] "Giraldi Cambrensis Opera." Edited by J. S. Brewer, M.A., Professor of English Literature, King's College, London, &c. Published by the Authority of the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury, under the direction of the Master of the Rolls. Vol. II. London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts. 1862.

which shows the existence of speculative infidelity even among the clergy of his time.

We owe to the same indefatigable editor a preface of rare excellence, prefixed to the first volume of the "Letters and Papers of the Reign of Henry VIII."[5] The delineations of the genius of Wolsey, and of the character and policy of the second Tudor king, in the earlier part of his career, with the sketches of the social or economic English life of the period, are ably done. The labour expended by Mr. Brewer and his coadjutors in the collection and arrangement of the multifarious materials brought together in the present volume, must have been almost heroic, both in quantity and quality. The papers contained in it relate to the period comprised between 1509 and 1514. A copious index facilitates reference.

Mr. John Bruce has contributed a striking and discriminating preface to a volume of papers belonging to the domestic series of the reign of Charles I.[6] In this volume will be found abstracts of letters written by the great Lord Wentworth, material connected with Noy's "odious and crying project of soap;" notices of Weston, Laud, and others; and a correct account of the often misstated arrangement by which Charles I. relinquished his hereditary right on Sir Hugh Middleton's New River Company. The preface contains, among other notable things, a letter from Laud to Windebank, one from Wentworth to the Earl of Carlisle, and a prayer in the handwriting of "the Royal Martyr."

The new volume of State Papers, "edited by Mary Anne Everett Green," is a continuation of a calendar already noticed in this Review. It has no preface descriptive of the contents, but it has a comprehensive general index. The abstracts of the documents which are contained in it, relate to the domestic occurrences of the reign of Charles II., extending over the greater part of the two years, 1663—1664. Readers of "Peveril of the Peak," or natives of the Isle of Man, will read with interest the notice relating to William Christian, said in his son Evan's petition to have been shot to death in spite of the Act of Indemnity, Henry Nowell, governor, Richard Tyldesly, comptroller, and Richard Stevenson, one of the board before which the two officials were summoned on the complaint of George Christian.

A hundred years after the English Revolution which expelled the Stuart race of kings, the explosion took place in France which ended in the downfall of the Bourbon monarchy. Convinced that the collective

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[5] "Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII., &c." Arranged and catalogued by J. S. Brewer, M.A., under the direction of the Master of the Rolls, and with the sanction of Her Majesty's Secretary of State. Vol. I. London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts. 1862.

[6] "Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reign of Charles I., 1631—1633, &c." Edited by John Bruce, Esq., F.S.A., under the direction of the Master of the Rolls, &c. London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts. 1862.

[7] "Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reign of Charles II." Edited by Mary Anne Everett Green, Author of "The Lives of the Princesses of England," under the direction of the Master of the Rolls, &c. London: Longman, Green, Longman, & Roberts. 1862.

tyranny is more insupportable than the tyranny of the individual, detesting the brutal despotism of the Reign of Terror, and hoping to convert the more moderate admirers of Danton and Robespierre from the errors of their senseless Utopian belief, M. Mortimer-Ternaux has undertaken to rewrite the history of this terrific anarchy, consulting authentic documents and hitherto unedited papers, and checking the reports of the *Moniteur*, which historians have too hastily accepted as impartial, by the corresponding statements of the "Journal des Débats et Décrets."[8] Fixing the date of commencement of this frightful drama at the 20th June, 1792, when the infuriated mob entered the inviolable asylum of Louis XVI., the author, with a certain gravity of style and solidity of reflection, traces in the two volumes before us the progress of events from the insurrection of June to the conflagration of the 10th of August. In the introduction, he briefly indicates the characteristics of the Reign of Terror, and describes the political and social state of 1792, the constitutional and revolutionary parties, the nobility, clergy, royalty, the press and the clubs, and the Girondin ministry. The Feast of Liberty and that of Law, the outbreak of June, Lafayette in Paris, the suspension of the Mayor, the Federates, the Sections, the night of the 9th to 10th of August, and the Fall of Royalty, suggest the cardinal divisions under which the various incidents are arranged. Painting in dark colours the portraits not only of such men as Robespierre and Danton, but even of men like Roland and Dumouriez, our historian is compelled to admit that Louis XVI. from the day of his accession to the throne began that long series of tergiversations which ended in his own death and the fall of the monarchy. The notes and elucidatory documents attached to the two volumes of the work now issued are very ample.

Among the results of the war in which revolutionary France and conservative Europe engaged, was the temporary subjugation of Hanover in the spring of 1803. In the middle of the month of March that electorate enjoyed undisturbed tranquillity; at the beginning of June it was delivered, helpless, into the hands of the enemy. Hanover then presented the only point in which France could affect our interests. Hanover therefore she overran, thereby offering a decided insult to Austria and Prussia, who were bound by treaty to afford it protection. France then proceeded to make other acquisitions, and the war on the Continent followed. The epoch marked by the convention of Sulingen was an eminently important one in the history of Hanover. Herr von Ompteda, subsequently minister, took such a part in the transactions of the time, that he was forced to fly from his country, and to remain for many years in exile, accompanied by his son, the author of the "Historico-Political Study" which is now given to the world.[9] From his father's oral narrative and posthumous papers, and the private archives

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[8] "Histoire de la Terreur 1791—1794." D'après des documents authentiques et inédits. Par M. Mortimer-Ternaux. 2 vols. Paris: Michel Levy Frères. 1862.

[9] "Die Ueberwaltigung Hanover durch die Franzosen, &c." Von F. V. Ompteda, Königl. Hanoverischen Regierungsrath. Mit dem facsimile des Convention von Sulingen. London: David Nutt. 1862.

to which the King of Hanover has accorded him access, Herr von Ompteda has compiled a circumstantial account of the proceedings that distinguished the invasion and conquest of his country in 1803.

Continuing in the same general chronological track, we find the story of Napoleon's Russian campaign told, it would seem, with ample circumstance, in a work compiled under Imperial auspices by M. Bogdanowitsch, in three volumes.[10] A German version of one volume of the original slightly abridged, in the preliminary chapters, is all that we have seen of this copious narrative. For its production more than one thousand five hundred sources have been consulted; state archives ransacked, letters, diaries, and a mass of official material examined. The present volume contains fourteen chapters. The narrative commences with a description of the earlier wars of Alexander and Napoleon, explains the origin of that of 1812, describes the preparations for it and the state of things that preceded it, and ends with the first battle of Polozk. It has seven appendices, four maps, and ten plans. The work abounds in military details. In particular it inserts a plan of the Russian operations, in the retreat from the frontiers into the interior of the country, the existence of which some historians have denied. See ch. v.

The ninth volume of the "Supplementary Despatches of the Duke of Wellington"[11] brings us a little further down the stream of time (1814-1815). The papers comprised in it refer to the period between the armistice which followed the battle of Toulouse and the termination of the Duke's functions at the Congress of Vienna, when his Grace was appointed to the command of the armies in the Low Countries. Among the subjects illustrated are the capitulation of Paris, the maintenance of French prisoners of war, the definitive treaty of peace between Great Britain and France, the state of affairs at Lisbon, the negotiations at Basle, the Russian views on Poland, the proposed treatment of Murat, peace with the United States, and claim of prize-money for the Duke of Wellington and his army. To elucidate the diplomatic and public transactions in which the Duke of Wellington was engaged at this period of his life, the noble editor has included in the present collection letters from the Prince Regent, the Emperor Alexander, Louis XVIII., Murat, Liverpool, Castlereagh, and Bathurst. Such a volume can scarcely fail to possess valuable historical material.

The "History of the Nineteenth Century," by G. G. Gervinus, begins immediately after the famous congress at which the Duke of Wellington was British Plenipotentiary.[12] The sixth instalment of the work

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[10] "Geschichte des Feldzuges im Jahre, 1812, &c." Von M. Bogdanowitsch, Kaiserlich Russischer Generalmajor. 1 Band, &c. Aus dem Russischen von G. Baumgarten, &c. London: Williams and Norgate. 1862.

[11] "Supplementary Despatches, Correspondence, and Memoranda of the Field-Marshal Arthur Duke of Wellington, K.G." Vol. IX., &c. London: John Murray. 1862.

[12] "Geschichte des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts seit den Wiener Verträgen." Von G. G. Gervinus. Sechster Band. Geschichte des Aufstandes und der Wiedergeburt von Griechenland. Zweiter Theil. London and Edinburgh: Williams and Norgate. 1862.

now before us continues the story of the revolution and the regeneration of Greece. In a previous number of this Review we noticed the first portion of this division of Gervinus's History. The author resumes his narrative with an account of the Philhellenes and Egyptians. A sketch of the participation of the West in the affairs of Greece is followed by an account of the war of 1824-5, of different diplomatic transactions, and the war of 1826-7. The fate of Greece in the hands of diplomacy, the triple alliance between England, Russia, and France, and the Russian-Turkish war of 1828-9, are the remaining divisions of the historical subject-matter of our author. Notices of Lord Byron, Lord Stanhope, and others, are scattered through the volume, which concludes with a severe rebuke of the policy of Prince Metternich, stigmatized as one continued and unworthy cabal from the moment he abandoned his understanding with Lord Castlereagh to indulge his pro-Russian sympathies.

The history of the prosperous fortunes of a great modern colony will perhaps be more attractive to some minds than that of the attempts of a semi-classical people, like the modern Greeks, to achieve independence, or of the diplomatic intricacies by which it was sought to further or defeat their purpose. Nearly a century has elapsed since the great English navigator, James Cook, trod that part of the Australian seaboard which has now become the seat of splendid cities and of an extensive commerce. To furnish a connected narrative of the affairs of New South Wales, from the period when the country first came under the notice of Europeans to the present time, has been the object which Mr. Flanagan has proposed to himself in his comprehensive and laborious history.[13] Commencing, after a brief preliminary retrospect, with the voyage of the first fleet, he traces the progress of events under which the colonists have achieved their ultimate prosperity, describes the difficulties which attended the first settlement of a remote territory; the enterprise displayed in the work of discovery and exploration; the successful struggle of a daughter-people to introduce into a new country the free institutions which their ancestors had conquered for them. Though the history of New South Wales is to a great extent the history of all Australia, Mr. Flanagan has incorporated in his narrative some account of Van Diemen's Island, New Zealand, Port Philip, Moreton Bay, and other Australasian settlements. The historical subject-matter will easily be conjectured: affrays with the natives; occasional exploring incidents; convict troubles and convict legislation; the home policy, and the administration of the successive governors; the acquisition of trial by jury, and the inauguration of responsible government. Some record of the discovery of gold treasures in the colony will be found in Mr. Flanagan's pages, and in an appendix may be read a report bearing on the present condition and future prospects of the great Southern gold-fields of New South Wales and those of Victoria, recently prepared by the deputy-master of the

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[13] "The History of New South Wales," &c. &c. By Roderick Flanagan, Member of the Australian Institute and of the Philosophical Society of New South Wales. In Two Volumes. London: Sampson Low, Son, and Co. 1862.

Mint at Sydney, and the professor of chemistry in the Sydney University. Of the notable names associated with the settlement, the most conspicuous is that of Bligh of the *Bounty*, whose conduct excited the opposition of the revolutionary hero Macarthur. In general, Mr. Flanagan's narrative is very full. Compiled from official and newspaper sources, it is, however, naturally somewhat heavy, the style possesses no attraction, and the principal interest of the story arises from the relation of a British colony to the Mother-country. Mr. Flanagan is not a philosopher. His book has no ethnological element. We can find in it little about the natives worth reporting. The most curious fact, perhaps, which he supplies respecting them, is their vainglorious version of the metempsychosis-doctrine. "On being told that immense numbers of white people existed far beyond the seas, they instantly pronounced them to be their former countrymen, whose spirits after death had migrated into other regions and entered other bodies."

Sailing from Australia in a north-westerly direction, we reach the Sandwich Islands, or Hawaii group. An attractive volume on the past, present, and future of the insular kingdom, prefaced by the Bishop of Oxford, has been recently published by Manly Hopkins, the Hawaiian Consul-General.[14] This volume, besides a historical narrative, contains a description of the physical phenomena of the islands, and of the commerce of the kingdom, an account of the derivation and traditions of the Hawaii race, of the early island discoveries, of the progress and failure of missionary efforts, of the quarrels between the French Catholics and Americans; of the French treaties and the Carysfort affair. The subject of the twenty-third chapter of Mr. M. Hopkins' book is the depopulation of the islands. He thinks that in 1778-9 the number of inhabitants amounted, not to 400,000, according to Captain Cook's computation, but to only 200,000. At the time of Mr. Ellis's visit (1823), it was estimated at from 130,000 to 150,000. Since then it has gradually dwindled down to 69,800, to which must be added 1000 absentees.

M. Jules Rémy corroborates the evidence of Mr. Hopkins on this point, only he substitutes 1861 for 1860; makes no allowance for the absent thousand, and reasserts the correctness of Captain Cook's estimate. The two narratives, moreover, agree in general as to the causes of the depopulation. They are prostitution, syphilis, drunkenness, small-pox, civilization, and misdirected missionary zeal. Mr. Hopkins condemns the hothouse plan of forcing Christianity on an unprepared people, and testifies to the many mistakes of the missionaries. It remains to be seen whether, under the new episcopate of Honolulu, inaugurated by Dr. Staley, a wiser and more beneficent Christianity can be introduced.

The kindred work of M. Jules Rémy, whose name we have already mentioned, is more original and more philosophical, and perhaps not less

[14] "Hawaii, &c. An Historical Account of the Sandwich Islands (Polynesia)." By Manly Hopkins. Hawaiian Consul-General, &c. With a Preface by the Bishop of Oxford. London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts. 1862.

comprehensive or less entertaining than that of the Consul-General.[15] The first part consists of an introductory essay on the country, the people, and the government, in which the geography, geology, the flora, the fauna, the commerce, the origin, religion, manners and customs, and the general march of civilization are described in a concise but effective manner. The unique characteristic of M. Rémy's work, "Ka Moolelo Hawaii," forming the second part, is the Native History, so called, compiled mainly by David Malo, who died in 1853, and translated by our author, whose long sojourn in the Archipelago has rendered him familiar with the remote and impossible language of the Hawaiian people. This work begins with Adam, or a little before; discusses from an orthodox point of view, as well as from the traditional, the first appearance of man in the Edens of the western ocean; describes the fate of Cook; treats of Vancouver's arrival, of the establishment of the missionaries, and the efforts of Kaahumanu to realize "the better way." We sincerely recommend the contributions of M. Jules Rémy and Mr. Manly Hopkins towards the formation of a literature on Polynesia, to all those who care to explore the destiny of races, or to trace the tragical advance of civilization when its antagonist developments are brought into direct and decisive contact.

Inebriety being one of the reputed causes of the depopulation of Hawaii, we may not inappropriately mention here a "History of the Temperance Movement in Great Britain and Ireland."[16] Written for a class and not for the general public, Mr. Cowling's volume has rather a sectarian character. The origin and progress, however, of the anti-alcoholic revolution are described intelligibly in its pages; the principles of that revolution are asserted and vindicated, and the services of some of its most conspicuous agents, such as the Rev. Thomas Spencer, Mr. Silk Buckingham, and Father Mathew, are adequately recognised. Indeed, appended to the narrative is a biographical dictionary of the names of the departed chiefs of the temperance movement. The annals of the movement in its more general aspect may be made to date back to the year 1517, when Sigismund de Diettrichsen established a society to put down the custom of health-drinking. Another temperance society, says our author, was formed by the Duke of Hesse, in 1600, which enacted that no member should drink more than seven glasses of liquor at a time, and that this should not occur oftener than twice a day—a very liberal allowance, we should say. A third society we read of was founded by the Count Palatine, Frederick V., under the denomination of the Ring of Gold. Such associations, it must be conceded, had little about them of the nature of our modern temperance societies. Those who wish to learn something of the formation and objects of these more restrictive societies

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[15] "Ka Moolelo Hawaii. Histoire de l'Archipel Havaiien (Iles Sandwich) Texte et Traduction. Précédés d'une Introduction sur l'Etat Physique, Moral, et Politique du Pays." Par Jules Rémy (Lepalani). Paris and Leipzig: 1862.

[16] "History of the Temperance Movement in Great Britain and Ireland: from the Earliest Date to the Present Time," &c. By Samuel Cowling, Author of "The Traffic in Intoxicating Drinks," &c. London: William Tweedie. 1862.

may advantageously consult Mr. Cowling's little book. According to a representation made to Mr. Edward Baines, M.P., there are at least 4000 temperance societies in the United Kingdom, and not less than 3,000,000 teetotalers of all ages, three-fourths of whom are not likely to belong to any society. The movement has forty paid lecturers, three weekly newspapers, six monthly magazines, two quarterly reviews, a Provident Institution with an annual income of 114,000*l.*, and a Permanent Land and Building Society with an income of 77,000*l.*, besides other resources.

From Mr. Cowling's historical brooklet, we pass again into the broad flood of events on Mr. Lucas's "Secularia, or Surveys on the Mainstream of History;" the affected title of a work deficient in unity of design, but not quite without a secondary strength and originality of thought.[19] It consists, in fact, of a series of lectures, often with excellent matter in them, in which the author either advances what may be called his own views, or criticises, approves, or rejects the opinions of others. Believing that history, though not an exact science, yet records tendencies which are generally if not universally cogent, he proceeds to give some account of what he regards as two paramount historic agencies—the Law of Development as the chief cause of difference, and the Law of Equalization as the chief cause of resemblance in Revolutions. The latter law is marked by two movements, that of Property against birth, which has received its completion in the ancient and modern world; and that of Numbers against property, which proved fatal in antiquity, but which owing to the difference in the nature of the two civilizations, may possibly not be attended with the same results in modern times. The former law, or the law of development, has now four elements to operate on—namely, race, religion, the municipal system, and the idea of empire. Mr. Lucas recognises also secondary revolutions proceeding from the greater antagonism of elements in the modern world. After a comparison of ancient and modern revolutions, the essayist concludes hopefully, that the "increasing purpose" of the ages shall henceforth consummate its ends in peace. The paper on Revivalists, or the plagiarists of the past—*e.g.*, the Emperor Julian, Rienzi, the Puritans, and the Girondists—contains some correct and striking observations. That on the New England Theocracy, in which the brethren were found to be heavier than the bishops, is an instructive essay. In another, entitled The Mediæval Castle, it is maintained that while Western Europe was newly settled, "a class was required to enforce cohesion and compress the fluid element of society," and to this class castles were indispensable as the several centres of their dominant influence. A fourth, in reporting some characteristics of an English borough in the times of Edward IV., gives a picturesque sketch of Bristol as "the representative of the purely municipal element in mediæval England." Mr. Lucas's volume also contains two reviews proper—one on the Revolution of 1688 and its historian, and one on the Hohenzollern stage of hero-worship. The critic is very severe on Lord Macaulay's tendency to

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[17] "Secularia; or Surveys on the Mainstream of History." By Samuel Lucas, M.A., late of Queen's College, Oxford. London: John Murray. 1862.

exaggerate, distort, and caricature: he indicates some of the noble historian's inaccuracies; defends those whom he asperses, and incriminates the hero whom he eulogizes. In particular, Mr. Lucas decides, on the authority of an article in the "Edinburgh Review," that William III. was responsible for the Massacre of Glencoe. We wish he had shown precisely the extent of his responsibility. He italicizes the word *extirpate*, but extirpate does not necessarily mean wholesale assassination; and Mr. Charles Knight's view of the transaction in his "History of England," which limits William's responsibility to what the old translator of Tacitus would call *extermination*,* is not, we think, unreasonable. The hero-worship of Mr. Carlyle, in its Hohenzollern stage, is no less offensive to our author than Lord Macaulay's intense admiration of our great liberator, as Coleridge somewhere calls William of Orange. But we must leave unnoticed his strictures on Mr. Carlyle's estimate of the royal race of Prussia, especially of the drunken Rhadamanthus Friedrich Wilhelm, as well as his rebuke of the panegyrist himself, who instead of accepting the inevitable condition of progress, the growth of the social forces, "is irritated and querulous, or confused and alarmed, and rushes out in his shirt-sleeves to call for a hero, and for present occasions, and latter-day wants, sees with disgust there is none on the beat."

If Mr. Carlyle has not found a hero in the thoroughfare of the present, he has been fortunate enough to discover one in a great broadway of the past.[18] For Frederick II. of Prussia had undoubtedly in him the elements of greatness which render him a conspicuous figure in modern history. "Arma virumque cano," would as legitimately begin our prose poet's story of the enlarger of the Prussian monarchy, as it does that of the versifying Virgil's founder of Rome. The chief who was at once a master in war, a maker or modifier of the history of continental Europe, during many years of the last century; an encourager of commerce, of agriculture, of art; a successful financier, a meritorious author, a legislative reformer, a friend to science, and who, as far as negations go, was in religious philosophy nearer the ultimate truth than most crowned heads—may serve, after some deductions have been made from the first superficial estimate of his worth, for a hero, acceptable to ourselves as well as Mr. Carlyle. The new volume of our anti-constitutional historian relates the various political, social, and private occurrences which concern Frederick from his accession, 31st May, 1740, to 26th July, 1744; of about four years, therefore—a small fragment of a reign which lasted more than eleven times as long. The abolition of legal torture, toleration or leave to "every man to get to heaven in his own way, acknowledgment and practical recognition of fine art and solid science," are a few of what Mr. Carlyle calls the "physiognomic procedures of Fredrick in his first weeks of kingship." The opening book of the new volume, after telling us, among other

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* See "Annals," xv. 2 and 20 in Gordon's translation, where *exterminate* is used as an equivalent to *exturbari* and *depellendum*.

[18] "History of Fredrick the Second of Prussia, commonly called Frederick the Great." By Thomas Carlyle. Vol. III. London: Chapman and Hall. 1862.

things, how the Herstallers had behaved to Fredrick Wilhelm, and *got* the rod which the young king had in pickle for them, ends with the Emperor's death and Frederick's consequent accession. The second book or twelfth of the entire history, introduces us to the first Silesian war, the match whose ignition caused a general European conflagration. Schlesic, or Silesia, is a fertile and beautiful country, with a total area of 20,000 square miles, nearly the third of England proper, enclosed as it were, by Brandenburg, Saxony, Bohemia, Moravia, and Poland. On the death of Charles II., Frederick II. laying hold of the flaming opportunity which came rushing from the stormy side of his horizon, resolved to assert his claims to four duchies in Silesia, which might, could, would, or should have been the property of his ancestors—Liegnietz, Brieg, Wohlau, and Jägerndorf. Instead, however, of claiming this original appanage of his house, he required from Maria Theresa, the daughter and heiress of Charles VI., the duchies of Glogau and Sagan, promising to give her his support, and to vote for her husband's elevation to the imperial throne. On the queen's rejection of his proposals, he took possession, first of Lower Silesia, and afterwards of Upper Silesia, and part of the country of Glatz; the possession being finally secured by the Treaty of Berlin, July 28th, 1742. This seizure has been called a robbery. Frederick's panegyrist calls it taking your own stolen horse again when you find it; and notwithstanding his occasional high-handed language, which reminds us of the might-right theory of the sophist in Plato's "Gorgias," or the reasoning of Tiridates in Tacitus,* it is evident to us, from a comparison of passages, that Mr. Carlyle considers his hero thoroughly justified in his assertion, by word and sword, of these supposed claims. We will state the facts, and let the reader judge for himself. Assuming the validity of the "heritage-fraternity with Liegnietz," as our author calls it, three of the four duchies already mentioned ought to have belonged to Prussia since 1675. The Emperor, however, denied the validity of the compact, declaring that it had been suppressed ages ago by Imperial power, which Mr. Carlyle, perhaps rightly, supposes to have been all fudge. The fourth duchy, Jägerndorf, was the possession of John George, the Elector's uncle, who, for the part he took in the battle of Weissenberg, was, we are told, "tyrannously put to the ban," and had Jägerndorf taken from him by Ferdinand II. of the House of Hapsburg. In 1685, the Great Elector was offered by the Austrian Court and its sharp-practising ambassador, the circle of Schwiebus on the north-western edge of Silesia, in liquidation of all his Silesian claims. The bargain seems to have been a bad one, and one which reflected much discredit on the Austrian Court. But bad as it was, the Elector accepted it, and, as far as he was concerned, was bound to abide by his engagement. Meanwhile the Elector's son, who was old enough to know better—he was nearly thirty years of age—had, for a consideration, signed a secret compact, obliging him to restore Schwiebus on his accession. Two years after his father died, and the new king, the dupe of his own folly and

* "Id in summa fortuna æquius quod validius, et sua retinere privatæ domus, de alienis certare regiam laudem esse." Taciti Annalicem, xv. 2.

of diplomatic swindling, protesting against the transaction, and invoking the yet distant "flaming opportunity," surrendered Schwiebus "in terms of his promise." This is the perplexed transaction, the moral issue out of which is so clear to Mr. Carlyle, and clear, not in the felonious construction put on Frederick's conduct by most readers, but in the heroic interpretation which his biographer advances. Is this interpretation a justifiable one?

How the first Silesian war awoke a general European one; how the general European one broke out into flame after the extinction of its antecedent, till perfect peace at Berlin was followed by "war all round," is told by Mr. Carlyle in three books, without, indeed, his "wonted fires," but in his own incomparable, grimly-humorous, grotesque, magic-lantern fashion. We complain of his inartistic way of writing the present biography, great artist as he is; we complain of his insufferable tediousness, of his elaborate serving-up of yawn-provoking trifles, but we admire his conscientious ascertainment of facts. We stand awestruck at the enormous faculty of patient research and magnanimous toil, as of some much-suffering Odysseus, which the third volume of his "Frederick" displays. It is one of those books which, if to read is a weariness to the flesh, to have written must have been a travail of the soul. There are not many consecutive pages which you can read, as once you read the "French Revolution" of the same author, wondering at the power, the genius, the wisdom, the ἦθος of the man that wrote it; but there are passages that are admirable and interesting: a battle of Mollwitz, for instance, or a geographical description like that of Silesia; a picture of his Britannic Majesty as Paladin of the Pragmatic; an estimate of the radiant bully Belle-isle; and some glimpses of Voltaire and Maupertuis. Our author's intense and continued scorn of Maupertuis, indeed, is quite inexcusable; though we could forgive one laugh at the coxcomb, who had himself painted in the act of compressing the poles of the earth. The man, however, who proved that the earth's figure was that of an oblate spheroid, did a thing worth the doing, and deserved some tribute of respect even from Mr. Carlyle. How differently does he treat his favourite Frederick! See what he says of Maupertuis' adventure at the battle of Möllwitz, and what he says of Frederick's *flight*, as most men perhaps would call it, though "disappearance into fairyland" is what it becomes in the accommodating language of a hero-worshipping biographer. A final estimate of Mr. Carlyle's third volume can only be attempted when the entire work is completed.

Just a year after Frederick was "snatched by Morgante into Fairyland, carried by Diana to the top of Pindus, or even by Proserpine to Tartarus"—for the judicious historian allows us to choose our alternative—was born April 2, 1743, at Shadwell, in Virginia, one of the principal agents in the American Revolution, Thomas Jefferson[19]. At Williamsburg, Jefferson received a classical and mathematical education.

[19] "Jefferson and the American Democracy. An Historical Study, by Cornélis de Witt. Translated, with the author's permission, by R. S. H. Church. London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts, and Green. 1862.

After completing his legal studies under the eminent lawyer Mr. Wythe, he made his professional *début* at the bar of the General Court in 1767. Two years after he was elected member of the House of Burgesses for the county of Albemarle, and took part with George Washington and eighty-six other members in a retaliative measure directed against the Parliamentary resolution lately passed in England. On the 21st June, 1775, Jefferson took his seat as one of the Virginia delegates in the General Congress. In the following year, being appointed one of a committee chosen to draw up the Declaration of Independence, he was deputed by the other members to make the draught, which after some modifications was adopted by the House on the 4th of July. In the year 1779-81 he was made Governor of Virginia; in 1784 he was sent by Congress on a mission to France, where he remained five years; in 1789 he was appointed Secretary of State by the President, General Washington. A period of retirement was succeeded by his election, in 1797, as Vice-President of the United States. A double Presidency (1801-1809) terminated in a return to private life. For about seventeen years after this, Jefferson cultivated the *otium cum dignitate.* His pursuits were architectural, agricultural, and literary. He was an indefatigable correspondent, and a liberal though not always willing host. He took an active part in the foundation and direction of the University of Virginia, obtaining grants for the buildings, and salaries for the professors. His death, with a seemingly providential propriety, took place on July 4th, 1826, the anniversary of the Declaration of Independence; singularly enough, the leader of the Federal party died the same day. Jefferson married, in 1792, the widow of Bathurst Skelton, who died ten years after their marriage. Jefferson's administration was conducted in the interests of Democracy. His views are held by his critic to be extreme, impracticable, and even destructive. The historical study of "Cornélis de Witt," is a thoughtful and admirable survey of Jefferson's public and even private life, written with no unreasoning hostility, but with an enlightened conviction of the mischievousness of the ultra-democratic policy. Among the measures which favourably distinguished Jefferson's administration were the negotiations which ended in the acquisition of Louisiana, a magnificent outlet for the commerce of the Western States, involving as it did the free navigation of the Mississippi. Jefferson, it will be readily conceived, favoured the suppression of primogeniture and entails; this he did in order to lay a foundation for a government truly republican. In like manner, he required the absolute separation of Church and State, only because, asserts M. De Witt, "a clergy paid by the State is not immediately dependent on the masses." Jefferson, if not a profound scholar, was at least an educated and accomplished man. He held, it is said, metaphysics in contempt—a thing which to us is not very surprising. Jefferson, not unlike M. Rénan in our own day, wished to *obliterate the supernatural,* driving it out of the very holes and corners in which that acute thinker predicts that it will soon seek its final refuge. Of Jefferson's faults, intellectual and moral, the essay of M. De Witt will fully apprize the reader. The remarks on the excesses and dangers of Democracy will be read

with unusual sympathy in a crisis of so-called Conservative reaction. The translator, Mr. R. S. H. Church, seems to have performed his task very competently. The few foot-notes which he has inserted are chiefly corrective or qualifying. We may state, in conclusion, that Mr. Church avows a conviction, which we by no means share, "that the terrible responsibility and guilt of the great convulsion which has defeated a noble experiment of the highest value to the interests of humanity rest on the head of the North."

While the unity of the Transatlantic nation is thus irrevocably shattered, that of the Italian people still remains imperfect; indeed, its completion now seems likely to be indefinitely postponed. A really epical movement has distinguished the Italy of our own day; and the story of that movement is at once sublime, touching, inspiring, and saddening. This "tale divine" has been told by a native of that beautiful Peninsula, in the English language, with singular grace and correctness of expression.[20] The Italy of Victor Emmanuel dates from the hour when the Sardinian sovereign, placing himself at the head of the national movement, became virtually the king of the land. In the first volume of his work Count Charles Arrivabene, who writes from individual knowledge, and is often "a part of all that he has seen," describes the first days of the war which inaugurated Italian freedom, the early victories of Garibaldi in Lombardy, the battles of Magenta, Melegnano, and Solferino, terminating in the compromise of Villafranca. In separate chapters he glances at the question of the Duchies of Modena and Parma, and the rights of the Popes to the Legations, relating the leading incidents connected with the progress of events in these provinces. Personal sketch, illustrative anecdote, graphic delineation of social life, alternate here with political disquisition or warlike detail. In the second volume we have an account of the opening of the Sardinian Parliament in 1860, of the discussions respecting the cession of Savoy and Nice, of Cavour's return to power, and the king's journey through Central Italy; the author's imprisonment is the subject of the tenth chapter; Naples under the new rule, and Naples in 1860, are treated of in the eleventh and twelfth chapters, while the concluding divisions of the volume contain traits of Neapolitan life, and speculations on the future of Italy. By far the greater part of the second volume, however, is occupied with the glorious career of the devoted chief who liberated Sicily, who freed Naples, who *made* a principal portion of a king's crown. The magnificent exploits of this simple and unselfish man, his resolute advance to the fulfilment of his purpose, his ardour and enthusiasm, the strength and weakness of his character, are more or less illustrated in the admirable narrative of his countryman. All the chief actors pass before us in his graphic pages; Cavour, who, he thinks, in parting with Nice and Savoy, anticipated the time when, seizing dexterously some "flaming opportunity," he, or some other, should reannex them to Italy;—Victor Emmanuel, the royal "country squire," dressed in a velvet suit, with

[20] Italy under Victor Emmanuel: a Personal Narative. By Count Charles Arrivabene. London: Hurst and Blackett. 1862.

wide-awake on his head; the Emperor in his shirt sleeves smoking a cigar, or making the lamentable bargain of Villafranca; Ricasoli, to whose strong sense and rare energy the annexation of the Central Provinces to the dominion of Victor Emmanuel is due; and finally, Ratazzi, a politician of the first order, who holds that "without the consent of the Emperor it would be sheer madness to think of attempting to get possession" of the national metropolis of Italy. Yet if we may believe our author's assurance, the acquisition of Rome, and the incorporation of Venice in the new kingdom, are, notwithstanding Imperial opposition and diplomatic entanglement, objects which twenty-eight millions of men will never consent to abandon. The great idea of Italian unity, says the eloquent writer of these volumes, has become the abiding faith of millions. To Mazzini, whatever may be thought of his politics, theoretical or practical, must be ascribed, we are told, the merit of unceasingly developing this conception. Before him, says Count C. Arrivabene, Italy, as a single political body, with a common feeling of nationality, never existed even in idea, or at least no such idea was openly propagated; Cavour again prepared the first impulse to the great national struggle of 1859; D'Azeglio, Farini, Ricasoli, and other men of note, have also contributed to the construction of the Italian kingdom; while Garibaldi, we may add—who once before disobeyed the king, the soldierly type and centre of the national aspiration, to lay at his feet the crowns he had won for him—carried away by the fiery enthusiasm of his patriotic heart, has failed to complete the mission of deliverance for Rome and Venice, only because the insolent self-will of the modern Tiberius, reinforcing Papal incapacity and aiding Austrian *brutalism*, insists upon defying the opinion of enlightened Europe, and re-establishes the authority of Christ's infallible vicegerent by the spiritual force of the holy French bayonet. Garibaldi's blunder was indeed a grave offence, but it belongs to the political pedant to pervert his reprehensible Quixotism into an act of deliberate and self-seeking treason. The kingdom of Italy is a kingdom of revolution, its king is a revolutionary king, its chief statesman has accepted the gift of a revolutionary war-leader; and that leader himself, in the interest of a cause dear to the Italian heart, has been guilty indeed of an irrational impatience, and even of technical rebellion, but of a rebellion natural, comprehensible, and now surely to be forgiven. French supremacy and Austrian despotism are not eternal facts, and the day may come, even though it be far distant, "when the war-cry of the nation shall be again heard from the banks of the Mincio to the Adriatic shores," and when Garibaldi shall redeem his error by services at Rome and Venice, not less glorious than those already rendered in the campaigns in Lombardy, in Sicily, and in Naples.

If Garibaldi was the conquering hand, Cavour was the foreseeing and prearranging mind of the Italian revolution. A thoughtful and appreciating estimate of this diplomatic strategist, originally delivered in the hall of the New York Historical Society, by Vincenzo Botta, is in many respects a worthy biographical study.[21] It exhibits the solid

[21] "A Discourse on the Life, Character, and Policy of Count Cavour, delivered

and comprehensive intellect of Cavour, his business-like sagacity, his generally serene temper, his characteristic self-control. The narrative, however, is rather meagre, and the comment necessarily rapid. The bias of the biographer towards Louis Napoleon is evident, but he gives a reason for his justification of the Peace of Villafranca. A noticeable passage in a letter from Cavour to the Minister of Italy at Washington, written a few days before his death, is especially important, as containing the opinion of no ordinary statesman on a subject of high immediate interest—the American division. After recommending a strict reserve towards the parties which divide the Confederation, Cavour continues: "But this reserve, Monsieur le Chevalier, will not prevent us from manifesting our sympathies for the triumph of the Northern States; for their cause is the cause not only of constitutional liberty, but of all humanity. . . . Christian Europe cannot wish success to a party which bears on its standard the preservation and extension of slavery."

The History of the Royal Academy of Arts[22] is by no means a masterly production. It contains upwards of two hundred notices of men famous in their kind and degree, which are informing, but which, as the author himself admits, have a somewhat "dictionary" character about them. The whole work, though slight and sketchy, yet indicates laborious compilation. In the Appendices will be found matter relating to the laws and regulations of the Royal Academy and its schools, and illustrating the personal labours of its members.

A far more interesting work is the "Memoir of Thomas Bewick"[23]—a true lover of nature, and an artist of no common order. Bewick was born in August, 1753, at Cherryburn House, near the small village of Eklingham, not far from Newcastle-on-Tyne. He was educated at a school kept by the Rev. Mr. Gregson, the parish clergyman. Here he got flogged, played pranks, and neglected Latin, preferring to figure on blank spaces in books, &c., whatever he had seen. Under Mr. Ralph Beilby, an engraver, of Newcastle, Bewick won golden guineas, as well as golden opinions, for his achievements in wood engraving. With this gentleman he subsequently entered into partnership in 1777. A simple, industrious, and duty-loving man, Bewick lived in and for his profession. His Histories of British Birds and Quadrupeds, his Fables of Æsop and of Gay, show with what ardour and effect he worked at his beloved art. He died on the 8th November, 1828. There is much that is pleasant and valuable in his autobiography; though it degenerates towards the end into a farrago of discussion. The illustrations of Bewick's art, contained in the

in the Hall of New York Historical Society, February 20, 1862." By Vincenzo Botta, Ph.D. New York: G. P. Putnam, 532, Broadway. 1862.

[22] "The History of the Royal Academy from its Foundation in 1768, to the present time, with Biographical Notices of all the Members." By William Sandby. In 2 vols. London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts, and Green. 1862.

[23] "A Memoir of Thomas Bewick. Written by Himself." Embellished by numerous wood-engravings, designed and engraved by the Author for a work on British Fishes, and never before published. London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts. 1862.

Appendix, are some of them very perfect, and there is a peculiar grace in the wood-engravings interspersed in the body of the work. All these engravings are from Bewick's own designs; and some are now for the first time published in this Memoir.

The Rev. Thomas Hartwell Horne was born October 20, 1780. He was the youngest son of a village tradesman at Eversley, in Hampshire, a parish which has acquired some little celebrity in our own day as the scene of the ministerial labours of a man of genius—the muscular Christian *par excellence*—the Rev. Charles Kingsley. Mr. Hartwell Horne is best known by his "Introduction to the Study of the Holy Scriptures," which on its first publication, it seems, "took the Church of England by joyful surprise." It certainly shows considerable acquaintance with Biblical lore, and, however antediluvian some of its critical conclusions, was an advance on what had hitherto been achieved in England, in the analysis and exegesis of the Holy Scriptures—at least in this collective and popular form. The "Reminiscences"[25] of a good and learned clergyman, supplemented with notes by his daughter, are by no means devoid of interest. The notices of Hone the infidel bookseller; of Coleridge, who among other things taught our autobiographer the Greek alphabet; and the account of the revision of a portion of the "Introduction" for the tenth edition, by Dr. S. Davidson, whose views on inspiration were NOT in harmony with the author's printed sentiments,—may be specially indicated here. Mr. Horne, though an indefatigable writer, was not very successful in life. He had a small living, the Rectory of St. Edmund the King, a small prebend in St. Paul's Cathedral, and some trifling employment in the British Museum. The living was valued at 305*l.* per annum; the prebend at 11*l.* The latter was all that the Bishop of London, who "did not expect it to be quite so small," was able to offer this deserving churchman. Dr. Blomfield intended it "as a mark of the esteem he entertained of the value of Mr. Horne's services to the cause of Christianity by his different publications, &c."! Mr. Horne died January 27, 1862.

Another volume of "Reminiscences," of a very different kind, will be regarded as a racy and welcome contribution to our knowledge of the Camp, the Court, and the Clubs.[25] Captain Gronow has seen life, and paints it in its superficial aspects with a light, rapid touch. He remembers the Princess Charlotte, Beau Brummell, the Duke of Wellington, Monk Lewis, Byron, Shelley, Southey, D'Orsay, Dr. Goodall, Lord Melbourne, Charles X., and Louis Philippe. London clubs, London hotels, and the cuisine of England, fifty years ago, are also celebrated in this little book. A soldier as well as a courtier, Captain Gronow has seen war, and has his own report of its moving incidents

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[24] "Reminiscences, Personal and Bibliographical, of Thomas Hartwell Horne, B.D., F.S.A. &c., with Notes by his Daughter, Sarah Anne Cheyne, and a short Introduction by the Rev. Joseph B. M'Caul, Chaplain to the Lord Bishop of Rochester," &c. London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts. 1862.

[25] "Reminiscences of Captain Gronow, formerly of the Grenadier Guards, and M.P. for Stafford," &c. &c. Related by Himself. With Illustrations. London: Smith and Elder. 1862.

to make. In particular, he can inform us that at the last charge at Waterloo the Duke's precise words were, *Guards, get up and charge.* He also testifies that Cambronne's supposed answer of *La garde ne se rend pas*, was an invention of after-times, and that he himself always denied having used such an expression. We like this present instalment of Captain Gronow's "Reminiscences" so well, that we trust he will soon be induced to fulfil his conditional promise, and give us a second volume as good as the first.

Having already exceeded our limits, we content ourselves with drawing attention to a second and improved edition of "The Life and Literary Correspondence" of the heroic German Philosopher, Johann Gottlieb Fichte.[26] This work, edited by his son, Immanuel Hermann Fichte, is completed in two volumes.

Briefer still must be our acknowledgment of a re-issue of "Political Conditions and Persons in Germany at the time of the French Dominion," by Clemens Theodore Perthes;[27] and scarcely less summary our recognition of six new volumes of Michaud's admirable "Biographie Universelle,"[28] containing the names included in the headings from MER to POS. But as this work has been already noticed in a former number of our Review, and has been made the subject of an article in No. XL., October, 1861, our present enforced brevity is of the less consequence.

To continue our rapid survey—"La Fuite du Camisard" is a small biographical brochure drawn from the Memoirs of Marteilhe de Bergerac, a French Protestant of the era of the Revocation of Nantes.[29] It is translated from the original German by F. Vidal, to whom, as one of the pastors of the Reformed Church of Bergerac, it has a special attraction.

"Sidney Herbert, First-born Herbert of Lea"[30] is a reprint from *Fraser's Magazine*, embodying a biography and estimate of "a noble and matchless gentleman" who has done the State some service, and who, had he lived, would doubtless have made his "future copy fair his past."

"The Sutton-Dudleys of England and the Dudleys of Massachusetts in New England, from the Norman Conquest"[31] is a sort of heraldic compilation by George Adlard, and is, we presume, a fresh proof that in America aristocratic associations are prized, when they can be had, quite as much as they are in the land of the "Britisher."

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[26] "Johann Gottlieb Fichte's Leben und Literarischer Briefwechsel." Von Seinem Sohne, Immanuel Hermann Fichte. In 2 vols. London and Edinburgh: Williams and Norgate. 1862.

[27] "Politische Zustände und Personen in Deutschland zur Zeit der Französischen Herrschaft." Von Clemens Theodore Perthes. Ord. Professor der Rechtes in Bonn, Das Sudliche und Westliche Deutschland. Zweite unveränderte Auflage. London: Williams and Norgate. 1862.

[28] "Biographie Universelle, Ancienne et Moderne." Nouvelle Edition, publiée sous la direction de M. Michaud. Tomes 28—33. Paris.

[29] "La Fuite du Camisard," &c. Par. F. Vidal. London: David Nutt. 1862.

[30] "Sidney Herbert," &c. Reprinted by permission from "Fraser's Magazine." Salisbury: Brown and Co. London: Simpkin, Marshall, and Co. 1862.

[31] "The Sutton-Dudleys of England, and the Dudleys of Massachusetts in New England," &c. By George Adlard. London: John Russell Smith. 1862.

The last work which it falls to us to notice is a praiseworthy historical study by Mr. Richard Congreve.[32] It is entitled "Elizabeth of England," and consists of two lectures delivered at the Philosophical Institute, Edinburgh, in January of the current year. The first lecture discusses the Foreign Policy, the second the Domestic Policy, of the great Queen. The characteristic peculiarities of the *positive* politician are occasionally traceable in his critical appreciation; but, in general, it is written in a sensible, discriminating spirit, and shows fair historical knowledge and insight. While highly estimating Elizabeth's manly nature and capacity for government, Mr. Congreve candidly admits her imperious and passionate temper, animadverts on her ecclesiastical administration, and confesses that, "though very efficient as the conservator of order—in the inmost domain of the spiritual, the religious, she was too much inclined to break through a proper neutrality, and to exercise a compulsive influence."

BELLES LETTRES.

We differ from our fathers in knowing how to utilize what they regarded as rubbish. From the coal-tar which they threw away, we extract costly essences and brilliant dyes. We make the pipe-clay, with which their floors were whitened, yield the useful metal aluminium. The refuse of our iron furnaces we can convert into slabs having the polish of marble and the veins of agate. They got only salt from sea-water, whereas we can get silver also, and our children may even succeed in procuring an ounce of the precious metal from a certain quantity of water, without having to waste an ounce and a half in the process. What our chemists and manufacturers are doing for the arts, our scholars are doing for literature. Works which our fathers contemptuously styled old wives' tales, have of late been shown to contain striking confirmation of various theories concerning the languages and mythologies of old. The literature of the nursery has become the favourite study of profound scholars. Mr. Campbell, by publishing his "Tales of the West Highlands,"[1] has made us acquainted with a new branch of that literature, and has done much to enable us to appreciate its worth. These tales are not less curious than valuable. When studied as they deserve to be, fresh information will be obtained concerning the habits of thought peculiar to the Celtic race, and novel theories may yet be based on them relative to the origin and migrations of that race. The original Gaelic is appended to each trans-

[32] "Elizabeth of England. Two Lectures delivered at the Philosophical Institution. Edinburgh, January, 1862." By Richard Congreve. London: Trübner and Co. 1862.

[1] "Popular Tales of the West Highlands." Orally Collected, with a Translation by J. F. Campbell. 4 vols. Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas. 1862.

lation. As a translator Mr. Campbell has endeavoured to be liberal rather than elegant; to present as nearly as possible an English counterpart of the Gaelic. In so doing he has acted with wisdom. Smoothly written tales we have in abundance; indeed, the supply of them is so ample that their value is very slight. A faithful translation is not marred by being rather rugged. A wild Indian in his native dress is picturesque; but let him wash off his paint and put on a shirt, cover his limbs with trousers instead of leggings, exchange his moccasins for patent-leather boots, his blanket for a dress coat, and put a chimney-pot hat on his head instead of sticking feathers in his hair, and he becomes a grotesque being, having the semblance of a European without either the manners or the grace. If he must assume the costume of civilized men, let him be dressed in the simplest and plainest attire, so as to retain the face and gait of a savage, without being the caricature of a European. Mr. Campbell by choosing good, homely English in which to deck out his tales, has rendered his translations infinitely more valuable and trustworthy.

Of the tales themselves we shall not give any specimens, but shall state the way in which they have been collected. The difficulties encountered by the collector were very great. Highland peasants are shy and reserved by nature, and labour under the delusion that to repeat a tale is a thing of which they ought to be ashamed. These points are thus dwelt upon by Mr. Campbell in his very interesting introduction :—

"Highland peasants and fishermen, especially those dwelling in the lowlands, are shy and proud, and even more peculiarly sensitive to ridicule than peasants elsewhere. Many have a lurking belief in the truth of the stories that they tell, and a rooted conviction that anyone with a better education will laugh at the belief, and the story, and the narrator and his language, if he should be weak enough to venture on English, and betray his knowledge of Sgeultachd and his creed. He cannot imagine that anyone out of his own class can possibly be amused by his frivolous pastimes. No one ever has hitherto. He sees every year a summer flood of tourists, of all nations, pouring through his lochs and glens, but he knows as little of them as they know of him. The shoals of herrings that enter Loch Tyne know as much of the dun deer on the hill side as Londoners and Highland peasants know of each other. Each gets an occasional peep at the other as the deer may see the herrings capering on the rock—each affects the other slowly but surely, as the herrings do drive away the wild deer by attracting men to catch them; but the want of a common language, here as elsewhere, keeps Highlands and Lowlands, Celt and Saxon, as clearly separate as oil and water in the same glass."—(p. xxii.)

Mr. Campbell had the great advantage of being a thorough master of Gaelic, having learned it when a child; this gave him a great facility in prosecuting his task. He conversed familiarly with the Highlanders in their own tongue, and thus won his way to their hearts. Peasants are everywhere communicative to those who, though dressed like gentlemen and foreigners by birth, are yet capable of understanding their dialect or patois. Besides, there were several friends who aided Mr. Campbell in his task, journeying through districts seldom visited by tourists, questioning all the people they met with, and thus discovering different versions of the same tale as well as many fresh ones.

It is curious how greatly some of these tales resemble those current in Germany and Brittany, and it would be an interesting task to collect them so as to make the points of resemblance and difference clearly apparent. Mr. Campbell does not think that they "date from any particular period, but that traces of all periods may be found in them—that various actors have played the same part time out of mind, and that their manners and customs are all mixed together, and truly, though confusedly, represented—that giants, and fairies, and enchanted princes were men; that Rob Roy may yet wear many heads in Australia, and be a god or an ogre according to taste—that tales are but garbled popular history, of a long journey through forests and hills, inhabited by savages and wild beasts; of events that occurred on the way from east to west, in the year of grace, once upon a time." (p. cxvi.)

It is not to be supposed that tales handed down from generation to generation should continue in every respect the same. Each narrator makes trifling changes, each generation represents the minor details after its own fancy. The story remains, but the language varies. After having given Mr. Campbell's explanation of this, we pass on to consider what he says in his fourth volume about Celtic poetry:—

"First, the manners are generally those of the day. The tales are like the feasts of the pauper maniac, the Emperor of the World, who confided to his doctor that all his rich food tasted of oatmeal brose. Kings live in cottages, and sit on low stools. When they have coaches, they open the door themselves. The queen saddles the king's horse. The king goes to his stable when he hears a noise there. Sportsmen use guns. Supernatural old women are found, spinning 'beyond' it, in the warm place of honour, in all primitive dwellings, even in a Lapland tent. The king's mother puts on the fire, and sleeps in the common room, as the peasant does. The cock sleeps on the rafters, the sheep on the floor, the bull behind the door. A ladder is a pole, with pegs stuck through it. Horses put their noses 'into' bridles. When all Ireland passes in review before the princess, they go in at the front door and out at the back, as they would through a bothy; and even that unexplained personage, the daughter of the King of the Skies, has maids who chatter to her as freely as maids do to Highland mistresses. When the prince is at death's door, for love of the beautiful lady in the swans'-down robe, and the queen-mother is in despair, she goes to the kitchen to talk over the matter. The tales represent the actual every-day life of those who tell them, with great fidelity. They have done the same, in all likelihood, time out of mind, and that which is not true of the present is, in all probability, true of the past; and therefore something may be learned of forgotten ways of life. If much is of home growth, if the fight with the dragon takes place at the end of a dark, quiet Highland loch, where real whales actually blow and splash, these are landscapes which are not actually painted from nature, as she is seen in the Isles, and these may be real pictures seen long ago by our ancestors. Men ride for days through forests, though the men who tell them live in small islands, where there are only drift-trees and bog-pine. There are traces of foreign or forgotten laws or customs. A man buys a wife as he would a cow, and acquires a right to shoot her, which is acknowledged as good law." (p. lxviii.) "Now comes the question, who were these powers of evil, who cannot resist iron? These fairies who shoot *stone* arrows, and are of the foes to the human race? Is all this but a dim, hazy recollection of war between a people who had iron weapons and a race who had not? The race whose remains are found all over Europe?"—(p. lxxvi.)

Nearly the whole of the fourth volume is devoted to an exhaustive discussion concerning the authenticity of the poems attributed to Ossian. The subject is one which has now little interest for the general public. Yet it is a subject which will always be attractive to students of English literature and readers of poetry. To say that Ossian was a favourite book of Bonaparte is not to stamp it with a title to our admiration. But poems which were imitated by Byron and gave pleasure to Goethe, certainly deserve our attention. We condense, then, the results of Mr. Campbell's research with respect to the Ossianic controversy—a controversy which he declares it to be his "ambition to lull fast asleep, for good and all."

Mr. Macpherson professed to have discovered manuscripts of ancient Gaelic poems: he translated these poems into bad English prose. The badness of the translation proved no bar to the popularity of the poems. For a time they were universally read and praised. Some sceptics, of whom Dr. Johnson was the chief, alleged that Ossian's real name was Macpherson. They demanded to see the ancient Celtic manuscript, and as it was not produced, denied that it had ever existed. Then came a reaction, and everybody was eager to decry what once had been universally extolled. The conclusion was that Englishmen came to regard Ossian as a myth and Macpherson as a forger, while Scotchmen have always held to it as an article of national faith that "Fingal lived and Ossian sang." Irishmen, instead of standing neutral, took part in the strife. They had no doubts about the authenticity of the poems and of the existence of their reputed author; but they maintained that they had been composed in Ireland, and that Ossian was an Irishman. Whether or not they were right in so thinking we shall not try to determine.

It is unquestionable that Celtic manuscripts, three centuries old, are in existence; but no more ancient manuscripts can be produced. Macpherson may have had such an one, yet even that one could not have contained the original of the Epics which he translated. Mr. Campbell's theory is "that about the beginning of the eighteenth century, or the end of the seventeenth, or earlier, Highland bards may have fused floating popular traditions into more complete forms, engrafting their own ideas on what they found; and that Macpherson found their works, translated, and altered them; published the translation in 1760; made the Gaelic ready for the press; published some of it in 1763, and made away with the evidence of what he had done when he found that his conduct was blamed. I can see no other way out of the maze of testimony." (p. 80.) Mr. Campbell also considers it to be proved "that before 1760, when Macpherson made his tour, there were plenty of manuscript and traditional poems current in the Highlands, and that he collected and used them; Mrs. Gallie, Lord Lynedoch, Dr. Fergusson, and others saw him engaged upon these materials, and he had no respect for his authorities, new or old. When he died, none of these materials were forthcoming; but those who know anything of Gaelic know what some of them must have been." (p. 117.)

After the translator's death, the Gaelic manuscript was published. But it differed in several things from the translation, and many con-

tended that it had been made after the English version was concocted. Now, it appears that Macpherson was not a sufficiently good Gaelic scholar to have performed that task. "I hold," says Mr. Campbell, "that there is nothing to prove that Macpherson, Ossian, or any other individual, composed the Gaelic poems of 1807—or that they are older than Macpherson's time as a whole—but there is a mass of evidence to prove that he had genuine materials, some of which we also have got for ourselves, and there is a strong presumption that he had something which we had not." "Macpherson's Ossian is, as I conceive, without doubt a composite work, to be ranked in the class which I have numbered 5th and 6th; poetry made up of various materials, ancient and modern, like houses which I have seen in ancient Greece. There, an old Corinthian capital is placed upside down in one corner, its graceful acanthus leaves drooping upwards, and beside it lies a fluted shaft, with boulders and turf resting upon it; sculptured white marble is mingled with ordinary stone of the roughest description, and the whole is bound together with lime and cement, overgrown with weeds, and, it may be, daubed with ignoble mud; but Macpherson's Ossian, like the Greek hut, is, in the main, composed of genuine materials, and a clever antiquary, or a good critic, might yet pick out all the old fragments, and mayhap arrange them more scientifically. To do so would be loss of labour, for we have a mass of similar materials, Scotch and Irish. The Greek hut, with all its incongruities, dirt, and discomfort, with its dress of shrubs and lichens, and utter disregard of the rules of architecture, is more likely to attract a painter's eye than the most symmetrical museum of antiquities, geology, and botany, or the most luxurious brick palace in London; and so Ossian has attracted the notice and the admiration of famous men, who would not have bestowed a thought upon popular tales and ballads separately arranged and classed in due order, as I have striven to do with my stores.

"Ossian is a fiction, but a structure founded upon facts, a work built mainly of Scotch materials, worked by Scotch minds long ago—a very famous work a century old, which is known far and wide, while that of honest John Gillies is almost quite unknown. But the fame of the architect is not to be coveted, for the stigma of dishonesty rests upon his name. Macpherson undoubtedly tried to deceive, and especially when he denied to Ireland all share in the heroes of Ossian, and seemed to claim the entire work as his own invention."—(p. 250.)

It is certainly unpleasant to renounce firmly established convictions, yet we cannot help admitting that poetry of great excellence was current in the Highlands many centuries prior to the birth of Macpherson, that he was neither the creator of Fingal, nor the "father of Ossian." The best proofs of the existence of that poetry are these volumes of "Popular Tales." The race which could transmit the latter from one generation to another could easily keep thousands of verses in remembrance. A hundred years ago it was far easier than now to collect these tales and poems. Macpherson either collected poems, or else made use of the manuscript of a previous collector. As the fashion and desire of his day was for epics, he fused popular ballads into preposterous epics. But while ceasing to question the reality of Ossian, we shall never admire his works till they are presented to us in more attractive language than the jargon employed by Macpherson. We

hope, then, that some Celtic antiquary or critic will endeavour to separate what is genuine in the Gaelic version from what has been interpolated; that he will produce a close and agreeable translation of what he deems authentic, and thereby compose a volume which is certain to be more read and appreciated than Macpherson's Poems of Ossian—a volume which will be a valuable addition, and be worthy of a prominent place in English literature. Who could be better qualified for the successful accomplishment of that task than the able translator of the "Popular Tales of the West Highlands"?

Good Celtic poetry would be truly welcome at a time like the present, when volumes of English poetry are very rare, and volumes of English verse very abundant. Of the latter, Mr. Fulford's volume[2] is a favourable specimen. The longer pieces contained in it are dreary, but the shorter ones are rather pretty. He writes, however, with much better taste than the anonymous author of "The Last Judgment."[3] The following passage which, in the argument is entitled the "Death of Death," if not the best, is certainly the most extraordinary in the volume. It is the Last Day: Death has taken the last dart out of his quiver, mortally wounded himself with it, and then—

> "Uttering loud woe and breathing curses fell,
> He glides through the wide-opened mouth of Hell.
> With huge amazement and extreme affright,
> Infernal legions view the hideous sight!
> Chief, Satan, and his first-born daughter, Sin,
> While tears—the first they ever shed—begin
> Freely to flow, with deep dismay behold
> Their offspring sole in agony untold.
> Meanwhile the Monster—though in dark despair,
> Revived, to breathe once more his native air,
> Tenacious still of life, now ebbing fast—
> Sees, 'midst malignant glances round him cast,
> The form of Satan; while the sight, unblest
> And dismal, though oft seen, wakes in his breast
> Emotions fierce and hellish; then, with strong
> Innate propension, fed and fostered long,
> And mighty even in his mortal pain—
> Dark parricide works in his frenzied brain,
> And yields him one last parting gleam of joy,
> In hope the Prince of Darkness to destroy.
> Writhing in rage he strives to raise his head,
> And lift his body from its fiery bed,
> To seize once more his weapons of renown.
> But all in vain. Exhausted he sinks down,
> Unable to perform his fell intent,
> His quiver empty and his darts all spent.
> In madness and despair his cries now rend
> The air, while Sin and Satan o'er him bend:
> And on them fixing his pernicious eyes,
> His hellish parents cursing fierce—he dies!"—(pp. 37, 38.)

[2] "Saul, a Dramatic Poem; Elizabeth, an Historical Ode; and other Poems." By William Fulford, M.A. London: Bell and Daldy. 1862.

[3] "The Last Judgment: a Poem, in Twelve Books." A new Edition, revised and amended. London: Longman & Co. Edinburgh: W. P. Nimmo. 1862.

Herr Barnstorff has added another to the many works relating to Shakspeare's writings, and has propounded theories concerning them even more far-fetched and absurd than have ever been advanced. It is the "Sonnets" which he deals with, and his book is entitled a Key to them.[4] A few sentences, extracted from the introduction, will explain the aim, and will enable our readers to understand the blunders of the author. "The subjects of the poet's muse in these sonnets is no Earl of Southampton, no Earl of Pembroke, no Queen Elizabeth, no Mrs. Vernon, no corporeal mistress, but *genius* and the drama." "Shakspeare in these sonnets, holding before his own individuality the mask of allegory, presents, to those who will stop to scrutinize, a picture of his inner self. He describes the secret thoughts of his heart;—Firstly, in the form of an appeal addressed by his mortal to his immortal man, his prescribed external individuality to his inner self, his intellectual power, his *intellectuality*, his *genius* (Sonnets i., cxxvi). Secondly, by the symbol of a mistress, an outward mundane love, whose womb his genius is to fructify, he gives us his innermost thoughts upon the drama or his art (Sonnets cxxvii., clii). William Shakspeare, the actor, the lowly, disregarded, uncomprehended man of the age in which he lived, dictates these verses to his *Genius*. Upon this latter is imposed the love-task of raising the former to undying honour and fame among mankind. His genius must triumph over the unfavourable circumstances of birth and fortune; or, failing to do so, sink like his body into earth and oblivion." (pp. xiv., xv.) The foregoing passage carries its refutation on its face. It is difficult to believe that it can have been seriously written. If anything, the next passage is even more absurd:—"The sonnets are dedicated to a person whose initials are *W. H.* We venture now to declare that it seems to us very probable, looking at sonnets cxxxv. and cxxxvi., that these letters stand for the words *William* to *Himself*." (p. xvi.) How unfortunate it is for this wonderful theory, that M. Philarète Chasles should have discovered that the sonnets are dedicated by, and not to, W. H.!

The late Lord Jeffrey was the first to set the example of republishing review articles. To do likewise has now become the custom. Some literary critics have uniformly discountenanced the practice. The writers in the *Saturday Review* have been exceptionally severe on the collectors of essays. They have repeatedly demonstrated that articles which were composed for a special purpose, and were destined for a particular journal, could not possibly be worth reading in a collective form, and that to republish them was a sort of treason. One of their number has broken the law which they themselves promulgated. What his punishment will be we cannot tell. He may either be summarily beheaded, slowly pressed to death, or flayed alive; in any case, he will assuredly have a short shrift and a terrible doom. But though the barrister who has collected the "Essays"[5] contributed by him to that journal may have been guilty of rashness, the public will thank him for

[4] "A Key to Shakespeare's Sonnets." By D. Barnstorff. Translated from the German by T. G. Graham. London: Trübner and Co. 1862.

[5] "Essays." By a Barrister. London: Smith, Elder, and Co. 1862.

daring to present it with an interesting and clever volume. The essays it contains are the cream of the *Saturday Review;* none of them are silly, impertinent, or personal; they are the productions of an able clear-headed man, such essays, in short, as nobody need blush to own and nobody read with disgust when they first appeared.

M. Edmond Texier's Essays "concerning the Things of the Present Time"[6] thoroughly deserve a perusal. We shall glance at the salient points in the principal essays. The one on "Women" is partly a satire and partly a complaint. French marriage customs are reprobated as being intolerable, and the education of French girls is denounced as most imperfect. M. Texier declaims against the notion of every girl being sure to get a husband if she possess a sufficient dowry; while if she be undowered she must remain unmarried. It would have been no information to his countrymen had he added, what we shall state for the benefit of our readers, that one branch of the business of Insurance Companies in France is to provide dowries for children, and that provident parents, as soon as a child is born to them, begin to pay a yearly sum to a company so as to ensure a dowry for the child if it lives to a marriageable age. M. Texier asks, "What can be more absurd, romantic, and dangerous, than the uniform education which is imparted to young girls of any rank and fortune? As they are all so similar, all fashioned after the same model, each one having the same ideas, tastes, and pretensions, the self-same education, in short, as the other, why consider it a crime in young men to prefer those who, in addition to the sum total of the qualities and accomplishments acquired at a boarding-school, have the substantial attraction of a dowry." "It is the false education of young girls and their relative inferiority which explain, and to a certain extent justify, the oppressive dowry-tax." "The fathers and mothers of families, instead of protesting against the exorbitant demands of young men in the matter of dowries, should give their daughters such a practical education as will implant in them a taste for domestic virtues. If they wish their daughters to be espoused for their own sakes, make women of them and not drawing-room puppets." "Money marriages have been so successful that no others take place now-a-days. We have ceased to espouse a heart, an intellect, or a woman: we only marry a dowry." There is a great deal of truth in these remarks, but the evil can be more easily deplored than remedied. M. Texier holds up to his countrymen and countrywomen the example of England, and bids them profit by it. Unfortunately, he has over-estimated, when he has not imagined the advantages enjoyed by us in this matter. In France it is the rule for money. In England it is by no means the rule to marry only for love; but when a match is made up in England, all other, save pecuniary considerations are not systematically ignored. English girls are very imperfectly educated, yet they are less frivolous than French girls, and in the main make better wives. Englishwomen do not consider that marriage vows are made only to be broken. They look upon the married state

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[6] "Les Choses du temps présent." Par Edmond Texier. Paris: J. Hetzel. 1862.

as one in which there are many difficult duties to be discharged, and many heavy cares to be undergone. Frenchwomen, on the other hand, are too apt to regard the day of marriage as the day of escape from bondage, and before they have been long married are very prone to consider liberty synonymous with licence. Under the present system, French husbands are driven to make the acquaintance of women whom they love, and to live with the wives whom they marry. Their conduct may be called criminal, but it is hard to stigmatize a necessity as a crime. Whether or not the better education of French girls will cure the existing evil remains to be proved. Certainly, the mischief now caused is so widespread and disastrous that nothing can possibly intensify or increase it.

In the Essay on "Drawing-rooms," M. Texier laments that the old custom of meeting in certain houses for the purpose of conversing is dying out, and that ladies and gentlemen now assemble to listen to music, or to view private theatricals. He asserts that one consequence of this is a marked deterioration in literary style. The chief excellence of the style of the classical French writers is its extreme simplicity and clearness. Every word is in the right place, every phrase is intelligible, and there is no straining after effect. The style of even the best modern writers is very different: it is far more brilliant, but less pleasing; attracts by its sparkle, but does not impress by its point. M. Texier believes that "if one of the literary princes of former times were to revisit us, he would, perhaps, read with pleasure our romances and plays; but, while perfectly understanding the language as it is now written, would possibly discover that our writers have a kind of *accent*, and we should make the same impression on him that our Southern countrymen make upon us. Nearly all contemporary authors are more or less distinguished by this accent, that is to say, when their pens are in their hands, and they have been so ever since we have ceased and forgotten how to chat." The same thing may be said of English authors. Never have such easy, natural, and graceful writings been produced in this country as during the reign of Queen Anne. At no other period have literary men been more social, or learned more from converse with each other. The men of that day wrote like gentlemen; the elegance and simplicity of their style have rendered the most trivial things they penned worthy of perusal. The majority of the writers of our day hardly know each other's names, and seldom see each other's faces. Whatever be the cause, certain it is that the style of the present generation is rhetorical and artificial. We are pleased with it, as with every other fashion of the moment; but it is very doubtful whether it will be admired and enjoyed a hundred years hence.

A very sad paper is that which treats of the condition of workwomen in France. We are accustomed to regard our needlewomen as the most unhappy beings alive, yet they are hardly more deserving of our pity and charity than their French sisters. We shall translate a short extract which is quoted from M. Boucher de Perthes, and which puts their case very clearly and impressively:—

"A workwoman, who labours for twelve hours daily, receives barely enough

to satisfy her hunger, and has nothing left wherewith to pay for her clothes and lodgings. In the country, the wages of factory and shop girls and day-workers are tenpence; these, however, are the lucky or skilful ones, for many get no more than sevenpence-halfpenny, sixpence, or fivepence a day. I know some who, when working at home, cannot obtain more than fourpence by twelve hours' work. Be it understood that they are neither fed, nor lodged, receive neither fuel nor candles; they get fourpence and nothing more. There are some who hire themselves for food alone, and others who work for absolutely nothing, being obliged to serve an apprenticeship, which lasts several years. Such, in our state of civilization, is the lot of an indigent woman."

Surely, M. Texier is fully justified in asserting that many Frenchwomen might envy the condition of negro slaves. Slaveholders make women work; but they do not suffer them to die of hunger or cold. We know, of course, why these workers are so badly paid: they are too numerous. In France, as in England, the complaint is very general that men are superseding women in many branches of industry. The Emperor can do much; but what would it avail if he were to decree that henceforth women were to be solely employed in certain shops? The result would be that the shopmen thus deprived of work would engage in some other pursuit which is now carried on by women. The question is one which cannot be adequately discussed here; as for a remedy for the evil, it will puzzle the greatest statesman to suggest one. It is clear, however, that something must be done, and that speedily. Why are the soldiers in the French army deteriorating every generation? Because their mothers are half starved. Why is woman's virtue but a name among a certain class in France? Because French workwomen cannot subsist by the labour of their hands. We might multiply our questions, but sufficient has been said to prove the importance of the subject, and how much it requires to be considered and dealt with.

The other contents of this volume are of a lighter character than those we have specified. There are many telling hits in it, and several home-truths. The prevailing follies of the hour are exposed with cleverness and vivacity, as well as with good humour. Many a pointed sarcasm is levelled against the ladies for delighting to make their figures resemble huge moving mushrooms. M. Texier might have spared himself the trouble of trying to make crinoline collapse under ridicule. Fortunately, it is a fashion, and of all earthly things the fashions of female attire are the most unstable and fleeting. We shall live to see crinoline laughed at by those who now wear it, as we have lived to hear ladies express surprise how they or their mothers could wear head-dresses three feet in height, and petticoats which stopped short abruptly a little below the knees. It is but a few years since ladies' waists had ascended to about their shoulders, and since they were half the circumference which they now are. Only yesterday their bonnets ornamented the backs of their heads: they now rise like towers over their foreheads. Let us not be too anxious, however, for the abandonment of crinoline. Who can tell what monstrosity will succeed it?

In the preface M. Texier observes his volume should not be read

consecutively, but bit by bit. There are things in it which will suit everybody's taste, and although it is unfit to be perused at a sitting, yet very few who begin will leave it unfinished.

The systems of short-hand writing which have been successively invented, practised, and discarded are described and criticised with clearness and impartiality by Mr. Levy in his History of that Art.[7] It is curious how many inventors in this, as in other fields, have been merely copyists. They seem to have fancied that to have slightly altered a preceding system was to have invented a new one. Mr. Levy approves most highly of Taylor's system, it being the one which he employs. We quite agree with him. It is very simple and can be easily acquired. Of course, each one is best pleased with the system which he himself has acquired or discovered. The only test of one system being superior to another is the length of time during which it has been popular, or the number of persons who have adopted it. Taylor's system will stand either of these tests, as well, if not better, than any other. Those, however, who would judge of this for themselves should read Mr. Levy's curious and carefully compiled volume.

Mr. Charles Allston Collins has produced a work,[8] which, in sporting phrase, is a cross between a novel and a book of travel. He describes the incidents of a real journey, but the persons who make it are fictitious. There are many amusing things in these volumes, yet the two volumes might have been condensed into one with great advantage. The journey is made from Calais to Geneva. Two Englishmen, who had visited the former town and found living there very dull work, determined to procure a vehicle and a horse, and travel by road to the latter. One of them is always desponding, the other always sanguine. These characteristics are manifested by each with wearisome uniformity on every occasion. It is clown and pantaloon on their travels. There is great truth and not a little humour in the account of their adventures in quest of a horse. As a matter of course they are imposed upon, and an animal that falls dead lame shortly after setting out is palmed off on them by its French owner. Frenchmen know as well as we do all the tricks of the stable. The expedition is abandoned almost as soon as begun. After a sojourn in Paris, the travellers make another attempt to procure a suitable horse, and this time are more fortunate. Accordingly they go on their way rejoicing, and after several adventures, arrive at Geneva. It would have been better had the author contented himself with giving a simple narrative of the journey, in place of composing this hybrid work. There are many things to be seen in the out-of-the-way towns of France, as new in their way as those which are witnessed in Timbuctoo. Unhappily, the writers of the day think they have failed in their duty unless they present something to the world of which the form is original. If they cannot do more, they content themselves with giving nicknames to everything,

[7] "History of Short-Hand Writing." By Mathias Levy. And "Taylor's System of Short-Hand Writing." London: Trübner and Co. 1862.

[8] "A Cruise upon Wheels." By Charles Allston Collins. 2 vols. London and New York: Routledge, Warne, and Routledge. 1862.

and they show themselves in this respect on a par with schoolboys. Mr. Collins always speaks of Calais as "Malaise" in his first volume, but forgets to be artificial towards the close of the second, and simply calls it Calais. Thinking, probably, that his work would receive little attention if it were entitled a Journey by Road from Calais to Geneva, he calls it "A Cruise upon Wheels." This affectation deserves the heavier censure, because in his case it is superfluous.

When young authors do not strive to be funny, they endeavour to write finely. We cannot wonder that in either case they should fail to compose what will please and endure. "A Loss Gained"[9] is so full of word-painting as to be almost unreadable. Doubtless, some will like it because of its faults. The heroine is an attractive young girl; she is fresh from a boarding-school, but it is difficult to believe that even a boarding-school miss could talk by the page in such a strain as this:—"Yes, already the last fan-like shafts of colour glint up into the sky, and the world is many tones more gray; at once the fallows begin to seethe, and the denser air feels frosty, for winter is but a short way off, and little would tempt him back again." (p. 71.)

The most extraordinary novel that has been published for many a day is the "Weird of the Wentworths."[10] To convey an adequate notion to our readers of the incoherent nature of the plot is almost impossible; yet, though we may fail, we shall make the attempt. There is first a chapter to explain the meaning of the title. "Weird," ordinarily means witch or wizard, and is employed by the author to signify a doom or fate that hangs over a family. In this case the doom had a very singular origin. Immediately before the death of Oliver Cromwell, one of his faithful followers, Sir Ralph de Vere, obtains as the reward of his services the possessions of his cousin, the "Countess of Wentworth in her own right, and Abbess of St. Clement's, a monastic pile on the banks of the Wye." Aided by his Puritan soldiers, Sir Ralph murders the monks, who, according to Johannes Scotus, dwelt there, turns out his cousin and the nuns into the open air, and takes up his quarters for the night in her room. Either the Abbess or her ghost, the author will not say which it was, as his duty is merely to "relate facts, not to settle matters of belief, appears to Sir Ralph during the night. In a long and singularly confused song, the apparition calls upon him to repent, or else his descendants will die young. Sir Ralph, or, as he is now styled, Earl de Vere, probably enraged by her singing, which, if equal to her grammar, was much worse than a street performer's, indignantly declines. As a necessary consequence, all the wicked earl's descendants died before they reached middle life. Johannes Scotus is of opinion that such occurrences are by no means unusual. If so, it might be well for insurance offices to compile tables especially adapted for "Weird" lives. He seems to have omitted to notice another curse which the ill-used abbess entailed on her descend-

[9] "A Loss Gained." By Philip Cresswell. London: Smith, Elder, and Co. 1862.

[10] "The Weird of the Wentworths: a Tale of George IV.'s Time." By Johannes Scotus. 2 vols. London: Saunders, Otley, and Co. 1862.

ants, that is, to have a wonderful capacity for writing verses quite as bad as her own. The author takes care that the "Weird" is fulfilled; for, in the space of two moderately large volumes, he kills off upwards of a dozen of his principal characters, to say nothing of the minor ones who die like flies in winter. Some of the events related possess historical interest. For example, it is information to learn that monks and nuns were to be found in England when Cromwell was Protector. We are also told for the first time that, when George IV. was king, it was customary for gentlemen who had quarrelled during dinner to step out on the lawn and fight a duel, while the ladies sat quietly in the drawing-room, and the children and servants of the family enjoyed the spectacle! The quantity of profane swearing, represented by the usual letters, which these pages contain, baffles description; we cannot but marvel that the printer should have had a sufficient number of the fourth letter of the alphabet at his disposal. In his preface, the author solemnly repudiates the swearing; having done so, he fancied perhaps that he had rendered it harmless. Altogether it is as difficult to find a parallel to this remarkable work as it will be difficult to find any one who will care to read it to the end.

The author of "The Last Days of a Bachelor,"[11] is wholly deficient in the fertility of invention which is the characteristic of Johannes Scotus. Mr. Allan seems to have the power which was denied to the Israelites, of making bricks without straw: he had nothing to say, and required two volumes for the purpose of making that known. A whole chapter is borrowed from Mrs. Barrett Browning. French authors are also laid under contribution for ideas, and the whole work is rambling and disjointed. Some of the chapters seem to have been intended for separate publication.

A novelist who abandons subjects with which he is familiar, and selects those which he is incompetent to treat, will produce as bad a work as a man who is wholly disqualified for writing a novel. As a writer of what may be called social novels, Mr. Whyte Melville has few equals. Yet there has seldom been a greater failure than his historical novel, entitled the "Queen's Maries."[12] A great deal is said in it about the beauty of Queen Mary, and not a little in praise of Bothwell; but the plot is badly constructed, and the personages are historically untrue. It is doubtful if the historical novel be not a mistake. History, when properly written, is as interesting as any romance, and besides, it is history and not romance. The picture which Mr. Melville draws of the Scottish Court is one which no historian would venture to draw, and we cannot see why a novelist should encroach on the historian's field, and yet exercise a licence which the latter dare not employ. Sir Walter Scott, it is true, did not scruple to do this; but although his novels are incomparable productions, they have done more to propagate erroneous and injurious notions concerning historical personages than any works ever penned. Perhaps

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[11] "The Last Days of a Bachelor: an Autobiography." By James McGrigor Allan. 2 vols. London: T. C. Newby. 1862.

[12] "The Queen's Maries." By G. J. Whyte Melville. 2 vols. London: Parker, Son, and Bourn. 1862.

the ill-success of the present work will prevent Mr. Melville from producing others like unto it, and cause him to choose subjects about which he can discourse more agreeably than the excellences of Queen Mary and the virtues of Bothwell.

Whatever Mr. Thackeray writes is certain to be read: there is no necessity, then, for giving a detailed account of his last novel.[13] If it be not so good as we have a right to expect from him, it is a much better one than most other authors could supply. None of the characters are new; but they are all well drawn. None of the reflections are fresh; but all of them are pointed. The old sarcasms are repeated in nearly the same words. The pictures of life with which we are familiar, reappear with very slight variations of outline and colouring. Once a novelist has become so popular that every line by him will fetch a high price and find eager readers, it were almost too much to expect that he will be very solicitous about how he writes, or care much for the opinions of posterity. Under these circumstances, he considers fame to imply a large balance at his banker's. Perhaps he is right. It is writers who have no need of a banker, and lovers who have no money, who write for fame and marry for love. Every one has the option of doing what pleases him, and we should not be angry if some men strive after immortal renown and others are satisfied with present praise and handsome pay. No matter how feeble Mr. Thackeray's future works may be, he has secured for himself a place in our literature which he will ever retain. His later novels are far inferior to his earlier ones, but his worst productions are far superior to the "Sensation" novels that are so detestable and so fashionable. It would be a happy thing if some writers of the day would employ the beautiful English of Mr. Thackeray, and could combine, as he does, the dignity of the scholar with the polish of the gentleman.

Ten years ago, M. Edmond About became suddenly famous as a novelist. In a short space of time he produced other works, all of which found as many readers and admirers as his first. Then he took to writing political pamphlets, which excited as much notice as his novels. Of late he has done little in the way of novel-writing, and from what he has done we are constrained to conclude that his career as a novelist is ended. One of his most recent novels is a farce, divided into chapters instead of acts. It is called "The Nose of an Attorney."[14] The title is certainly grotesque, yet it correctly indicates the subject of the book. The hero, M. Alfred L'Ambert, is one of a race of attorneys: he has inherited a large fortune and a splendid practice, and he denies himself no luxury and declines no business.

"He had sucked in good principles with his mother's milk. He utterly despised all the political novelties introduced into France since the catastrophe of 1789. In his eyes the French nation consisted of three classes—the clergy, the nobility, and the middle class—an admirable notion, and one which a few

[13] "The Adventures of Philip on his Way through the World." By W. M. Thackeray. 3 vols. London: Smith, Elder, and Co. 1862.

[14] "Le Nez d'un Notaire." Par Edmond About. Paris: Michel Lévy Frères. 1862.

members of the Senate now entertain. He modestly considered himself as belonging to the middle class, yet had secret aspirations after the aristocracy of the long-robe. He regarded the majority of the French nation with profound contempt, that mass of peasants which is called the people, or the vile multitude. He mixed with the people as little as possible, out of respect for his charming person, which he loved and fondly cherished. Plump, healthy, and strong as a pike, he was convinced that the people were gudgeons expressly created by Providence for the sustenance of the gentlemen pike. In his own house he was a capital fellow, as nearly every selfish man is: in the law courts, at the club, in the attorneys' hall, at the meetings of the society of St. Vincent de Paul, and in the fencing-school, he was looked on with esteem. He was a first-rate fencer and boon-companion, a generous lover when his heart was smitten, and a trustworthy friend among men of his own rank; he was one of the most amiable of creditors when he received interest for his advances; in his tastes he was delicate, and was fastidious in his dress, being always as prim as a new pin; he was a regular church-goer, and frequented the green-room of the opera every Monday, Wednesday, and Friday; he would have been the most perfect gentleman of his time, both physically and morally, if he had not been dreadfully short-sighted and been obliged to wear spectacles."—(pp. 8, 9.)

This paragon of excellence quarrels with a Turk about an opera-dancer: having given the Turk a blow on the nose, a duel takes place to enable the Turk to avenge the insult. Nothing will satisfy the Turk except to deprive his adversary of the organ on which the blow had fallen, and he succeeds in cutting off the fine aquiline nose of M. L'Ambert. The attorney is in despair, and offers to pay any sum, or suffer any pain, provided his nose can be replaced. Doctor Bernier assures him that this can be done in two ways, either by forming a fresh nose out of the flesh on the forehead, or else by making an incision in the arm, and keeping the arm and the nose in contact for thirty days, then shaping a nose out of the flesh which adheres. M. L'Ambert rejects the first method because it will leave an ugly scar, and thereby spoil the beauty of his forehead; nor can he bring himself to endure the pain of the second. Whereupon the author remarks:—"Our generation is courageous enough, yet it shrinks from pain. The fault lies with our parents, who have reared us in cotton-wool." By offering a large reward to a young and healthy water-carrier, the requisite piece of flesh is procured from his arm. The operation succeeds perfectly, and M. L'Ambert returns into society as handsome as ever. However, he neglects the water-carrier, who becomes a drunkard. The attorney's nose thereupon grows red and bloated, and is only cured when the water-carrier is found, and forced to live abstemiously. Whenever his nose troubled him, he promised to do every possible thing for the latter, but as soon as it became well he broke all his promises. At last he awakes on the morning of his wedding-day and finds his nose gone. It is supposed that the water-carrier is dead. M. L'Ambert remains a bachelor, gives up his profession, gets an artificial nose of enamelled silver, and spends his time in amassing money and drinking the choicest wines. One day he meets the water-carrier, who states that on M. L'Ambert withdrawing his pension he was obliged to seek for work, had apprenticed himself to a machine-maker, and had lost the arm from which the nose was cut. It is needless to observe that many things in this tale are not to be implicitly accepted, any more than in Voltaire's Huron and Candide. M. About wished to moralize, and has

done so indirectly. The sufferings of M. L'Ambert are described for the purpose of enforcing his moral. We should rejoice if all moral tales were as readable as the foregoing one. M. About is master of such a sparkling and graceful style, that his works are readable, even when they are hardly worth the trouble of reading.

A novelist generally draws upon his imagination for his facts. If a story be true to nature, we do not concern ourselves about the accuracy of its details. So with a play: if the dialogue be natural and the action of the characters logical, it matters little whether the scenery be so well painted and planned as to make us forget that we are in a theatre, and the costumes of the actors so well chosen as to induce us to regard them as the beings of another age or nation. It is undoubtedly an advantage when everything is in keeping, when the language, the acting, and the scenery are alike perfect. It is equally pleasing when a novel, of which the scene is laid in a foreign country, contains true pictures of the country and of the manners of its inhabitants. A man domesticated in a country of which he is not a native, has greater facilities for furnishing his own countrymen with a trustworthy account of it than a man born and bred therein. The former knows what things his countrymen would like to understand about, and he writes at length concerning various things which the latter would never dream of mentioning. For example, Mr. Adolphus Trollope has furnished us with truer, fuller, and fresher sketches of Tuscan life than a native of Florence could have done. The Florentine would omit many details on which Mr. Trollope dwells in his novel of "Marietta:"[15] he would think them superfluous. Of course, an Italian is already acquainted with them; but as we are not Italians, we receive the information with extreme pleasure. We remarked that Mr. Trollope's novel "La Beata" contained many particulars relating to Florence which were not to be found in any guide-book, and we may say the same of the present work. In "La Beata" we were introduced, for the first time, to a Florentine tallow-chandler—a personage of greater importance in Italy than in England, but of whose social position and public functions travellers in Italy are wholly ignorant. In "Marietta" a Florentine money-lender is depicted, and though men of his craft are to be found all over the world, yet Giuseppi Palli has many characteristics which are peculiar to a native of Florence.

The story runs thus: Count Lunardi, becoming impoverished, is forced to part with his estate and his palace. They are purchased by Count Perini, who is soon obliged to mortgage them deeply, in order to obtain money wherewith to gamble. His land-steward, Carlo Palli, advances the full value of the estate, of which he ultimately becomes the owner. Giuseppi, the brother of Carlo, lends money on the security of the palace, and both expect to be the joint possessors of the entire property. To keep it intact, it is planned that Carlo's son shall marry Giuseppi's daughter. But Giovanni cares little for his cousin Laura. The latter loves and is loved by Sebastian, the great-nephew of the deceased Count Rinaldo, and the inheritor of his title. Marietta, the

[15] "Marietta: a Novel." By T. Adolphus Trollope. 2 vols. London: Chapman and Hall. 1862.

daughter and only child of the count, forms the project of saving enough to repurchase the family mansion. She lives with and keeps house for her uncle, the Canon Giacomo de Lunardi, and manages to put aside something every year out of his scanty income. So devoted is she to this, that she refuses to marry Guido Guidi, who thereupon enters the church. Years roll on, and Marietta acquires a sum which will buy back the Lunardi palace should it be put up for sale. Giuseppi Palli does not wish that it should slip through his hands, and therefore advances to its owner a larger sum than it could possibly fetch. Guido Guidi, or rather Canon Guidi, wishes to get possession of Marietta's money, as he thinks the command of it will enable him to obtain preferment. He tries to persuade Sebastian to become a priest, and thus make it useless for Marietta to acquire the palace. Thinking it will farther his designs, he does not scruple to compass the death of the old Canon Giacomo by poison. In fact, he is the villain of the novel. The result is that the money-lender, Giuseppi Palli, obtains the palace; that he consents to the marriage of his daughter Laura with Sebastian, when the latter is dowered by Marietta with the sum which she had accumulated, and in this way the Lunardi palace reverts to its legitimate possessors. Carlo Palli marries the girl whom he loves, and though the guilt of the wicked Canon Guidi is brought home to him, he threatens his accusers so frightfully that they keep the matter a secret. The canon prospers, obtains the highest priestly honours, and dies in the odour of sanctity. We shall end our notice of this first-rate novel by advising all who like a well-written and most interesting story to peruse it, and by quoting the author's reflections on the character of Canon Guidi:—

> "During the whole of the long career marked out into stages by these successive promotions and successes, the Canon, Confessor, Bishop, Cardinal, pursued the dignified tenor of his prosperous way, approved, admired, respected, envied, honoured. And when he died, men put a fine marble, with a magniloquent inscription, over his grave, and hung a red hat by a long cord from the lofty vault above it.
>
> "This was his reward; a due and fairly earned one. Do not let us grudge it to him; or fancy that our moral sense, or poetical or other justice, is outraged by the record of such a proper and normal series of circumstances. Industry and intelligence will produce wealth. Temperance will produce health. Decorum and fair seeming will produce honour, and station, and respect. The race is to the swift on the special race-course on which each race is run. But if you enter for the 'wealth' sweepstakes, you must not expect the 'health' cup for your running in that race, however swift. If you go in for nobility of nature and high moral worth, you must not expect to receive your prize in cash. The Canon Guidi did run well in the race for which he entered himself; and won its prizes accordingly."—(Vol. ii., pp. 294, 295.)

Let our readers picture to themselves a man so marvellously gifted by nature as to have his passions under complete control, who is inflexible when others waver, and resists temptations to which others helplessly succumb, whose person is graceful and mind cultivated, whose features have the beauty and, on occasion, the inflexibility of finely chiselled marble, who, having inherited a considerable fortune and squandered it almost to the last penny, can suddenly deny himself luxuries which had become necessaries, and, without running into debt,

live comfortably on as many hundreds as he had possessed thousands, yet who, notwithstanding his extraordinary powers, chooses to die prematurely because he had been thwarted in marrying the woman he loved, and because she had died through the ill-usage of the man she voluntarily espoused. Will not our readers exclaim, that such an one ought to have met with a happier fate; that he should either have been less perfect, or less severely punished? At all events, that is our opinion of the principal character in "Barren Honour,"[16] by the author of "Guy Livingstone." Sir Alan Wyverne is far too wonderful to be natural, and his lot is far too hard to be just. The tendency of this author is to exaggerate the excellences and defects of his personages. His colouring is brilliant, but crude. The fact of the tale having been originally published in a magazine, may account for, without excusing, the dissertations and digressions which too frequently impede its progress. Still, the novel is a striking production. It is written with unusual vigour, and contains several very effective scenes. The plot may be sketched in a few sentences. Sir Alan Wyverne loves his cousin, Helen Vavasour; proposes, and is betrothed to her. Lady Mildred Vavasour has secretly resolved that the match shall be broken off. She intrigues for that object, and is privy to the forging of letters which bring it about. Helen becomes the Countess of Clydesdale, and continues to love her cousin. Being badly treated by the Earl of Clydesdale, and passionately devoted to Sir Alan Wyverne, she twice offers to abandon her husband and live with him. He rejects her offers with more than stoical courage, refusing to be a criminal, or to allow her to become his paramour. In spite of these rebuffs, she loves him as fondly as ever. A time comes when Sir Alan discovers that it was forged letters which had been the cause of his engagement being cancelled, and the knowledge that Lord Clydesdale had an indirect share in the work does not tend to reconcile him to the thought of his having become Helen's husband. At last, Helen dies suddenly; the brutality of the earl being the cause of her death. Thereupon Sir Alan ceases to have any pleasure in life. He proceeds to America for distraction. The ship in which he is a passenger takes fire. He might save himself, if he would only make an effort, but he prefers to die, holding "a dead woman's picture in his hand."

Why did Sir Alan, although endowed with every quality which renders a man certain of success, uniformly fail in what he undertook? The author's answer is that, "Throughout Alan's life, honour usurped the place where religion ought to have reigned paramount: he shrank from shame when he would perhaps have encountered sin." How is it, then, that Lady Mildred Vavasour, a Sir Alan in petticoats, who is practically irreligious, and shrinks neither from shame nor sin, should always triumph and compass her ends? It may be said that a novelist is not expected to be a logician; yet when a writer creates a character solely to enforce an ethical maxim, he should not play fast and loose with logic. Lady Mildred is too clever by half. Here is her portrait

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[16] "Barren Honour: a Tale." By the Author of "Guy Livingstone." Originally published in "Fraser's Magazine." 2 vols. London: Parker, Son, and Bourn. 1862.

which has no resemblance to that of any woman who ever existed, save in a novelist's brain. Still, her portrait is powerfully drawn, and elaborated with extreme care.

"It would be difficult as well as uncourteous to guess at Lady Mildred Vavasour's precise age; her dark hair has lost perhaps somewhat of its luxuriance, but little of its glossy shine; her pale cheek—tinged with a faint colour (either by nature or art) exactly in the right place—and white brow, are still polished and smooth as Carrara marble; and her small, slight, delicate figure, with which the tiniest of hands and feet harmonize so perfectly, retains its graceful roundness of outline." "In her own line, Lady Mildred Vavasour stood unrivalled; she was the very Talleyrand of domestic diplomacy. I do not mean to infer that she was pre-eminent among those Machiavels in miniature, who glide into supremacy over their own families imperceptibly, and maintain their position by apparent non-resistance, commanding always, while they seem to obey. In her own case such cleverness would have been wasted. She no more dreamt of interfering with any of the Squire's tastes or pursuits, than he did with hers; and was perfectly content with complete freedom of action, sure of having every whim gratified. Indeed, up to the present time her talents had been employed in singularly disinterested ways. Very, very seldom had she acted with her own advantage, or that of any one closely connected with her, in view. The position of the Vavasours was such as never to tempt them to look for aggrandizement; the Squire represented his county, as a matter of course, but there was not a particle of ambition in his nature; and her son had always steadily refused to allow his mother's talents or influence to be exercised on his behalf. But she had a vast circle of acquaintance, both male and female, and when any one of these was in a difficulty, he or she constantly resorted to Lady Mildred, sure of her counsel, if not of her co-operation. She gave one or both, not in the least because she was goodnatured, but because she liked it. She liked to hold in her little white hand the threads of a dozen at once of those innocent plots and conspiracies which are carried on so satisfactorily beneath the smooth, smiling surface of this pleasant world of ours. Granting that the means were trivial, and the end unworthy, it was almost grand to see how her cool calculation, fertile invention, and dauntless courage, rose up to battle with difficulty and danger. She loved a complicated affair, and went into it heart and soul; no one could say how many cases that had been given up as hopeless, she had carried through auspiciously, with an exceptional good fortune. With mere politics she meddled very seldom (though she never sought for a place or promotion for one of her favourites, or an adopted *protégé*, without obtaining it), but in her own circle there scarcely was a marriage made or marred, of which the result might not have been traced to the secret police of Lady Mildred's *boudoir*. If she had a *specialité*, it was the knack of utterly crushing and abolishing—in a pleasant, noiseless way—a dangerous detrimental. The victim scarcely ever suspected from what quarter the arrow came, but often entertained, in after days, a great respect and regard for the fatal Atalanta."—(Vol. ii., pp. 39, 41.)

The author of "Barren Honour" would have done better had he framed his personages after human models, instead of endowing them with impossible attributes and contradictory qualities. His men and women are far too artificial: they do not live; they only sin, or suffer. The story is very ably and impressively told; but it does not read like a story of real English life. Its author has more talents than heart. That it is the production of a man of great talent is evinced by every chapter. Had there been more heart in it, we should have ranked its author with the greatest novelists of the day.

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