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JANUARY AND APRIL,

1881.

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

SHAKESPEARE.

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

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ART. I.—THE PROGRESS OF SHIPBUILDING IN ENGLAND.

1. *Papers on Naval Architecture.* (1827–33.)
2. *Transactions of the Institution of Naval Architects.* (1860–80.)
3. *The Modern System of Naval Architecture.* By JOHN SCOTT RUSSELL, F.R.S. 1865.
4. *Shipbuilding in Iron and Steel.* By Sir E. J. REED, K.C.B. 1869.
5. *Shipbuilding, Theoretical and Practical.* By Professor RANKINE, and others. 1866.
6. *A Manual of Naval Architecture.* By W. H. WHITE. 1877.
7. *Yacht Designing.* By DIXON KEMP. 1876.

AT the close of the great French war the supremacy of the naval force of England was unquestioned. All rivals had been swept from the seas; our war-fleet was numerically stronger than it had ever been, and our mercantile marine almost monopolized the carrying trade of the world. Yet, strange to say, this period of unrivalled supremacy was also the period when English shipbuilding occupied its lowest position relatively to that of other nations. Not merely France and Spain, but Sweden, Denmark and the United States then produced ships which were superior in speed and good qualities to

the best English ships. Our naval commanders were constantly complaining of the inferiority of their vessels to those of the enemy; and when prizes were taken, our shipbuilders felt no shame in using them as models for new constructions. In form, structure, and propulsive arrangements, British ships in the earlier years of this century were not widely dissimilar from those of the seventeenth century. And it may be questioned whether British shipbuilders at the later date were equal in ability or culture to the Petts and Deane whose reputation attracted Peter the Great to this country, as the fittest school in which to study shipbuilding.

Seventy years ago the designing of English ships was in the hands of men entirely ignorant of the first principles of naval architecture. Precedent and experience were all powerful; wide departures from previous practice were feared. Even when foreign ships, which had been designed by more competent men, were copied, no real advance was made; for the reasons for the superiority of the foreign models could not be ascertained. British war-ships were designed in accordance with certain "Established Dimensions" which were little varied from 1680 to 1810. According to these "Dimensions," a ship carrying a certain number of guns must not exceed a certain "tonnage," which tonnage was measured by an objectionable rule, based on no sound principle, and calculated to hamper progress. Had there been worthy successors in England of the men who reconstructed the Royal Navy in the seventeenth century, such a system could not have so long survived. But no such successors were found, and the highest professional officers in the service of the Crown at the beginning of the present century were "ship-carpenters" in all but name. Probably they were somewhat superior to the Master Shipwright of Deptford Dockyard in 1668, described by Evelyn as "Old Shish, a plaine, honeste carpenter . . . hardly capable of reading, yet of great ability in his calling." But of their imperfect professional education good evidence is given in the "Report of the Commission of Naval Revision, 1806," which says—"In the whole course [of training and promotion] no opportunity will be found of acquiring even the common education given to men of their rank of life; and they rise to the complete direction of the construction of ships on which the safety of the Empire depends, without any care or provision having been taken on the part of the public that they should have any instruction in mathematics, mechanics, or in the science and theory of marine architecture." Another competent authority, speaking of the same period, says—"Scarcely a single individual in the country knew correctly even the first element of the displacement of one of our numerous ships." And he

might have added that, in this particular, a distinct retrogression had been made from the practice of Deane and other naval architects of the seventeenth century. Documents are still extant showing that at the earlier period calculations of displacement, and the tabulation of exact data, were by no means uncommon performances.

While this was the condition of affairs in the Royal Navy, as great, if not greater ignorance prevailed in the British mercantile marine. Our ships had no virtues except their strong structures and large carrying power. They were made deep and narrow in order to evade the unscientific Tonnage Law then in force; but while they could carry large cargoes on a small nominal tonnage, they were dull sailers and often proved dangerously unsafe in heavy weather. This Tonnage Law, known still as "Builders' Old Measurement," was enacted in 1773, and applied to all sea-going British ships. Long before it was made a legal measurement some such rule had been in use among shipbuilders, and it undoubtedly was intended to express approximately the weight of cargo which a ship could carry. It was purely empirical, however, and tacitly assumed that certain modes of construction, as well as certain ratios of length to breadth, or breadth to depth, would continue in use. Two or three external measurements were made from a ship, and on these as data the estimate of tonnage was based. In these measurements no account was taken of the depth of ships; but it was assumed that the draught of water in well-formed ships would be about one-half of the extreme breadth. Nor was there any accurate determination of the form of the immersed part of a ship. Consequently, so long as the length and breadth remained unaltered, the nominal tonnage of a ship was unchanged, although the depth might be made greater, and the immersed part made more and more burdensome, or "box-shaped," in order that a much heavier cargo might be carried without the necessity of paying higher dues to harbours, docks, and lights. In other words, whereas the intention of the Tonnage Law was to assess those dues on the weight of cargo which a ship could carry, and that intention was fairly realized in the vessels existing when the Act of 1773 was passed, it was entirely defeated in ships built subsequently. Builders and owners combined to produce unduly deep ships, of extremely "full" form, some of which were capable of carrying a cargo weighing 50 or 60 per cent. more than the legal tonnage by "Builders' Old Measurement." But the gain in carrying-power as compared with tonnage thus secured, had to be paid for in decreased safety, speed and seaworthiness. Losses of life and property became much more frequent, and were clearly traceable to the influence of the Tonnage Law. During the French War,

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when merchantmen sailed under convoy, these faults were less apparent than they became after Peace was proclaimed. Our ships then had to compete, on their merits, with ships built in America, or the North of Europe, under no similar temptations to sacrifice efficiency to carrying power; their inferiority soon became manifest, and the reasons were obvious enough. An agitation began for the repeal of the Tonnage Law, and a Commission reported against it in 1821; but it continued in force fifteen years longer, when a second Commission succeeded in substituting for Builders' Old Measurement a less objectionable, but still an imperfect law, that gave place, in its turn, to the system still in force, to which reference will be made hereafter.

The study of scientific naval architecture, while thus neglected in England, was prosecuted with ardour on the Continent, and especially in France. When Louis XIV. determined to create a fleet, his able Minister, Colbert, gave all possible encouragement to mathematicians and scientists, in order that the fundamental principles of ship construction might be established and made to govern practice. This procedure was doubtless influenced by the successes that had been already achieved by the Petts, Deane, and other educated English shipbuilders; and its results were so satisfactory, that the system originated by Colbert, and embodied in several *Ordonnances de la Marine*, dating from 1689 onwards, has been continued in operation until the present time. A considerable period elapsed, it is true, before the foundations of the modern science of ship construction were satisfactorily laid; but even the preliminary work had its value, and gave to the French ships of the seventeenth century a high character for speed and good behaviour. In 1746 appeared the famous "Traité du Navire" of Bouguer, then a work of surpassing excellence, and one which can still be read with interest by students of naval architecture. Not long after, Leonard Euler published, at St. Petersburg, his "Scientia Navalis;" and before the eighteenth century ended, Don Juan d'Ulloa had given to Spain a national treatise on naval architecture, Chapman had performed a similar duty for Sweden, France possessed several valuable textbooks of the science, and Russia had received another valuable gift from Euler in the "Theorie Complette de la Construction et de la Manœuvre des Vaisseaux." The French Academy of Sciences greatly accelerated the movement by offering prizes for the best essays on various specified subjects, throwing the competition open to all men of science, and drawing into it many of the ablest European mathematicians of the time. Amongst these competitors were some men, like Daniel Bernoulli and Leonard Euler, whose knowledge of the sea and of ships was very limited; yet their mathematical genius enabled them to triumph

over this disadvantage, and to give a direction to many inquiries that they were unable to complete. Although these earlier treatises are now obsolete, they did good service in their time; and the superiority of foreign ships over English ships at the close of the last century must be attributed to the influence which these scientific investigators had upon the work of ship designers. Any naval architect who mastered the methods described by Bouguer, Euler, and the other writers named above, no longer worked in the dark. With the drawings of a new ship before him, he could make exact calculations, not merely of her displacement and draught of water, but of her stability and power to carry sail. Until Bouguér defined the *metacentre* and showed how its position could be estimated, only vague guesses could be made at the stability of ships. Very frequently, when ships were launched, they proved so "crank" and easily inclined from the upright, that it was necessary to "girdle" them by working thick planks in the region of the water-line. Girdling was so common as to be regarded as a matter of course; and Sutherland, in his quaint old book, "Shipbuilding Unveiled," asserts that the *Royal Katherine* was thus treated, although she was designed by the Council of the Royal Society, when Sir Isaac Newton was a member of the Council. But subsequently to the publication of the "*Traité du Navire*," the designers of ships were enabled to dispense with girdling, because they could estimate what degree of "stiffness" a ship would possess, and how much sail she could carry, even if she were of an entirely novel type. In this respect the French designers of the latter half of the last century were in nearly as good a position as naval architects of the present day; and it is to their intelligent application of Bouguer's method that the superior sail-carrying power and speed of the French ships must be attributed.

This progress was not unmarked by those interested in English shipping, although unfortunately it produced no sensible effect amongst English shipbuilders. A few English translations of foreign treatises on naval architecture appeared between 1750 and 1800. One of the earliest but best of these works was published by Mungo Murray, who lived and died a working shipwright in Deptford Dockyard. His fate aptly represents the small esteem in which naval science was then held in this country. Another valuable addition to the English literature of naval architecture was made, in 1790, by Colonel Watson, who translated Euler's "*Theorie Compléte*." Six years later, Atwood contributed to the "Proceedings" of the Royal Society the first original work of any importance that had appeared in England. His "*Disquisition on the Stability of Ships*" (1796-98), contained both a criticism and an extension of Bouguer's investigation, and was an excellent example of scientific method applied

to exact calculations of the qualities of ships. Still further evidence of the recognition of a necessity for improved methods of procedure was afforded by the formation of a "Society for the Improvement of Naval Architecture," in 1791, with a very numerous and influential membership. The only work of any value undertaken by this Society was that connected with the extensive series of experiments on fluid resistance, conducted by Colonel Beaufoy in the Greenland Docks. These experiments were not exhaustive, but they were valuable extensions of what had been done previously in France and Sweden. Finally, in 1806, the feeling that a change in our policy of construction had become absolutely necessary, led to the appointment of a "Commission for the revision of the civil affairs of the Navy," from whose "Report" a quotation was made above. After a careful and protracted inquiry, the Commissioners emphatically recommended the provision of proper scientific education for those who were to be employed on the designs for our war ships. They also expressed the opinion that the French system was preferable to the English in many respects, and contrasted the two methods in a passage which deserves quotation. "While our rivals in naval power were employing men of the greatest talents and most extensive acquirements, to call in the aid of science for improving the construction of ships, we have contented ourselves with groping in the dark in quest of such discoveries as chance might bring in our way."

Effect was given to the recommendations of the Commission by the foundation of a school of naval architecture at Portsmouth. This school began its work in January, 1811, under the direction of Professor Inman, a distinguished member of the University of Cambridge. His task was not an easy one, but it was admirably performed. Professor Inman had not merely to arrange a course of study for his pupils, but to find suitable textbooks, and to master for himself the principles of ship-designing in order that he might teach them. He naturally turned to the works of foreign writers for guidance, and finally chose the Swedish "*Architectura Navalis Mercatoria*" of Chapman as the chief textbook, translating it into English, and carefully annotating it. Atwood's "*Memoirs on the Stability of Ships*" and a few of the principal French works were also laid under contribution. Having provided for the theoretical side of the training to be given to the students, equally careful provision was made for their education in practical shipbuilding. Mr. Fincham, an experienced dockyard officer, was placed in charge of the practical training of the students, and under his guidance they were taught the use of tools, ship-drawing, and laying off. Every endeavour was made to produce a class of men who should unite

the knowledge of scientific naval architecture with skill in the details of practical shipbuilding. It was further provided by the original scheme that, after students had passed through the school they should have a period of service at sea, and another of service in the constructive department of the Admiralty. The scheme was well conceived, and was generously supported by the Board of Admiralty throughout the long period (1812-30) that Lord Melville was First Lord. Over fifty thousand pounds were expended during twenty-one years, forty students being trained, and passing from the school into the dockyards when their course was completed.

Notwithstanding all this encouragement, the School of Naval Architecture failed to realize fully the hopes of its promoters. Probably these hopes were too sanguine, and immediate results were looked for from a system that necessarily required several years for its proper development. On the other hand, there was considerable dislike and opposition to the scheme, both among naval officers and the great majority of the senior shipbuilding officers, who naturally resented the introduction of a system of education which was said to be necessary because their own education was imperfect. Feeling ran high, and under the circumstances a fair trial of the new system was scarcely possible.

After some years had elapsed, and the Institution was in full work, Lord Melville determined to put the capabilities of the school to a practical test, and (in 1821) called upon Dr. Inman and his pupils to produce designs from which ships should be built, to join experimental squadrons and engage in competitive sailing with ships designed by other persons. It would not have been surprising if Dr. Inman had declined such a competition; he was a mathematical professor, busily engaged in his duties as a teacher, and entirely without experience in the designing of ships, except such as he had acquired in his studies of foreign textbooks, and his oversight of the class-exercises done by his pupils while learning methods of design. Dr. Inman did not decline, however, to compete with men who had spent all their lives in the profession, and were largely experienced, although they were imperfectly educated. At the outset he pointed out the absurdity of the tonnage limitations under which war-ships were then built, and requested to be relieved from them. Being overruled he proceeded to do his best under these unfavourable conditions, and it was generally admitted by impartial persons that the vessels built from Dr. Inman's designs were very successful. It would be idle, however, to pretend that these initial attempts at designing furnished conclusive proof that the new system of procedure was superior to the older methods; they simply established the fact that a mathematician, who was

regarded as a "mere theorist," could by means of scientific analysis and exact calculation at once compete with men whose practice had grown up during a long and laborious lifetime, and was innocent of scientific method. Hence it was reasonable to hope that had Dr. Inman's pupils been granted the opportunity of gaining experience in design after they completed their course of study, they would have achieved even greater successes. Unfortunately, such experience was never obtained by the greater number of these men; although they had been specially trained for work as naval architects, they were employed as practical shipbuilding officers in the Dockyards on work for which they were probably less fitted than were many officers trained exclusively in the Dockyards. So it happened that the students of the first school of Naval Architecture suffered in reputation, while the interests of the public service were sacrificed. Until 1842, a quarter of a century after the senior students completed their course of study, not one of these men was ever permitted, much less encouraged, to prepare a design for a ship of war. Yet during this long interval experimental squadrons were much in fashion, and rival constructors of other classes, making no pretensions to scientific knowledge, were given free scope. Naval officers and master shipwrights occupied the ground, and the reports of the performances of their rival craft fill many volumes of Parliamentary papers, once eagerly read, now almost forgotten.

Such was the end of the first attempt to establish scientific naval architecture in England. A period of hopeful progress (1810-30) was succeeded by one (1830-40) during which the claims of science were ignored; and the designs of ships for the Royal Navy were chiefly produced by naval officers, experienced seamen no doubt, and some of them men of marked ability, but prejudiced withal against the scientific methods with which they had no acquaintance. In 1830, Viscount Melville was succeeded at the Admiralty by Sir James Graham, who soon after gave expression to his opinions on the value of science to naval architects, by two significant acts—the abolition of the School of Naval Architecture, and the appointment as Surveyor of the Navy of a naval officer, Sir William Symonds. The Surveyorship of the Navy, it should be added, was the highest office to which shipbuilding officers in the Admiralty service could aspire, and until 1832 it had been occupied by a long succession of professional men. The appointment of Sir William Symonds naturally created great discontent; but in spite of all opposition he continued to hold office for more than fifteen years. This is not the place to enter into any discussion of the merits or demerits of the various classes of ships which were

introduced into the Royal Navy during this period; nor is it desirable to revive the memories of controversies now happily forgotten. It is but just, however, to note the fact that Sir William Symonds has the credit of first breaking through the absurd tonnage limitations which were in force until 1832; and the freedom thus gained in the choice of dimensions was of advantage not merely to himself, but to his rivals and successors.

Discouraged as they were in their official employment, the pupils of Dr. Inman did not cease to advocate and illustrate the advantages of their special education. They, with their teacher, deserve the honour of being regarded as the founders of an English literature of naval architecture. Before the "Papers on Naval Architecture" appeared (1827-33), that literature consisted of the translations previously mentioned, and a few isolated Memoirs like Atwood's on the "Stability of Ships," or Dr. Young's, on the Diagonal System of Shipbuilding ("Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society for 1814"). Occasional contributions such as these indicated the capacity of English mathematicians and men of science to deal with the various problems of ship-construction: the misfortune was that such men so rarely gave any attention to the subject. It was left for the professional naval architects of the first School to deal more generally with these questions, to publish many excellent translations and summaries of foreign works then little known in England, thus helping to create as well as to satisfy the desire for information among shipbuilders and others interested in shipping. In this endeavour they were assisted by some of the more enlightened of the older class of shipbuilders, as well as by a few sailors who did not share the general prejudice against theory. Before 1835 there was a considerable body of published information relating to shipbuilding. Mr. Fincham had produced his excellent treatises on "Shipbuilding," the "Masting of Ships," and "Laying Off," embodying therein the materials gathered for the use of the students of Dr. Inman's school. Mr. Edye (Assistant-Surveyor of the Navy) had published a laborious compilation of valuable data relating to the equipment of war-ships; and there were many other indications of the indirect influence which the School of Naval Architecture had exerted outside the circle of its pupils. The advance made between 1810 and 1832 is marked by the appearance of Mr. Edye's book: it contained exactly that kind of information which Professor Inman had said was utterly wanting in 1810. The advance made since 1832 is best indicated by the statement that any ordinary ship-draughtsman would now be expected to perform all the calculations, and to collate all the data, embodied in Mr. Edye's book, which the author described as an

attempt "to give the sailor a thorough and scientific knowledge of the structure, powers, parts, qualities, uses, and contents of his ships."

The literary and professional capabilities of Dr. Inman's pupils are best displayed in their later works. The Treatise on Naval Architecture contributed by Mr. Creuze to the "Encyclopedia Britannica," and published separately in 1840, was the first attempt made in England to produce a complete summary of the theory of naval architecture, and it included an excellent history of shipbuilding from the earliest times. Shortly afterwards, Creuze joined with two of his colleagues, Read and Chatfield, in a petition to the Admiralty praying to be allowed to design ships for the Navy. Their request was granted, and they began work at Chatham in 1842. It is unnecessary to describe the details of the designs prepared by them, or to narrate the competitive sailing matches in which the *Esprègle*, twelve-gun brig engaged. The opportunity so long deferred came too late to be of service: the days of sailing ships were numbered even when the Chatham Committee were busy with their work. No one can study the admirable Reports sent to the Admiralty by Creuze and his colleagues without feeling regret that men so capable of such work should have been excluded from all share in ship-designing for nearly thirty years. In some cases, no doubt, their procedure now appears hypercritical; and there is an obvious tendency to over-estimate the value of the scientific methods known to them, as if further progress was unnecessary. Making every allowance for these very natural failings, which resulted from the circumstances under which their professional lives had been spent, it must be stated that, in the main, our present methods of designing sailing ships closely agree with those adopted by the Chatham Committee. The spirit in which their work was undertaken was expressed in the following passage, which we quote because it remains as true as when it was written nearly forty years ago, and is a sufficient answer to the objections still made in some quarters to the scientific education of naval architects:—

"The study of naval architecture brings early conviction to the mind of the constructor that he can trust little or nothing to *à priori* reasoning. He uses the exact sciences, it is true, but uses them only as a means for tracing the connection between cause and effects, in order to deduce principles that may be applied to his future works, with a certainty of producing the results he contemplates. There is no step he takes in forming a new design which is not most strictly a deduction from previous experiment. He has no opinions, but those which facts form for him, and no uncertainty but on points on which there have not been sufficient facts to establish principles."

In contrast with this systematic procedure they refer to "the practice of building ships according to some novel idea, derived from merely casual observation, without reference to what has been done by others"—a practice that had received many illustrations in the preceding twenty years, but which is justly stigmatized as the resignation "of the principles of naval architecture to chance."

After long years of waiting, and the endurance of much harsh criticism, many of Dr. Inman's pupils attained positions wherein their talents could find exercise. When the stirring times of the steam-reconstruction of the Navy began, soon after the outbreak of the Crimean War, the Chief Constructor, Mr. Watts, and the Engineer-in-Chief, Mr. Lloyd, were both ex-students of the Portsmouth School. Upon them also rested the chief responsibility for ships and engines until the further reconstruction of the navy, consequent upon the use of armour-plating, had advanced through its earlier stages. In the Royal Dockyards fellow-students occupied the highest professional offices during the same periods. Outside the Admiralty service not a few of these men found employment, diffusing the benefit of their training amongst a class of shipbuilders who were then distinctly inferior in knowledge to the officers of the dockyards. Creuze became chief surveyor to the great organization known as Lloyd's Register of British and Foreign Shipping. Moorsom took the leading part in the revision of the Tonnage Laws—a measure which did much to assist the development of our mercantile marine, and which has been imitated, in principle, by all great maritime nations. On all sides, as soon as the opportunity was afforded, these men assisted to remove abuses, to introduce improvements, and to win a name for English naval architecture abroad, justifying by their conduct the anticipations of those who had insisted upon the necessity for the systematic education of naval architects half a century before.

Long before this result had been reached, the necessity and value of scientific procedure in designing ships had been demonstrated by the rapid developments of the *matériel* of the mercantile marine. By a singular coincidence, the year in which the first English school of naval architecture was established was that in which Henry Bell decided to construct the first passenger steamer, the *Comet*. From that time onwards change has followed change in rapid succession. Steam machinery has been wonderfully improved; large economies of fuel have been effected; the sizes and speeds of steamships have been greatly increased; wood hulls have given place to iron, which in their turn are giving place to steel; and the days of sailing ships are numbered, except in special trades. The history of British ship-

building during the last half century has yet to be written; the advances made during that period far exceed in value those made in the thousand years preceding it. New elements were introduced into ship-construction by the use of steam power for propulsion, and the employment of iron instead of wood for the hulls. Precedent and experience lost much of their value under these altered conditions. Shipbuilders of the old school, for the most part, failed to keep pace with the new movement in its earlier stages; although there were a few—like the brothers Wood of Port Glasgow—who gave valuable aid in the development of steam shipping. It is not difficult to account for the conservatism of the majority of private shipbuilders, when one recollects their utter ignorance of the science of their profession; but, while they hesitated, civil and mechanical engineers came forward, boldly facing the novel problems connected with the construction of iron-hulled steamships. Not a few of these newcomers possessed no better acquaintance with the science of naval architecture than their predecessors; but many of the most eminent set a better example, their productions serving as models for the less instructed. Great advantage resulted from the association with shipbuilding of such men as Fairbairn and Brunel, who had previously gained high reputations in other branches of engineering, and were skilled in the design of bridges or other structures in wrought iron. To men of this class careful preliminary investigation and calculation naturally formed part of the work of designing ships; “rule of thumb” was not likely to find favour, even if it had been applicable, which it was not, under the circumstances. At first, much was done on imperfect methods, comparatively in the dark; failures were not rare, yet progress was made, and gradually greater precision was attained, in the attempt to design steamers capable of proceeding at certain assigned speeds when laden to a given draught. In fact, the construction of steamers rendered imperative a careful study of the laws of fluid resistance, and of the cognate investigation of the mechanical theory of propulsion—both of which subjects lay practically outside the field of the designers of sailing ships. The speed of a sailing ship is obviously dependent upon the force and direction of the wind; her designer, therefore, chooses forms and proportions which will enable a good spread of canvas to be carried, on a handy stable vessel. Questions of resistance to the progress of the ship were therefore subordinated to sail-carrying power and handiness in sailing ships; whereas in steamers designed for a certain speed the question of resistance occupies a primary place, seeing that the engine-power must be proportioned to the resistance. Consequently, while keeping in view stability, handiness and structural strength, the designer of

a steamer has a more difficult task than the designer of a sailing ship; and the difficulty can only be met if faced intelligently by scientific analysis. Hence it happened, as was previously remarked, that a more general appreciation of the value of scientific methods accompanied the development of steam navigation and iron shipbuilding in the British mercantile marine.

Comparing the conditions of 1810 with those of 1860, one sees that the extensions of the science of naval architecture made in that period were largely the result of progress in practical construction. Principles were thought out and embodied in the designs of ships, before they were formulated in scientific language; and the pioneers of progress were the men engaged on the designs of new ships. With rare exceptions, mathematicians held aloof from investigations connected with naval architecture; and the only important original contribution from this class between 1830 and 1860 was made by Canon Moseley, in his *Memoir on the Dynamical Stability of Ships*, published in the "Philosophical Transactions" for 1850. With this exception, the methods of investigating questions relating to the buoyancy and stability of ships were nearly the same in 1860 as they had been half a century before; but considerable advances had been made in the treatment of questions relating to the resistance, propulsion, strength, and strains of ships. These advances were chiefly due to the labours of naval architects employed outside the Admiralty service; and the fact is significant of the change which had been wrought in the character and qualifications of the leaders in private shipbuilding, by the transition from sails to steam and from wood to iron.

One of the most distinguished workers in these new fields of inquiry, forty years ago, was Mr. John Scott Russell, who subsequently became a shipbuilder, and constructed the *Great Eastern*. His experimental investigations on the resistances of vessels of various forms, and his "wave-line" theory of resistance, constituted valuable additions to previous knowledge. Subsequent investigation and experiment have led to yet further advance, but Mr. Russell has fair claims to be regarded as the discoverer of several important principles. He it was who first remarked upon the influence which the waves created by the passage of a ship must have upon her resistance, and thence inferred that for economical propulsion it was necessary to have a certain minimum length associated with a certain assigned maximum speed. Closely connected with this inquiry was that which he also conducted into the characteristics of wave-motion—an inquiry which displayed a rare degree of patience and ability, and gave a start to the accurate observation of ocean-waves. The details of these investigations may be found in

Mr. Russell's Treatise on "Naval Architecture," and in the "Reports" of the British Association (1835-45). It should not be overlooked that the British Association gave substantial assistance to Mr. Russell in the prosecution of these inquiries, at a time when no other public body displayed much interest in the advancement of naval science.

The use of iron as a material for shipbuilding was of immense advantage to this country. It restored our supremacy in shipbuilding when the United States and other countries, rich in timber, threatened to take the lead. It assisted the development of our mercantile marine, increasing the strength, durability, and carrying power of ships. It was essential to the progress of steam navigation, for wooden ships could never have been built of the sizes, lengths, and speeds now common. Moreover, the change of material necessitated an abandonment of the structural arrangements found most efficient in wood ships, and led to an independent study of the strains to which ships are subjected, as well as an investigation of the principles of structural strength. In this department of inquiry, the names of Fairbairn and Brunel stand pre-eminent. Fairbairn's opinions and practice are embodied in his book on "Iron Shipbuilding;" Brunel's far-reaching views never took the formal shape required for publication, but the *Great Eastern* is a monument of his constructive skill, and has furnished the guiding principles for many more modern constructions. Mr. Scott Russell also assisted in the diffusion of knowledge on this department of naval architecture; and the influence which these men have exerted upon subsequent practice can scarcely be overrated. Their methods are still the guides to naval constructors, and reappear, with suitable modifications, in the structure of war-ships and merchantmen. As years have passed, a great mass of valuable *data* has been collected respecting the strains and strengths of ships, while the mathematical theory of the subject has been perfected. In fact, this department of naval architecture has been peculiarly English; and thus the debt we owed to foreign writers of the earlier treatises has been to some extent repaid. Had other English mathematicians followed the example of Moseley, and devoted themselves to the development of naval architecture, much more rapid progress might have been made; but as they held aloof, the knowledge gained in actual practice had to spread gradually through the profession. Textbooks on naval architecture, in English, remained unwritten, and there was no adequate provision for the education of naval architects. Eminent shipbuilders sent their sons abroad to gain the information they could not obtain at home; and while England led the world in shipbuilding, France still showed the way in the training of naval architects.

Even in the Admiralty service no system of higher education existed, until the urgent necessity for a steam-reconstruction of the Navy forced attention to the want of trained men who could succeed to the places then given, perforce, to the men educated by Dr. Inman. In 1848 a second School of Naval Architecture was established at Portsmouth, to be abolished, after five or six years' useful work, by Sir James Graham. The Principal of this school, Dr. Woolley, was an eminent graduate of the University of Cambridge—the same University having produced Atwood, Inman and Moseley, with whom Dr. Woolley well deserved to be associated. From 1848 on to the present time, Dr. Woolley has held a prominent place among the promoters of naval science, and his pupils have given good evidence of his capability as a teacher. Upon these gentlemen has fallen the burden of the ironclad reconstruction, and from the time (1863) when Mr. Reed became Chief Constructor of the Navy until now, they have had to face the difficulties incidental to the ever-shifting contest between guns and armour. The French forced our hands in this matter as they had previously done in the steam-reconstruction, and for a time led the way; but this lead has not been maintained, and for fifteen years, with rare exceptions, English naval architects have had to venture first on untrodden paths. Ironclad ships, carrying many hundreds of tons of armour on their sides, steaming at high speeds, armed with heavy guns, capable of ramming and specially constructed to resist hostile rams, are clearly outside the field of operation of the amateur naval architect. To make these floating fortresses safe, seaworthy, and manageable, taxes the skill of the best-trained designer. It was a fortunate accident, therefore, that the short-lived second School of Naval Architecture was established when it was; otherwise there would have been no supply of trained men to fill the vacant places at the Admiralty, caused by the retirement, full of years and honours, of Dr. Inman's pupils. One cannot but think of the changes which these gentlemen had witnessed or helped to carry through, during the half century of their professional careers. When they joined the School at Portsmouth, only sailing-ships existed in England: when they left active life, steam navigation was well developed, the *Great Eastern* was afloat, and fleets of armoured vessels were built and building! They had a fair claim to rest after labours such as these.

The year 1860 will always mark an era in the history of naval architecture in England, for it witnessed the foundation of the Institution of Naval Architects. Such an Association would not have been possible even ten years before; but the time was ripe for its establishment when the few gentlemen with whom the

scheme originated made it known to the profession. It was a period of great excitement, approaching almost to panic, respecting the influence which the construction of *La Gloire* and other ironclads in France would have upon our naval supremacy. The *Warrior*, and two or three other armoured vessels had been ordered by the Admiralty, but opinion was much divided as to the extended use of armour. Nor were topics of interest wanting in connection with the mercantile marine. The construction of the *Great Eastern* was an evidence of the rapid development going on in ocean steam-navigation, and the incidents of the Crimean War and Indian Mutiny had done much to prove the advantages incidental to the substitution of steam for sails. Furthermore, the progress in scientific method sketched above had created, what had formerly been wanting, a body of naval architects worthy of the name.

The scheme of the Institution was happily conceived and well executed. Amongst its earliest members were found the trained naval architects of the first and second Schools, the leading private shipbuilders and marine engineers, the principal shipbuilding officers of the Dockyards, men of science specially interested in naval architecture, shipowners, merchants, and others connected with shipping; while a considerable number of sailors from the Royal Navy and Mercantile Marine showed their appreciation of the value of naval science by becoming Associates. The list of names is eminently representative. Sir John Pakington (afterwards Lord Hampton), then only recently retired from the office of First Lord of the Admiralty, was the first President. Many experienced naval officers supported him. There were men like Watts, Read, and Moorsom, who had been pupils of Dr. Inman half a century before; others, like Fairbairn, Laird and Grantham, who had been conversant with iron shipbuilding from its commencement; marine engineering was worthily represented by veterans like Penn, Maudslay, and Lloyd; mathematicians and men of science like Canon Moseley, Dr. Woolley, Professor Airy, and Mr. Froude, appear on the list. Private shipbuilders and naval architects like Scott Russell, Samuda, Napier, and White, joined in the movement, so did the surveying staff of Lloyd's Register. In fact, there was a general appreciation of the endeavour to establish an association which should enable all classes interested in shipping to interchange ideas and experience with a view to general improvement. Mr. Reed was the first Secretary, retaining that post until he was appointed Chief Constructor of the Navy, and in that position did much to aid the progress of the Institution.

From the first the "Transactions" of the Institution took a high position in the literature of naval architecture, and at

successive annual meetings Papers of the greatest value have been read. Owing to the rapid advances constantly being made in both the science and the practice of the profession, these "Transactions" have come to be the chief textbooks available. Members and Associates have joined from all the great maritime nations. Members of the professional corps of naval architects and engineers of France, Austria, Italy, Germany, the United States, Russia, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Holland, are proud to be numbered with their English professional brethren, and not a few of these foreign members have contributed valuable Papers. The meetings of the Institution afford exceptional opportunities for the discussion of questions having general interest, as well as others having more special value to professional men. Different views of the same subject find capable exponents, and lead to valuable discussions. The latest systems of construction and most recent changes in *materiel* are described by competent authorities. Valuable *data* are put on record relating to the designs and performances of war-ships and merchant-ships. Inventions of various kinds are described and examined. Abstruse theoretical investigations are by no means rare; and, in many cases, the contribution of one such Paper by an original thinker has given a start to others and led to important extensions of knowledge. In fact, the Institution of Naval Architects has admirably fulfilled the intentions of its founders, acting as a centre where valuable information could be collected, and whence it could be distributed for the general benefit of the profession. Before it was founded naval science had no home in England; its treasures lay scattered far and wide in occasional Memoirs and Papers such as have been mentioned in the preceding pages: but now everything worth preservation naturally finds its way to the "Transactions." Any movement affecting shipping also leaves its record there in Papers and Discussions which will hereafter have a high historical value. The earlier half of the present century witnessed many changes, of which we have given a faint sketch; but their full history has yet to be written, and the materials for that history can only be collected with difficulty. Thanks to the "Transactions," this will not be true of the period subsequent to 1860; every great movement since then is chronicled. The introduction of armoured ships, reforms in the tonnage laws, agitations for the preservation of life at sea, proposals for surveying merchant ships, changes in the types of war ships, improvements in marine engineering, the use of steel instead of iron hulls, all find a place. Moreover, in the "Transactions" as they stand may be found a history of the theory of naval architecture. At the opening meetings in 1860, Dr. Woolley read an able and exhaustive Paper on "The present

State of the Theory of Naval Architecture." Anyone who carefully reads that Paper will see that twenty years ago, with the exception of Canon Moseley's investigations on Stability and Mr. Scott Russell's on Resistance and Wave-Motion, little progress had been made in the more abstruse branches of the science since the commencement of the century. The theory of resistance and propulsion was still in an unsettled state: and there was no accepted theory for the behaviour of ships at sea. If, starting from 1860, the reader goes carefully through succeeding volumes of the "Transactions," he will find evidences of great progress and more certain knowledge. Step by step advance has been made, until it has become possible to determine the principal causes influencing the rolling and pitching of ships in a seaway, and even to predict their behaviour with close approach to accuracy. By a happy combination of experiment and mathematical investigation, it has been made comparatively easy to foretell what engine-power ought to be given to a new ship, even if there is no precedent either in form or speed. A more exact acquaintance has been made with the actual strengths of different classes of ships, and great savings in weights have been effected by improved structural arrangements without any sacrifice of strength. Careful and elaborate calculations have been made for the stability of various classes of ships. And in many other departments of construction that cannot be particularized here similar progress has been made.

Not a little of the work recorded in the "Transactions" has grown out of the necessities of actual practice, or of investigations that have followed great disasters. The terrible loss of the *Captain*, for example, led to a fuller recognition of the necessity for exact experiments and calculations, in order to determine thoroughly the conditions of stability for war-ships. In the mercantile marine, also, cases of capsizing at sea have caused similar investigations to be made for typical ships; and instances of weakness have caused especial attention to be devoted to the necessity for better structural arrangements. The agitation which Mr. Plimsoll conducted caused attempts to provide a scientific method of fixing the maximum load-line to which ships should be brought when fully equipped for sea. Losses of iron ships by collision have made the advantages of watertight subdivision more apparent. The dismasting of ships caused careful investigations to be made of the strength of masts and rigging in sailing merchantmen. And, in other instances, the benefits of scientific analysis have been displayed in drawing lessons of general value from particular occurrences. In former times no similar endeavour was made; there was a disposition to accept facts without accounting for them—to rejoice in a success, and

regard a failure as irreparable. Now, even failures and accidents are made to yield subsequent benefits, thanks to the advance of scientific methods of inquiry.

In this connection it is but right to note the valuable labours of the various Commissions and Committees that have been appointed during the last ten years to investigate questions relating to the Royal Navy, or the Mercantile Marine. The members of these committees have done much good service, but they have furthered progress quite as much by calling in the aid of professional experts. The "Reports of the Commission on Unseaworthy Ships" contain most valuable *data* furnished by various professional witnesses, having special acquaintance with the mercantile marine. The "Reports" of the Committees appointed by the Admiralty in 1871 and 1875 to consider the Designs for Ships of War, are, perhaps, more valuable, from a scientific point of view, containing much original investigation of a high order. The constant demands made upon the professional officers of the Admiralty in connection with the designs of war-ships, have also tended to aid the progress of naval architecture generally, and more particularly in the departments of stability, structural arrangement, and propulsion of ships. Methods of construction, originally designed for war-ships, have since been carried out in merchant ships with appropriate modifications. In the use of steel for shipbuilding, the Admiralty also set an example which private shipbuilders have not been slow to follow. On the other hand, much of the special experience gained in merchant ships has been of value to the designers of war ships, more particularly that relating to marine engines. Nor should one fail to note the rapid spread of an appreciation of scientific methods among private shipbuilders in recent years, and the labours of many of them to advance structural improvements, or give precision to the designing of steam ships. The mercantile marine owes no small gratitude also to the officers of Lloyd's Register for the valuable work done within the last ten years, in many branches of the science of naval architecture. Not a few men who have received high professional training as naval architects, are now numbered amongst the Surveyors of this important Society; and the Committee of Management deserve the highest praise for their action in supplementing their staff of experienced practical officers by men capable of conducting original theoretical investigations of the qualities and performances of merchant ships. Such a course of action cannot fail to increase the respect in which the character of the Register is held all over the world.

Another notable consequence of the foundation of the Institution of Naval Architects, was the establishment of a third

English School of Naval Architecture. On all sides it was agreed that such a school was an absolute necessity if a proper training was to be given to those who would have to undertake the construction of future ships. Private shipbuilders were then sending their sons to France to obtain the education they could not secure at home, and the Admiralty had ceased to train men for the highest positions in their service. Such a combination as was now formed to request the Government to take action, could scarcely fail of success. Headed by the President of the Institution (not long before First Lord of the Admiralty), the advocates of a new school included Dr. Woolley, Mr. Ritchie, (Chief Surveyor to Lloyd's Registry), Mr. Scott Russell, many eminent private shipbuilders, and last, but not least, Mr. Reed and his colleagues, who had been trained in the second School. In the autumn of 1864 the Royal School of Naval Architecture and Marine Engineering was opened at South Kensington Museum, under the most promising auspices. Dr. Woolley was the Inspector-General; Mr. Merrifield, F.R.S., was Principal, with Mr. Purkiss (Senior Wrangler of that year) as Vice-Principal. The Admiralty sent a large number of their most promising young men from the Dockyards, and several students entered from private establishments. This School, unlike its predecessors, was not exclusively an Admiralty Establishment, but was designed to be a national institution, and did not exclude foreigners. It remained in operation at South Kensington until 1873, when the Admiralty decided to establish the Royal Naval College at Greenwich, and to train their students of naval architecture and marine engineering there. Since 1873, therefore, what may fairly be regarded as a continuation of the third School has been at work at Greenwich, the Admiralty granting facilities for the entry of private and foreign students, much as was done at South Kensington. For sixteen years this third School has been in operation, and on the whole it has proved successful in all respects save one. The Admiralty students trained there have given proof of their professional ability in many ways, the seniors occupying responsible positions, both in the Admiralty service and in private employment. Foreign students have also come in considerable numbers, most of them having been sent by their respective Governments, in order that they may secure the benefit of what is now generally admitted to be the most complete course of training attainable in any country. Russians, Italians, Americans, Swedes, Danes, Norwegians, Spaniards, Dutchmen, Japanese, and Egyptians have come to this country to study; and many of them, returning home, have been placed in positions of responsibility in their respective navies. But unfortunately for the hopes of Mr. Scott Russell, and other private shipbuilders, the number of

private students sent from our great shipyards has hitherto been few. Recently there have been signs of an awakening, and the Admiralty have generously offered Scholarships and Free Studentships for competition to private students, while the Committee of Lloyd's Registry have also founded a Scholarship. We can only hope that the growth of regard for scientific knowledge in our great private establishments will lead to a more generous support of the School in future. Nor can we refrain from expressing the thanks which are due to the Admiralty for keeping open to the private trade, through all these years, facilities for obtaining the highest professional training at a very moderate cost. Private shipbuilders should look to it that their gratitude for the opportunity thus offered takes the form of sending to the College students who will hereafter prove the benefits of their higher education. It is gratifying to be able to add that some of the leading firms in the country are already moving in this direction.

During the last twenty years many valuable additions have been made to the English literature of naval architecture. From 1840 to 1865 only one small treatise of any value appeared; its author, Lord Robert Montagu, was largely indebted to preceding writers, particularly Chapman and Edey, and the work is chiefly remarkable for its advocacy of a peculiar method of determining the under-water forms of ships in order to diminish resistance. The modern English textbooks of the science and practice of shipbuilding have appeared from 1865 onwards. First on the list stands the "Modern System of Naval Architecture," by Mr. Scott Russell—probably one of the largest books ever published, and designed to cover the whole of naval architecture and marine engineering. This work contains, as might have been expected, a large amount of very valuable information, and a series of beautiful illustrations of various classes of ships. It summarizes the author's experimental researches on wave-motion and resistance, and gives a detailed account of the *Great Eastern*. There is much to commend, also, in the clear explanations of fundamental principles of ship-construction; and the amount of labour bestowed on the illustration of methods of designing is considerable. On the other hand, the book deals too exclusively with Mr. Russell's own practice and opinions to be in the fullest sense a textbook of the profession; and in aiming at a style which should be generally understood the author has undoubtedly become diffuse. Without any sacrifice of its utility, or curtailment of scientific investigations, it would be possible to compress the book into much more modest dimensions, and to remove the objections arising from its extravagant size. Still, as a record of the

opinions and methods of a man who has done good service in many departments of applied science, the work will always retain a place in the literature of the profession.

Another, and in some respects very superior, book appeared in 1866. "Shipbuilding, Theoretical and Practical," was the joint work of some of the most competent men of that period. The late Professor Rankine was one of the principal contributors, as well as editor. His colleagues included Mr. Watts, late Chief Constructor of the Navy, and formerly a student of the first School of Naval Architecture; Mr. Barnes, now Surveyor of the Royal Dockyards, and a distinguished student of the second School; and the late Mr. J. R. Napier, a member of the famous Clyde shipbuilding firm, and himself a man of considerable scientific attainments. Their book is written in a concise clear style, giving useful and thorough information on all branches of shipbuilding and marine engineering. Subsequent progress in certain departments of naval science has made a new edition desirable; but at the time of publication it embodied the latest investigations, and still remains unequalled among the formal treatises on naval architecture, published either in England or abroad.

From 1866 to 1877 no attempt was made to summarize the important additions which were made to experimental and theoretical knowledge during that time. In the interval Mr. Reed published a very valuable treatise on "Shipbuilding in Iron and Steel," containing full details of the structural arrangements of iron and steel ships for war and commerce. Subsequent changes, especially in the direction of the extended use of steel, have rendered a new edition of the book necessary, although it is only ten years old. Another interesting work, published by Mr. Reed nearly at the same time, was "Our Ironclad Ships," dealing in popular style with various matters relating to the armoured fleet. Mr. Reed further assisted the advance of professional knowledge by establishing a quarterly review appropriately entitled *Naval Science*, which continued to appear from 1872 to 1875, and was of such value that its cessation was greatly regretted in England and abroad.

Another serial publication which promised well, but was short-lived, was the "Annual of the School of Naval Architecture." Originated by students of the South Kensington School, it was supported by contributors from that school as well as by the pupils of earlier schools. In some respects the "Annual" resembled the "Papers on Naval Architecture," published by Dr. Inman's pupils; but whereas those "Papers" stood alone at the earlier period, when the "Annual" appeared the "Transactions" of the Institution of Naval Architects naturally

attracted most attention. In fact, those "Transactions" very properly absorb all the most valuable contributions from members of the profession, and there is scarcely room for a competing publication.

Remarkable testimony to the more general appreciation of scientific method in designing ships is found in the attitude assumed by yachtsmen of the present day. Not very long ago the attempt to apply such a method to the designing of yachts would have been scoffed at by the great majority of the builders as well as the owners of yachts. Now the scientific analysis of the qualities of successful yachts, and the inference therefrom of the rules to be followed in new designs, has become comparatively general among yacht-builders. Natural taste in shaping the lines was formerly all important; it is now regulated by theoretical investigations as well as by experience at sea. To those persons specially interested in modern yacht-designing and management we can safely commend the two excellent books produced by Mr. Dixon Kemp, entitled "Yacht Designing" and "Yacht and Boat Sailing." In these books will be found a large amount of valuable information, well arranged and carefully analyzed, relating to yachts of all classes, their forms, qualities and relative performances. Mr. Kemp may be congratulated on having done so much to encourage among yachtsmen a spirit of inquiry into the principles which govern the design and behaviour of our pleasure fleet.

In concluding this review of the progress of naval architecture during the present century, it is but proper to draw particular attention to the labours of two eminent men, whose loss the profession has had to mourn in recent years. The late Professor Rankine and the late Mr. W. Froude have done more original work during the last twenty years than any other investigators at home or abroad; and the leading position which this country has taken since 1860 in developing the theory of naval architecture is chiefly due to the ability and industry of these two men, neither of whom was by profession a naval architect. Rankine and Froude were civil engineers, and had both been actively engaged in professional work for many years before they took up the special study of naval architecture. Froude was drawn in this direction by his intimacy with Mr. Brunel, who was busy with many other things when the *Great Eastern* was in progress, and was glad to have the assistance of so capable a mathematician as Froude in the consideration of the difficult problems incidental to her design. Rankine would appear to have been specially interested in shipping after he became Professor of Civil Engineering at Glasgow University; and the close neighbourhood of the shipyards on the Clyde could

scarcely fail to produce this result. Moreover, Rankine was a man who rejoiced in being of service to any one who sought help or advice; and some of the leading Clyde builders were not slow to avail themselves of his help when questions of a novel or difficult character had to be considered. Widely differing in their modes of thought and expression, Froude and Rankine mutually influenced and helped each other. Of the two, Rankine probably had the greater power in mathematical investigation; but Froude was at least as original as Rankine, and was possessed of an almost intuitive perception of principles. More than once a method of inquiry originating with one of these men was carried further by the other; and difficulties that might have proved insurmountable to either working alone, were by their combined action removed or overcome.

Mr. Froude commenced his labours by a discussion of the phenomena of wave-motion and the oscillation of ships in a sea-way. His first Paper read before the Institution of Naval Architects in 1861 marked a new departure in this department of the science of naval architecture. Many eminent writers had attempted to frame a theory to represent the rolling of ships at sea, but had failed. Mr. Froude proposed a method of investigation which from the nature of the case could not be exact, although it more nearly represented facts than any preceding method had done. For nearly twenty years Mr. Froude steadily pursued the inquiry, adding one mathematical investigation to another, carrying out numerous experiments, and making voyages for the purpose of studying the behaviour of ships. At first, authorities in the science of naval architecture, like Moseley and Dr. Woolley, regarded the new theory with some suspicion; Rankine, on the contrary, warmly supported it and helped to answer various objections urged against the hypothesis on which it was based. Gradually the new theory won its way, and it is now generally accepted. Broadly speaking, it may be said that whereas earlier investigations gave to the naval architect the power of making estimates of the buoyancy and stability of ships floating in smooth water, they gave up as altogether hopeless the attempt to predict the behaviour of ships at sea, or to determine the causes which produce heavy rolling. On the other hand, thanks to Mr. Froude, the designer of a ship now knows what precautions to take in order to promote steadiness and good behaviour. Mr. Froude aimed at nothing less than being able to predict with close approximation to truth the heaviest rolling that any ship could be made to perform. His method included the conduct of a series of experiments with a carefully prepared model of a ship; and the inference therefrom, by means of mathematical formulæ, of her probable behaviour at sea. In the

case of the *Inflexible* this process was actually adopted, and the details can be found in Parliamentary Papers. It is but right to add that Mr. Froude was assured of the accuracy of his procedure by the comparison of its results with the observed behaviour of actual ships. He was no mere theorist, riding a hobby to death; but a painstaking experimentalist and patient observer, with the greatest reverence for facts. Any one who had the honour of his friendship will know that any theory of his, however cherished, would have been abandoned at once if found to be opposed to facts. No one was more persistent in the endeavour to obtain from sailors accurate and trustworthy observations of ocean waves and the rolling of ships; and his recommendations did much towards inducing the Admiralty to establish the regulations now in force for making such observations. For the last ten years of his life Mr. Froude was, indeed, intimately associated with the Royal Navy, giving his valuable services without other reward than the grateful recognition of their value by successive Boards of Admiralty, who placed at his disposal the means of making many experiments that would otherwise have been beyond his power. Such a man is rarely found, and could be ill-spared. The beneficial effect of his labours on the designs of our ships of war are generally acknowledged, and most fully by the professional officers of the Admiralty who were directly aided by Mr. Froude in the performance of their difficult and responsible duties.

While Froude was the leader in the inquiries mentioned above, Rankine, for many years, took the foremost place in investigations relating to the resistance and propulsion of ships. To Rankine is due the accepted mechanical theory of the action of propellers; and the stream-line theory of resistance, although indicated by Poncelet and others, was put into a complete and general form by Rankine. His investigations into the dynamical theory of heat also did much to assert the progress of marine engineers in the device of improved types of machinery. In all his work Rankine aimed at making theoretical investigations influence practice; and although he was not personally engaged in naval architecture, his influence among private shipbuilders was considerable, causing them to appreciate the value of scientific methods. This was especially true of the Clyde shipbuilders, who, from the first, have taken a leading part in the development of steamship construction. Not a few of Rankine's investigations were made for the purpose of assisting his friends; and many opportunities of experiment and observation were afforded him by those who had benefited by his advice. Rankine had to carry on the heavy routine duties of his Professorship in

Glasgow University, and consequently could give only fragments of his leisure time to the prosecution of his various original investigations. Under these circumstances it is surprising that he accomplished so much; but one great result of his work was the attraction of Mr. Froude, who had more leisure, to the more careful study of the resistance and propulsion of ships.

Accepting Rankine's stream-line theory of resistance, Mr. Froude based upon it an experimental method of ascertaining, from models, the resistance of full-sized ships. This method was first described in a Report to the British Association (1866) made by a Committee appointed to consider the Behaviour of Ships. All the other members of this Committee, including Rankine, favoured the proposal to experiment with ships, regarding model experiments with suspicion. Froude, on the contrary, maintained that with proper care, and using models of reasonably large dimensions, it would be possible to predict the resistance of ships. His opinion has since been verified; and for many years before his death he presided over an experimental establishment at Torquay, which the Admiralty largely aided, and where a considerable amount of valuable work was done, although much remained incomplete when he died.

Purely mathematical investigation utterly failed in the endeavour to predict what would be the resistance experienced by a ship of given form moving at a given speed. Froude, by a happy grafting of experiment upon mathematical reasoning, solved the difficulty, and showed how greater precision might be given to the designing of steamships. Had he been spared, still further progress would have been made in this direction; and it must be hoped that the Admiralty will continue to give their support to a system which has already rendered such notable economies possible in the engine-power of ships of the Royal Navy. Instead of building a ship and putting in the machinery, only to find, on trial, that other forms and proportions would have been preferable, a series of inexpensive models can be tested, and the best form selected from amongst them before a ship is built.

An illustration of the advantages of the new system may be of interest. About five years ago a new class of gunboats was designed for the Royal Navy; and the choice lay between two very dissimilar forms, the length and draught of water being the same in both. By means of model experiments one of these, which at a cursory glance would appear likely to encounter the greater resistance, was shown to require only two-thirds the engine-power required by the other form to attain the same speed. On the twelve vessels of the class, the saving on the first cost of the engines must have exceeded ten thousand pounds; while the

less powerful engines will be less costly in coal-consumption during the whole period of service of the gunboats. These economies are the result of an experiment probably costing less than a hundred pounds. Moreover, with this experimental method, it is possible to advance with some assurance on the construction of new types of ships, or to attempt the attainment of unrivalled speeds. In the design of the *Iris* and *Mercury*, for example, which are the most rapid seagoing steamers yet built, the Admiralty constructors availed themselves of Mr. Froude's assistance, and the results justified their confidence in the accuracy of his method. So great has been the gain, that similar experimental works have been established in France, Italy, and Holland. In the design of the elliptical *Popoffka* yacht, recently built on the Clyde for the Emperor of Russia, model experiments have been had recourse to; and in any other novel undertaking this is the only safe course to pursue in the present state of knowledge.

Mr. Froude died at the Cape of Good Hope in 1879, having proceeded thither for the purpose of regaining health if possible. Before leaving England he had commenced a further series of investigations into the causes influencing the efficient action of screw propellers. This inquiry is unfortunately left incomplete, but we trust it may be finished by others who were acquainted with the proposed line of work. Of the two great departments of naval science with which Mr. Froude's name will always be associated, that which relates to the resistance and propulsion of ships is undoubtedly the one of which the results are most generally useful, not merely as affecting the Royal Navy but also the mercantile marine. The value of Mr. Froude's labours was becoming more and more widely recognized when they were terminated by his death.

Seventy years ago, as we have seen, the science of naval architecture had no home in England: forty years ago it had no official recognition, and was but little studied by the great majority of British shipbuilders. Twenty years only have passed since the scattered adherents of scientific method formed themselves into a professional association, and initiated a movement that has placed this country at the head of the maritime nations in both the science and the practice of shipbuilding. Throughout the shipyards of Great Britain there is a great and growing respect for scientific procedure. Men who have had no special opportunities for acquiring professional knowledge, are giving their sons every advantage in education. Old jealousies and misunderstandings are fast disappearing, although they are by no means extinct as yet. Practical shipbuilders are not so ready to despise the work of the naval architect. Sailors, who formerly

had a hearty contempt for so-called "theorists," now take a considerable interest in naval architecture, and, in many cases, conduct valuable observations of wave-motion and the behaviour of ships. The progress already made is great; and there is reason to hope that even greater progress will be possible when the original investigator, the trained naval architect, the practical shipbuilder, and the experienced seaman all heartily co-operate.

ART. II.—PLATO AS A REFORMER.

The Dialogues of Plato Translated into English. By
B. JOWETT, M.A. Second Edition. Oxford, 1875.

IN a former Article on Plato,* we considered his philosophy chiefly under its critical and negative aspects. We saw how it was exclusively from that side that he at first apprehended and enlarged the dialectic of Socrates, how deeply his scepticism was coloured by the religious reaction of the age, and how he attempted, out of his master's mouth, to overturn the positive teaching of the master himself. We saw how, in the *Protagoras*, he sketched a theory of ethics, which was no sooner completed than it became the starting-point of a still more extended and arduous inquiry. We followed the widening horizon of his speculations until they embraced the whole contemporary life of Hellas, and involved it in a common condemnation as either hopelessly corrupt or containing within itself the seeds of corruption. We then saw how, by a farther generalization, he was led to look for the sources of error in the laws of man's sensuous nature and of the phenomenal world with which it holds communion; how, moreover, under the guidance of suggestions, coming both from within and from without, he reverted to the earlier schools of Greek thought, and brought their results into parallelism with the main lines of Socratic dialectic. And, finally, we watched him planting a firm foothold on the basis of mathematical demonstration; seeking in the very constitution of the soul itself for a derivation of the truths which sensuous experience could not impart, and winning back from a more profoundly reasoned religion the hope, the self-confidence, the assurance of perfect knowledge which had been formerly surrendered in deference to the demands of a merely external and

* See *Westminster Review* for Oct. 1880.

traditional faith. That God alone is wise, and by consequence alone good, might still remain a fixed principle with Plato; but it ceased to operate as a restraint on human aspiration when he had come to recognize an essential unity among all forms of conscious life, which, though it might be clouded and forgotten, could never be entirely effaced. And when Plato tells us, at the close of his career, that God, far more than any individual man, is the measure of all things,* who can doubt that he had already learned to identify the human and divine essences in the common notion of a universal soul?

The germ of this new dogmatism was present in Plato's mind from the very beginning, and was partly an inheritance from older forms of thought. The *Apologia* had reproduced one important feature in the positive teaching of Socrates—the distinction between soul and body, and the necessity of attending to the former rather than to the latter: and this had now acquired such significance as to leave no standing-room for the agnosticism with which it had been incompatible from the first. The same irresistible force of expansion which had brought the human soul into communion with absolute truth was to be equally verified in a different direction. Plato was too much interested in practical questions to be diverted from them long by any theoretical philosophy; or, perhaps, we should rather say that this interest had accompanied and inspired him throughout. It is from the essential relativity of mind, the profound craving for intellectual sympathy with other minds, that all mystical imaginations and super-subtle abstractions take rise; so that, when the strain of transcendent absorption and ecstasy is relaxed under the chilling but beneficent contact of earthly experience, they become condensed into ideas for the reconstitution of life and society on a basis of reciprocity, of self-restraint, and of self-devotion to a commonwealth greater and more enduring than any individual, while, at the same time, it brings before each man in objective form the principle by virtue of which only, instead of being divided, he can become reconciled with himself. Here we have the creed of all philosophy, whether theological, metaphysical, or positive, that there is, or that there should be, this threefold unity of feeling, of action, and of thought, of the soul, of society, and of universal existence, to lose which is everlasting death, and, to win it, everlasting life. This creed must be restated and reinterpreted at every revolution of thought. We have to see how it was, for the first time, stated and interpreted by Plato.

The principal object of Plato's negative criticism had been to emphasize the distinction between reality and appearance in the

* *Laws*, 716 C.

world without, between sense or imagination and reason in the human soul. True to the mediatorial spirit of Greek thought, his object now was to bridge over the seemingly impassable gulf. We must not be understood to say that these two distinct, and to some extent contrasted, tendencies corresponded to two definitely divided periods of his life. It is evident that the tasks of dissection and reconstruction were often carried on conjointly, and represented two aspects of an indivisible process. But on the whole there is good reason to believe that Plato, like other men, was more inclined to pull to pieces in his youth and to build up in his later days. We are, therefore, disposed to agree with those critics who assign both the *Phædrus* and the *Symposium* to a comparatively advanced stage of Platonic speculation. It is less easy to decide which of the two was composed first, for there seems to be a greater maturity of thought in the one and of style in the other. For our purposes it will be most convenient to consider them together.

We have seen how Plato came to look on mathematics as an introduction to absolute knowledge. He now discovered a parallel method of approach towards perfect wisdom in an order of experience which to most persons might seem as far as possible removed from exact science—in those passionate feelings which were excited in the Greek imagination by the spectacle of youthful beauty without distinction of sex. There was, at least among the Athenians, a strong intellectual element in the attachments arising out of such feelings, and the strange anomaly might often be seen of a man devoting himself to the education of a youth whom he was, in other respects, doing his utmost to corrupt. Again, the beauty by which a Greek felt most fascinated came nearer to a visible embodiment of mind than any that has ever been known, and as such could be associated with the purest philosophical aspirations. And, finally, the passion of love in its normal manifestations is an essentially generic instinct, being that which carries an individual most entirely out of himself, making him instrumental to the preservation of the race in forms of ever-increasing comeliness and vigour; so that, given a wise training and a wide experience, the maintenance of a noble breed may safely be entrusted to its infallible selection. All these points of view have been developed by Plato with such copiousness of illustration and splendour of language that his name is still associated in popular fancy with an ideal of exalted and purified desire.

So far, however, we only stand on the threshold of Platonic love. The earthly passion, being itself a kind of generalization, is our first step in the ascent to that highest stage of existence where wisdom and virtue and happiness are one—the good to

which all other goods are related as means to an end. But love is not only an introduction to philosophy, it is a type of philosophy itself. Both are conditions intermediate between vacuity and fulfilment; desire being by its very nature dissatisfied, and vanishing at the instant that its object is attained. The philosopher is a lover of wisdom, and therefore not wise; and yet not wholly ignorant, for he knows that he knows nothing. Thus we seem to be thrown back on the standpoint of Plato's earliest agnosticism. Nevertheless, if the *Symposium* agrees nominally with the *Apologia*, in reality it marks a much more advanced point of speculation. The idea of what knowledge is has begun to assume a much clearer expression. We gather from various hints and suggestions that it is the perception of likeness; the very process of ascending generalization typified by intellectual love.

It is worthy of remark that in the Platonic *Erôs* we have the germ—or something more than the germ—of Aristotle's whole metaphysical system. According to the usual law of speculative evolution, what was subjective in the one becomes objective in the other. With Plato the passion for knowledge had been merely the guiding principle of a few chosen spirits. With Aristotle it is the living soul of Nature, the secret spring of movement, from the revolution of the outermost starry sphere to the decomposition and recomposition of our mutable terrestrial elements; and from these again through the whole scale of organic life, up to the moral culture of man and the search for an ideally constituted state. What enables all these myriad movements to continue through eternity, returning ever in an unbroken circle on themselves, is the yearning of unformed matter—that is to say, of unrealized power—towards the absolute unchanging actuality, the self-thinking thought, unmoved, but moving every other form of existence by the desire to participate in its ineffable perfection. Born of the Hellenic enthusiasm for beauty, this wonderful conception subsequently became incorporated with the official teaching of Catholic theology. The note first struck by Plato, and prolonged into a cosmic symphony by his great disciple, went on reverberating through the ages until it was taken up by another master of the ultimate harmonies where passion is made one with thought; and that which had begun as a theme for ribald merriment or for rhetorical ostentation among the golden youth of Athens, was worthily celebrated at the close of Dante's *Paradiso*, as the love that moves the sun and the other stars.

We must, however, observe that, underlying all these poetical imaginations, there is a deeper and wider law of human nature to which they unconsciously bear witness—the intimate connexion of religious feeling with the passion of love. By this we do not

mean the constant interference of the one with the other, whether for the purpose of stimulation, as with the naturalistic religions, or for the purpose of restraint, as with the ethical religions; but we mean that they seem to divide between them a common fund of nervous energy, so that sometimes their manifestations are inextricably confounded, as in certain debased forms of modern Christianity; sometimes they utterly exclude one another; and sometimes, which is the most frequent case of any, the one is transformed into the other, their substantial identity and continuity being indicated very frankly by their use of the same language, the same ritual, and the same æsthetic decoration. And this will show how the decay of religious belief may be accompanied by an outbreak of moral licence, without our being obliged to draw the inference that passion can only be held in check by irrational beliefs, or by organizations whose supremacy is fatal to industrial, political, and intellectual progress. For, if our view of the case be correct, the passion was not really restrained, but only turned in a different direction, and frequently nourished into hysterical excess; so that, with the inevitable decay of theology, it returns to its old haunts, bringing with it seven devils worse than the first. After the Crusades came the Courts of Love; after the Dominican and Franciscan movements, the Renaissance; after Puritanism the Restoration; after Jesuitism, the Regency. Nor is this all. The passion of which we are speaking, when abnormally developed and unbalanced by severe intellectual exercise, is habitually accompanied by delirious jealousy, by cruelty, and by deceit. On taking the form of religion, the influence of its evil associates immediately becomes manifest in the suppression of alien creeds, in the tortures inflicted on their adherents, and in the maxim that no faith need be kept with a heretic. Persecution has been excused on the ground that any means were justifiable for the purpose of saving souls from eternal torment. But how came it to be believed that such a consequence was involved in a mere error of judgment? The faith did not create the intolerance, but the intolerance created the faith, and so gave an idealized expression to the jealous fury accompanying a passion which no spiritual alchemy can purify from its original affinities. It is not by turning this most terrible instinct towards a supernatural object that we should combat it—for combated it must be as far in excess of our actual needs—but by developing the active and masculine in preference to the emotional and feminine side of our nervous organization.*

* In order to avoid misconception it may be as well to mention that the above remarks apply only to religious passion; they have nothing to do with intellectual and moral convictions.

In addition to its other great lessons, the *Symposium* has afforded Plato an opportunity for contrasting his own method of philosophizing with pre-Socratic modes of thought. For it consists of a series of discourses in praise of love, so arranged as to typify the manner in which Greek speculation, after beginning with mythology, subsequently advanced to physical theories of phenomena, then passed from the historical to the contemporary method, asking, not whence did things come, but what are they in themselves; and finally arrived at the logical standpoint of analysis, classification, and induction.

The nature of dialectic is still further elucidated in the *Phædrus*, where it is also contrasted with the method, or rather the no-method, of popular rhetoric. Here, again, discussions about love are chosen as an illustration. A discourse on the subject by no less a writer than Lysias is quoted and shown to be deficient in the most elementary requisites of logical exposition. The different arguments are strung together without any principle of arrangement, and ambiguous terms are used without being defined. In insisting on the necessity of definition, Plato follows Socrates; but he defines according to a totally different method. Socrates had arrived at his general notions partly by a comparison of particular instances with a view to eliciting the points where they agreed, partly by amending the conceptions already in circulation. We have seen that the earliest dialogues attributed to Plato are one long exposure of the difficulties attending such a procedure; and his subsequent investigations all went to prove that nothing solid could be built on such shifting foundations as sense and opinion. Meanwhile, increasing familiarity with the great ontological systems had taught him to begin with the most general notions, and to work down from them to the most particular. The consequence was that dialectic came to mean nothing but classification or logical division. Definition was absorbed into this process, and reasoning by syllogism was not yet differentiated from it. To tell what a thing was, meant to fix its place in the universal order of existence, and its individual existence was sufficiently accounted for by the same determination. If we imagine first a series of concentric circles, then a series of contrasts symmetrically disposed on either side of a central dividing line, and finally a series of transitions descending from the most absolute unity to the most irregular diversity—we shall, by combining the three schemes, arrive at some understanding of the Platonic dialectic. To assign anything its place in these various sequences was at once to define it and to demonstrate the necessity of its existence. The arrangement is also equivalent to a theory of final causes, for everything has a function to perform, marked out by its position, and bringing it into

relation with the universal order. Such a system would inevitably lead to the denial of evil, were not evil itself interpreted as the necessary correlative of good, or as a necessary link in the descending manifestations of reality. Moreover, by virtue of his identifying principle, Plato saw in the lowest forms a shadow or reflection of the highest. Hence the many surprises, concessions, and returns to abandoned positions which we find in his later writings. The three moments of Greek thought, circumscription, antithesis, and mediation, work in such close union, or with such bewildering rapidity of alternation through all his dialectic, that we are never sure whither he is leading us, and not always sure that he knows it himself.

We have elsewhere* endeavoured to explain how the Pythagorean philosophy arose out of the intoxicated delight inspired by a first acquaintance with the manifold properties of number and figure. If we would enter into the spirit of Platonism we must similarly throw ourselves back into the time when the idea of a universal classification first dawned on men's minds. We must remember how it gratified the Greek love of order combined with individuality; what unbounded opportunities for asking and answering questions it supplied; and what promises of practical regeneration it held out. Not without a shade of sadness for so many baffled efforts and so many blighted hopes, yet also with a grateful recollection of all that reason has accomplished and with something of his own high intellectual enthusiasm, shall we listen to Plato's prophetic words—words of deeper import than their own author knew—"If I find any man who is able to see a One and Many in Nature, him I follow and walk in his steps as if he were a god."†

It is interesting to see how the most comprehensive systems of the present century, even when most opposed to the metaphysical spirit, are still constructed on the plan long ago sketched by Plato. Alike in his classification of the sciences, in his historical deductions, and in his plans for the reorganization of society, Auguste Comte adopts a scheme of ascending or descending generality. The conception of differentiation and integration employed both by Hegel and by Mr. Herbert Spencer is also of Platonic origin; only what with the ancient thinker was a statical law of order has become with his modern successors a dynamic law of progress; while, again, there is this distinction between the German and the English philosopher, that the former construes as successive moments of the Idea what the latter regards as simultaneous and interdependent processes of evolution.

* *Westminster Review* for Jan. 1880, Art. "Early Greek Thought."

† *Phædrus*, 266 B. Jowett, II. p. 144.

The study of psychology with Plato stands in a fourfold relation to his general theory of the world. The dialectic method, without which Nature would remain unintelligible, is a function of the soul, and constitutes its most essential activity; then soul, as distinguished from body, represents the higher, supersensual element of existence; thirdly, the objective dualism of reality and appearance is reproduced in the subjective dualism of reason and sense; and lastly, soul, as the original spring of movement, mediates between the eternal entities which are unmoved and the material phenomena which are subject to a continual flux. It is very characteristic of Plato that he first strains an antithesis to the utmost and then endeavours to reconcile its extremes by the interposition of one or more intermediate links. So, while assigning this office to soul as a part of the universe, he classifies the psychic functions themselves according to a similar principle. On the intellectual side he places true opinion, or what we should now call empirical knowledge, midway between demonstration and sense-perception. Such at least seems to be the result reached in the *Theætétus* and the *Meno*. In the *Republic* a further analysis leads to a somewhat different arrangement. Opinion is placed between knowledge and ignorance; while the possible objects to which it corresponds form a transition from being to not-being. Subsequently mathematical reasoning is distinguished from the higher science which takes cognisance of first principles, and thus serves to connect it with simple opinion, while this again, dealing as it does with material objects, is related to the knowledge of their shadows as the most perfect science is related to mathematics.*

Turning from dialectic to ethics, Plato in like manner feels the need of interposing a mediator between reason and appetite. The quality chosen for this purpose he calls *θυμός*, a term which does not, as has been erroneously supposed, correspond to our word Will, but rather to pride, or the feeling of personal honour. It is both the seat of military courage and the natural auxiliary of reason, with which it co-operates in restraining the animal desires. It is a characteristic difference between Socrates and Plato that the former should have habitually reinforced his arguments for virtue by appeals to self-interest; while the latter, with his aristocratic way of looking at things, prefers to enlist the aid of a haughtier feeling on their behalf. Aristotle followed in the same track when he taught that to be overcome by anger is less discreditable than to be overcome by desire. In reality none of

* Adapting Plato's formula to modern ideas we might say: A literary education : knowledge of the world :: mathematics : physical science.

the instincts tending to self-preservation is more praiseworthy than another, or more amenable to the control of reason. Plato's tripartite division of mind cannot be made to fit into the classifications of modern psychology, which are adapted not only to a more advanced state of knowledge but also to more complex conditions of life. But the characters of women by their greater simplicity and uniformity, show to some extent what those of men may once have been ; and it will perhaps confirm the analysis of the *Phædrus* to recall the fact that personal pride is still associated with moral principle in the guardianship of female virtue.

If the soul served to connect the eternal realities with the fleeting appearances by which they were at once darkened, relieved, and shadowed forth, it was also a bond of union between the speculative and the practical philosophy of Plato ; and in discussing his psychology we have already passed from the one to the other. The transition will become still easier if we remember that the question, "What is knowledge?" was, according to our view, originally suggested by a theory reducing ethical science to a hedonistic calculus, and that along with it would arise another question, "What is pleasure?" This latter inquiry, though incidentally touched on elsewhere, is not fully dealt with in any dialogue except the *Philæbus*, which we agree with Professor Jowett in referring to a very late period of Platonic authorship. But the line of argument which it pursues had probably been long familiar to our philosopher. At any rate the *Phædo*, the *Republic*, and perhaps the *Gorgias*, assume, as already proved, that pleasure is not the highest good. The question is one on which thinkers are still divided. It seems, indeed, to lie outside the range of reason, and the disputants are accordingly obliged to invoke the authority either of individual consciousness or of common consent on behalf of their respective opinions. We have, however, got so far beyond the ancients that the doctrine of egoistic hedonism has been abandoned by almost everybody. The substitution of another's pleasure for our own as the object of pursuit was not a conception which presented itself to any Greek moralist, although the principle of self-sacrifice was maintained by some of them, and especially by Plato, to its fullest extent. Pleasure-seeking being inseparably associated with selfishness, the latter was best attacked through the former, and if Plato's logic does not commend itself to our understanding we must admit that it was employed in defence of a noble cause.

We have by this time become tolerably familiar with the dialectic method of attack. When Plato particularly disliked a class of persons, or an institution, or an art, or a theory, or a state of consciousness, he tried to prove that it was confused, unstable, and self-contradictory ; besides taking full advantage of any dis-

credit popularly attached to it. All these objections are brought to bear with full force against pleasure. Some pleasures are delusive, since the reality of them falls far short of the anticipation; all pleasure is essentially transitory, a perpetual becoming, never a fixed state, and therefore not an end of action; pleasures which ensue on the satisfaction of desires are necessarily accompanied by pains and disappear simultaneously with them; the most intense, and for that reason the most typical, pleasures, are associated with feelings of shame, and their enjoyment is carefully hidden out of sight.

- Such arguments have almost the air of an afterthought, and Plato was perhaps more powerfully swayed by other considerations, which we shall now proceed to analyse. When pleasure was assumed to be the highest good, knowledge was agreed to be the indispensable means for its attainment; and, as so often happens, the means gradually substituted itself for the end. Nor was this all; for knowledge (or reason) being not only the means but the supreme arbiter, when called on to adjudicate between conflicting claims, would naturally pronounce in its own favour. Naturally, also, a moralist who made science the chief interest of his own life would come to believe that it was the proper object of all life, whether attended or not by any pleasurable emotion. And so, in direct opposition to the utilitarian theory, Plato declares at last that to brave a lesser pain in order to escape from a greater, or to renounce a lesser pleasure in order to secure a greater, is cowardice and intemperance in disguise; and that wisdom, which he had formerly regarded as a means to other ends, is the one end for which everything else should be exchanged.* Perhaps it may have strengthened him in this attitude to observe that the many, whose opinion he so thoroughly despised, made pleasure their aim in life, while the fastidious few preferred knowledge. Yet, after a time, even the latter alternative failed to satisfy his restless spirit. For the conception of knowledge resolves itself into the deeper conceptions of a knowing subject and a known object, the soul and the universe, each of which became in turn the supreme ideal. What interpretation should be given to virtue depended on the choice between them. According to one view it was a purification of the higher principle within us from material wants and passions. Sensual gratifications should be avoided, because they tend to degrade and pollute the soul. Death should be fearlessly encountered, because it will release her from the restrictions of bodily existence. But Plato had too strong a grasp on the realities of life to remain satisfied with a purely ascetic morality.

* *Phædo*, 69 A. Jowett, I. p. 442.

Knowledge, on the objective side, brought him into relation with an organized universe where each individual existed, not for his own sake but for the sake of the whole, to fulfil a definite function in the system of which he formed a part. And if from one point of view the soul herself was an absolutely simple indivisible substance, from another point of view she reflected the external order, and only fulfilled the law of her being when each separate faculty was exercised within its appropriate sphere.

There still remained one last problem to solve, one point where the converging streams of ethical and metaphysical speculation met and mixed. Granted that knowledge is the soul's highest energy, what is the object of this beatific vision? Granted that all particular energies co-operate for a common purpose, what is the end to which they are subordinated? Granted that dialectic leads us up through ascending gradations to one all-comprehensive idea, how is that idea to be defined? Plato only attempts to answer this last question by restating it under the form of an illustration. As the sun at once gives life to all Nature, and light to the eye by which Nature is perceived, so also the idea of Good is the cause of existence and of knowledge alike, but transcends them both as an absolute unity, of which we cannot even say that it is, for the distinction of subject and predicate would bring back relativity and plurality again. Here we seem to have the Socratic paradox reversed. Socrates identified virtue with knowledge, but, at the same time, entirely emptied the latter of its speculative content. Plato, inheriting the idea of knowledge in its artificially restricted significance, was irresistibly drawn back to the older philosophy whence it had been originally borrowed; then, just as his master had given an ethical application to science, so did he, travelling over the same ground in an opposite direction, extend the theory of ethics far beyond its legitimate range, until a principle which seemed to have no meaning, except in reference to human conduct, became the abstract bond of union between all reality and all thought.

Whether Plato ever succeeded in making the idea of Good quite clear to others, or even to himself, is more than we can tell. In the *Republic* he declines giving further explanations on the ground that his pupils have not passed through the necessary mathematical initiation. Whether quantitative reasoning was to furnish the form or the matter of transcendent dialectic is left undetermined. We are told that on one occasion a large audience assembled to hear Plato lecture on the Good, but that, much to their disappointment, the discourse was entirely filled with geometrical and astronomical investigations. Bearing in mind, however, that mathematical science deals chiefly with

equations, and that astronomy, according to Plato, had for its object to prove the absolute uniformity of the celestial motions, we may perhaps conclude that the idea of Good meant no more than the abstract notion of identity or indistinguishable likeness. The more complex idea of law as a uniformity of relations whether co-existent or successive had not then dawned, but it had since been similarly employed to bring physics into harmony with ethics and logic.

So far we have followed the evolution of Plato's philosophy as it may have been effected under the impulse of purely theoretical motives. We have now to consider what form was imposed on it by the more imperious exigencies of practical experience. Here again we find Plato taking up and continuing the work of Socrates, but on a vastly greater scale. There was, indeed, a kind of pre-established harmony between the expression of thought on the one hand and the increasing need for its application to life on the other. For the spread of public corruption had gone on *pari passu* with the development of philosophy. The teaching of Socrates was addressed to individuals, and dealt chiefly with private morality. On other points he was content to accept the law of the land and the established political constitution as sufficiently safe guides. He was not accustomed to see them defied or perverted into instruments of selfish aggrandisement; nor, apparently, had the possibility of such a contingency occurred to him. Still less did he imagine that all social institutions then existing were radically wrong. Hence the personal virtues held a more important place in his system than the social virtues. His attacks were directed against slothfulness and self-indulgence, against the ignorant temerity which hurried some young men into politics before their education was finished, and the timidity or fastidiousness which prevented others from discharging the highest duties of citizenship. Nor, in accepting the popular religion of his time, had he any suspicion that its sanctions might be invoked on behalf of successful violence and fraud. We have already shown how differently Plato felt towards his age, and how much deeper as well as more shameless was the demoralisation with which he set himself to contend.* It must also be remembered how judicial proceedings had come to overshadow every other public interest; and how the highest culture of the time had, at least in his eyes, become identified with the systematic perversion of truth and right. These considerations will explain why Greek philosophy, while moving on a higher plane, passed through the same orbit which had been previously described by Greek poetry.

* *Westminster Review* for Oct. 1880.

Precisely as the lessons of moderation in Homer had been followed by the lessons of justice in Æschylus, precisely as the religion which was a selfish traffic between gods and men, and had little to tell of a life beyond the grave, was replaced by the nobler faith in a divine guardianship of morality and a retributive judgment after death, so also did the Socratic ethics and the Socratic theology lead on to a system which made justice the essence of morality and religion its everlasting consecration.

Temperance and justice are very clearly distinguished in our minds. The one is mainly a self-regarding, the other mainly a social virtue. But it would be a mistake to suppose that the distinction was equally clear to Plato. He had learned from Socrates that all virtue is one. He found himself confronted by men who pointedly opposed interest to honour and expediency to fair-dealing, without making any secret of their preference for the former. Here, as elsewhere, he laboured to dissolve away the vulgar antithesis and to substitute for it a deeper one—the antithesis between real and apparent goods. He was quite ready to imagine the case of a man who might have to incur all sorts of suffering in the practice of justice even to the extent of infamy, torture and death; but without denying that these were evils he held that to practise injustice with the accompaniment of worldly prosperity was a greater evil still. Nor would he have agreed with St. Paul that virtue is a bad calculation without the hope of a reward for it hereafter. His morality is absolutely independent of any extrinsic considerations. Nevertheless he holds that in our own interest we should do what is right; and it never seems to have entered his thoughts that there could be any other motive for doing it. We have to explain how such a paradox was possible.

Plato seems to have felt very strongly that all virtuous action tends towards a good exceeding in value any temporary sacrifice which it may involve; and the accepted connotation of ethical terms went entirely along with this belief. But he could not see that a particular action might be good for the community at large and bad for the individual who performed it, not in a different sense but in the very same sense, as involving a diminution of his happiness. For from Plato's abstract and generalizing point of view all good was homogeneous, and the welfare of the individual was absolutely identified with the welfare of the whole to which he belonged. As against those who made right dependent on might and erected self-indulgence into the law of life, Plato occupied an impregnable position. He showed that such principles made society impossible, and that without honour even a gang of thieves cannot hold together. He also saw that it is reason which brings each individual into relation

with the whole and enables him to understand his obligations towards it ; but at the same time he gave this reason a personal character which does not properly belong to it ; or, what comes to the same thing, he treated human beings as pure *entia rationis*, thus unwittingly removing the necessity for having any morality at all. On his assumption it would be absurd to break the law ; but neither would there be any temptation to break it, nor would any unpleasant consequences follow on its violation. Plato speaks of injustice as an injury to the soul's health, and therefore as the greatest evil that can befall a human being, without observing that the inference involves a confusion of terms. For his argument requires that soul should mean both the whole of conscious life and the system of abstract notions through which we communicate and co-operate with our fellow-creatures. All crime is a serious disturbance to the latter, for it cannot without absurdity be made the foundation of a general rule ; but, apart from penal consequences, it does not impair, and may benefit the former.

While Plato identified the individual with the community by slurring over the possible divergence of their interests, he still further contributed to their logical confusion by resolving the ego into a multitude of conflicting faculties and impulses supposed to represent the different classes of which a State is made up. His opponents held that justice and law emanate from the ruling power in the body politic ; and they were brought to admit that supreme power is properly vested in the wisest and best citizens. Transferring these principles to the inner forum he maintained that a psychological aristocracy could only be established by giving reason a similar control over the animal passions. At first sight, this seemed to imply no more than a return to the standpoint of Socrates, or of Plato himself in the *Protagoras*. The man who indulges his desires within the limits prescribed by a regard for their safe satisfaction through his whole life, may be called temperate and reasonable, but he is not necessarily just. If, however, we identify the paramount authority within with the paramount authority without, we shall have to admit that there is a faculty of justice in the individual soul corresponding to the objective justice of political law ; and since the supreme virtue is agreed on all hands to be reason, we must go a step further and admit that justice is reason, or that it is reasonable to be just ; and that by consequence the height of injustice is the height of folly. Moreover, this fallacious substitution of justice for temperance was facilitated by the circumstance that although the former virtue is not involved in the latter, the latter is to a very great extent involved in the former. Self-control by no means carries with it a respect for the rights

of others ; but where such respect exists it necessitates a considerable amount of self-control.

We trust that the steps of a difficult argument have been made clear by the foregoing analysis ; and that the whole process has been shown to hinge on the ambiguous use of such notions as the individual and the community, of which the one is paradoxically construed as a plurality and the other as a unity ; justice, which is alternately taken in the sense of control exercised by the worthiest, control of passion in the general interest, control of our passions in the interest of others, and control of the same passions in our own interest ; and wisdom or reason, which sometimes means any kind of excellence ; sometimes the excellence of a harmonious society, and sometimes the excellence of a well-balanced mind. Thus out of self-regarding virtue social virtue is elicited, the whole process being ultimately conditioned by that identifying power which was at once the strength and the weakness of Plato's genius.

Plato knew perfectly well that although rhetoricians and men of the world might be silenced, they could not be converted nor even convinced by such arguments as these. So far from thinking it possible to reason men into virtue, he has observed of those who are slaves to their senses that you must improve them before you can teach them the truth. And he felt that if the complete assimilation of the individual and the community was to become more than a mere logical formula, it must be effected by a radical reform in the training of the one and in the institutions of the other. Accordingly, he set himself to elaborate a scheme for the purpose, our knowledge of which is chiefly derived from his greatest work, the *Republic*. We have already made large use of the negative criticism scattered through that dialogue ; we have now to examine the positive teaching by which it was supplemented.

Plato, like Socrates, makes religious instruction the basis of education. But where the master had been content to set old beliefs on a new basis of demonstration, the disciple aimed at nothing less than their complete purification from irrational and immoral ingredients. He lays down two great principles, that God is good, and that he is true. Every story which is inconsistent with such a character must be rejected ; so also must everything in the poets which redounds to the discredit of the national heroes, together with everything tending in the remotest degree to make vice attractive or virtue repellent. It is evident that Plato, like Xenophanes, repudiated not only the scandalous details of popular mythology, but also the anthropomorphic conceptions which lay at its foundation ; although he did not think it advisable to state his unbelief with equal frankness. His own

theology was a sort of star-worship, and he proved the divinity of the heavenly bodies by an appeal to the uniformity of their movements. He further taught that the world was created by an absolutely good Being; but we cannot be sure that this was more than a popular version of the theory which placed the abstract idea of good at the summit of the dialectic series. The truth is that there are two distinct types of religion, the one chiefly interested in the existence and attributes of God, the other chiefly interested in the destiny of the human soul. The former is best represented by Judaism, the latter by Buddhism. Plato belongs rather to the psychic than to the theistic type. The doctrine of immortality appears again and again in his dialogues, and one of the most beautiful among them is entirely devoted to proving it. He seems throughout to be conscious that he is arguing in favour of a paradox. Here at least there are no appeals to popular prejudice such as figure so largely in similar discussions among ourselves. The belief in immortality had long been stirring, but it had not taken deep root among the Ionian Greeks. We cannot even be sure that it was embraced as a consoling hope by any but the highest minds anywhere in Hellas, or by them for more than a brief period. It would be easy to maintain that this arose from some natural incongeniality to the Greek imagination in thoughts which drew it away from the world of sense and the delights of earthly life. But the explanation breaks down immediately when we attempt to verify it by a wider experience. No modern nation enjoys life so keenly as the French. Yet, quite apart from traditional dogmas, there is no nation that counts so many earnest supporters of the belief in a spiritual existence beyond the grave. Or, to take an individual example, it is just the keen relish which Mr. Browning's Cleon has for every sort of enjoyment which makes him shrink back with horror from the thought of annihilation, and grasp at any promise of a happiness to be prolonged through eternity. A closer examination is needed to show us by what causes the current of Greek thought was swayed.

The great religious movement of the sixth and fifth centuries—chiefly represented for us by the names of Pythagoras, Æschylus, and Pindar—would in all probability have entirely won over the educated classes, and given definiteness to the half-articulate utterances of popular tradition, had it not been arrested prematurely by the development of physical speculation. We have shown in a former article* that Greek philosophy in its earliest stages was entirely materialistic. It differed, indeed, from modern materialism in holding that the soul, or seat of conscious

life, is an entity distinct from the body ; but the distinction was one between a grosser and a finer matter, or else between a simpler and a more complex arrangement of the same matter, not between an extended and an indivisible substance. Whatever theories, then, were entertained with respect to the one would inevitably come to be entertained also with respect to the other. Now, with the exception of the Eleates, who denied the reality of change and separation altogether, every school agreed in teaching that all particular bodies are formed either by differentiation or by decomposition and recomposition out of the same primordial elements. From this it followed, as a natural consequence, that, although the whole mass of matter was eternal, each particular aggregate of matter must perish in order to release the elements required for the formation of new aggregates. It is obvious that, assuming the soul to be material, its immortality was irreconcilable with such a doctrine as this. A combination of four elements and two conflicting forces, such as Empedocles supposed the human mind to be, could not possibly outlast the organism in which it was enclosed ; and if Empedocles himself, by an inconsistency not uncommon with men of genius, refused to draw the only legitimate conclusion from his own principles, the discrepancy could not fail to force itself on his successors. Still more fatal to the belief in a continuance of personal identity after death was the theory put forward by Diogenes of Apollonia, that there is really no personal identity even in life—that consciousness is only maintained by a perpetual inhalation of the vital air in which all reason resides. The soul very literally left the body with the last breath, and had a poor chance of holding together afterwards, especially, as the wits observed, if a high wind happened to be blowing at the time.

It would appear that even in the Pythagorean school there had been a reaction against a doctrine which its founder had been the first to popularize in Hellas. The Pythagoreans had always attributed great importance to the conceptions of harmony and numerical proportion ; and they soon came to think of the soul as a ratio which the different elements of the animal body bore to one another ; or as a musical concord resulting from the joint action of its various members, which might be compared to the strings of a lute. But

“ When the lute is broken
Sweet tones are remembered not.”

And so, with the dissolution of our bodily organism, the music of consciousness would pass away for ever. Perhaps no form of psychology taught in the Greek schools has approached nearer to modern thought than this. It was professed at Thebes by

two Pythagoreans, Cebes and Simmias, in the time of Plato. He rightly regarded them as formidable opponents, for they were ready to grant whatever he claimed for the soul in the way of immateriality and superiority to the body, while denying the possibility of its separate existence. We may so far anticipate the course of our exposition as to mention that the direct argument by which he met them was a reference to the moving power of mind, and to the constraint exercised by reason over passionate impulse; characteristics which the analogy with a musical harmony failed to explain. But his chief reliance was on an order of considerations, the historical genesis of which we shall now proceed to trace.

It was by that somewhat slow and circuitous process, the negation of a negation, that spiritualism was finally established. The shadows of doubt gathered still more thickly around futurity before another attempt could be made to remove them. For the scepticism of the Humanists and the ethical dialectic of Socrates, if they tended to weaken the dogmatic materialism of physical philosophy, were at first not more favourable to the new faith which that philosophy had suddenly eclipsed. For the one rejected every kind of supernaturalism, and the other did not attempt to go behind what had been directly revealed by the gods, or was discoverable from an examination of their handiwork. Nevertheless, the new inquiries, with their exclusively subjective direction, paved the way for a return to the religious development previously in progress. By leading men to think of mind as, above all, a principle of knowledge and deliberate action, they altogether freed it from those material associations which brought it under the laws of external Nature, where every finite existence was destined, sooner or later, to be reabsorbed and to disappear. The position was completely reversed when Nature was, as it were, brought up before the bar of Mind to have her constitution determined or her very existence denied by that supreme tribunal. If the subjective idealism of Protagoras and Gorgias made for spiritualism, so also did the teleological religion of Socrates. It was impossible to assert the priority and superiority of mind to matter more strongly than by teaching that a designing intelligence had created the whole visible universe for the exclusive enjoyment of man. The infinite without was in its turn absorbed by the infinite within. Finally, the logical method of Socrates contained in itself the germs of a still subtler spiritualism which Plato now proceeded to work out.

The dialectic theory, considered in its relation to physics, tended to substitute the study of uniformity for the study of mechanical causation. But the general conceptions established by science were a kind of soul in Nature; they were immaterial, they could

not be perceived by sense, and yet, remaining as they did unchanged in a world of change, they were far truer, far more real, than the phenomena to which they gave unity and definition. Now these self-existent ideas, being subjective in their origin, readily reacted on mind, and communicated to it those attributes of fixedness and eternal duration which had in truth been borrowed by them from Nature, not by Nature from them. Plato argued that the soul was in possession of ideas too pure to have been derived from the suggestions of sense, and therefore traceable to the reminiscences of an ante-natal experience. But we can see that the reminiscence was all on the side of the ideas; it was they which betrayed their human origin by the birth-mark of abstraction and finality—betokening the limitation of man's faculties and the interest of his desires—that still clung to them when from a temporary law of thought they were erected into an everlasting law of things. As Comte would say, Plato was taking out of his conceptions what he had first put into them himself. And if this consideration applies to all his reasonings on the subject of immortality, it applies especially to what he regards as the most convincing demonstration of any. There is one idea, he tells us, with which the soul is inseparably and essentially associated—namely, the idea of life. Without this soul can no more be conceived than snow without cold or fire without heat; nor can death approach it without involving a logical contradiction. To assume that the soul is separable from the body, and that life is inseparable from the soul, was certainly an expeditious method of proof. To a modern, it would have the further disadvantage of proving too much. For, by parity of reasoning, every living thing must have an immortal soul, and every soul must have existed from all eternity. Plato frankly accepted both conclusions and even incorporated them with his ethical system. He looked on the lower animals as so many stages in a progressive degradation to which human beings had descended through their own violence or sensuality, but from which it was possible for them to return after a certain period of penitence and probation. At other times he describes a hell, a purgatory, and a heaven not unlike what we read of in Dante, without apparently being conscious of any inconsistency between the two representations. It was indeed an inconsistency such as we find in the highest order of intellects, the inconsistency of one who mediated between two worlds, between naturalistic metempsychosis on the one side, and ethical individualism on the other.

Nor was it merely the immortality, it was the eternity of the soul that Plato taught. For him the expectation of a life beyond the grave was identified with the memory of an

ante-natal existence, and the two must stand or fall together. When Shelley's shipwrecked mother exclaims to her child:—

“Alas! what is life, what is death, what are we
That when the ship sinks we no longer may be!
What! to see thee no more, and to feel thee no more,
To be after life what we have been before!”

Her despair is but the inverted image of Plato's hope, the return to a purer state of being where knowledge will no longer be obscured by passing through the perturbing medium of sight and touch. Again, modern apologists for the injustice and misery of the present system* argue that its inequalities will be redressed in a future state. Plato conversely regarded the sufferings of good men as a retribution for former sin, or as the result of a forgotten choice. The authority of Pindar and of ancient tradition generally may have influenced his belief, but it had a deeper ground in the logic of a spiritualistic philosophy. The dualism of soul and body is only one form of his fundamental antithesis between the changeless essence and the transitory manifestations of existence. A pantheism like Spinoza's was the natural outcome of such a system; but his practical genius or his ardent imagination kept Plato from carrying it so far. Nor in the interests of progress was the result to be regretted; for theology had to pass through one more phase before the term of its beneficent activity could be reached. Ethical conceptions gained a new significance in the bleuded light of mythology and metaphysics; those who made it their trade to pervert justice at its fountain-head might still tremble before the terrors of a supernatural tribunal; or if Plato could not regenerate the life of his own people he could foretell what was to be the common faith of Europe in another thousand years; and memory, if not hope, is the richer for those magnificent visions where he has projected the eternal conflict between good and evil into the silence and darkness by which our lives are shut in on every side.

Plato had begun by condemning poetry only in so far as it was inconsistent with true religion and morality. At last, with his usual propensity to generalize, he condemned it and, by implication, every imitative art *quâ* art, as a delusion and a sham, twice removed from the truth of things because a copy of the phenomena which are themselves unreal representations of an archetypal idea. His iconoclasm may remind us of other ethical theologians both before and after, whether Hebrew, Moslem, or

* “Un monde qui est l'injustice même.”—Ernest Renan: *L'Eglise Chrétienne*, p. 139.

Puritan. If he does not share their fanatical hatred for plastic and pictorial representations, it is only because works of that class, besides being of a chaster character, exercised far less power over the Greek imagination than epic and dramatic poetry. Moreover, the tales of the poets were, according to Plato, the worst lies of any, since they were believed to be true; whereas statues and pictures differed too obviously from their originals for any such illusion to be produced in their case. Like the Puritans, again, Plato sanctioned the use of religious hymns, with the accompaniment of music in its simplest and most elevated forms. Like them, also, he would have approved of literary fiction when it was employed for edifying purposes. Works like the *Fairy Queen*, *Paradise Lost*, and the *Pilgrim's Progress*, would have been his favourites in English literature; and he might have extended the same indulgence to fictions of the Edgeworthian type, where the virtuous characters always come off best in the end.

The reformed system of education was to be not only moral and religious but also severely scientific. The place given to mathematics as the foundation of a right intellectual training is most remarkable, and shows how truly Plato apprehended the conditions under which knowledge is acquired and enlarged. Here, as in other respects, he is, more even than Aristotle, the precursor of Auguste Comte. He arranges the mathematical sciences, so far as they then existed, in their logical order; and his remarks on the most general ideas suggested by astronomy read like a divination of rational mechanics. That a recommendation of such studies should be put into the mouth of Socrates is a striking incongruity. The older Plato grew the farther he seems to have advanced from the humanist to the naturalistic point of view; and, had he been willing to confess it, Hippias and Prodicus were the teachers with whom he finally found himself most in sympathy.

Macaulay has spoken as if the Platonic philosophy was totally unrelated to the material wants of men. This, however, is a mistake. It is true that in the Republic science is not regarded as an instrument for heaping up fresh luxuries, or for curing the diseases which luxury breeds; but only because its purpose is held to be the discovery of those conditions under which a healthy, happy, and virtuous race can best be reared. The art of the true statesman is to weave the web of life with perfect skill, to bring together those couples from whose union the noblest progeny shall issue; and it is only by mastering the laws of the physical universe that this art can be acquired. Plato knew no natural laws but those of mathematics and astronomy; consequently, he set far too much store on the times and seasons

at which bride and bridegroom were to meet, and on the numerical ratios by which they were supposed to be determined. He even tells us about a mysterious formula for discovering the nuptial number, by which the ingenuity of commentators has been considerably exercised. The true laws of marriage among a civilised people have remained wrapped in still more impenetrable darkness. Whatever may be the best solution it can hardly fail to differ in many respects from our present customs. It cannot be right that the most important act in the life of a human being should be determined by social ambition, by avarice, by vanity, by pique, or by accident—in a word, by the most contemptible impulses of which human nature is susceptible; nor is it to be expected that sexual selection will always necessitate the employment of insincerity, adulation, and bribery by one of the parties concerned, while fostering in the other credulity, egoism, jealousy, capriciousness, and petty tyranny—the very qualities which a wise training would have for its object to root out.*

It seems difficult to reconcile views about marriage involving a recognition of the fact that mental and moral qualities are hereditarily transmitted with the belief in metempsychosis elsewhere professed by Plato. But perhaps his adherence to the latter doctrine is not to be taken very seriously. In imitation of the objective world, whose essential truth is half hidden and half disclosed by its phenomenal manifestations, he loves to present his speculative teaching under a mythical disguise; and so he may have chosen the old doctrine of transmigration as an apt expression for the unity and continuity of life. And, at worst, he would not be guilty of any greater inconsistency than those modern philosophers who, while they admit that mental qualities are inherited, hold each individual soul to be a separate and independent creation.

The rules for breeding and education set forth in the *Republic* are not intended for the whole community, but only for the ruling minority. It was by the corruption of the higher classes that Plato was most distressed, and the salvation of the State depended, according to him, on their reformation. This leads us on to his scheme for the reconstitution of society. It is intimately connected with his method of logical definition and classification. He shows with great force that the collective action of human beings is conditioned by the division of labour, and argues from this that every individual ought, in the interest of the whole, to be restricted to a single occupation. Therefore the industrial classes, who form the bulk of the population, are

* Cp. *Iysis*, 210 E. Jowett, I. p. 54.

to be excluded both from military service and from political power. The Peloponnesian War had led to a general substitution of professional soldiers for the old levies of untrained citizens in Greek warfare. Plato was deeply impressed by the dangers as well as by the advantages of this revolution. That each profession should be exercised only by persons trained for it, suited his notions alike as a logician, a teacher, and a practical reformer. But he saw that mercenary fighters might use their power to oppress and plunder the defenceless citizens, or to establish a military despotism. And, holding that government should in like manner be exercised only by functionaries naturally fitted, and expressly trained for the work, he saw equally that a privileged class would be tempted to abuse their position in order to fill their pockets and to gratify their passions. He proposed to provide against these dangers, first by the new system of education already described, and secondly by pushing the division of labour to its logical conclusion. That they might the better attend to their specific duties the defenders and the rulers of the State were not to practise the art of money-making; in other words, they were not to possess any property of their own, but were to be supported by the labour of the industrial classes. Furthermore, that they need not quarrel among themselves, he proposed that every private interest should be eliminated from their lives, and that they should, as a class, be united by the closest bonds of family affection. This purpose was to be effected by the abolition of marriage and of domesticity. The couples chosen for breeding were to be separated when the object of their union had been attained; children were to be taken from their mothers immediately after birth and brought up at the expense and under the supervision of the State. Sickly and deformed infants were to be destroyed. Those who fell short of the aristocratic standard were to be degraded and their places filled up by the exceptionally gifted offspring of low-class parents. Members of the military and governing caste were to address each other according to the kinship which might possibly exist between them. In the absence of home-employments, women were to be, so far as possible, assimilated to men; to pass through the same bodily and mental training; to be enrolled in the army; and, if they showed the necessary capacity, to discharge the highest political functions. In this practical dialectic the identifying no less than the differentiating power of logic is displayed, and displayed also in defiance of common ideas, as in the modern classifications of zoology and botany. Plato introduces distinctions where they did not before exist, and annuls those which were already recognized. The sexes were to be assimilated, political life was to be identified with family life, and the whole

community was to present an exact parallel with the individual soul. The ruling committee corresponded to reason, the army to passionate spirit, and the industrial classes to the animal desires; and each in its perfect constitution represented one of the cardinal virtues as reinterpreted by Plato. Wisdom belonged to the ruling part, courage to the intermediate executive power, and temperance or obedience to the organs of material existence; while justice meant the general harmony resulting from the fulfilment of their appropriate functions by all. We may add that the whole State reproduced the Greek family in a much deeper sense than Plato himself was aware of. For his aristocracy represents the man, whose virtue, in the words of Gorgias, was to "administer the State," and his industrial class takes the place of the woman, whose duty was "to order her house and keep what is indoors and obey her husband."*

Such was the celebrated scheme by which Plato proposed to regenerate mankind. We have already taken occasion to show how it was connected with his ethical and dialectical philosophy. We have now to consider in what relation it stands to the political experience of his own and other times, as well as to the revolutionary proposals of other speculative reformers.

According to Hegel, the Platonic polity, so far from being an impracticable dream, had already found its realization in Greek life, and did but give a purer expression to the constitutive principle of every ancient commonwealth. There are, he tells us, three stages in the moral development of mankind. The first is purely objective. It represents a régime where rules of conduct are entirely imposed from without; they are, as it were, embodied in the framework of society; they rest, not on reason and conscience, but on authority and tradition; they will not suffer themselves to be questioned, for, being unproved, a doubt would be fatal to their very existence. Here the individual is completely sacrificed to the State; but in the second or subjective stage he breaks loose, asserting the right of his private judgment and will as against the established order of things. This revolution was, still according to Hegel, begun by the Sophists and Socrates. It proved altogether incompatible with the spirit of Greek civilization, which it ended by shattering to pieces. The subjective principle found an appropriate expression in Christianity, which attributes an infinite importance to the individual soul; and it appears also in the political philosophy of Rousseau. We may observe that it corresponds very nearly to what Auguste Comte meant by the metaphysical period. The modern State reconciles both principles, allowing the individual

* *Meno*, 71 E. Jowett, I. p. 270.

his full development and at the same time incorporating him with a larger whole where for the first time he finds his own reason fully realized. Now, Hegel looks on the Platonic republic as a reaction against the subjective individualism, the right of private judgment, the self-seeking impulse, or whatever else it is to be called, which was fast eating into the heart of Greek civilization. To counteract this fatal tendency, Plato goes back to the constitutive principle of Greek society—that is to say, the omnipotence, or, in Benthamite parlance, omnicompetence, of the State; exhibiting it in ideal perfection as the suppression of individual liberty under every form, more especially the fundamental forms of property, marriage, and domestic life.

It seems to us that Hegel, in his anxiety to crush every historical process into the narrow symmetry of a favourite metaphysical formula, has confounded several entirely distinct conceptions under the common name of subjectivity. First, there is the right of private judgment, the claim of each individual to have a voice in the affairs of the State and the free management of his own personal concerns. But this, so far from being modern, is one of the oldest customs of the Aryan race, and perhaps, could we look back to the oldest history of other races now despotically governed, we should find it prevailing among them also. It was no new nor unheard-of privilege that Rousseau vindicated for the peoples of his own time, but their ancient birthright, taken from them by the growth of a centralized military system, just as it had been formerly taken from the city communities of the Græco-Roman world. In this respect Plato goes against the whole spirit of his country, and no period of its development, not even the age of Homer, would have satisfied him. We have next the disposition of individuals no longer to interfere in making the law, but to override it, or to bend it into an instrument for their own purposes. Doubtless there existed such a tendency in Plato's time, and his polity was very largely designed to hold it in check. But such unprincipled ambition was nothing new in Greece, however the mode of its manifestations might vary. What had formerly been seized by armed violence was now sought after with the more subtle weapons of rhetorical skill, just as at the present moment, among these same Greeks, it is the prize of parliamentary intrigue. The Cretan and Spartan institutions may very possibly have been designed with a view to checking this spirit of selfish lawlessness, by reducing private interests to a minimum; and Plato most certainly had them in his mind when he pushed the same method still further; but those institutions were not types of Hellenism as a whole, they only represented one, and that a very abnormal, side of it. Plato borrowed some elements from this quarter, but, as we shall presently show,

incorporated them with others of a widely different character. Sparta was, indeed, on any high theory of government, not a State at all, but a robber-clan established among a plundered population whom they never tried or cared to conciliate. How little weight her rulers attributed to the interests of the State as such, was well exhibited during the Peloponnesian War, when political advantages of the utmost importance were surrendered in deference to the noble families whose kinsmen had been captured at Sphacteria, and whose sole object was to rescue them from the fate with which they were threatened by the Athenians as a means of extorting concessions—conduct with which the refusal of Rome to ransom the soldiers who had surrendered at Cannæ may be instructively contrasted. We have next to consider a form of individualism directly opposed in character to those already specified. It is the complete withdrawal from public affairs for the sake of attending exclusively to one's private duties or pleasures. Such individualism is the characteristic weakness of conservatives, who are, by their very nature, the party of timidity and quiescence. To them was addressed the exhortation of Cato, *capessenda est respublica*. The two other forms of which we have spoken are, on the contrary, diseases of liberalism. We see them exemplified when the leaders of a party are harassed by the perpetual criticism of their professed supporters; or, again, when an election is lost because the votes of the Liberal electors are divided among several candidates. But when a party—generally the Conservative party—loses an election because its voters will not go to the poll, that is owing to the lazy individualism which shuns political contests altogether. It was of this disease that the public life of Athens really perished; and so far Hegel is on the right track; but although its action was more obviously and immediately fatal in antiquity, we are by no means safe from a repetition of the same experience in modern society. Nor can it be said that Plato reacted against an evil which, in his eyes, was an evil only when it deprived a very few properly-qualified persons of political supremacy. With regard to all others he proposed to sanction and systematize what was already becoming a common custom—namely, entire withdrawal from the administration of affairs in peace and war. Hegel seems to forget that it is only a single class, and that the smallest, in Plato's republic which is not allowed to have any private interests; while the industrial classes, necessarily forming a large majority of the whole population, are not only suffered to retain their property and their families, but are altogether thrown back for mental occupation on the interests arising out of these. The resulting state of things would have found its best parallel, not in old Greek city

life, but in modern Europe, as it was between the Reformation and the French Revolution.

The three forms of individualism already enumerated do not exhaust the general conception of subjectivity. According to Hegel, if we understand him aright, the most important aspect of the principle in question would be the philosophical side, the return of thought on itself already latent in physical speculation, proclaimed by the Sophists as an all-dissolving scepticism, and worked up into a theory of life by Socrates. That there was such a movement is, of course, certain; but that it contributed perceptibly to the decay of old Greek morality, or that it was essentially opposed to the old Greek spirit, cannot, we think, be truly asserted. What has been already observed of political liberty and of political unscrupulousness may be repeated of intellectual inquisitiveness, rationalism, scepticism, or by whatever name the tendency in question is to be called—it always was, and still is, essentially characteristic of the Greek race. It may very possibly have been a source of political disintegration at all times, but that it became so to a greater extent after assuming the form of systematic speculation has never been proved. If the study of science, or the passion for intellectual gymnastics, drew men away from the duties of public life, it was simply as one more private interest among many, just like feasting, or love-making, or travelling, or poetry, or any other of the occupations in which a wealthy Greek delighted; not from any intrinsic incompatibility with the duties of a statesman or a soldier. So far, indeed, was this from being true, that liberal studies, even of the abstrusest order, were pursued with every advantage to their patriotic energy by such citizens as Zeno, Melissus, Empedocles, and, above all, by Pericles. If Socrates stood aloof from public business it was that he might have more leisure to train others for its proper performance; and he himself, when called upon to serve the State, proved fully equal to the emergency. As for the Sophists, it is well known that their profession was to give young men the sort of education which would enable them to fill the highest political offices with honour and advantage. It is true that such a special preparation would end by throwing increased difficulties in the way of a career which it was originally intended to facilitate, by raising the standard of technical proficiency in statesmanship; and that many possible aspirants would, in consequence, be driven back on less arduous pursuits. But Plato was so far from opposing this specialisation that he wished to carry it much farther, and to make government the exclusive business of a small class who were to be physiologically selected and to receive an education far more elaborate than any that the Sophists could give. If, however, we consider Plato

not as the constructor of a new constitution but in relation to the politics of his own time, we must admit that his whole influence was used to set public affairs in a hateful and contemptible light. So far, therefore, as philosophy was represented by him, it must count for a disintegrating force. But in just the same degree we are precluded from assimilating his idea of a State to the old Hellenic model. We must rather say, what he himself would have said, that it never was realized anywhere; although, as we shall presently see, a certain approach to it was made in the Middle Ages. Once more, looking at the whole current of Greek philosophy, and especially the philosophy of mind, are we entitled to say that it encouraged, if it did not create, those other forms of individualism already defined as mutinous criticism on the part of the people and selfish ambition on the part of its chiefs? Some historians have maintained that there was such a connexion operating, if not directly, at least through a chain of intermediate causes. Free thought destroyed religion, with religion fell morality, and with morality whatever restraints had hitherto kept anarchic tendencies of every description within bounds. These are interesting reflections; but they do not concern us here, for the issue raised by Hegel is entirely different. It matters nothing to him that Socrates was a staunch defender of supernaturalism and of the received morality. The essential antithesis is between the Socratic introspection and the Socratic dialectics on the one side, and the unquestioned authority of ancient institutions on the other. If this be what Hegel means, we must once more record our dissent. We cannot admit that the philosophy of subjectivity, so interpreted, was a decomposing ferment; nor that the spirit of Plato's republic was, in any case, a protest against it. The Delphic precept, "Know thyself," meant in the mouth of Socrates: Let every man find out what work he is best fitted for, and stick to that, without meddling in matters for which he is not qualified. The Socratic dialectic meant: Let the whole field of knowledge be similarly studied; let our ideas on all subjects be so systematized that we shall be able to discover at a moment's notice the bearing of any one of them on any of the others, or on any new question brought up for decision. Surely nothing could well be less individualistic in a bad sense, less anti-social, less anarchic than this. Nor does Plato oppose, he generalizes his master's principles; he works out the psychology and dialectic of the whole state; and if the members of his governing class are not permitted to have any separate interests in their individual capacity, each individual soul is exalted to the highest dignity by having the community reorganized on the model of its own internal economy. There are no violent peripeteias in this great drama of thought,

but everywhere harmony, continuity and gradual development.

We have entered at some length into Hegel's theory of the *Republic* because it seems to embody a misleading conception not only of Greek politics but also of the most important attempt at a social reformation ever made by one man in the history of philosophy. Thought would be much less worth studying if it only reproduced the abstract form of a very limited experience, instead of analysing and recombining the elements of which that experience is composed. And our faith in the power of conscious efforts towards improvement will very much depend on which side of the alternative we accept.

Zeller, while taking a much wider view than Hegel, still assumes that Plato's reforms, so far as they were suggested by experience, were simply an adaptation of Dorian practices. He certainly succeeds in showing that private property, marriage, education, individual liberty and personal morality were subjected, at least in Sparta, to many restrictions resembling those imposed in the Platonic state. And Plato himself, by treating the Spartan system as the first form of degeneration from his own ideal, seems to indicate that this of all existing polities made the nearest approach to it. The declarations of the *Timæus** are, however, much more distinct, and according to them it was in the caste-divisions of Egypt that he found the nearest parallel to his own scheme of social reorganization. There, too, the priests or wise men came first, and after them the warriors, while the different branches of industry were separated from one another by rigid demarcations. He may also have been struck by that free admission of women to employments elsewhere filled exclusively by men which so surprised Herodotus from his inability to discern its real cause—the more advanced differentiation of Egyptian as compared with Greek society.

But a profounder analysis of experience is necessary before we can come to the real roots of Plato's scheme. It must be remembered that our philosopher was a revolutionist of the most thorough-going description, that he objected not to this or that constitution of his time but to all existing constitutions whatever. Now every great revolutionary movement, if in some respects an advance and an evolution, is in other respects a retrogression and a dissolution. When the most complex forms of political association are broken up the older or subordinate forms suddenly acquire new life and meaning. What is true of practice is true also of speculation. Having broken away from the most advanced civilization Plato was thrown back on the

* *Timæus*, 24 A. Jowett, III. p. 608.

spontaneous organization of industry, on the army, the school, the family, the savage tribe, and even the herd of cattle, for types of social union. It was by taking some hints from each of these minor aggregates that he succeeded in building up his ideal polity, which, notwithstanding its supposed simplicity and consistency, is one of the most heterogeneous ever framed. The principles on which it rests are not really carried out to their logical consequences; they interfere with and supplement one another. The restriction of political power to a single class is avowedly based on the necessity for a division of labour. One man, we are told, can only do one thing well. But Plato should have seen that the producer is not for that reason to be made a monopolist, and that, to borrow his own favourite example, shoes are properly manufactured because the shoemaker is kept in order by the competition of his rivals and by the freedom of the consumer to purchase wherever he pleases. Athenian democracy, so far from contradicting the lessons of political economy, was in truth their logical application to government. The people did not really govern themselves nor do they in any modern democracy, but they listened to different proposals, just as they might choose among different articles in a shop or different tenders for building a house, accepted the most suitable, and then left it to be carried out by their trusted agents. Again, Plato is false to his own rule when he selects his philosophic governors out of the military caste. If the same individual can be a warrior in his youth and an administrator in his riper years, one man can do two things well though not at the same time. If the same person can be born with the qualifications both of a soldier and of a politician, and can be fitted by education for each calling in succession, surely a much greater number can combine the functions of a manual labourer with those of an elector. What prevented Plato from perceiving this obvious parallel was the tradition of the paterfamilias who had always been a warrior in his youth, and a commendable anxiety to keep the army closely connected with the civil power. The analogies of domestic life have also a great deal to do with his proposed community of women and children. Instead of undervaluing the family affections he immensely overvalued them, as is shown by his supposition that the bonds of consanguinity would prevent dissensions from arising among his warriors. He should have known that many a home is the scene of constant wrangling, and that quarrels between kinsfolk are the bitterest of any. Then, looking on the State as a great school, Plato imagined that the obedience, docility and credulity of young scholars could be kept up through a lifetime, that full-grown citizens would swallow the absurdest inventions, and that middle-aged officers

could be sent into retirement for several years to study dialectic. To suppose that statesmen must necessarily be formed by the discipline in question is another scholastic trait. The professional teacher attributes far more practical importance to his abstruser lessons than they really possess. He is not content to wait for the indirect influence which they may exert at some remote period and in combination with forces of perhaps a widely different character. He looks for immediate and telling results. He imagines that the highest truth must have a mysterious power of transforming all things into its own likeness, or at least of making its learners more capable than other men of doing the world's work. Here also Plato, instead of being too logical, was not logical enough. By following out the laws of economy as applied to mental labour he might have arrived at the separation of the spiritual and temporal powers, and thus anticipated the best established social doctrine of our time.

With regard to the propagation of the race, Plato's methods are avowedly borrowed from those practised by bird-fanciers, horse-trainers, and cattle-breeders. It had long been a Greek custom to compare the people to a flock of sheep and their ruler to a shepherd, phrases which still survive in ecclesiastical parlance. Socrates habitually employed the same simile in his political discussions, and the rhetoricians used it as a justification of the governors who enriched themselves at the expense of those committed to their charge. Plato twisted the argument out of their hands and showed that the shepherd, as such, studies nothing but the good of his sheep. He failed to perceive that the parallel could not be carried out in every detail, and that, quite apart from more elevated considerations, the system which secures a healthy progeny in the one case cannot be transferred to creatures possessing a vastly more complex and delicate organization. The destruction of sickly and deformed children could only be justified on the hypothesis that none but physical qualities were of any value to the community. Our philosopher forgets his own distinction between soul and body just when he most needed to remember it.

The position assigned to women by Plato may perhaps have seemed to his contemporaries the most paradoxical of all his projects, and it has been observed that here he is in advance even of our own age. But a true conclusion may be deduced from false premisses, and Plato's conclusion is not even identical with that reached on other grounds by the modern advocates of women's rights or rather of their equitable claims. The author of the *Republic* detested democracy, and the enfranchisement of women is now demanded as a part of the general democratic programme. It is an axiom, at least with liberals, that no class

will have its interests properly attended to which is left without a voice in the election of parliamentary representatives ; and the interests of the sexes are not more obviously identical than those of producers and consumers, or of capitalists and labourers. Another democratic principle is that individuals are, as a rule, the best judges of what occupation they are fit for, and as a consequence of this it is farther demanded that women should be admitted to every employment on equal terms with men, leaving competition to decide in each instance whether they are suited for it or not. Their continued exclusion from the military profession would be an exception more apparent than real, because, like the majority of the male sex, they are physically disqualified for it. Now, the profession of arms is the very one for which Plato proposes to destine the daughters of his aristocratic caste, without the least intention of consulting their wishes on the subject. He is perfectly aware that his own principle of differentiation will be quoted against him, but he turns the difficulty in a very dexterous manner. He contends that the difference of the sexes, so far as strength and intelligence are concerned, is one not of kind but of degree ; for women are not distinguished from men by the possession of any special aptitude, none of them being able to do anything which some men cannot do better. Granting the truth of this rather unflattering assumption, the inference drawn from it will still remain economically unsound. The division of labour requires that each task should be performed not by those who are absolutely, but by those who are relatively, best fitted for it. In many cases we must be content with work falling short of the highest attainable standard, that the time and abilities of the best workmen may be exclusively devoted to functions for which they alone are competent. Even if women could be trained to fight it does not follow that their energies might not be more advantageously expended in another direction. Here again Plato improperly reasons from low to high forms of association. He appeals to the doubtful example of nomadic tribes, whose women took part in the defence of the camps, and to the fighting power possessed by the females of predatory animals. In truth, the elimination of home life left his women without any employment peculiar to themselves, and so, not to leave them completely idle, they were drafted into the army, more with the hope of imposing on the enemy by an increase of its apparent strength than for the sake of any real service which they were expected to perform. When Plato proposes that women of proved ability should be admitted to the highest political offices, he is far more in sympathy with modern reformers ; and his freedom from prejudice is all the more remarkable when we consider that no Greek lady (except, perhaps,

Artemisia) is known to have ever displayed a talent for government, although feminine interference in politics was* common enough at Sparta; and that personally his feeling towards women was unsympathetic if not contemptuous.* Still we must not exaggerate the importance of his concession. The Platonic polity was, after all, a family rather than a true State, and that women should be allowed a share in the regulation of marriage and in the nurture of children was only giving them back with one hand what had been taken away with the other. Already among ourselves women have a voice in educational matters, and, were marriage brought under State control, few would doubt the propriety of making them eligible to the new Boards which would be charged with its supervision.

The foregoing analysis will enable us to appreciate the true significance of the resemblance pointed out by Zeller† between the Platonic republic and the organization of mediæval society. The importance given to religious and moral training, the predominance of the priesthood, the sharp distinction drawn between the military caste and the industrial population, the exclusion of the latter from political power, the partial abolition of marriage and property, and, it might be added, the high position enjoyed by women as regents, châtelaines, abbesses, and sometimes even as warriors or professors, are all innovations more in the spirit of Plato than in the spirit of Pericles. Three converging influences united to bring about this extraordinary verification of a philosophical ideal. The profound spiritual revolution effected by Greek thought was taken up and continued by Catholicism, and unconsciously guided to the same practical conclusions the teaching which it had in great part originally inspired. Social differentiation went on at the same time, and led to the political consequences logically deduced from it by Plato. And the barbarian conquest of Rome brought in its train some of those more primitive habits on which his breach with civilization had equally thrown him back. Thus the coincidence is due in one direction to causal agency, in another to speculative insight, and in a third to parallelism of effects, independent of each other but arising out of analogous conditions.

If now we proceed to compare the *Republic* with more recent schemes having also for their object the identification of public with private interest, nothing, at first sight, seems to resemble it so closely as the theories of modern Communism, especially those

* He mentions as one of the worst effects of a democracy that it made them assume airs of equality with men. *Republic*, 563 B. cp. 549 E. *Timæus*, 90 E. It is to be feared that Plato regarded woman as the missing link.

† In his *Vorträge und Abhandlungen*, first series, p. 68.

which advocate the abolition not only of private property but also of marriage. The similarity, however, is merely superficial and covers a radical divergence. For, to begin with, the Platonic polity is not a system of Communism at all in our sense of the word. It is not that the members of the ruling caste are to throw their property into a common fund; neither as individuals nor as a class do they possess any property whatever. Their wants are provided for by the industrial classes, who apparently continue to live under the old system of particularism. What Plato had in view was not to increase the sum of individual enjoyments by enforcing an equal division of their material means, but to eliminate individualism altogether, and thus give human feeling the absolute generality which he so much admired in abstract ideas. On the other hand, unless we are mistaken, modern Communism has no objection to private property as such, could it remain divided either with absolute equality or in strict proportion to the wants of its holders; but only as the inevitable cause of inequalities which advancing civilization seems to aggravate rather than to redress. So also with marriage; the modern assailants of that institution object to it as a restraint on the freedom of individual passion, which, according to them, would secure the maximum of pleasure by perpetually varying its objects. Plato would have looked on such reasonings as a parody and perversion of his own doctrine, as in very truth, what some of them have professed to be, pleas for the rehabilitation of the flesh in its original supremacy over the spirit, and therefore the direct opposite of a system which sought to spiritualize by generalizing the interests of life. And so, when in the *Laws* he gives his Communistic principles their complete logical development by extending them to the whole population, he is careful to preserve their philosophical character as the absorption of individual in social existence.*

The parentage of the two ideas will further elucidate their essentially heterogeneous character. For modern Communism is an outgrowth of the democratic tendencies which Plato detested, and as such had its counterpart in ancient Athens, if we may trust the *Ecclésiastes* of Aristophanes, where also it is associated with unbridled licentiousness. Plato, on the contrary, seems to have received the first suggestion of his Communism from the Pythagorean and aristocratic confraternities of Southern Italy, where the principle that friends have all things in common was an accepted maxim.

If Plato stands at the very antipodes of Fourier and St. Simon, he is connected by a real relationship with those thinkers who,

* *Laws*, 739 B. Jowett, V. p. 311.

like Auguste Comte and Mr. Herbert Spencer, have based their social systems on a wide survey of physical science and human history. It is even probable that his ideas have exercised a decided though not a direct influence on the two writers whom we have named. For Comte avowedly took many of his proposed reforms from the organization of mediæval Catholicism, which was a translation of philosophy into dogma and discipline, just as Positivism is a re-translation of theology into the human thought from which it sprang. And Mr. Spencer's system, while it seems to be the direct antithesis of Plato's, might claim kindred with it through the principle of differentiation and integration, which, after passing from Greek thought into political economy and physiology, has been restored by our illustrious countryman to something more than its original generality. It is also to be observed that the application of very abstract truths to political science needs to be most jealously guarded, since their elasticity increases in direct proportion to their width. When one thinker argues from the law of increasing specialization to a vast extension of governmental interference with personal liberty, and another thinker to its restriction within the narrowest possible limits, it seems time to consider whether experience and expediency are not, after all, the safest guides to trust.

The social studies through which we have accompanied Plato seem to have reacted on his more abstract speculations, and to have largely modified the extreme opposition in which these had formerly stood to current notions, whether of a popular or a philosophical character. The change first becomes perceptible in his theory of Ideas. This is a subject on which, for the sake of greater clearness, we have hitherto refrained from entering; and that we should have succeeded in avoiding it so long would seem to prove that the doctrine in question forms a much less important part of his philosophy than is commonly imagined. Perhaps, as some think, it was not an original invention of his own but was borrowed from the Megarian school; and the mythical connexion in which it frequently figures makes us doubtful how far he ever thoroughly accepted it. The theory is, that to every abstract name or conception of the mind there corresponds an objective entity possessing a separate existence quite distinct from that of the scattered particulars by which it is exemplified to our senses or to our imagination. Just as the Heraclitean flux represented the confusion of which Socrates convicted his interlocutors, so also did these Ideas represent the definitions by which he sought to bring method and certainty into their opinions. It may be that, as Grote suggests, Plato adopted this hypothesis in order to escape from the difficulty of

defining common notions in a satisfactory manner. It is certain that his earliest dialogues seem to place true definitions beyond the reach of human knowledge. And at the beginning of Plato's constructive period we find the recognition of abstract conceptions, whether mathematical or moral, traced to the remembrance of an ante-natal state when the soul held direct converse with the transcendent realities to which those conceptions correspond. Justice, temperance, beauty, and goodness, are especially mentioned as examples of Ideas revealed in this manner. Subsequent investigations must, however, have led Plato to believe that the highest truths are to be found by analysing not the loose contents but the fixed forms of consciousness; and that, if each virtue expressed a particular relation between the various parts of the soul, no external experience was needed to make her acquainted with its meaning; still less could conceptions arising out of her connexion with the material world be explained by reference to a sphere of purely spiritual existence. At the same time, innate ideas would no longer be required to prove her incorporeality, when the authority of reason over sense furnished so much more satisfactory a ground for believing the two to be of different origin. To all who have studied the evolution of modern thought, the substitution of Kantian forms for Cartesian ideas will at once elucidate and confirm our hypothesis of a similar reformation in Plato's metaphysics. Again, the new position occupied by Mind as an intermediary between the world of reality and the world of appearance tended more and more to obliterate or confuse the demarcations by which they had hitherto been separated. The most general headings under which it was usual to contrast them were, the One and the Many, Being and Nothing, the Same and the Different, Rest and Motion. Parmenides employed the one set of terms to describe his Absolute, and the other to describe the objects of vulgar belief. They also served respectively to designate the wise and the ignorant, the dialectician and the sophist, the knowledge of gods and the opinions of men; besides offering points of contact with the antithetical couples of Pythagoreanism. But Plato gradually found that the nature of Mind could not be understood without taking both points of view into account. Unity and plurality, sameness and difference, equally entered into its composition; although undoubtedly belonging to the sphere of reality, it was self-moved and the cause of all motion in other things. The dialectic or classificatory method, with its progressive series of differentiations and assimilations, also involved a continual use of categories which were held to be mutually exclusive. And on proceeding to an examination of the *summa genera*, the highest and most abstract ideas which it

had been sought to distinguish by their absolute purity and simplicity from the shifting chaos of sensible phenomena, Plato discovered that even these were reduced to a maze of confusion and contradiction by a sincere application of the cross-examining elenchus. For example, to predicate being of the One was to mix it up with a heterogeneous idea and let in the very plurality which it denied. To distinguish them was to predicate difference of both, and thus open the door to fresh embarrassments. Finally, while the attempt to attain extreme accuracy of definition was leading to the destruction of all thought and all reality within the Socratic school, the dialectic method had been taken up and parodied in a very coarse style by a class of persons called Eristics, who had, to some extent, usurped the place of the elder Sophists as paid instructors of youth, but whose only accomplishment was to upset every assertion that could be made by a series of verbal juggles. One of their favourite paradoxes was to deny the possibility of falsehood on the Parmenidean principle that "nothing cannot exist." Plato satirizes their method in the *Euthydémos*, and makes a much more serious attempt to meet it in the *Sophist*; two dialogues which seem to have been composed not far from one another. The *Sophist* effects a considerable simplification in the ideal theory by resolving negation into difference and altogether omitting the notions of unity and plurality, perhaps as a result of the investigations contained in the *Parménides*, another dialogue belonging to the same group, where the couple referred to are analysed with great minuteness, and are shown to be infected with numerous self-contradictions. The remaining five ideas of Existence, Sameness, Difference, Rest, and Motion, are allowed to stand; but the fact of their inseparable connexion is brought out with great force and clearness. The inquiry is one of considerable interest, including, as it does, the earliest known analysis of predication, and forming an indispensable link in the transition from Platonic to Aristotelian logic—that is to say, from the theory of definition and classification to the theory of syllogism.

Once the Ideas had been brought into mutual relation and shown to be compounded with one another, the task of connecting them with the external world became considerably easier; and the same intermediary which before had linked them together as a participant in the nature of both, was now raised to a higher position and became the efficient cause of their intimate union. Such is the standpoint of the *Philébus*, where all existence is divided into four classes, the finite, the indefinite, the union of both, and the cause of their union. Mind belongs to the last and matter to the first class. There can hardly be a doubt that the second class is either identical with the

Ideas or fills the place once occupied by them. The third class is the world of experience, the Cosmos of early Greek thought, which Plato had now come to look on as a worthy object of study. In the *Timæus*, also a very late dialogue, he goes further and gives us a complete cosmogony, the general conception of which is clear enough, although, the details are avowedly conjectural and figurative; nor do they seem to have exercised any influence or subsequent speculation until the time of Descartes. We are told that the world was created by God, who is absolutely good, and, being without jealousy, wished that all things should be like himself. He makes it to consist of a soul and a body, the former constructed in imitation of the eternal archetypal ideas which now seem to be reduced to three—Existence, Sameness, and Difference.* The soul of the world is formed by mixing these three elements together, and the body is an image of the soul. Sameness is represented by the starry sphere rotating on its own axis, Difference by the inclination of the ecliptic to the equator, Existence perhaps by the everlasting duration of the heavens. The same analogy extends to the human figure, of which the head is the most essential part, all the rest of the body being merely designed for its support. Plato seems to regard the material world as a sort of machinery designed to meet the necessities of sight and touch, by which the human soul arrives at a knowledge of the eternal order without—a direct reversal of his earlier theories, according to which matter and sense were mere encumbrances impeding the soul in her efforts after truth.

What remains of the visible world after deducting its ideal elements is pure space. This, which to some seems the clearest of all conceptions, was to Plato one of the obscurest. He can only describe it as the formless substance out of which the four elements, fire, air, water, and earth, are differentiated. It closes the scale of existence and even lies half outside it, just as the Idea of Good in the *Republic* transcends the same scale at the other end. We may conjecture that the two principles are opposed as absolute self-identity and absolute self-separation, the whole intermediate series of forms serving to bridge over the interval between them. It will then be easy to understand how, as Aristotle tells us, Plato finally came to adopt the Pythagorean nomenclature and designated his two generating principles as the monad and the indefinite dyad. Number was formed by their combination, and all other things were made out of number. Aristotle complains that the Platonists had turned philosophy into mathematics; and perhaps in the interests of science it was fortunate that the transformation occurred. To suppose that matter could

* We may even say that they are reduced to two; for Existence is a product of Sameness and Difference.

be built up out of geometrical triangles, as Plato teaches in the *Timæus*, was no doubt a highly reprehensible confusion; but that the systematic study of science should be based on mathematics was an equally new and important aperçu. The impulse given to knowledge followed unforeseen directions, and at a later period Plato's true spirit was better represented by Archimedes and Hipparchus than by Arcesilaus and Carneades.

It is remarkable that the spontaneous development of Greek thought should have led to a form of Theism not unlike that which some persons still imagine was supernaturally revealed to the Hebrew race; for the absence of any connexion between the two is now almost universally admitted. Modern science has taken up the attitude of Laplace towards the hypothesis in question; and those critics who, like Lange, are most imbued with the scientific spirit feel inclined to regard its adoption by Plato as a retrograde movement. We may to a certain extent agree with them without admitting that philosophy as a whole was injured by departing from the principles of Democritus. An intellectual like an animal organism may sometimes have to choose between retrograde metamorphosis and total extinction. The course of events drove speculation to Athens, where it could only exist on the condition of assuming a theological form. Moreover, action and reaction were equal and contrary. Mythology gained as much as philosophy lost. It was purified from immoral ingredients and raised to the highest level which supernaturalism is capable of attaining. If the *Republic* was the forerunner of the Catholic Church, the *Timæus* was the forerunner of the Catholic faith.

The old age of Plato seems to have been marked by restless activity in more directions than one. He began various works which were never finished, and projected others which were never begun. He became possessed by a devouring zeal for social reform. It seemed to him that nothing was wanting but an enlightened despot to make his ideal State a reality. According to one story he fancied that such an instrument might be found in the younger Dionysius. If so, his expectations were speedily disappointed. As Hegel acutely observes, only a man of half measures will allow himself to be guided by another; and such a man lacked the energy needed to carry out Plato's scheme. However this may be, the philosopher does not seem to have given up his idea that absolute monarchy was after all the government from which most good might be expected. A process of substitution which runs through his whole intellectual evolution was here exemplified for the last time. Just as in his ethical system knowledge, after having been regarded solely as the means for procuring an ulterior end, pleasure, subsequently

became an end in itself; just as the interest in knowledge was superseded by a more absorbing interest in the dialectical machinery which was to facilitate its acquisition, and this again by the social re-organization which was to make education a department of the State; so also the beneficent despotism originally invoked for the purpose of establishing an aristocracy on the new model, came at last to be regarded by Plato as itself the best form of government. Such at least seems to be the drift of a remarkable dialogue called the *Statesman*, which we agree with Professor Jowett in placing immediately before the *Laws*. Some have denied its authenticity, and others have placed it very early in the entire series of Platonic compositions. But it contains passages of such blended wit and eloquence that no other man could have written them, and passages so destitute of life that they could only have been written when his system had stiffened into mathematical pedantry and scholastic routine. Moreover, it seems distinctly to anticipate the scheme of detailed legislation which Plato spent his last years in elaborating. After covering with ridicule the notion that a truly competent ruler should ever be hampered by written enactments, the principal spokesman acknowledges that, in the absence of such a ruler, a definite and unalterable code offers the best guarantees for political stability.

This code Plato set himself to construct in his last and longest work, the *Laws*. Less than half of that dialogue, however, is occupied with the details of legislation. The remaining portions deal with the familiar topics of morality, religion, science, and education. The first book propounds a very curious theory of asceticism, which has not, we believe, been taken up by any subsequent moralist. On the principle of *in vino veritas* Plato proposes that drunkenness should be systematically employed for the purpose of testing self-control. True temperance is not abstinence, but the power of resisting temptation; and we can best discover to what extent any man possesses that power by surprising him when off his guard. If he should be proof against seductive influences even when in his cups, we shall be doubly sure of his constancy at other times. Professor Jowett rather maliciously suggests that a personal proclivity may have suggested this extraordinary apology for hard drinking. Were it so we should be reminded of the successive revelations by which indulgences of another kind were permitted to Mohammed, and of the one case in which divorce was sanctioned by Auguste Comte. We should also remember that the Christian Puritanism to which Plato approached so near has always been singularly lenient to this disgraceful vice. But perhaps a somewhat higher order of considerations will help us to a better understanding

of the paradox. Plato was averse from rejecting any tendency of his age that could possibly be turned to account in his philosophy. Hence, as we have seen, the use which he makes of love, even under its most unlawful forms, in the *Symposium* and the *Phædrus*. Now it would appear, from our scanty sources of information, that social festivities, always very popular at Athens, had become the chief interest in life about the time that Plato was composing his *Laws*. According to one graceful legend, the philosopher himself breathed his last at a marriage-feast. It may, therefore, have occurred to him that the prevalent tendency could, like the amorous passions of a former generation, be utilized for moral training and made subservient to the very cause with which, at first sight, it seemed to conflict.

The concessions to common sense and to contemporary schools of thought, already pointed out in those dialogues which we suppose to have been written after the *Republic*, are still more conspicuous in the *Laws*. We do not mean merely the project of a political constitution avowedly offered as the best possible in existing circumstances, though not the best absolutely; but we mean that there is throughout a desire to present philosophy from its most intelligible, practical, and popular side. The extremely rigorous standard of sexual morality (p. 838) seems, indeed, more akin to modern than to ancient notions, but it was in all probability borrowed from the naturalistic school of ethics, the forerunner of Stoicism; for not only is there a direct appeal to Nature's teaching in that connexion; but throughout the entire work such phrases as "naturally" and "according to Nature" occur with greater frequency, we believe, than in all the rest of Plato's writings put together. When, on the other hand, it is asserted that men can be governed by no other motive than pleasure (p. 663 B), we seem to see in this declaration a concession to the Cyrenaic school, as well as a return to the forsaken standpoint of the *Protagoras*. The increasing influence of Pythagoreanism is shown by the exaggerated importance attributed to exact numerical determinations. The theory of ideas is, as Professor Jowett observes, entirely absent, its place being taken by the distinction between Mind and Matter.

The political constitution and code of laws recommended by Plato to his new city are adapted to a great extent from the older legislation of Athens. As such they have supplied the historians of ancient jurisprudence with some valuable indications. But from a philosophic point of view the general impression produced is wearisome and even offensive. A universal system of espionage is established, and the odious trade of informer receives ample encouragement. Worst of all, it is proposed, in the true spirit of Athenian intolerance, to uphold

religious orthodoxy by persecuting laws. Plato had actually come to think that disagreement with the vulgar theology was a folly and a crime. One passage may be quoted as a warning to those who would set early associations to do the work of reason, and who would overbear new truths by a method which at one time might have been used with fatal effect against their own opinions:—

“ Who can be calm when he is called upon to prove the existence of the gods? Who can avoid hating and abhorring the men who are and have been the cause of this argument? I speak of those who will not believe the words which they have heard as babes and sucklings from their mothers and nurses, repeated by them both in jest and earnest like charms; who have also heard and seen their parents offering up sacrifices and prayers—sights and sounds delightful to children—sacrificing, I say, in the most earnest manner on behalf of them and of themselves, and with eager interest talking to the gods and beseeching them as though they were firmly convinced of their existence; who likewise see and hear the genuflexions and prostrations which are made by Hellenes and barbarians to the rising and setting sun and moon, in all the various turns of good and evil fortune, not as if they thought that there were no gods, but as if there could be no doubt of their existence, and no suspicion of their non-existence; when men, knowing all these things, despise them on no real grounds, as would be admitted by all who have any particle of intelligence, and when they force us to say what we are now saying, how can any one in gentle terms remonstrate with the like of them, when he has to begin by proving to them the very existence of the gods? ”*

Let it be remembered that the gods of whom Plato is speaking are the sun, moon, and stars; that the atheists whom he denounces only taught what we have long known to be true, which is that those luminaries are no more divine, no more animated, no more capable of accepting our sacrifices or responding to our cries than is the earth on which we tread; and that he attempts to prove the contrary by arguments, which, even if they were not inconsistent with all that we know about mechanics, would still be utterly inadequate to the purpose for which they are employed.

Turning back once more from the melancholy decline of a great genius to the splendour of his meridian prime, we will endeavour briefly to recapitulate the achievements which have placed him among the five or six greatest Greeks, and among the four or five greatest thinkers of all time. He extended the philosophy of mind until it embraced not only ethics and dialectics but also the study of politics, of religion, of social science, of fine art, of economy, of language, and of education. In other

* *Laws*, 887-8. Jowett, V. p. 456.

words, he taught how ideas could be applied to life on the most comprehensive scale. Further, he saw that the study of Mind, to be complete, necessitates a knowledge of physical phenomena and of the realities which underlie them; accordingly he made a return on the objective speculations which had been temporarily abandoned, thus mediating between Socrates and early Greek thought; while on the other hand by his theory of classification he mediated between Socrates and Aristotle. He based physical science on mathematics, thus establishing a method of research and of education which has continued in operation ever since. He sketched the outlines of a new religion in which morality was to be substituted for ritualism, and intelligent imitation of God for blind obedience to his will; a religion of monotheism, of humanity, of purity and of immortal life. And he embodied all these lessons in a series of compositions distinguished by such beauty of form that their literary excellence alone would entitle them to rank among the greatest masterpieces that the world has ever seen. He took the newly-created instrument of prose style and at once raised it to the highest pitch of excellence that it has ever attained. Finding the new art already distorted by false taste and stifled under a load of meretricious ornament, he cleansed and regenerated it in the primal fount of intellectual life, the richest deepest purest source of joy, the conversation of human beings with one another, when they have awakened to the desire for truth and have not lost their belief in the possibility of discovering it. Thus it was that the philosopher's mastery of expression gave added emphasis to his protest against those who made style a substitute for knowledge, or, by a worse corruption, perverted it into an instrument of profitable wrong. They moved along the surface in a confused world of words, of sensations, and of animal desires; he penetrated through all those dumb images and blind instincts to the central verity and supreme end which alone can inform them with meaning, consistency, permanence, and value. To conclude: Plato belonged to that nobly practical school of idealists who master all the details of reality before attempting its reformation, and accomplish their great designs by enlisting and reorganizing whatever spontaneous forces are already working in the same direction. There is nothing in heaven or earth that was not dreamt of in his philosophy; some of his dreams have already come true, others still await their fulfilment, and even those which are irreconcilable with the demands of experience will continue to be studied with the interest attaching to every generous and daring adventure, in the spiritual no less than in the temporal order of existence.

ART III.—THE EARLY HISTORY OF CHARLES JAMES FOX.

The Early History of Charles James Fox. By GEORGE OTTO TREVELYAN, M.P., Author of "The Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay." London; Longmans, Green & Co. 1880.

WE awaited with eager anticipation the publication of this book, and our expectations of the pleasure and the profit to be derived from its perusal have been abundantly fulfilled.

A Life of Fox was and—except for the period covered by this volume—still is a great want in our political biography, and probably no man living could so well as Mr. Trevelyan supply that want. When the third Lord Holland died, Lord Macaulay truly said of him:—"Poor Lord Holland! it is vain to lament. A whole generation is gone to the grave with him. While he lived, all the great orators and statesmen of the last generation were living with him. What a store of historical information he has carried away."* Lord Macaulay had acquired much of the historical information possessed in such abundance by Lord Holland, he had heard Lord Holland's recollections and witnessed his representations of the great orators and statesmen of the last generation, and especially of his uncle, whom, to quote Mr. Trevelyan, "he knew far better than all other people together who have recorded their impressions of his character."† So strong was the admiration of Fox which Lord Holland had implanted in Macaulay, that on his visit to Mr. Richmond's studio, to see his own portrait by that artist, he records in his diary, "It is not unlike Mr. Fox's face in general expression," and adds, with evident satisfaction, "I am quite content to have such a physiognomy."‡ So intimate was Macaulay's knowledge of the traditions of the Fox family, that on the publication of his well-known essay on Lord Holland, the late Lady Holland—a most competent judge—told him "she could hardly conceive where he had got so correct a notion of the first Lord Holland."§ These traditions, it is evident, were handed on by Lord Macaulay to his nephew, and are now given to the world in a volume rich in the material it contains, and in which the intrinsic value of the treasure is enhanced by the framework in which

* "Selection from the Correspondence of the late Macvey Napier," p. 331. Trevelyan's "Life of Macaulay," vol. ii. p. 79.

† P. 66.

‡ Trevelyan's "Life of Macaulay," vol. ii. p. 274.

§ "Napier's Correspondence," pp. 352, 353. Trevelyan's "Life of Macaulay," vol. ii. p. 96.

it is enshrined. Its readers will everywhere see new and stronger illustrations of Mr. Gladstone's observation on Mr. Trevelyan's Life of his uncle:—"They will find at no small number of points the nearest approach within our knowledge, not to the imitation but to the reproduction of an inimitable style."*

Mr. Trevelyan expresses his obligation to "another source of information. "It is difficult," he says, "to overrate the value of the memorials and correspondence of Charles James Fox which Lord Holland commenced and Lord Russell continued to edit. But for their labour of love, a biography of the great Whig would be an ungrateful if not an impossible task."† As a mine from which, as a skilful workman, he has won materials which he has worked up into this biography, Lord Russell's memorials no doubt are worthy the high appreciation of them expressed by Mr. Trevelyan, but the book as a literary performance stands, we think, on the same low level as Pellew's "Life of Lord Sidmouth," or on the still lower level of Tomline's "Life of Pitt," which, according to Macaulay, "enjoys the distinction of being the worst biographical work of its size in the world," and of which Lord Liverpool said to John Wilson Croker, "that any drayman, with the advantage of the letters and the parliamentary debates, could have written as good a Life of a public man."‡ A terse and telling description, which is equally true of Lord Liverpool's own life by Mr. C. D. Yonge.

As what it professes to be, the history of the early life of Fox, this book is complete, but we are left in ignorance whether it is to be followed by other volumes narrating the middle and later portions of Fox's life. The book closes at the least attractive part of his career, when in 1774 he, then being in his twenty-sixth year, finally seceded from the North Ministry, and the first portion of his story—to quote Mr. Trevelyan's own words—ended in "a climax which fitly and harmoniously crowned the preceding narrative. Still of an age before which no English statesman can hope to accomplish great things, he had at any rate given earnest of remarkable qualities."§

Fox supplies a striking illustration of Lord Beaconsfield's remark in his *stoge* on Richard Cobden: "There are some members of Parliament who, though not present in the body, are still members of this House, independent of dissolutions, of the caprice of constituencies, even of the course of time."||

Such a man, in the judgment of the speaker, was Richard Cobden, and equally such a man was Charles James Fox. Here

* "Gleanings of Past Years," art. Macaulay, vol. ii. p. 271.

† P. 2, note by Mr. Trevelyan.

‡ Yonge's "Life of Lord Liverpool," vol. iii. p. 290. § P. 523.

|| House of Commons, April 3, 1865; *vide Hansard in loco.*

Fox is not without his equals, but in one respect he stands alone—as Mr. Trevelyan has not failed to point out—viz., in his possession “of an unquestioned title to an affection which, after the lapse of three-quarters of a century, is still rather personal than historical.”* This is the reflection of the feelings which during his lifetime were entertained towards him, not only by his friends but by his opponents. “He inspired,” says Earl Russell, “affection rather than admiration.” In his lowest days an observer said of his party: “There are only forty of them, but every one of them is ready to be hanged for Fox. . . . His affectionate temper, combined with his love of liberty, won him the attachment of devoted friends. His memory ought to be consecrated in the heart of every lover of freedom throughout the globe.”†

Every one remembers that when a foreigner expressed to Pitt his surprise “that a country so moral as England could submit to be governed by a man so wanting in private character as Fox; it seems (he said) to show you to be less moral than you appear. You have never (Pitt replied) been under the wand of the magician.”‡

Spite of the wide, vehement and long-continued political differences between Pitt and Fox, there was never between them any personal enmity, or even dislike; only injudicious friends prevented their co-operation in early life, and towards the last days of both Pitt was extremely desirous to form a coalition with Fox and his followers. “The memory of their many conflicts, of the exhaustless fertility, the logical subtlety, the indomitable energy with which Fox had often defied his sarcasm or retorted his arguments, made him still more eager to have the benefit of his aid against the common enemy.”§ The bitter and unrelenting hatred of Fox which George III. had cherished from the time of the Royal Marriage Act,|| made him express his “astonishment that Pitt for one moment should have harboured the thought of bringing such a man before his royal notice.”¶ The proposed coalition, which the welfare of the country demanded, was sacrificed to the insanity of the King. Had it been formed, its probable influence on the fortunes of the country and of Europe has been thus described:—“Had Fox been at the Foreign Office in 1804, Austria would not have been hurried into war, the battle of Austerlitz would not have been fought, and Pitt would not have died in 1806. Pitt and Fox would have agreed not to force on the Catholic question, and in 1810

* P. 69.

† “Recollections and Suggestions,” pp 208, 209.

‡ “C'est que vous n'avez pas été sous la baguette du magicien” (Wilberforce's Life, p. 74, edit. 1874).

§ Yonge's “Life of Earl Liverpool,” vol. i. p. 201.

|| Trevelyan, p. 457, *et seq.*

¶ Yonge's “Liverpool,” vol. i. p. 143.

the policy of those two great men would have prevailed in Ireland.”*

It is no slight corroboration of Pitt’s testimony as to the effect of personal intercourse with Fox, that in 1806, after George III. had acquiesced in Lord Liverpool’s† advice, and waived his objection to Fox’s inclusion in the Ministry of “All the Talents,” little more than six months of official intercourse led the King, upon Fox’s lamented death, frankly to confess to the Duchess of Gloucester “that he never thought he should have regretted the death of Fox so much as he found he did.”‡ Fox entertained towards Lord Sidmouth very different feelings to those which he entertained towards Pitt; but on the termination of their brief official connection, Lord Sidmouth bore this testimony to Fox’s memory; “Of his talent there can be but one opinion; his natural disposition deserved, I really believe, all that could be said in its favour. I never knew a man of more apparent sincerity, more free from rancour,§ and hardly any one so entirely devoid of affectation.”|| Wilberforce also, though in most respects separated from Fox “wide as the poles asunder,” admitted that he was “truly amiable in private life,” and that at the time of passing the Slave Trade Abolition Act “his whole human dependence was placed on Fox,” whom he quite loved for his generous and warm fidelity to the cause.”¶

“Lord Holland told Macaulay that at the time of Pitt’s death some paper was to be published by Mr. Fox, in which mention was to be made of Mr. Pitt having been employed at a club in a manner that would have created scandal. Mr. Wilberforce went to Mr. Fox, and asked him to omit the passage. ‘Oh, to be sure,’ said Mr. Fox, ‘if there are any good people who would be scandalized I will certainly put it out.’ Mr. Wilberforce then preparing to take his leave, he said, ‘Now, Mr. Wilberforce, if, instead of being about Mr. Pitt, this had been an account of my being seen gaming at White’s on a Sunday, would you have taken so much pains to prevent its being known?’ I asked this, said Mr. Fox, because I wanted to see what he would say, for I knew he would not tell a lie about it. He threw himself back, as his way was, and only answered, ‘Oh, Mr. Fox, you are always so pleasant!’”**

When Fox had been more than a quarter of a century in his grave, Talleyrand always “spoke of him in a kind of affectionate.

* Earl Russell’s “Recollections,” &c., p. 342.

† “Life of Liverpool,” vol. iii. p. 149.

‡ There are many authorities for this statement. It is sufficient to refer to Earl Russell, who was told it by the Duchess of Gloucester herself (“Recollections,” p. 242).

§ “Ah, well, I am a bad hater,” was Fox’s testimony to himself.

|| Pellew’s “Life of Sidmouth,” vol. ii. p. 435.

¶ “Wilberforce’s Life,” pp. 274-6. ** “Life of Macaulay,” vol. i. p. 189.

tone, and delighted to dwell on his simplicity, gaiety and profoundness.* In truth, the very qualities which endeared him as a friend were the cause of his failings. He was too often led astray by those to whom he was attached, and induced to act with a passionate disregard of consequences, which made him distrusted as a statesman.† “Never was there a man whose faults were so largely those of his time; while his eminent merits and enormous services to his country were peculiarly his own.” The England in which he lived differed so essentially from our own, that Mr. Trevelyan felt “it would be a gross injustice to the memory of Fox if he had plunged into the narration of his actions without previously describing the society in which he moved, the moral atmosphere which he breathed, and the temptations by which he was assailed.”‡ He accordingly gives us sketches of the social and political history of the time at which Fox first appeared in the political arena. These sketches are vivid, brilliant, full of information and interest, and form an admirable history of the early years of George III.’s reign.§ If we may venture to find a fault with a performance which has so delighted us, it is that in the full mass of historical details presented to us the image of Fox himself is somewhat obscured. If this volume is to be regarded as a complete and finished work, the historical part is out of proportion to the biographical. This criticism will have no force if this volume is to be considered, as we hope it is, a first instalment only of a complete Life of Fox, “his unremitting ill-fortune and unrequited labour.”||

The founder of the Fox family, according to the third Lord Holland, “seems, notwithstanding some little venial endeavours of his posterity to conceal it, to have been of a very humble origin.” But to the House of which he was the founder belongs a distinction without a parallel in our annals. “During more than a century there was never a time at which a Fox did not stand in a prominent situation amongst public men; scarcely had the chequered career of the first Lord Holland closed, when his son Charles rose to the head of the Opposition and to the first rank among English debaters; and before Charles was borne to Westminster Abbey, a third Fox had already become one of the most conspicuous politicians in the kingdom.”¶

The picture drawn by Macaulay of the first Lord Holland is a dark and disagreeable one. John Allen, indeed, thought Ma-

* Greville’s Journal, vol. ii. p. 345.

† Pellew’s “Sidmouth,” *ubi supra*; “Life of Lord Minto,” vol. iii. p. 4.

‡ Pp. 63, 69.

§ Conf. with Mr. Trevelyan’s work his uncle’s Essays on the Earl of Chatham. || P. 157.

¶ *Vide* pp. 1 and 2, note; and see Macaulay’s Essay on Lord Holland.

caulay "had, perhaps, been too severe on Lord Holland, having taken his ideas of his conduct and unpopularity too implicitly from Horace Walpole." Lord Brougham, always anxious to pick holes in anything of Macaulay's, asked, "Why does Macaulay call the first Lord Holland a needy political adventurer? Sir Stephen Fox (the first Lord's father) founded a very considerable fortune and family." Lady Holland, we have seen, was struck with the fidelity of Macaulay's portrait of her husband's grandfather, and Macaulay himself engaged he would find "chapter and verse for all he had said of Lord Holland;" and we believe that, as was generally if not always the case whenever his accuracy was impugned, he could have shown himself to be right.* The fortune amassed by Sir Stephen Fox went, we suspect, mainly to his eldest son, Stephen Fox, the second of the name, who afterwards became Earl of Ilchester.

Mr. McCullagh Torrens, in his sketch of the families of Fox and Lamb, verifies Macaulay's description:—"The younger son Henry" (according to this authority) "squandered his inheritance at play, then took to politics with a view of retrieving his position, and soon made his mark as a debater of pith and versatility. His principles—if they could be dignified by such a title—were Whig, and he owed his first place to Walpole, whose favour he repaid by a fidelity which that statesman seldom experienced and never expected.† In 1775 he became Secretary of State; but pay rather than place or power was always his object, and he preferred the sinecure clerkship of the Pells in Ireland, worth £2000 a year for life, and the Paymaster-Generalship in England, which, as things were then managed, "yielded in times of war thirty, forty, and even fifty thousand pounds a year to its fortunate possessor."‡ And so skilfully did Henry Fox use his advantages that within eight years he amassed a fortune of several hundred thousand pounds.§

Fox lost his heart to Lady Caroline Lennox and won hers in return, and early in the month of May, 1744, the town was convulsed by the news of a secret marriage between them. All the "blood royal," says Mr. Trevelyan, "was up in arms to avenge what was esteemed an outrage upon the memory of His Sacred Majesty Charles II., who, if he had been alive to see it, would have been infinitely diverted by the catastrophe, and would doubtless have taken his grand-daughter's part."||

Of this marriage, Charles James Fox, born on the 24th of

* See letters of John Allen, Brougham, and Macaulay, "Napier's Correspondence," pp. 351, 352.

† "Memoir of Viscount Melbourne," vol. i. pp. 16, 17.

‡ Earl Russell, "Life and Times of Fox," vol. i. p. 2.

§ *Vide* Mr. Trevelyan's note at p. 26.

|| Pp. 8-10.

January, 1749, was the third son. His father, whose favourite child he* was, early resolved to educate him for public life, to train him for a statesman and an orator, and at the same time for a leader in fashionable dissipation. In this twofold design he completely succeeded. Yet one of his successes greatly marred the other; the son's influence and character as a statesman was overclouded and lessened by his dissipated habits and reputation. Macaulay describes the general alarm felt, at the time of George III.'s illness in 1788, at the prospect of the Prince of Wales coming into power:—

- “The middle class, always zealous on the side of decency and the domestic virtues, looked forward with dismay to a reign resembling that of Charles the Second. The palace, which had now been during thirty years the pattern of an English home, would be a public nuisance, a school of profligacy. To the good King's repast of mutton and lemonade, despatched at three o'clock, would succeed midnight banquets, from which the guests would be carried home speechless. To the backgammon board, at which the good King played for a little silver with his equerries, would succeed faro tables, from which young patricians who had sate down rich would rise up beggars. The drawing-room, from which the frown of the Queen had repelled a whole generation of frail beauties, would now be again what it had been in the days of Barbara Palmer and Louise De Querouaille.”†

This feeling, at all times natural to Englishmen, was even exaggerated in a generation under the influence of the Evangelical revival. It was strengthened also by the fact that Charles Fox, whose loose life and dissipated habits were notorious, was the intimate friend and trusted counsellor of the Prince; that he had hurried back from the Continent to be his adviser in the conflicts and intrigues which arose about the Regency, and fully expected, if the Prince became Regent, to be called to the highest place of trust and power.

The first Lord Holland was “regarded by the nation as a man of insatiable rapacity and desperate ambition,” and also, and with good reason, as one “ready to adopt, without scruple, the most immoral and unconstitutional manners; as a man perfectly fitted by all his opinions and feelings for the work of managing the Parliament by means of secret service-money,

*Lord Mansfield's opinion of Charles Fox was thus expressed: “He is the son of old Harry Fox, with twice his parts and half his sagacity” (Earl Russell's “Recollections,” p. 268).

† Memoirs of William Pitt (Miscellaneous Works, p. 416). Lord Sidmouth records partaking with George III. “of his dinner of mutton chops and pudding, to which the King sat down a little before one.”

‡ Macaulay's Essay on Lord Holland.

and of keeping down the people with the bayonet."† On the principle *noscitur a sociis*, this opinion was strengthened by the fact that his intimate friend and boon companion was a coarse and corrupt adventurer, of whom, according to Mr. Trevelyan, "it may literally be said that the only merit he possessed, or cared to claim, was that he drank fair,"* and whose name has been appropriately given by Lord Beaconsfield, in the most popular of his political novels, to a character intended to represent an equally coarse and corrupt, if not a coarser and more corrupt, adventurer of recent times. Lord Holland's feelings were more hurt by the treachery and unkindness of this man "than by the contempt and aversion of every honest man in the country who read the newspapers."‡

Lord Holland's character of himself, and his experience of human life, we give in his own words, written not long before his death:—"If I know myself, I have been honest and good-natured; nor can I repent of it, though convinced now that honesty is not the best policy, and that good-nature does not meet with the return it ought to do."‡

Such was Lord Holland's public character in his own opinion and that of the public; § but he was, Mr Trevelyan tells us—

"Not more hated abroad than adored at home. That home presented a beautiful picture of undoubting and undoubted affection; of perfect similarity in tastes and pursuits; of mutual appreciation, which, showing a knowledge of the world, and the strong sense inherent in the Fox character, never allowed to degenerate into mutual adulation. There seldom were children who might so easily have been guided into the straight and noble path, if the father had possessed a just conception of the difference between right and wrong; but the notion of making anybody of whom he was fond uncomfortable, for the sake of so very doubtful an end as the attainment of self-control, was altogether foreign to his creed and his disposition. However, if the sterner virtues were wanting among his young people, the graces were there in abundance—never was the natural man more dangerously attractive than in Lord Holland's family; and, most of all, in the third son—a boy who was the pride and light of the house, with his sweet temper, his rare talents, and his inexhaustible vivacity."||

The effect of the influences of his home on Charles Fox was remarkable. In spite of them, though reared in an atmosphere of political tyranny and corruption, he became "the first great statesman of the modern school,"¶ one whose name is for ever

* P. 75.

† P. 42. Elsewhere Mr. Trevelyan says he regarded the public as his namesake in the brute creation regards the poultry-yard (p. 290).

‡ P. 285.

|| Pp. 42, 43.

§ Macaulay's Essay on Lord Holland.

¶ P. 1.

nseparably associated with efforts for the purification of our Government, the successful champion of the liberty of the press, the opponent of all religious disabilities, whether of Protestants or Romanists, and the advocate of Parliamentary Reform.

While, politically, he thus resisted and threw off, and rejected, from his mental constitution, the bad influences which surrounded him socially and morally, he was, to the injury of his country and himself, their victim. Charles Fox, when just turned of seven, was sent, or, to speak more accurately, went of his own will and pleasure, to a school then much in fashion among the aristocracy, and kept by a Frenchman, from whom, perhaps, he acquired the excellent French accent for which in after-life he was remarkable. Eighteen months afterwards he determined to go to Eton, and to Eton he accordingly went. Dr. Francis, the father of Sir Philip Francis, was his private tutor there. An Etonian to the back-bone, Fox maintained to the end of his life that none but those who had learned the art within the shadow of Henry the Sixth's Chapel ever acquired a correct notion of Greek or even Latin metre.*

Even so early in life he had a well-stored repertory of favourite passages from dramatists, which, with his innate love of argument, made him always to the front, both in the speech-room and the debating society. His father, bearing in mind his design to train his son for an orator and a statesman, arranged so that he could always obtain leave to run up to London when an interesting question was on in the House of Commons; unfortunately, the father was also equally mindful of his design to train his son also for a leader of fashion and dissipation, and therefore resolved to take Charles from his books and convey him to the Continent on a round of idleness and dissipation. At Spa his amusement was to send his son every night to the gaming-table with a pocketful of gold; and (if family tradition may be trusted where it tells against family credit) the parent took not a little pains to contrive "that the boy should leave France a finished rake." After four months thus spent, Charles, still of his own will, went back to Eton, "where he passed another year with more advantage to himself than the school."

* Pp. 51-3 and note. Mr. Trevelyan believing, like his uncle, in the identity of Sir Philip Francis with Junius, and alluding to the silence of Junius on such a tempting subject as Lord Holland, says: "In a happy hour for his own future repose, Lord Holland repaid the services of Dr. Francis by procuring for his promising son Philip a clerkship in the office of the Secretary of State" (p. 48). Amongst many causes for regretting the death of Sir Alexander Cockburn is, that we are deprived of his views on the question, Who was Junius? which it was understood had engaged his attention.

Lord Shelburne attributed a great change for the worse among the youthful aristocracy to the example and influence of Charles Fox while at Eton.* From Eton he in 1764 went to Oxford. He was entered at Hertford College, which, after various alterations of fortune, has become—to use Mr. Trevelyan's words—a “training school of principles and ideas very different from those ordinarily associated with the name of its greatest son.”† Its undergraduates were mostly idle youths of good family, the set amongst which Charles Fox lived so passed their time that one of them has left on record that it was a “matter of surprise to him how so many of them made their way so well in the world, and so creditably.”‡

Dissipated Charles Fox was ; idle he was not. He said of himself, “I am a very painstaking man ;” and the third Lord Holland tells us that “the most marked and enduring feature in his disposition was his invincible propensity to labour at excellence. His rule in small things, as in great, was the homely proverb, that ‘what is worth doing at all is worth doing well.’”§ He can hardly be said to have *studied* Greek or Latin after he was sixteen years old ; yet so thoroughly was he grounded in those languages that he read them throughout life as much as he did English, and could turn to the great authors of antiquity at any moment, not as a mental effort, but for the recreation and delight he found in their pages. In the wildest excesses of his life the classics were his companions. This was especially true of the Greek writers, who were then less studied in England than they have been since Fox's time. He took up Demosthenes as he did the speeches of Lord Chatham, and dwelt with the same zest on the Greek tragedians as on the plays of Shakespeare. As an orator he was much indebted to his study of the Greek writers for the simplicity of his tastes, his severe abstinence from everything like ornament, the terseness of his style, the point and stringency of his reasoning, and all-pervading cast of *intellect* which distinguishes his speeches, even his vehement bursts of impassioned feeling.|| “While yet a boy, he had as much French as most diplomatists would think sufficient for a lifetime.” He “flung himself into the delights of Italian literature with all the vehemence of his ardent nature,” and laid the foundation of that “profound and extensive acquaintance with history in which he was reputed to stand on a level with Burke, and

* P. 49 and note.

† The first Lord Malmesbury, p. 57 and note.

‡ For the above passage the writer is indebted to the valuable memoir of Fox, prefixed to a selection from his speeches, in an American work entitled “Select British Eloquence,” by Chauncey A. Goodrich, Professor in Sale College, Conn., U.S.A.

† P. 57.

§ Pp. 66, 67.

(which, indeed, was not difficult) to be greatly the superior of Johnson.*

Mr. Trevelyan's literary character of Fox is one of the gems of the book, and must be given in the author's own words:—

“His vast and varied mass of erudition, far exceeding that of many young men who have been famous for nothing else, was all aglow with the intense vitality of his eager and brilliant intellect. He trod with a sure step through the treasure-house of antiquity, guided by a keenness of insight into the sentiments and the circumstances of the remote past, which, in an epoch of criticism far less in sympathy with either Athenian or Roman feeling than our own, amounted to little short of positive inspiration. With an appetite to which nothing came amiss, he possessed a taste that was all but infallible. He could derive pleasure and profit out of anything written in Greek or Latin, from a philippic of Cicero or Demosthenes to an *excursus* by Casaubon, but he reserved his allegiance for the true sovereigns of literature. That dramatist who is the special delight of the mature and experienced was his idol from the very first. ‘Euripides,’ he would say, ‘is the most precious thing left us, the most like Shakespeare,’ and he knew him as Shakespeare was known to Charles Lamb and to Coleridge. ‘Read him,’ he enjoined on young Lord Holland, ‘till you love his very faults.’ He went through the ‘Iliad’ and the ‘Odyssey’ more than once a-year; and while he counted every omitted digamma, and was always ready to cover four sides of letter-paper with a disquisition on Homeric prosody or chronology, there is ample proof that, as far as feeling and observation were concerned, he had anticipated that exquisite vein of criticism which is the special charm of the most charming portion of Mr. Ruskin's writings. Next to Homer among the ancients, and even above Homer at one period of his life, Fox placed Virgil, whose pathos (so he declared) surpassed that of all poets of every age and nation, with the single exception which, as an Englishman with the Elizabethan drama at his fingers' ends, he somewhat unwillingly considered himself bound to make. ‘It is on that account,’ he continued, ‘that I rank him so very high; for surely to excel in that style which speaks to the heart is the greatest of all excellence.’ His favourite example of the quality that he admired in the ‘Æneid’ was the farewell with which the aged Evander sent Pallas forth to his last battle. The beauty of this passage, in his years of vigour, Fox was always ready to expound and assert; and when his time came to die, he solemnized his parting with the nephew whom he loved as a son by bidding the young man read aloud, and then repeat once more, *lines* which, even at a less trying moment, few who have ever cried over a book can read without tears. That was the last poetry to which Fox is known to have listened, and the fact is worth recording, because poetry was to him what it has been to no one who has ever played a part at all comparable to his in the sterner and coarser business of the world. Poetry was in his eyes ‘the great refreshment of

* Pp. 65, 67, 299.

the human mind,' 'the only thing after all.' It was by making and enjoying it that men first discovered themselves to be rational beings, and even among the Whigs he would allow the existence of only one right-thinking politician who was not a lover of poetry. Literature was 'in every point of view a preferable occupation to politics.' Statesmanship might be a respectable calling; but Poetry claimed seven of the Muses, and Oratory none. The poets wrote the best prose. The poets had more truth in them than all the orators and historians together. Much as he admired Johnson's Lives (and, except the Church Service, that book was the last which was read to him), he never could forgive the author for his disloyalty to some amongst the most eminent of his heroes. 'His treatment,' cried Fox, 'of Gray, Waller, and Prior is abominable, especially of Gray. As for me, I love all the poets.' And well did they repay his affection. They consoled him for having missed everything upon which his heart was set, and to the attainment of which the labour of his life was directed; for the loss of power and of fortune; for his all but permanent exclusion from the privilege of serving his country and the opportunity of benefiting his friends; even for the extinction of that which Burke—speaking from his long and intimate knowledge of his disposition—most correctly called 'his darling popularity.'

* * * * *

"Whenever things were for a moment too hard on him—when he returned to his country home fretted by injustice and worn by turmoil—his wife had only to take down a volume of 'Don Quixote' or 'Gil Blas,' and read to him until his mind was again in tune for the society of Spenser and Metastasio."*

Such being Fox's love of poetry, we are not surprised to find that he said to Samuel Rogers, "if I had a boy I would make him write verses."† This love of literature abode with Fox to the last moment of his life. Lord Sidmouth records that in the last visit he paid to Fox, then in his mortal illness, he found him reading Virgil; and Mr. Trevelyan tells us that during his sufferings Lord Holland—the uncle and nephew at times, he says, almost conversed in Virgil—tried to cheer him with "*Dabit Deus his quoque finem.*" "Ay," Fox replied with a faint smile, "but 'finem,' young one, may have two senses."‡ The last, or very nearly the last, time of Fox attending the House of Commons, he drank tea with Speaker Abbott, who in his Diary preserves this record of one of Fox's conversations:—

"In the course of the afternoon's conversation we fell upon a variety of topics; the ignorance of the dark ages, which he denied to be so very dark as we were apt to represent them. He instanced their buildings, and the spirited and learned style of Pope Hildebrand. He agreed in the admiration of Livy's speeches, and instanced that of Philip of

* Pp. 300-303, and the notes with which the passage is enriched.

† P. 53, note.

‡ P. 302, note.

Macedon, &c.; but for the greater part of Livy he looked upon it as little better than a beautiful romance, with the history of the Horatii, Curatii, &c. The Greek historians, even Herodotus, seemed to profess and possess great appearance of diligent search for truth, and to have more verisimilitude. In talking of books upon political economy, he said (as I have often heard him say in debate) that he had but little faith in Adam Smith or any of them, their reasons were so plausible but so inconclusive. That theology had occupied a large share of the acutest intellects among the best writers of this country; whereas in Greece arts and arms engrossed the whole efforts of the human mind, and their progress and eminence in those pursuits had probably been the greater for their abandonment of all other pursuits, such as engaged modern nations in commerce, manufactures, &c. &c. In this desultory talk he was extremely pleasant, and appeared to please himself.*

We are also told by the same authority that Fox said to him "that he thought the best English prose was to be found in the writings of the English divines."† We learn from a letter to George Selwyn, quoted by Mr. Trevelyan, that Fox did not share in the general opinion that Clarendon is one of the great masters of English prose: "I think the style bad, and that he has a good deal of the old woman in his way of thinking."‡

In the spring of 1766 Fox finally left Oxford, and spent about two years in foreign travel. At the general election in March, 1768, though barely turned nineteen, and while he was still amusing himself in Italy, there was purchased for him and his cousin, Lord Stavordale, the power to sit and vote in the House of Commons as members of Parliament for the borough of Midhurst. His father and his uncle clubbed together to hire their boys a borough, as they might have rented them a manor to shoot over in the vacation. They selected Midhurst, the most comfortable of constituencies, from the point of view of a representative, for the right of election rested in a few "burgage tenures," as they were called, in which no human being dwelt, and which were all owned by one proprietor, the then Viscount Montagu, who, when an election was in prospect, assigned them to his servants, with instructions to nominate the members and then reconvey the property to their employer.§

Amongst the isolated farm-houses, built in the days of the Tudors, which surround the ancient village of Midhurst, there stood one called Dunford,|| then occupied by a yeoman named Cobden, whose family had long dwelt in the neighbourhood. At Dunford, two years before Fox was borne to Westminster

* "Diary of Lord Colchester," vol. ii. pp. 70-71.

† Ibid., p. 525.

‡ P. 299.

§ P. 145.

|| Dunford was purchased back for Mr. Cobden in 1846-7, and still remains the property of his family. Part of the old house is still standing.

Abbey, a child was born to the Cobden who then owned it. This child was destined to become a statesman of the school of which Fox was the first, and of all those statesmen most resembled him in his hatred of war,* and of all our orators since Fox's time most closely approaches him in the stern close logic of his speeches and in an eloquence "all the more effective because it was simple and unadorned."†

At the time of Fox's entrance to Parliament his father was at the height of his unpopularity; he had been the accomplice and tool of Bute in the persecution of the Whigs with which George III. began his reign, the story of which is given by Mr. Trevelyan with a vividness and force only to be surpassed by his uncle's narrative of the same events with which in his second Essay on Chatham he concluded the long series of his contributions to the *Edinburgh Review*. When Bute suddenly abandoned the premiership Fox at the same time took refuge in the House of Lords. He was at this time the "Ishmael of English politics." By Chatham and Chatham's following he could not even hope to be forgiven. The unkindness and, as he regarded it, the ingratitude of the Bedfords, for ever rankled in his memory. Against the Grenvilles he had a grudge of a more solid nature, for it was George Grenville who had urged the King to command Fox to resign his darling office of Paymaster; and the Rockingham Whigs, whom more than all other parties he had unpardonably injured, received his advances, equally unexpected and unwelcome, towards a reconciliation, with a quiet scorn "that brought painfully home to the old statesman the consciousness that he was feared as little as he was confided in, and honoured even less than he was loved."‡ No section of the House of Commons was therefore prepared to receive Lord Holland's son with favour; on the contrary, all were rather inclined to look on him with suspicion and dislike.

* The sentiment of Cicero, so often quoted by Mr. Fox, "Iniquissimam pacem justissimo bello antefero (Lord Liverpool to Lord Castlereagh, "Life of Liverpool," vol. ii. p. 31). "It is impossible to read the speeches of Fox at this time (1793) without feeling one's heart yearn with admiration and gratitude for the bold and resolute manner in which he opposed the war, never yielding and never repining under the most discouraging defeats; and although deserted by many of his friends in the House, taunted with only having a score of followers left, and obliged to admit that he could not walk the streets without being insulted by hearing the charge made against him of carrying on an improper correspondence with the enemy in France, yet bearing it all with uncompromising manliness and dignity. The annals of Parliament do not record a nobler struggle in a nobler cause" (Cobden's '1793 and 1853,' in his "Political Writings," p. 179). Cobden was not without experiences of the same kind.

† Sir Robert Peel's well-known description of Mr. Cobden's eloquence.

‡ Pp. 146-7.

“During the earliest” (we here again quote Mr. Trevelyan) “and much the longest portion of his first Parliament, Fox, as the spoilt child of the worst House of Commons that ever met, seemed bent upon ascertaining how much unsound argument and pert dogmatism would be tolerable from a ready and an agreeable speaker, and how often it was permissible to go in and out of place without any adequate reason for leaving office, or justification for resuming it. He did not mend his ways until even the faggot voters of Midhurst were tired of electing him, and until he had exhausted his sauciness and his sophistry in disclaiming against all the principles with which his name was thereafter to be identified, and most of the measures which he himself, or the statesmen bred in his school, were some day to place upon the Statute Book.”*

In fact, the opening of Fox's career presents as strong a contrast to its close as did that of Peel, when, from the champion of Church ascendancy and Orange Protestantism, he became the Minister who first submitted to the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, and then proposed Catholic Emancipation; and when, again, from leader of the country gentlemen of England he became the disciple of Richard Cobden and the repealer of the Corn Laws. Or to give another instance. The change was no greater in Fox than in Gladstone, who from being the “rising hope of those stern and unbending Tories who followed reluctantly and mutinously a leader whose experience and eloquence were indispensable to them, but whose cautious temper and moderate opinions they abhorred,”† has become a Liberal of so advanced a school as to frighten those more timid politicians who call themselves more peculiarly the followers of Fox, Grey, and Russell. Or, to give an instance from the other political party, the change in Fox was no greater than in Lord Beaconsfield, the persistent advocate of Protection, who abandoned it so soon as he crossed the threshold of office, and who at a later period led the Conservative party into the wilds of suffrage extension. In fact, though Fox, as his father's son naturally would, took his seat as a supporter of the Administration, when he entered Parliament he had no clear or precise views on political questions, and, brought up as he had been, it is needless to say that he had no political principles. “He went into the House of Commons as into the hunting-field, glowing with anticipation of enjoyment, and resolved that nothing should stop him, and that, however often he tumbled, he would always be among the first;” and he succeeded, “because all the world in concert could not have kept him in the background.”‡

* P. 333.

† Macaulay's Essay on Gladstone on Church and State.

‡ P. 157.

When and on what occasion he first opened his mouth in the House of Commons cannot be ascertained, but his first great speech was made in the Middlesex election case,* and of course, as a Ministerialist, in favour of the illegal and tyrannical design of the Court to set aside the free choice of Wilkes by the electors of Middlesex, and by a mere vote of the House to seat Luttrell in his place. In this speech Fox exhibited in a marked degree one of the peculiarities of his family. The first Lord Holland, "though he was the sworn enemy of lawyers who had seats in Parliament, yet loved disputing as much as they do," wrote Horace Walpole; "but he loved sense, which they made a trade of perplexing."† While of the third Lord Holland it is said: "The lawyers of the Duchy of Lancaster were astonished to find in an unprofessional man so strong a relish for the *esoteric* parts of their science, and complained that as soon as they had split a hair Lord Holland proceeded to split the filaments into filaments still finer."‡ This peculiarity was equally marked in Charles Fox, and was shown in this early speech, which Mr. Trevelyan thus describes:—

"In the debate Wedderburn had outdone Grenville, and Burke far outdid Wedderburn.§ . . . Wedderburn and Burke were still unanswered, when Charles Fox (just turned twenty) arose; but when he resumed his seat the supporters of the Ministers, and most of their opponents, pronounced that the lawyer and the statesman had both met their match. How commanding must have been the manner of the young speaker, how prompt his ideas, and how apt and forcible the language in which he clothed them, may be estimated by comparing the effect of his rhetoric upon those who were present, and the fame of it among those who heard it second-hand, with the scanty morsels of his argument which have survived the evening on which it was delivered. The two or three sentences which Oblivion, so long as he needed her services, has permitted to stand in judgment against him, have a flavour of boyishness about them, for which nothing could have compensated except rare and premature excellence in the outward accomplishments of the orator. He had still enough of the undergraduate in him to imagine that he was speaking like a statesman when he informed the House that he should adore Colonel Luttrell to the last day of his life for his noble action, and that he would not take the will of the people from a few demagogues any more than he would take the will of Almighty God from a few priests. But what he had to say he said in such a manner that he came unscathed out of a controversy on an intricate point of law, with lawyers who were

* On May 8, 1769.

† P. 20.

‡ Lord Macaulay's Essay on Lord Holland. The third Lord Holland was Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster in the Grey and Melbourne Administration.

§ Afterwards Lord Chancellor Loughborough.

straining every nerve to make or sustain a professional reputation of the first order. 'I am told,' wrote his father, 'that Charles can never make a better speech than he did on Monday.'"*

Fox, however, made many better speeches, and fifteen years later he made that on the Westminster scrutiny—the most logical and powerful in argument of all his speeches. The contrast is striking between his admiration of Luttrell and his "noble acts," and his denunciation in the Westminster speech of the weak and foolish men, rash and giddy politicians, who, by supporting the Ministerial policy as to the scrutiny, equally high-handed and unconstitutional as the Ministerial policy as to the Middlesex election, became parties in a precedent "capable of producing consequences which strike at the source and root of all legislation; for it is the fundamental maxim of our constitution that the consent of the people, by their representatives, is essential and indispensable to those laws that are to govern them."

It is difficult for us, living more than a century from the time of the Middlesex election of 1768, and who within half a century have seen Parliament twice reformed, to realize the state of things in which the controversy as to that election arose, the questions it involved, and the condition of the public mind which it produced.

"With Ministers whom the Crown appointed, an Upper House which it might increase at will, and a Lower House full of men who had bought their seats and sold themselves, there was no check upon the excesses and follies of arbitrary authority, except the presence here and there on the benches of members endowed with a 'spirit of independence carried to some degree of enthusiasm, and an inquisitive character to discover, and a bold one to display, every corruption and every error of Government.'"

"Those were the qualities" (so Burke reasoned) "which recommended candidates to the few constituencies that still could be called free and open."† Such a man was Wilkes, and we cordially agree with Mr. Trevelyan "that there is nothing exaggerated in Mr. Gladstone's declaration, that the name of Wilkes, whether we choose it or not, must be enrolled among the great champions of English freedom."‡ Accordingly, when the free choice of one of the greatest of the few free constituencies was set aside, and a Court nominee, who had polled only a small majority of votes, and who was only known previously as "a colonel of horse who had the character of being somewhat too

* Pp. 199–201 and pp. *seq.*, and notes, as to the effect produced by this speech.

† P. 209.

‡ P. 160.

ready with his sword,"* was seated in Wilkes' place by a resolution of the majority who had bought their seats and sold themselves, alarm spread like wildfire through the other free constituencies, and, indeed, the country generally.

"The people" (wrote Burke to Lord Rockingham) "feel upon this and upon no other ground of our opposition.†" Their leaders suggested to them the bold and novel expedient of approaching the Throne with remonstrances upon the answers which had been returned to the petitions which they had presented, praying the King to dissolve Parliament, and leave it for the country to pronounce between the law and its violators. The City led the way with an address which was conceived in the spirit of the famous instrument whence its title was borrowed, and the very language of which recalled the English that was spoken and written in the best days of the seventeenth century. The authors of the Grand Remonstrance might have been proud to father the sentences in which the Liverymen of London rehearsed how, though they had laid their wrongs and their desires before their Sovereign with the humble confidence of dutiful subjects, their complaints remained still unanswered, their injuries had been confirmed, and the only judge removable at the pleasure of the Crown had been expelled from his high office for defending the Constitution.‡

Other constituencies followed suit. The great county of Cornwall, which was only joined to the metropolis by railway communication within the memory of young men now living, was a century ago, not only by its remoteness, but from its scanty means of communication with the rest of the country, separated from the heart of the nation's life. No paper was published farther west than Sherborne, in Dorset, where a four-page sheet, about the size of the *Saturday Review*, was published weekly. Letters between the metropolis and the country were at least four days in transit. It required a week's hard travelling to reach the metropolis, and although there were many gentlemen who sat and voted in the House of Commons as members for Cornish boroughs, yet their constituencies might in each case be reckoned at a score or under. The members were, with scarce an exception, strangers to the county; many of them never saw the borough in whose name they sat; and they belonged generally to the class who, having bought their seats, had sold or were ready and willing to sell themselves. For one of these boroughs sat Luttrell, the Court's nominee for Middlesex. To embark on that troubled sea he left the quiet haven of Bossiney, the electors of which numbered eleven in all, ten of whom were Revenue officers. The county of Cornwall itself, however, was one of the free and open constituencies. It was

* P. 191.

† P. 210.

‡ P. 254.

independent and Whig in its principles,* and the county took alarm at the high-handed proceedings of the Ministry and their corrupt majority in the Commons. Amongst the local leaders was a well-beneficed clergyman,† one of the ancient family of Borlase—the kinsman of the historian of Cornwall and friend of Pope—and who held, with the vicarages of Kenwyn and Madron the (in the judgment of this generation) inconsistent office of Vice-Warden of the Stannaries, the duties of which he so well discharged as to gain for himself the reputation of being “the Lord Nottingham of Stannary law.” Though bred up at Court (for he had been a page to Queen Anne), he shared to the full the independent spirit and the Whig principles of his fellow-Cornishmen. There is still extant in his handwriting, and in the possession of a kinsman and a faithful witness to and keeper of not only his papers but his principles, the remonstrance to the King from the “gentry, clergy and freeholders of the county of Cornwall.” The language of this remonstrance is kindred in spirit to that of the City, and is worthy of preservation.

“The freedom of election” (say the Cornish petitioners) “we consider as the basis of our liberties, and the very essence of that part of our wise constitution which gives the people a share in the legislative authority. The right of voting at elections and the right of being capable of election, within the bounds prescribed by law, we conceive to be inherent in the freeholds of this kingdom, and of those rights we shall ever esteem it our duty to be more tenacious than of the freeholds themselves, on which they depend, and which without them we should justly consider as possessions insecure and precarious. It is, therefore” (continued the petitioners) “with inexpressible concern that under your Majesty’s auspicious reign we have seen Ministers bold enough to advise your Majesty to confer on Colonel Luttrell a trifling office, avowedly for the purpose of vacating the seat he then held in Parliament, and enabling him to offer himself a candidate against Mr. Wilkes, in consequence of which he has been obtruded upon the freeholders of that county as their representative, though rejected by a majority of legal and undisputed votes; a precedent whereby the freedom of elections may be utterly abolished, and the House of Commons, instead of the free choice and representative of the people, may become the creatures of Ministers, and the instruments of an illegal power.” (And reiterating the expressions of their alarm) “at this late violent, dangerous and unprecedented proceeding, the petitioners most earnestly call upon your Majesty’s royal and paternal care to avert the common danger by removing for ever from your trust and favour those evil counsellors whose influence has been the occasion of these mischiefs.”‡

* At this date Cornwall sends to Parliament four Liberal members, the only county, excepting Durham, which distinguishes itself.

† The Rev. Walter Borlase, LL.D.

‡ From a MS. collection preserved at Laregan, Penzance, by Mr. W. Copeland Borlase, M.P. for East Cornwall.

Those who remember the celebrated saying of Junius, that "the free election of our representatives in Parliament comprehends, because it is the source and security of every right of the English people," will be struck with the likeness of its tone and spirit to those of the Cornish petition—probably its reverend and learned author was a careful reader of *The Public Advertiser*.*

It was by his persistent opposition to the opinions and feelings of his countrymen on the question of the Middlesex election that Fox first gained office. It was evident that "something would have to be found for a young gentleman who, according to his own account in later days, was on his legs at least once every evening, and who, by the confession of others, never sate down without leaving his mark on the discussion."†

In one of the numerous debates arising out of the Middlesex case Fox again displayed alike his industry and the lawyer-like qualities of his mind by refuting Wedderburn on a question of parliamentary precedent. The House roared with applause, the King was delighted, and Fox was made a Junior Lord of the Admiralty. Fox met his Nemesis on this question when, in 1782, Wilkes moved that the resolution of 1769, which declared him incapable of being elected, be expunged from the journals. Fox, then the "Man of the People," "thought it incumbent on him to pay a tribute to political consistency in the shape of a dry and perfunctory counter-argument," which did not succeed in averting an unanimous vote of the House that the clerks should remove from the journals "all traces whatsoever of its own arbitrary proceeding in the past, as being subversive of the rights of the whole body of electors of this kingdom."‡

It was again on the unpopular side of a legal question, and against lawyers, and such lawyers as Glynn, Dunning and Wedderburn, that the new Lord of the Admiralty first spoke from the Treasury bench. The occasion was a motion made by Glynn, "tutored by Shelburne, who in his turn had been inspired by Chatham," for a committee to inquire into the administration of justice in cases relating to the press, for the purpose of impugning Lord Mansfield's ruling in the case of the printer of Junius's Letter to the King, "that it was for the judge to determine whether a publication was libellous, while the jury were only concerned with the fact of publication." This decision placed at the mercy of the judges every printer and author in the kingdom. Thurlow, as a bid for office, uttered the proposition that in State libels it

* Conf. Junius's Letter to the King *passim*.

† P. 283.

‡ P. 278.

was idle to hope for fairness from jurymen, "who might justly be considered as parties concerned against the Crown;" a bid which was so successful that its maker was within seven weeks made Attorney-General. Glynn, Dunning and Wedderburn, to use Lord Chatham's words,

"Stood with much dignity and great abilities for the transcendent object at stake;* to them succeeded Charles Fox—his speech is interesting as the best preserved specimen of his first manner. His early speeches" (continues Mr. Trevelyan) "were glaringly deficient on the side both of reason and morality; and although his rhetoric had a certain grace of its own, which may be described as the '*beau-ti-du-diable*' of oratory, he seldom was on his feet for three minutes without committing some offence against taste, and even against ordinary propriety. But his youthful efforts had this in common with his mature performances, that while he attacked it from the wrong quarter, he never failed to go direct to the heart of the argument. The young Lord of the Admiralty in this his third session had already an eye for the point of a debate as sure as that of a heaven-born general for the key of an enemy's position."

This early speech showed many of the characteristics of his speaking which continued unaltered to the end—his discussion of principles, but only in strict connection with the subject before him; his grappling with his antagonists, the personal nature of his arguments, the hits and side-blows which he flashed out against his opponents in passing. To Glynn and others, who had called for the dissolution of Parliament on the ground that it no longer represented the people, he retorted—

"What are you about? You have yourselves allowed that you are no legal House of Commons; that you are *de facto* and not *de jure*; and you are going to arraign the venerable judges of Westminster Hall, and enter upon a revision of the laws of the land. What have you been doing for the last two years but ringing constantly in our ears the contempt in which we are held by the people? Have you not made these walls incessantly echo with the terms of reproach which you allege to have been cast upon us by men of every degree—high and low, rich and poor, learned and unlearned? Were we not, and are not we still, according to your account, held in universal detestation and abhorrence? Does not the whole empire, from one end to the other, reckon us equally weak and wicked. How can you, then, with a serious face, desire us to undertake this inquiry in order to satisfy the people? The people, if your former assertions are to be credited, will get no good at your hands. Who, do you think, will pay any attention to your authority? From your former confessions, have they the right? They cannot, if they take you at your own words, hold you on your debates in any other light than the idle de-

clamations of coffee-house politicians. I have heard a great deal of the people, and the cries of the people, but where and how am I to find out their complaints? As far as my inquiries have led me, those complaints do not exist, and as long as that is the view of the majority of this House (who themselves are the people as being their legal representatives) I shall continue to think with them.”*

It is significant of the effect this speech produced on the House that Burke considered “himself bound to exert all his powers to efface the impression which had been wrought by the orator of one-and-twenty.”† But Burke’s speech exhibited that characteristic of his speaking, which Thurlow well described when he said that the “difference between them was, that Fox always spoke to the House, and Burke spoke as if he was speaking to himself.” “Fox pleased where Burke wearied. The House refused an inquiry by a great majority, which, when the question was renewed in the course of the next session, was swelled into a very great majority indeed.”‡ On this occasion the proposal took the shape of a Bill to settle the powers of juries in libel cases, and Burke closed his speech in its favour with this prediction: “They” (the proposers of the Bill) “have now sown the seed; I hope they will live to see the flourishing harvest. Their Bill is now sown in weakness, it will, I trust, be raised in power.”§ The day of resurrection did not, however, come for two-and-twenty years, when Fox made full atonement for his sin of 1770 by carrying through Parliament a Bill declaring the rights of juries in libel cases. This Bill settled the law on the principles laid down by Erskine in his ever-memorable speeches in Dean Shipley’s case, and “to the genius and courage of Erskine we may justly be said to owe the escape from proscription and arbitrary power;” but it is true “Fox stands next to him as the preserver of that sacred fire of liberty which they saved to blaze forth in happier times.”||

In fact, at this time Fox might safely be trusted to adopt the illiberal view of every controversy, and Mr. Trevelyan truly says: “Within two years of his maiden speech he had contrived to attract to himself an amount of active dislike equal to that which a few, and only a few, great Ministers have carried to the grave or the scaffold, as the accumulation of a lifetime.”¶ We want space to follow Mr. Trevelyan in his narrative of Fox’s zealous partisanship for the King and his Ministers in their

* Pp. 337-8.

† P. 335.

‡ “Life of Lord Liverpool,” vol. iii. p. 291.

§ Speech, House of Commons, March 7, 1771.

|| Lord Brougham’s “Statesmen of Time of George III.,” title Mr. Fox.

¶ P 391.

crusade against the liberty of the press, their attack on the Duke of Portland, and their other harsh and arbitrary measures. Indeed, it is far pleasanter to turn to the dawn of a better day, the commencement of Fox's real career, and see the first step taken which changed the dislike and dread with which he was at first regarded "by a multitude of politicians, humble in rank and zealous for their opinions, to a popularity which ten years afterwards made him the centre of their hopes, and twenty years afterwards would have led them to die for him to a man."*

It was on questions of religious liberty that Fox first separated from the Court, and voluntarily incurred the bitter and lasting displeasure of the Sovereign, whose favour was in those days indispensable to his hopes, by boldly and persistently asserting respect for the right of conscience.† This first step in this direction was in connection with the movement usually called the Feathers Tavern Petition, the story of which is told by Mr. Trevelyan with a fulness and exactness which remind us of his uncle's familiarity with ecclesiastical and controversial questions which so impressed Sir G. Cornewall Lewis in reading his *History of England*.‡ We cannot forbear transcribing Mr. Trevelyan's just testimony to the later English Presbyterians. After mentioning that the election of 1768, amidst the chaos of personal rivalry and public corruption, was not without signs of a spirit of liberty reigning in the lower rank and also in many of middle rank, he continues:—

"Nowhere did that spirit exhibit itself in such striking and varied aspects as among the members of that denomination which looked up to Lardner as its patriarch, and which counted Price and Priestley as hardly the most distinguished amidst its many ornaments. There was not another class of the community in which the average of intellect and attainments ranged so high as amongst those Presbyterians who during the last half-century had been drawing ever nearer to the tenets and more willingly answering to the name of Unitarians. The ministers of that body were eminent in many departments of exact knowledge, and solidly but unpretentiously read in literature. They were masters of the clearest and perhaps the most agreeable English that ever has been written—the English of the middle class in the generation before the French Revolution, which Johnson spoke always and wrote when he was old; which Arthur Young and Benjamin Franklin possessed in its perfection; and which, after it had deservedly made his fame, William Cobbett at length carried into burlesque. The Presbyterian leaders stood valiantly to the front whenever the

* P. 372.

† P. 431.

‡ Sir G. C. Lewis, "Letters," p. 310.

general interests of Nonconformity were at stake. They exercised always, and in all places, a freedom denied to them by statutes which the magistrate did not venture to enforce. Alone of sects, they refused to be trammelled by a verbal creed. They thought as they chose; they preached as they thought; and the plenitude of their liberty aroused the admiring envy of many parish clergymen, and not a few actual and expectant dignitaries of the English Church, who, thinking with them, were ill at ease within the rigid and narrow limits of the Establishment.*

It was amongst these dissatisfied ministers of the Establishment that the Feathers Tavern Petition arose. This petition, signed by two hundred and fifty of the clergy and laity, prayed that clergymen of the Church and graduates of the Universities might be relieved from the burden of subscribing to the Articles, and "restored to their undoubted rights, as Protestants, of interpreting Scripture for themselves," without being tied to any human comment or explanation."

Theophilus Lindsey,† who had not yet discovered that the English Establishment was no place for a Crypto-Unitarian, was one of the originators of this movement; but the *vis inertiae* with which he had to contend led him to an experience which one of his fellow-labourers thus expressed: "I am verily persuaded that if the Bible was burnt to-morrow, and the Alcoran introduced and established in its stead, we should still, provided the emoluments were the same, have plenty of bishops, priests, and deacons."‡ Had these good men lived a century later, they would have found no cause to alter their opinion. The petition was presented on the 6th of February, 1772, and gave rise to a debate worthy of the pains that had been taken to prime the speakers. "Everybody who got a hearing on that occasion spoke above himself,"§ except Fox, nor under the circumstances was that to be wondered at.

"He had played at hazard at Almack's from Tuesday evening, the 4th, till five o'clock on the 5th. An hour earlier he had won back £12,000 which he had lost, and by dinner-time, at five, he had stopped with a loss of £11,000. On Tuesday he spoke in the debate, went to dine at half-past twelve o'clock at night; from thence went to White's, where he drank till seven in the following morning; thence to Almack's, where he won £6,000; and between three and four in the

* P. 432.

† Then vicar of Catterick, Yorkshire, afterwards the first minister of Essex Street Chapel, London—the first Unitarian chapel, we think, built *eo nomine* in England. The chapel now standing is the one in which Lindsey preached.

‡ P. 434.

§ Pp. 439–42. The whole account of the debate, and Mr. Trevelyan's comments on it, will repay close study.

afternoon went to Newmarket, a famous place for horse-racing for wagers.”*

His arguments on that occasion did not govern even his own vote; but a year afterwards he again supported the petition in an “excellent speech.” The Dissenters next sought to be relieved from the penal laws existing against them, and Fox not only spoke and voted for them, “but planted himself at the door of the lobby as the responsible patron of a proposal every advocate of which was a marked man in the books of one who could close and open at will the road to place and power.” Fox thus earned the unrelenting hostility of the sworn enemy of all Dissenters “who sate ensconced upon the throne which his ancestors owed to theirs.” This was the beginning of the services to the cause of religious liberty and Protestant dissent which continued through the first agitation for the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, and ended only with Fox’s life;† and thus—

“was laid the foundation of the strongest and most enduring sentiment that any section of the English community has ever entertained towards any statesman, the grateful veneration with which the whole body of his Nonconformist fellow-citizens adored him living and mourned him dead.”‡

It was indeed a Nonconformist who first saw the hidden promise of future good in the young man “who had been foremost in keeping the representative of Middlesex out of the House of Commons, and in preventing the people of England from learning what went on inside it.” “Friend Charles Fox,” wrote a Quaker in a newspaper of the time, “thou seemest to be possessed of a very depraved kind of ambition,” and he went on to urge him to put his talents to better purpose “than persecutions for telling the truth;” a respectful and hopeful remonstrance which, as Mr. Trevelyan says, the writer would never have wasted on Wedderburn.§

Early in 1772 the House was startled by a sudden onslaught made by Fox on Lord North. A member asked leave to introduce a Bill to secure the holders of what had formerly been Church property against dormant claims of more than sixty years’ standing. Lord North opposed this Bill, as he had opposed

* Quoted from Horace Walpole, but without any reference, in “England, Literary and Social, from a German Point of View,” by Julius Rodenburg, p. 227. The same passage is evidently referred to, but also without any reference, by Mr. Trevelyan, p. 442.

† For Fox’s services in this matter see “Test and Corporation Acts, an Historical Memorial,” by Herbert S. Skcats, pp. 22-30.

‡ Pp. 447-50, and note.

§ P. 452 and note.

the Bill for relieving from claims of a similar nature the Duke of Portland and other holders of what had been Crown property. In the Duke's case Fox had warmly supported the Minister, and "by his audacious logic, and inborn and hereditary skill in parliamentary management, turned votes enough to defeat the motion that the Speaker leave the chair, and thus at twenty-three accomplished a feat which any one under "a Prime Minister may be proud to have accomplished twice in the longest lifetime."* Now Fox fell upon the Minister with rollicking audacity, and following up his speech with his vote, séduced so many Ministerial members from their allegiance that the Ministry came near a serious defeat. Three days afterwards the Junior Lord of the Admiralty resigned.†

It would, seem, however, that, led by family reasons to which we before referred, he had previously determined to resign rather than support the infamous measure to which we alluded in our last number, and the history of which is admirably told by Mr. Trevelyan. The Royal Marriage Act,‡ by which, to quote Mr. Trevelyan's terse and admirable epitome, "no descendant of George II. to the end of time, unless he were by birth a foreigner, might marry before six-and-twenty without the consent of the Sovereign, unless he was prepared to see his children stamped as illegitimate, and their mother excluded from the recognition of society.§ In the debates, Fox again showed himself the intrepid and invincible opponent of the lawyers in the House, and established over them

"the marked superiority in questions of detail which a disputant who has mastered principles never fails to obtain over antagonists who have begged them; and the veterans of the House, employing the most valued and envied compliment which in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries one English gentleman could bestow upon another, declared that, as 'a Parliament man, Charles Fox at three-and-twenty excelled Charles Townshend in his maturity.' "

Probably no resignation of a junior official ever caused a Minister so much alarm and annoyance as did this of Fox to Lord North. He did not delude himself into the belief that Fox would be content to sit for ever below the gangway, helping his former colleagues in a difficulty, and occasionally telling for them on a division. "The year, therefore, which commenced with Fox's resignation ended with a reconstruction of the Government, devised for the sole object

* Pp. 425-7.

† Pp. 453-4.

‡ *Vide* article "Caroline von Linsingen and King William IV."

§ P. 460. The history of the Bill will be found pp. 455 to 472.

of recovering his services and insuring the Ministry against his possible hostility.”*

He now had a seat at the Treasury board instead of the Admiralty, “he having set his affections upon a post where he could learn the work and entitle himself to the reversion of the Chancellor of the Exchequer.” Considering the ignorance of and hostility to the principles of political economy which he showed to the close of his life,† it is fortunate that he never gained this object of his ambition; unless, indeed, official training and experience had produced a beneficial effect on a singularly powerful and unprejudiced mind, and led him, as they did in the cases of Pélé and Gladstone, to adopt sounder views.

During the brief continuance of his second official career he was in the House as “headstrong, as unbridled, as impulsive as ever:” in the Indian debates of May, 1773, he attacked Lord Clive with such vehemence of invective that “Lord North saw with consternation the most powerful commoner in England, with ten votes in his pocket, making his exit from the House in an agony of rage and shame, beneath the withering rhetoric of a Commissioner of the Treasury.”

Further on he displayed a still more unruly spirit—he sought to embroil once more the Government and the House in another controversy as to the liberty of the press. “Lord North found himself driven to vote for a course which he disapproved by a subordinate whom he was beginning to detest, begged his friends to divide against him, and thankfully accepted the humiliation of being beaten on a motion of his own introducing by a majority of more than two to one.”‡ This conduct, added to the spirit and the independence which Fox had shown over the Feathers Tavern Petition, the Dissenters’ Relief Bill, and the Royal Marriage Act, made him alike “odious and contemptible” to George III. The King spurred on Lord North to “a course of action which was alien both to his good nature and his indolence,” and he dismissed his subordinate in a letter which tradition has handed down to us in these words:—“Sir,—His Majesty has thought proper to order a new Commission of the Treasury to be made out, in which I do not see your name.”§ With this dismissal ended for ever the connection of Fox with the Ministry of Lord North and with the Court party.

There are some minor incidents in his early political career and

* P. 503. † See quotation from Lord Colchester’s Diary. ‡ P. 515.

§ P. 522. Mr. Trevelyan, we observe, says: “A similar story is told of a very recent successor of Lord North, and perhaps was invented for one of his predecessors.” If the celebrated letter of Earl Russell to the Dean of Hereford, in the Hampden case, be referred to, the proof of that letter having been sent in the well-known words cannot be gainsaid.

some features of his private and social life to which we should have liked to refer. We deem it best, however, especially considering our ignorance of the fact whether Mr. Trévelyan, by continuing this Life, will afford us an occasion of returning to the subject—to devote what space we can afford to consider Fox in that character in which he will be chiefly known to later generations—viz., as the greatest speaker the House of Commons has ever known.

Brougham condemns Macaulay for studiously praising Fox as only a *great debater*, and adds: "This is really TOO BAD. FOX was one of the first orators of his own or any other age—a most eloquent man, and not merely a rhetorician." Macaulay's rejoinder was equally terse and accurate: "Brougham is quite right: Fox was indeed *a* great orator; but then he was *the* great debater."* Brougham thought that on the subject of Fox he was infallible. Sir James Mackintosh remarked that "Fox was the most Demosthenean speaker since Demosthenes." Brougham, on commenting on this remark, says: "There never was a greater mistake than the fancying a close resemblance between Fox's eloquence and that of Demosthenes."† We assent to the observation of the American writer to whose work we have before referred: ‡—

"When two such men differ on a point like this we may safely say that both are in the right and both are in the wrong. As to certain qualities Fox was the very reverse of the great Athenian; as to others they had much in common. In whatever relates to the forms of oratory—symmetry, dignity, grace, the working up of thought and language to their most perfect expression—Mr. Fox was not only inferior to Demosthenes, but wholly unlike him, having no rhetoric and no ideality; while at the same time, in the structure of his understanding, the modes of its operation, the soul and spirit which breathes throughout his eloquence, there was a striking resemblance."†

"He was" (says Mr. Trevelyan) "no holiday declaimer. His eloquence, like that of Sir Robert Walpole, 'was for use and not for show.' There probably never was such a famous and attractive orator who gave so much care to the substance of his discourse and so little to the trappings."||

In his language he studied simplicity, strength and boldness. "Give me an elegant Latin and a homely Saxon word," said he,

* Napier's Correspondence, pp. 351–2.

† "Brougham seems to me to have misunderstood the point of view in which Mackintosh considered and compared them" (John Allen to Napier, "Correspondence," p. 284).

‡ Professor Goodrich in "Select British Eloquence," quoted *ante*.

§ Ibid. p. 461.

|| "He looked and spoke like an old Quaker," was General Perronet Thompson's description of Fox to the writer.

“and I will always choose the latter. Like Windham, he “delighted in the old pronunciation as well as the pure Saxon idiom of our language,” using Lunnon, Brummagem, Cales, and Sheer, instead of the modern usage of London, Birmingham, Calais, and Shire. Another of his sayings was this : “ Did the speech read well when reported ? If so, it was a bad one.” These two remarks give us the secret of his style as an orator. One of his worst speeches, if not his worst, is that upon Francis Duke of Bedford,* and it is known to be almost the only one he had ever much prepared, and the only one he ever corrected for the press. His speaking—to quote again Mr. Trevelyan—

“ Like that of all men who speak to any purpose, was the full and exact expression of his true self. ‘ I do not believe it, sir,’ said Johnson to a critic who opined that Burke was of the school of Cicero. ‘ Burke has great knowledge, great fluency of words, and great promptness of ideas, so as to speak with great illustration on any subject that comes before him. He does not speak like Cicero or like Demosthenes. He speaks as well as he can.’ And in like manner Fox charmed and moved and persuaded because his oratory was the faithful reflection of his ardent and sagacious nature.† ‘ His feeling ’ (says Coleridge) ‘ was all intellect and his intellect all feeling.’ Another great orator said that Fox was the most honest and candid of speakers, and spoke only to convince fairly. ‘ It seemed to me ’ (he said) ‘ as if he were addressing himself to me personally.’ ”‡

Wilberforce—whose estimate carries the weight due in such a matter to the opinion of one who, in the judgment of so great an orator as Mr. Pitt, possessed, of all the men he had ever known, the greatest natural eloquence—compared Canning to Fox and Pitt, greatly to the disparagement of Canning.

“ Canning was not a first-rate speaker ! Oh, he was as different as possible from Pitt and from old Fox too, though he was so rough. If effect is the criterion of good speaking, Canning was nothing to them, for he never drew you to him in spite of yourself ; you never lost sight of Canning. Fox (he said on another occasion) was truly wonderful. He would begin at full tear, and roll on for hours together, without tiring either himself or us.”§

One who only did not attain the first rank among parliamentary speakers because of his devotion to his professional duties as a barrister, left among his papers a comparative estimate of the merits of Pitt and Fox as speakers, which is worthy attention :—

* In the House of Commons, March 6, 1802.

† P. 496. “ Select British Eloquence,” pp. 460-1. Brougham, “ Statesmen of George III.,” tit. Fox—Windham.

‡ Curran, quoted in H. C. Robinson’s *Diary*, vol. i. p. 211.

§ Wilberforce’s *Life*, edit. 1872, pp. 411, 424.

“Mr. Burke, who never liked Pitt, said his style was the very tip-top of mediocrity. Certainly it did not exhibit the brilliant and laboured ornaments of Burke, nor the vehement and passionate tirades of Mr. Fox, who was himself often hurried away by the force of his feelings into a lofty strain of passionate declamation, mixed with invective and argument, almost worthy of Demosthenes; whereas Pitt appeared never to lose the command of himself, nor to allow the force of any sentiment to overpower his reason. Fox, on the other hand, had an ungainly person, a shrill voice, an embarrassed manner, and considerable hesitation when he first began; but if he wanted the grace, the fluency, the voice, and commanding manner of Pitt, he possessed in a high degree what Pitt himself wanted—passionate emotions in himself and the power of rousing them in his audience, and using them for the purpose of enforcing his argument. He began in an hesitating manner, repeating his words with an apparent difficulty in finding the right words, confused sentences, all of which continued for some minutes till he grew warm with his argument. Then all hesitation left him, his voice became deep, powerful, and impassioned, and when he had worked himself into a clear and vigorous perception of his argument, he poured out torrents of reasoning in beautiful language—mixed with emotions of disdain, anger, resentment, and contempt, which he made it impossible not to share with him. In the meantime all the personal defects were forgotten, and he had so the art of captivating the attention that you forgot the man entirely and thought only of the subject.

“The effect produced on me by these two great orators was this, that I could not help admiring Pitt and believing Fox. I compared them to Virgil and Homer. In reading the first, the polished elegance and beauty of his manner make you think always of the man. But the rapid succession of events, and the simplicity and energy with which they are related by Homer, make you forget the author and think only of the Greeks and Trojans.”*

For the best analysis we have ever seen of the leading peculiarities of Fox as a speaker we are indebted to the American writer from whom we have before quoted. We here transcribe it:—

“(1) He had a luminous simplicity, which gave his speeches the most absolute unity of impression; however irregular might be his arrangement, no man ever kept the great points of his case more steadily and vividly before the minds of his audience.

“(2) He took everything in the concrete. If he discussed principles, it was always in direct connection with the subject before him. Usually, however, he did not even discuss a subject—he grappled with an antagonist. Nothing gives such life and interest to a speech, or so delights an audience, as a direct contest of man with man.

“(3) He struck instantly at the heart of his subject. He was eager to meet his opponent at once on the real points at issue; and the

* “Memoir of Lord Abinger,” p. 58.

moment of his greatest power was when he stated the argument against himself, with more force than his adversary or any other man could give it, and then seized it with the hand of a giant, tore it in pieces, and trampled it under foot.

“(4) His mode of enforcing a subject on the minds of his audience was to come back again and again to the strong points of his case. Mr. Pitt amplified when he wished to impress; Mr. Fox repeated. Demosthenes also repeated; but he had more adroitness in varying the mode of doing it. “*Idem haud iisdem verbis.*”*

“(5) He had rarely any preconceived method or arrangement of his thoughts. This was one of his greatest faults, in which he differed most from the Athenian artist. If it had not been for the unity of impression and feeling mentioned above, his strength would have been wasted in disconnected efforts.

“(6) Reasoning was his forte and his passion; but he was not a regular reasoner. In his eagerness to press forward, he threw away everything he could part with, and compacted the rest into a single mass. Facts, principles, analogies, were all wrought together like the strands of a cable, and intermingled with wit, ridicule, or impassioned feeling. His arguments were usually personal in their nature, *ad hominem*, &c., and were brought home to his antagonist with stinging severity and force.

“(7) He abounded in *hits*—those abrupt and startling turns of thought which rouse an audience, and give them more delight than the loftiest stream of eloquence.

“(8) He was equally distinguished for his *side blow*, for keen and pungent remarks flashed out upon his antagonist in passing, as he pressed on with his argument.

“(9) He was often dramatic, personating the character of his opponent or others, and carrying on a dialogue between them, which added greatly to the liveliness and force of his oratory.

“(10) He had astonishing dexterity in evading difficulties, and turning to his own advantage everything that occurred in debate.

* Lord Colchester, who had no love for Fox, spoke of him as “offending continually by the tautology of his diction and the repetition of his arguments. He feels this himself so much as to think it necessary to vindicate it in private” (Diary, vol. i. p. 23). Fox used to say, records Lord Greville, “It was necessary to hammer it into them.” Erskine always had one or two leading arguments and main facts on which he was constantly dwelling. But then he had a marvellous skill in varying his phraseology so that no one was sensible of tautology in the expressions” (H. C. Robinson’s Diary, vol. i. pp. 17, 18.) Romilly notes in his Diary that “the day before I summed up the evidence on Lord Melville’s trial I had some conversation on the subject with Mr. Fox, in the course of which he told me that he was not acquainted with my manner of speaking, and therefore could not give me advice, except that he advised me not to be afraid of repeating observations which I thought very material; that it was much better that some of my audience should observe that I repeated, than that any of them should not understand me; that he had himself been reproached for repetitions, but he was not convinced that he was wrong” (“Life of Romilly,” vol. ii. p. 140, note).

In nearly all these qualities he had a close resemblance to Demosthenes.*

We supply some illustrations of this description from Mr. Trevelyan. "Mr. Pitt," Porson used to say, "conceives his sentences before he utters them. Mr. Fox throws himself into the middle of his, and leaves it to God Almighty to get him out again." Pitt said, "Fox is never at a loss for *the* word, and I am never at a loss for *a* word;"† and he might have added for an

"idea circling round and about the point, but never leaving it; composing at the moment and for the moment, and, as he laughingly confessed, forgetting every line of every speech which he had uttered; bringing out a thought or a circumstance the very instant it occurred to him, with the certainty that in the impetuous rush of his declamation he would never recover it again if he once allowed it to fall for half-a-minute into the rear; he almost seemed as if, in the words of Sterne, he was catching the idea which Heaven had intended for another man. He repeated himself freely, frequently, and emphatically;‡ obeying, as he declared, his theory of the art, but more probably acting on the instinct of the orator, who will never leave his hearers alone until he has talked them over."§

Mr. Trevelyan tells us, what we have never seen mentioned before, and which probably no other man living could tell us, that Fox's devotion to amateur acting was one of his most important qualifications for the art of Parliamentary speaking:—

"It was no slight advantage to a great extempore speaker to have at hand an extensive and diversified stock of quotations from that branch of literature which is nearest akin to oratory; and for such a speaker it is essential that the voice, no less than the memory and the reasoning faculty, should be under absolute control. His laborious discipline in the theory and practice of elocution . . . gained him a command of accent and gesture which, as is always the case with the highest art, gave his marvellous rhetoric the strength and simplicity of Nature. The pains which he had bestowed upon learning to speak the words of others, enabled him to concentrate his undivided attention upon the arduous task of improvising his own. If only he could find the thing which required to be said, he was sure to say it in the way that would produce the greatest possible effect. His variety of manner, we are told, was quite as remarkable as the richness of his matter. The modulations of his voice responded equally to the nature of his subject and the emotion of his mind.||

Aspirants after parliamentary distinction who, by reading these

* "Select British Eloquence," p. 461.

† According to Lord Colchester's version, "Although I am never in want of words, Pitt is never without the very best words possible" (Diary, vol. i. p. 23).

‡ *e.g.*: In the opening of the speech on the Westminster scrutiny.

§ P. 497.

|| Pp. 329, 330.

remarks or who by following at large Mr. Trevelyan's book, may be induced to fashion themselves as speakers after Fox's fashion, should beware of the sunken rocks which are concealed in Fox's theatrical training. Nothing does the House of Commons dislike or resent more than a theatrical style of speaking; the effect of Fox's theatrical training in the art of elocution was to enable him in the highest degree *celare artem*. His manner was perfectly natural; it was one of most perfect sincerity and artlessness.

"His very faults, it has been well said, conspired to heighten the conviction of his honesty. His broken sentences, the choking of his voice, his ungainly gestures, his sudden starts of passion, the absolute scream with which he delivered his vehement passages, all showed him to be deeply moved and in earnest, so that it may be doubted whether a more perfect delivery would not have weakened the impression made.*

Nor let such aspirants be misled by Fox's signal and instantaneous success in the House of Commons; let them remember rather that it was by slow degrees he trained himself to become "the great debater," and the greatest master of reply that Parliament ever saw.

We have likened Richard Cobden to Fox. A critic of great ability, however, has drawn a parallel between Fox and Cobden's friend and fellow-labourer John Bright:—

"The Man of the People of the reign of George III., according to this writer, is represented by the Tribune of the People in the reign of Victoria. In warmth of feeling; in sympathy with the down-trodden and oppressed; in hatred of tyrants; in reverence for the Constitution, coupled with a readiness to remove from it all excrescences and defects; in devotion to peace as the one thing needful for a great and self-respecting nation, combined with the purest and most ardent patriotism; in poetic imagination and humorous sallies united to the strongest common-sense; in love and reverence for their noble mother-tongue which they have shown to be greatest when least adorned, most effective when spoken in honest simplicity, Fox and Mr. Bright display an identity which is almost unprecedented.†

While assenting to this, we still think that the likeness between Fox and Cobden is greater even than between Fox and Bright; "eloquence all the more effective because it was simple and unadorned," is the chief characteristic of both. In no speech of Fox's that we can call to mind, certainly in none of Cobden's, is there any passage of ornate rhetoric to be compared with—to quote a few out of many instances we could give—the peroration

* "Select British Eloquence," p. 460; conf. Trevelyan, p. 330. Brougham's "Statesmen of George III.," tit. Fox.

† "Wilkes, Sheridan, and Fox," by W. T. Rac.

of Mr. Bright's speech on the Enlistment of Foreigners Bill;* the passage alluding to the Angel of Death in the speech on the Vienna negotiations;† and the perorations of his speeches on the recognition of the Slave-owners' Confederacy,‡ and at the Edinburgh Peace Congress.§

Here our task closes. We trust the great and well-merited success which this volume has met with will induce Mr. Trevelyan to go on with the Life of Fox; to show the noble part he took in the great struggle over the American War; to remove the mistakes and soften the exaggerations as to his coalition with Lord North, which even yet overcloud his memory and reputation; and to show how at the outbreak of the anti-revolutionary war with France he strove to calm the madness of the English people. We hope also that we may be permitted to accompany him during the progress of his work.

ART. IV.—THE IRISH LAND QUESTION.

1. *The Parliamentary History of the Irish Land Question from 1829 to 1869, and the Origin and Results of the Ulster Custom.* By R. BARRY O'BRIEN, of the Middle Temple, Barrister-at-Law. London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington. 1880.
2. *Confiscation or Contract?* Published for the Irish Land Committee. London: William Ridgway. Dublin: Hodges, Figgis & Co. 1880.
3. *Proceedings of the Irish National Land League.* Dublin: Printed by M. H. Gill & Son.

OF the subjects to be taken up by Parliament in the coming Session, the Irish Land Question is perhaps the most important, and certainly the most urgent and exciting. There are those who argue that it is too urgent and too exciting to be taken up at all. We are asked to wait till the facts of the case are better known, till the country has recovered from a succession of bad seasons, till the supremacy of the law has been asserted, and the power of seditious agitators broken. But if we refuse to deal with the Irish difficulty till Ireland is peaceful and reasonable, we are only putting off a vast and complicated

* House of Commons, March 31, 1854 (Rogers' edition of Bright's Speeches, p. 246).

† House of Commons, February 23, 1855 (ibid. p. 250).

‡ House of Commons, June 30, 1863 (ibid. p. 143).

§ Ibid. p. 464.

problem till time or chance shall solve it for us. Great, indeed, are the difficulties of a Government which is called upon for a supreme effort of constructive statesmanship at a moment when their power hardly suffices to keep the forces of destruction in check. Whether Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues are equal to the crisis remains to be seen. They alone are in a position to decide this controversy; it is therefore our duty, as good citizens, to give the most careful and friendly consideration to their proposals. Meantime, until their proposals are made known, we may profitably endeavour to reduce current Liberal ideas concerning the Irish land to a definite and practical form, and to separate the facts of the case from the fictions, exaggerations, and questionable generalizations by which they are overlaid and obscured.

We propose to restrict our inquiry as closely as possible to the existing conditions of Irish agriculture and land tenure; but it is not easy to describe these conditions, or to make any suggestion towards their improvement, without saying something of their historical origin. False and partial notions of history form no small part of the material of all Irish controversies. Of such notions the most popular and persistent is embodied in the familiar dictum that the Irish Land Question is a question of race. It seems to be the opinion of many intelligent people that the one word "Celtic" is the key to every Irish enigma. Twenty years ago, the *Times* accounted for agrarian crime by the theory that all Celtic peoples are the victims of "an innate tendency to conspiracy and manslaughter." Lord Sherbrooke recurs to the same unhappy phrase in a paper which appears in the *Nineteenth Century* for October last. The Irish peasant who, without capital and without experience, takes a highly-rented holding, is—so his Lordship assures us—"only following the innate tendency of his race." Ethnology tells us that our English blood is largely qualified by the admixture of Celtic elements, and that the blood of the Irish nation is still more largely qualified by the admixture of Saxon elements. Any moderately observant traveller can testify that the Irish peasant is not more firmly attached to the soil than the Prussian *Bauer* or the Russian *Mujik*. It is well known that Irishmen out of Ireland rarely invest their savings in land, and successful Irishmen are usually among the most enterprising merchants and speculators. In view of these facts we should require very strong evidence to convince us that the sufferings and faults of a whole nation are due to "an innate tendency" towards unprofitable farming and agrarian outrages.

Those who abide by the "Celtic" theory must blind themselves to the most significant aspects of history. The fact is,

that England has never had much trouble with any subject population of purely Celtic race. The clans and the septes have accepted our law readily enough, and with good reason. With all its faults, English rule has been very much better for them than the rule of their own kings and chiefs. In Ireland, as in France and Spain, laws of German origin were completely successful in their conflict with native customs, and if the English Government had known how to keep itself in immediate contact with its subjects, all sense of difference between the two countries would in time have disappeared. But we have always ruled the island by means of middlemen of one kind or another, and when the difficulties which we created for ourselves in this way became pressing, our method of "resettlement" has usually been to dispossess and degrade one set of middlemen in favour of another set. The results of our policy are seen in the divisions of the Ireland of to-day. Between the English colonists of the east and the pure Celts of the south and west lie the masses of the Anglo-Irish—*ipsis Hibernis Hiberniores*—more bigoted in their hatred of English law than the descendants of the "ragged royal blood of Tara." Against this class our measures of confiscation and resettlement have been chiefly directed, from the time of Edward III. to the time of William III. The Burkes, the Fitzgeralds of Kildare and Desmond, the Royalists ruined by Cromwell, the Puritan settlers ruined by the Restoration, the Jacobites ruined by the Revolution—these are the classes from which the camp of the Irish enemy has been from time to time recruited. Without this English admixture the Celtic Irish would have remained, as they were of old time, an excitable but by no means ungovernable people, easily roused to revolt, and easily persuaded to submit to a strong Government. English policy gave them exactly what was wanted to convert them into a nation of irreconcilable rebels.

We have only to look to the history of English agriculture to see that the Irish system has been developed by deliberate policy and not by natural necessity. If the Plantagenets had sat still and governed England by means of middlemen, they would have prepared for us a sufficiently formidable land question of our own. They preferred to govern for themselves; they taught the English peasant to look to the law and to the King's judges for protection; by so doing they created a tolerably prosperous class of free copyholders; and the rise of our commerce came in time to provide a supply of capital which helped to lift the rural population out of the slough of debt into which copyholders and peasant proprietors are always in danger of relapsing. Thus we arrived at our present system of wealthy landowners and tenants farming with their own capital—a system not without its characteristic faults, but

favourable on the whole to industry and social well-being. While England thus secured her own prosperity, Ireland lay outside the current of peaceful progress. We were too busy with our French wars to provide her with a complete system of justice and police. Instead of providing a basis on which a just tenure by contract would have arisen by the operation of natural causes, we took over the results of English reforms, full-grown or rather ready-made, and established them by force. And when Irish commerce began to create capital for the farmer and varied employment for the energies of the nation, we deliberately destroyed it to please our own traders.

We need not set out all the details of the historical comparison we have suggested; the facts are not questioned even by the firmest believer in "innate tendencies." It would be rash to assume that any statement about Irish land will not be contradicted; but there can be little dispute as to the truth of these propositions—that the measures of confiscation carried out by English Governments in Ireland are still remembered and resented; that Irish trade and manufactures were destroyed in the supposed interest of England; that the penal laws, devised for the protection of English Protestantism, divorced the people of Ireland from the soil which they occupied; that the cumbrous and expensive practice of English conveyancing has been an intolerable burden upon a country of small holdings. If these are undoubted facts, it is surely most unreasonable to wonder and complain that Irish discontent has not been removed by two or three Acts of Parliament. We are still bound to treat the disaffection which we did so much to create, not, indeed, with weak indulgence, but with very great patience. To call out against Celtic turbulence and Celtic indolence, to demand a strict enforcement of the law at any cost, is perfectly useless and not a little unjust. What does a Mayo peasant know about the law? He has a vague notion that the law took away the land from some old Irish or Anglo-Irish family, whose name is still great in the country-side; that the law will support a landlord in any exaction; that the law is purposely framed so as to confuse him with technicalities and saddle him with heavy costs if he attempts to improve his own position. He knows that Acts are passed from time to time, admitting his grievances and providing for their removal. But he is told by the highest English authorities that these Acts have hitherto failed; and if in any way they have bettered his condition, he sets down the improvement, not to the justice of lawgivers, but to the agitation, conspiracy, and bloodshed which called the attention of Parliament to the needs of Ireland. His reasoning is no doubt very crude, but we are not prepared to say that it is altogether fallacious.

But if, as we freely admit, our blunders and our neglect have helped to demoralize Ireland, the fact remains, that Ireland is demoralized. The faults of oppressed nationalities are "in every clime the same"—want of truthfulness, want of self-respect, unseasonable eloquence, and total incapacity to distinguish between justice and vengeance. Nowhere have these faults been more freely displayed than in Ireland. The peculiar misfortune of Ireland at this moment is that she possesses no public man, to whom the people will listen, who is courageous enough to tell them how much they have to learn before the "redress of grievances" can do them any good. Her politicians, if we may judge from Irish newspapers, are divided into two classes. The argument of Mr. Parnell and his followers (highly respectable gentlemen some of them are) is much to this effect: "The Irish people have been misgoverned for seven hundred years; *therefore* they are quite fit to govern themselves, and ought to have all their own way, regardless of expense." To this the Irish Whigs and Tories are content to reply: "The Irish peasants are Repealers, Republicans, and Communists to a man. They hope by robbing the landlords to escape the consequence of their own drunkenness and idleness, and they took the relief meal when they had money in the bank: *therefore* the law of landlord and tenant is a very good law, and ought to be enforced at the point of the bayonet." Such arguments are fit only for times of panic; and there is nothing in the present state of Ireland to justify panic. We have come through periods when crime and terrorism were far more general than they have been during the past year: we have seen agitations far more vigorously and ably conducted than the agitation of the League. Whether coercion is desirable or not, is an important question; but it is no part of the Land Question. Quietly, and with as little attention as may be to the clamour of the moment, let us endeavour to work out an answer to the Land Question, properly so called. Why is the existing system of Irish agriculture a failure? What can be done to improve it?

Ireland contains in all some twenty millions of acres, of which 5,092,188 were under crops in 1878. It is estimated that more than ten millions of acres are devoted to pasture; and the remainder of the island is divided between wood and waste. The original qualities of the soil are good—in some parts of the island remarkably good. The climate is mild but uncertain; and the rainfall is so heavy as to impair the value of all root crops, and to make the cultivation of wheat almost hopelessly unprofitable. If Ireland were newly discovered and now in course, of being colonized, the settlers would be of two classes—stock-farmers, holding considerable tracts of pasture; and tillage-farmers, devoting themselves to the cultivation of barley and other produce required by stock-farmers. It is in this combination of pasture and tillage

that the prosperity of the country, wherever prosperity exists in Ireland, is found to consist. It has been proved more than once that the wholesale substitution of graziers for small tillage farmers does not extinguish poverty and prevent famine. There is room in the country for a class of small farmers, and there is no reason why this class should not be fairly comfortable. The minerals required in scientific agriculture are plentiful; the necessary drainage works are not beyond the resources of the persons interested in making and maintaining them; the railways are well managed, and the roads, though by no means all that could be wished, are improving rapidly. It is said by competent judges that if these advantages were only turned to account, Ireland could support twice her present population.* Even if we abate something from this hopeful estimate, we must admit that it forms an instructive commentary on the oft-repeated commonplace, that "emigration is the only cure for Irish distress." Emigration has been tried, and is still being tried, on an unprecedented scale. Those who emigrate prosper; those who stay at home are better off. But if we put human interests aside, and regard Irish agriculture as a machine for developing the natural resources of the country, we must admit that the machine is very inefficient. The acreage of land under cultivation is steadily contracting, and the production of food is stationary or declining. It is time to examine the details of this important mechanism with the utmost care, to see where the defect lies.

The soil of Ireland, excluding the sites of cities and towns, is owned by about 19,000 persons. Of the whole island $\frac{1}{50}$ is owned by persons owning less than fifty acres, $\frac{1}{4}$ by persons owning less than 100 acres, $\frac{1}{3}$ by persons owning more than 1,000 acres, $\frac{1}{2}$ by persons and companies owning more than 5,000 acres. The occupiers of the soil are 592,590 in number, of whom about 350,000 are agricultural occupiers holding less than thirty acres.† It is therefore quite accurate to say that Ireland is a country of large estates and small holdings. Only a small proportion of

* "Like every one who has made either the science or practice of agriculture an object of study, I feel that Ireland, if properly cultivated, could readily support more than twice her present population." This was Dr. Playfair's estimate ten years ago ("Recess Studies," Edinburgh, 1870). Dr. Playfair calculated that in eleven years, while Scotland had *gained* the power of feeding 300,000 persons, Ireland had *lost* the power of feeding 1,800,000 persons. The tables given at p. 694 of Thom's Almanack for the years 1872-78 prove conclusively that the decline of production still continues. It is noticeable that the decline continues in spite of improved husbandry. The total produce of Ireland declines; but the average produce per acre increases.

† These figures are not by any means exact. The return of landowners is swelled by double and treble entries of the same name, and in the returns of occupiers no attempt is made to distinguish between agricultural and other holdings.

the occupiers have leases. The large farmers of the eastern counties generally hold under leases protecting the landlord against any assertion of tenant right. But the typical small farmer is a tenant from year to year, and will generally refuse a lease, from dislike of legal documents generally and of covenants for good husbandry in particular. A considerable number of farms are held upon agreements or "accepted proposals," which are treated, at least in the County Courts, as in all respects equivalent to leases. Tenancy-at-will is frequently met with in pamphlets and articles, but rarely in actual fact: it cannot arise by any agreement now lawful, and exists only by implication—as, for example, when a tenant holds over after notice to quit, and his landlord refrains from evicting him.

The tenant from year to year is entitled to a twelve months' notice to quit: the notice must be signed by the landlord or his agent, and stamped with a two-shillings-and-sixpenny stamp. He is liable to distraint for rent due; but the power to distrain growing crops, by which so much misery was formerly wrought, has been taken away from the landlord; and it is further provided by the Act of 1860 that the landlord may not distrain for more than one year's rent. This limitation of the right of distress made it necessary to provide the landlord with some means of protecting his rights when the rent is more than a year in arrear. It was therefore enacted in the statute already cited that the landlord might proceed in ejectment, by civil bill in the County Court, as soon as a year's rent should be due. If there is no defence, the amount of rent due is verified by affidavit, and a decree of ejectment is made. The tenant is allowed six months to redeem his holding by paying the rent due and the costs of the ejectment process. If at the end of the six months the tenant has not paid, the landlord may proceed to execute his decree by evicting him. The decree must be executed between 9 A.M. and 3 P.M.; and the landlord must give forty-eight hours' notice of the eviction to the relieving officer of the district, who is to supply the evicted tenant with shelter and temporary relief, if required, until the next Guardians' meeting. It should be added that the County Courts, in which almost all disputes between landlord and tenant are decided, are more expeditious and less expensive than our English courts; and that all parties agree in praising the impartiality with which the assistant-barristers discharge their difficult duties.*

* Lord Lifford, it appears (*Nineteenth Century* for December), is not satisfied with the County Court judges. His accusation against them is, that they are Dublin lawyers, and therefore imperfectly acquainted with the circumstances of the places where they sit. Almost all judges in Ireland and elsewhere labour under a similar disadvantage.

When a landlord gives notice to quit, the tenant may now reply with a notice of claim for compensation, and if the assistant-barrister thinks that the tenant has been removed "without reasonable cause," the landlord may have to pay for the mere act of disturbance a sum varying from seven years' rental (in the case of holdings under £10 annual value) to one year's rental (in the case of holdings over £100). Even if the tenant is evicted for non-payment of rent, which is of course a reasonable cause of removal, the landlord may still have to reckon with a claim for compensation for improvements. This claim he may settle or dispute with the tenant himself, or he may escape the difficulty of doing so by permitting free sale of the improvements, whatever they may be, to the incoming tenant. We shall not, at this point, attempt to estimate the value of these rights to compensation, or to give any full account of the intricate provisions and exceptions of Mr. Gladstone's Land Act, by which they were conferred. It was necessary to mention them in order to complete our outline description of the Irish tenant's legal position. We have given that description in order to prove, what will hardly be denied by any man who has studied the land laws of other countries, that there is no exceptional legal obstacle to profitable tenant-farming in Ireland.

If we turn to the economical conditions of the problem, we find that here also there is less cause for complaint than is generally supposed. So far from being a country without capital, Ireland is possessed of abundant and increasing capital, for which it is difficult to find employment.* The small farmer has no difficulty in obtaining loans on terms which, if not absolutely fair to him, make it for his interest to borrow; and the much-abused "gombeen-man," who lends in small sums the money which he obtains from the banks in large sums, performs a really useful office. And it is worth noticing that one important element in the available wealth of the tenant-farmer is the high personal credit of his class. In ordinary times, the Irish peasant, however thriftless he may be, is an exceedingly honest creature: he really wishes to pay what he owes, and will make great sacrifices to avoid declaring himself insolvent. His honesty is often the only security on which gombeen-men and others lend him the money which carries him over a bad year.

Where the Irish farmer is a freeholder, he is, so far as the conditions of his industry are concerned, very much in the position

* The evidence for this statement is summarized in Dr. Hancock's tables, at p. 720 of Thom's Almanack. The estimated capital of Ireland in 1874-5 was £258,887,700. The interest on bank deposits, amounting to 37 millions, was not more than one per cent.; and the debentures of Irish railways were above par.

of a small freeholder in England. If he is in difficulties, as he often is, it may safely be assumed that his own bigoted attachment to inferior methods of husbandry is to a large extent the cause of them. But where the farmer is a tenant, a new element of difficulty is introduced. He and his landlord are both, nominally at least, engaged in the same industry; and the question arises, How and by whom and on what terms of mutual agreement capital is to be provided? In England, the landlord supplies all the fixed capital and a large proportion of capital required for improvements; and for money laid out on his land he is content to exact in return an addition to the rent equivalent to two or two and a half per cent. interest. This English system has been adopted by the more enterprising and wealthy landlords in Ireland. Since the great famine of 1846 especially, large sums have been laid out by landlords in every quarter of Ireland; where farming approaches the English and Scottish standard, it will usually be found that the landlord has been at work. But side by side with the English system there exists the Irish system of tenant-farming, which consists in leaving everything to the tenant—the landlord neither building, nor draining, nor making farm-roads, nor performing any duty of ownership in regard to the land. This arrangement secures to the tenant the privilege for which a poor Irishman will pay any price—the privilege of being let alone, to work or to idle, to feast or to starve, and to mismanage his family affairs in his own way: it secures to the landlord his rent in return for the trouble of waiting for it and collecting it. A crucial question of fact, to which at present no definite answer can be returned, is the question, how far the English system has supplanted the Irish system in Ireland. Able writers constantly assume that the Irish system prevails throughout the island; and the evidence on the other side is for the most part that of gentlemen who recount their individual experience. Mr. Trench, for instance, could speak for Lord Digby and Lord Lansdowne, whose agent he had been;* Mr. Mahony, of Dromore, has spoken for himself in an interesting pamphlet; but we have seen no trustworthy estimate of the capital contributed to Irish agriculture by the landlords as a class. We must therefore be content to say that the two systems divide Ireland between them.

Having now passed in rapid but, we hope, impartial review the condition of Irish farming, we proceed to inquire into the causes to which the failure of the system is to be ascribed. Many

* We are aware that Mr. Trench's stories have been subjected to a good deal of damaging criticism. But when he tells us how many pounds have been laid out on an estate, we receive his evidence without hesitation.

causes—political, economical, and religious—have combined to produce the present state of Ireland; but among them all two great facts stand out, which are by themselves sufficient to account for the existence of the Land Question. The first great fact is, that Ireland contains some 150,000 families of people who have not yet emerged from barbarism. A large proportion of the men who hold less than fifteen acres, and a somewhat smaller proportion of those who hold between fifteen and thirty, may be set down as belonging to this class. They are settled upon small holdings for which they pay, as a rule, a very low rent. They are without skill; they are not industrious; they have hardly any notion of bettering their condition; in many cases they have given up the attempt to extract a living from the soil to which they cling, and have come to depend, in good times upon English wages, and in bad times upon charity. Their religion is a slightly Christianized paganism, and their education is as yet too limited to produce any radically civilizing effect. Being for the most part the representatives of Irish or Anglo-Irish “rebels,” driven out to make room for settlers and adventurers, they are to be found clustering thickly in the more remote and undesirable parts of the country. It is not among people of this class that the Land League finds its best recruits. They are too apathetic to believe much in the League, and too poor to subscribe regularly. They form a kind of torpid slough into which the unsuccessful members of the classes immediately above them may easily lapse; out of which only individuals of exceptional energy can rise. The general improvement in Irish affairs since 1850 has not been without effect on this class: some have emigrated; some have risen out of the squatter state of existence, and hold farms of fifteen to thirty acres. But the class remains; and the Land Question will not be solved until some measures are taken to put these people in a position to obtain a sufficiency of food, and an opportunity of advancing in civilization. These measures cannot be taken if the people are left where they are. On many of their holdings a Flemish peasant would no doubt succeed in making a living; but he would do so by the exercise of varied skill, which it has taken him and his fathers generations to acquire. While the Irish peasantry of the West are acquiring the rudiments of industry, they must have a larger allowance of land than the Flemish peasant requires. This they can obtain only in two ways: by emigration, or by removing to those parts of Ireland which are able to stand an increase of population.

The second great fact to consider is, that the operation of the Irish system has gone far to preclude the possibility of industrial co-operation between landlord and tenant. An Irishman's

notions of "landlordism" are derived from the experience of a time when landlords, absentee and resident alike, were only rent-chargers on their estates. Subject to the payment of tribute, the peasant was owner of the land, and managed it as he pleased. From time to time, as the tenant would bear it, the rent was raised. Tenants were so fond of the holdings, which they regarded, naturally enough, as their own, that they would almost always pay a small increase of tribute rather than leave. If the rent was screwed up beyond the tenant's means of payment, the landlord would let the arrangement stand, because the fact that arrears were always due gave him power over the tenant; the tenant let it stand, in the hope that, whatever his rights in law might be, he would still be allowed to keep the land. The oppression and hardship wrought by this system are often exaggerated. Rents in Ireland have always been moderately low; even if we throw in the tenants' loss by additions made to their rent on account of their own improvements, it would probably be found that they had paid less for their land in proportion to its value than the farmers of England and Scotland have paid for theirs. But the general unfairness and impolicy of the Irish system cannot be too strongly condemned. It created a double ownership in the land. The tenant thought himself the rightful owner of his holding; and his claim was so far consistent with the facts of history and the justice of the case, that it was admitted even by the landlord against whom it was directed. The tenant was not a person admitted by the owner to use and occupy the land; but a person who was there before the owner came, and ought, therefore, to be left undisturbed. Thus arose the notion and the custom of tenant-right. The tenant was to continue in his holding so long as he paid his rent: he might even assign the holding to any other person who would pay the rent: what the consideration received for such assignment might be, the landlord had no right to inquire. In Ulster (and out of Ulster, wherever landlords were easy or tenant-right highly developed), the value of this power of assignment was greatly increased if it was understood that the rent was low, and would not be capriciously or exorbitantly raised. The characteristic feature of the whole system was that such understandings, and the tenant-right generally, depended entirely on the honour and humanity of the landlord. They were never recognized or defined by law till 1870, and great authorities have declared that even Mr. Gladstone's Act does not confer upon them any legal validity.* The new race of improving landlords and agents have been the sworn foes

* See the characteristic judgment of the late Lord Justice Christian in the case of the Marquis of Waterford's estates (*Irish Reports, Equity, v. 448*).

of tenant-right in every form : but in many places it is found impossible to get rid of it or even to buy it up. The farmers have their own land laws, which they enforce by unwearied passive resistance, by endless chicane, and by committing such acts of wanton cruelty as may suffice to convince all men that it is "not lucky" to disregard tenant-right. This, then, is the second branch of the Land Question. We are called upon to devise some means whereby effect may be given to what is just in the claim put forward by tenants under the Irish system, without placing an obstacle in the way of adopting a new and better system. • That the Land Question must be dealt with at once in both its branches is generally admitted ; that the difficulty of carrying through a complete and consistent measure of reform is very great nobody will refuse to allow. If we could set aside the League and the House of Lords, and assume that the Government is strong enough to overcome all open opposition, we must still consider how it is to meet the foes who are of its own household. The debates on the Compensation Bill of last Session revealed the existence of two sections within the Liberal party, either of which may do much to upset the balance of the coming Land Bill. There is first the section of which Lord Sherbrooke is the most eminent representative, whose principle is freedom of contract. What Ireland wants, if we are to believe this section, is only the enlightened but inflexible enforcement of the existing law. If people contract to pay exorbitant rents, let them be forced to pay them regularly, and they will soon tire of their folly. If the peasant wants a farm of his own, let him save, and look about, and buy one ; he is more likely to do well if he finds his own land than if it is presented to him by the State. Such arguments take no account of the fact that freedom of contract does not and cannot exist so long as each contracting party has his own standard of right. The Irish landlord has one view of the rights acquired by his tenant under a certain contract ; the tenant has another and a different view. The law has twice recognized that the tenant is not altogether wrong ; but it has not yet decided how far and in what sense he is right, and until this question is decided so clearly as to leave no room for mistake, the contracts which we are asked to enforce are not really contracts at all. If the partisans of contract would confine themselves to asserting that freedom is the ideal to aim at, they would be performing a very useful office. It is most important to warn the Irish farmers that the State is not going to undertake to enable them to make an easy living out of the land, and that when their independence is fairly secured, they must make their agreements at their own risk. But even if we assume that the legal incidents of certain agreements are

to remain unchanged, we must legislate in order to make this plain, for previous legislation has pronounced so ambiguously upon the matter in dispute, that until we make up our minds what we meant by the Act of 1870, all contracts are affected by the uncertainty of the law.

Utterly opposed to the upholders of contract are the sentimentalists who seem to think with Robespierre that "the people is never wrong," and that the victims of a system admitted to be faulty are the only persons to be consulted when we come to provide a remedy. It would be well if some English Liberals would reflect that pity for the distressed, and indignant sympathy with the wronged, are quite compatible with a reasonably sceptical treatment of the claims of distressed and wronged individuals. Even Mr. Gladstone, with all his trained accuracy in the handling of facts, has shown us what terrible blunders may be made by a statesman who takes without criticism, from an Irish authority, the facts on which he founds an argument for setting aside the ordinary principles of English law. His pathetic picture of the three thousand evictions which were to take place in the year 1880 turned out, on further inquiry, to be a mere misconception and mystification, and the Government admitted that the assumption on which almost the whole weight of the case for the Compensation Bill had been made to rest was erroneous. It is to be hoped that we may not again have to behold a Liberal Prime Minister and Chief Secretary lectured and set right by Lord George Hamilton. But such unpleasant incidents are the certain fate of English politicians who look at anything in Ireland with other people's eyes, and give way to sentiment when they ought to be judicially comparing evidence.

If Ministers wish to be informed and advised in regard to Irish affairs at the present moment, they may command an almost unlimited measure of the assistance they desire. Every day brings forth a new solution of the Land Question, to the bewilderment of plain men, who find it difficult to keep in mind all the differences between the Land League and the Land Committee and the Land Tenure Reform Association, and the plan of Mr. Charles Russell, and the plan of Mr. Errington, and any number of other plans. In the multitude of counsellors there is safety, if we will only compare their schemes and suggestions by the light of an independent judgment, without respect of persons. Examined in this manner, the numerous plans now before the public may be reduced to a comparatively small compass. They are, almost without exception, only various ways of working out the principles of fixity of tenure and peasant proprietorship. Moderate men on both sides of politics seem to agree in thinking that these principles represent something which it is desirable to concede to the Irish people.

Even the manifestoes which are put forth on behalf of the landlords conclude with a few general phrases to the effect that nothing herein contained is to be taken as a denial of the benefits which may result from the creation of a peasant proprietary and the concession to the tenant-farmer of greater security for his capital. The leaders of the Conservative party may fairly be said to have committed themselves to peasant proprietorship by accepting Mr. Shaw-Lefevre's famous resolution; and something like fixity of tenure was the ostensible object of the Agricultural Holdings Act of 1875. But we need not suppose that this general and verbal agreement will carry a Liberal Government very far without opposition. There is a great confusion of ideas among our politicians on the subject of property in land; and these two phrases owe a good deal of their popularity to the ease with which they may be made to mean anything or nothing, according as they may be interpreted. The residuum of material common to all who use these forms of speech is not very large; but it is perhaps enough to enable us to arrive at some conclusion as to the practical value of the two principles.

Fixity of tenure means that the tenant should acquire, without payment, the right to retain possession of the land for ever, or for a long period, subject only to the payment of rent. The rent is to be made a fixed or variable charge, so calculated with due regard to the produce of the land as to enable the tenant to live and to save money for improvements. To encourage such investment of savings, it must be provided that a tenant evicted for non-payment of rent should be allowed to sell his improvements and his tenant-right to his successor. Thus we arrive at the "three F's"—Fixity of tenure, Fair rents, and Free sale. With all due respect for the consensus of authorities in favour of this scheme, we are bound to say that it appears to us worse than useless as a remedy for agrarian discontent. If you allow tenants to contract themselves out of their fixity by means of leases, then leases will become the rule throughout Ireland; if, on the other hand, you make fixity an inevitable term in every contract for the occupation of land, you commit the gross injustice of treating all landlords exactly alike. The landlord who has sunk his capital in buying up tenant-rights and improving his lands, loses everything by fixity of tenure; the landlord who has done nothing but draw his rents loses little or nothing. All the worst features of the Irish system are stereotyped by the three F's. The landlord can do nothing for an estate on which he is only a rent-charger. The tenant receives a sort of half-ownership, which would probably keep alive in his mind his ancestral claim to the whole. Free sale completes the work of disorganization by legalizing those transactions in tenant-right which are the real source of

the complaint that rents are exorbitant. We have now before us the results of free sale as it is practised in Ireland. In Ulster tenant-right has been sold for a price equal to seventy years' rent. Even where tenant-right has been extinguished or bought up, as much as forty years' rent has been paid to induce a tenant to go out, and to nominate the man who pays the money as his successor. Such nominations are not disregarded by the landlord or agent; if a farm is let without the "good word" of the departing tenant, the transaction is likely to turn out "unlucky" for all parties concerned. The new tenant has probably parted with all his savings and borrowed money besides to pay £200 or £300 for a right which does not exist in law; and if he finds himself, in consequence, unable to pay the rent, you will find him figuring at a land meeting among the victims of landlordism. The evils of free sale, as thus exemplified, would not be removed, but rather aggravated, by fixity of tenure. Some, indeed, propose that tenant-right should be valued at the same time as the rent. But all proposals of universal re-valuation are to be received with the utmost distrust. The only fair measure of value is the judgment of a well-informed purchaser. Governments can provide that buyers shall not be deceived as to what they are buying; but when governments provide that no buyer shall pay more than a certain price, then, as soon as the value of the right purchased rises above that price, an element enters into all bargains which is not recognized by the law; for no man will part with his right for less than its commercial equivalent, at the bidding of the law.

Fixity of tenure is still the creed of most Irish Liberals and of moderate Home Rulers like the O'Donoghue. The late Mr. Butt devoted much labour to the working out of the principle; and there can be little doubt that his labours were of material service to those who framed the Act of 1870. If Dublin hearsay may be trusted, Mr. Forster is still disposed to look to some improved version of the scheme for the solution of the Land Question. Mr. Parnell himself began the campaign of 1879 as a champion of the three F's. But the three F's are now rejected with scorn by all the thorough-going advocates of League principles. Three years of death have convinced Mr. Parnell that no tenure of which rent is an incident will give the Irish tenant a fair chance of making a living out of the land. Peasant proprietorship, we are now told, is the only cure for the woes of Ireland, and the remedy should be applied without delay on the largest possible scale. Landlords must be bought out by means of interest-bearing bonds, issued or guaranteed by the Imperial Government; and their estates must be divided into a number of small holdings, and sold to peasant-farmers, who are to pay for them by instalments

extending over thirty-five years or more. Elaborate proofs are offered of the ease with which this gigantic operation may be conducted without loss to the Exchequer. We may perhaps assume that the lines on which the scheme has been so far worked out by the League, and by many English writers and speakers, are familiar to all readers of newspapers. After all the writing and the speaking, the scheme remains in many points incomplete. We can all see our way to improvements in the working of the Bright clauses, in accordance with the recommendations of Mr. Shaw-Lefevre's Committee; but if there is any meaning in language, we are asked now to go far beyond the Bright Clauses, and to enable the Government to acquire land enough to introduce peasant proprietorship on a very large scale. But how many landlords we shall have to dispossess; how many candidates for peasant properties there are likely to be; what proportion of the candidates we can hope to satisfy; and what conditions as to subdivision and alienation shall attach to the properties, it is a little difficult to make out. From Mr. Parnell we do not expect particular information on such points. He tells us that he is proceeding along a line which leads to forcible expropriation of landlords and large farmers, possibly to annexation of Ireland to the United States; and that he has not made up his mind where to stop. If he were to declare that he would stop anywhere within the possibilities, his power would be gone: he would no longer be allowed to use the Fenian organization for the purposes of the League; he might even perhaps be supplanted by one of his lieutenants, as he himself supplanted Mr. Shaw. With Mr. Parnell, therefore, it is quite useless to argue; but we may perhaps be allowed to point out to English advocates of peasant proprietorship that their principles can only be admitted with some important qualifications.

Peasant proprietorship is not an ideal system of cultivation; it is not even the best system yet invented. While English speakers were quoting France as the great example of successful peasant farming, a speaker at an agricultural conference held in Paris was dwelling with equal emphasis on the fact that the product of English farming was to the product of French farming as 25 to 14.* The inequality becomes still more striking when we consider the fact that France employs 51 per cent. of her people in agricultural pursuits, and England only 12 per cent. Holland is the only country whose agricultural statistics will compare with our own. In Holland peasant proprietorship

* English statisticians give the comparison thus:—England, 28 bushels per acre; France, 13. If the comparison be extended to live stock, the result is still more in our favour.

is giving way ; the small farmers who hold directly of the State are able to sublet at a profit to others ; and this system of subletting works hardship in some cases, just because the head landlord is the State, because there is nobody to interfere, as a landlord interferes, to see that the tenant does not take a sub-tenant except on fair terms. None can pretend that our English and Scottish system is perfect ; it gives landlords too much arbitrary power, and tenants too little security for their capital. But it is a system which will compare favourably, in its agricultural and social outcome, with any system that exists or has existed. If Ireland is ever to be a country of trade and manufactures, and to employ all the various energies of her people, it is to the English system, and not to peasant proprietorship, that she must turn. No country of peasant farmers ever showed any great variety of intellectual or industrial life ; where you have many small proprietors you have peace and order, and a bigoted sense of the sacredness of property ; but you have also ignorance and blind dependence on Government, and a fine field for priestly influence. Some of our English Liberals are very anxious to assure us that the "magic of ownership" will make Irish peasants thoroughly Conservative. It is certainly better to be a Conservative than to be a mendicant impostor, but it is best of all to be a Liberal ; and your peasant proprietor is seldom or never a Liberal. We can all see the dangers which attach to closely-protected property in land when they present themselves on a large scale in the shape of entails, heavy mortgages, and aristocratic prejudices ; but we are apt to forget that the same dangers are found on a smaller but more extended scale among peasant proprietors. Instead of family settlements, they have family quarrels over the subdivision of the land ; instead of large loans from the insurance companies at 4½ per cent., they have small loans from country solicitors at 10 or 20 per cent. ; and their feeling towards the landless labourer is aristocratic to the last degree. We would not be understood to maintain that peasant proprietorship is altogether evil. On a fertile soil it has sometimes been the beginning of better things, and it has sometimes produced, on very unpromising soils, better results than large farming had been able to show. But it has never been wholly free from the evils which we have pointed out ; and it is important to notice at the present time that these evils have been most manifestly displayed when the system has been suddenly established on a large scale, with Government assistance. The story of the Lömmel experiment, as told by Mr. Thornton, the leading advocate of peasant proprietorship, should be read and re-read by the gentlemen who are so ready to promise that the whole Irish people may be made industrious,

successful, and contented by merely transferring the ownership of land from the thousands who hold it to the hundreds of thousands who want it. If you are prepared to make the Irish peasant the slave of the Government, to prevent him from selling or subdividing or mortgaging his farm, to see that he adopts the careful and laborious methods necessary in small farming, and to guarantee him a subsistence, you are quite consistent in proposing to make the State the chief or the only landlord in Ireland. But before we undertake such a responsibility, it is well to consider the strain to which our new system may at no distant date be subjected. Mr. Parnell tells us that he abandoned fixity of tenure because he saw that it would not have sufficed to carry the farmers through the last three years in safety. Who is to be our surety that peasant proprietorship will suffice if a similar succession of seasons should recur? Suppose that 100,000 small properties are created, and that the instalments are regularly paid up for some years. Suppose that 1887-8-9 are all years of scarcity, and that some of the small owners can only pay their instalments with great difficulty. In such a case is it not morally certain that Mr. Parnell, or his successor, would take the field to invite the farmers to repudiate their debts? Orators would declaim against the base cruelty of a Government which would wring from the toiling peasant an exorbitant price for the acres which they took from his fathers by fraud and violence; priests would ascend the platform to certify in the sight of God that the whole Irish people would die of hunger if relief were denied them; and half the Liberal papers in England would discover that the Irish demand was very reasonable, if stated in sufficiently general terms, and that we ought to devise some "remedial legislation" before presuming to express our candid opinion of the orators and the priests.

Up to this point we have been content to appear as critics merely of the plans of reform which seem to find favour at this moment in the eyes of the English public. We have given reasons for thinking that neither fixity of tenure nor peasant proprietorship, as at present contemplated, can be regarded as a complete solution of the problem which we have to face. But we admitted beforehand that there is a considerable measure of justice in the demand which these two schemes have been invented to satisfy. By our faults the Irish system was introduced; we are bound to do what we can to eradicate its evils. We have promised so often to attempt an improvement in the condition of Irish peasant-life by creating small owners, that it only remains to redeem our promise as speedily as the nature of the work permits. Before addressing ourselves to the task, let us clear our

minds of all partisan and sentimental illusions. We are not engaged in a work of retribution. The landlords have done much evil in their day; but there is no sense in punishing the present landlords for the faults of their predecessors, if, by a reasonable measure of conciliation, we can succeed in utilizing their wealth and influence for the benefit of the country. And we are not engaged in a work of relief or redress. If it were true that the Irish peasant starves for want of the land monopolized by large owners, we might cure his misery by making him a proprietor. If he had a definite grievance to allege against the present law, the appropriate remedy could be supplied by legislation. But if ever we are to make anything of Ireland, we must learn that mere legislation cannot touch the sources of her difficulties and discontents. So much is conclusively proved by the history of the Acts of 1860 and 1870. By those Acts we conferred important rights and privileges on Irish farmers; but we forgot that we were dealing with a nation which has the institutions but not the habits of freedom; we left it to the farmers themselves to discover and assert their rights; we took no pains to make the working of the Acts intelligible and cheap. The natural result is, that many clauses of Deasy's Act and Gladstone's Act remain inoperative to this day; other clauses have failed of their intended effect; and others are restricted in their operation by the expense of time and money required to set them in motion. What we want now, therefore, is not a "remedial Act" framed on lines wider than those of former Acts; but a measure which will initiate a great experiment in government, by providing some agency to bring home to the mind of every Irishman the fact that the law is a friendly and not a hostile or indifferent power. It is the administrator, not the legislator, to whom we must look for the pacification of Ireland. The country has laws and institutions as good as those of any other country—but all in a disjointed, paralyzed, ineffective state. Large masses of the people are, as they always have been, outside English law altogether; they neither understand it nor care about it. In order that these people may be gradually absorbed into the organized and law-abiding community, they must be watched and tended like children for the next fifty years. We propose now to describe, as definitely as may be, the administrative methods by which the Land Question might, in our opinion, be reduced to manageable dimensions.

The experience of the last ten years has proved that neither the Landed Estates Court nor the Board of Works can undertake the working of the Irish land laws. Each body has its special functions, and discharges them fairly well; but neither was constructed to perform the duties which have lately been imposed

on them. It is therefore taken for granted that we are to have a new Land Commission. Judge Flanagan proposes that the Commission should consist of one Judge of the Landed Estates Court, one Commissioner of Works, and a third person. To this we make no objection, provided only that we are not asked to allow three gentlemen, sitting in Dublin, to undertake the actual working of the new Land Act. The three persons indicated ought to serve as Chief Commissioners, and the actual work of inquiry and reform should be entrusted to Local Commissioners, sufficiently numerous to overtake the whole of Ireland, union by union, and holding by holding, within a reasonable time. The Chief Commissioners would distribute the work of the Local Commissioners, lay down general rules for their guidance, receive their reports, and advise them in cases of difficulty; they should also be required to examine and approve certain acts of their local subordinates of which we shall speak hereafter.

The first duty of a Local Commissioner on arriving in his district should be to make thorough inquiry into the existing system of rights in land, and particularly into all matters which have been the subject of complaint or dispute. In some cases this inquiry would be easy, and might be disposed of in a summary fashion. Of estates like Lord Fitzwilliam's, for example, it would be sufficient to record that there are so many tenants, all holding on the same form of agreement, and that the tenants are satisfied with their position. On estates like the Duke of Leinster's it is enough to say that the tenants have all leases in the same form, and that their only complaint touches a certain clause in the lease (the well-known clause whereby the Duke and other landlords contracted themselves out of the Act of 1870). But in cases where the tenants generally complain and where the agreement between landlord and tenant has been so constituted or so acted upon as to give rise to disputes, a much more searching inquiry is necessary. The Commissioner should be instructed to conduct this inquiry without needless formality. He would probably begin by communicating directly with the landlord or agent on the one hand, and with the tenants on the other; and he should make a point of seeing and conversing with the tenants, and of calling their attention to the points on which information is required. The points for inquiry in regard to each holding would be, how long the tenant has occupied, what rent he pays, how often and by what sums the rent has been raised during the past ten years, what improvement the tenant and landlord respectively have made within the same period, what sum (if any) was paid by the tenant for goodwill, whether such payment for goodwill was consistent with the conditions of the tenancy, and how many persons are dependent on the holding for their subsistence. If there is a

conflict of evidence on any of these points, the Commissioner should have power to examine the parties in presence of one another ; but no lawyers should be heard upon such an examination, and care should be taken to assure all parties that they do not expose themselves to any injury by answering fully the questions put to them. It might also be desirable to have a note of the derivation of the landlord's title, showing when he came to the land, and whether by descent, devise, purchase in the Court or purchase in the market ; but of course we would not empower the Commissioner to make any particular inquiries under this head, or to call for evidence of title.

Besides these particular investigations, the Commissioner should also collect information as to the agricultural capabilities of his district. He should report to the Chief Commissioners any land, suitable for division into peasant properties, which is, or is likely to be, for sale ; and he should also give information regarding waste lands which would, in his opinion, repay the cost of reclamation. Minutes of all inquiries should be kept ; information admitting of statistical treatment should be forwarded in the shape of returns to the Local Government Board, to be digested and published ; and we ought to have an annual report upon the condition of the people of Ireland, even more complete and detailed than the annual blue-book which gives an account of the progress of India.

If the facts of each case were thus fully ascertained (and we believe they might be ascertained more expeditiously than the elaborate detail of our scheme may lead the reader to suppose), the Commission would stand on firm ground, and might proceed with some confidence to the work of reconstruction. This work would be of two kinds : revision of existing tenancy agreements, and the creation of small properties.

In regard to existing tenancies, the Commissioner should have power to certify, after hearing both parties, that the rent is in his opinion exorbitant, or that the conditions of the tenancy are unfavourable to the proper cultivation of the soil. The general instructions of the Chief Commissioners should define exactly what is an exorbitant rent. "A fair rent," according to the notions of Irish owners and tenants, is about one-third of the produce obtained in an average season by the application of the customary methods of husbandry : a rent exceeding this measure by twenty-five per cent. or more, unless some special advantage raises the value of the land, might be declared exorbitant. Power might be given to employ a valuer in difficult cases, but the Commissioner should not be bound by the valuer's report. As to conditions of tenancy, we should say that the power of raising the rent at uncertain intervals is one which no land-

lord ought to be allowed to retain. On the other hand, the tenant should not be left with an undefined tenant-right which he may sell for a fancy price behind his landlord's back. Wherever there is uncertainty on these important points, the parties should be required to enter into a new agreement. Every term of this agreement should be in writing; the form of it should be settled by the parties with the assistance of the Commissioner; each party should have a copy, and a third copy should be recorded. Government forms of agreement should be prepared, to supply a standard of the conditions of a tenancy involving no injustice to either party. In these forms eviction for non-payment of rent should be retained, but the power of distress should be taken away. It should be provided that the rent might be raised not oftener than once in ten years. It would also be useful to provide that the tenant might, without prejudice to his agreement, surrender his holding to the landlord for a year or more, for the purpose of carrying out improvements—the landlord to leave the tenant his house and to employ him as a labourer upon the improvements. Interest at three per cent. on the sum spent in such improvements to be added to the rent. The tenant-right, wherever it is proved and certified to exist, should be defined as a right to assign the holding and to receive a fair price for such assignment: the landlord to have the right of objecting to any proposed tenant on one of two grounds—*either* that he is insolvent or of bad character, *or* that he has undertaken to pay so large a sum for the tenant-right that he cannot work the farm at a profit. The actual or the proposed tenant might be permitted to appeal from the landlord's objection to the County Court Judge. Of course the landlord himself should be allowed to purchase the tenant-right. The case of a landlord competing for the right with a proposed tenant might present peculiar difficulty; but if the sale of tenant-right were recognized as a purely commercial transaction, the difficulty would be overcome.

It would not be advisable to force the contracting parties in all cases to use the Government form. But if any other form were proposed in lieu of it, the Commissioner should have power to refuse to record it if it appeared to be calculated to perpetuate uncertainties and disputes. In the case of holdings over £20 valuation, an appeal from such refusal might be taken to the County Court.

It may be argued that by recognizing tenant-right in any form we are confiscating some part of the landlord's property. To this objection we answer that by settling the dispute about that right we add five or even ten years' purchase to the value of the estate. Of that increment of value we are free to dispose in any

way which seems just and advisable: the best policy, in our judgment, is to give it to the tenant. It is true that we deprive the landlord of the power which has sometimes enabled an enlightened despot to make great changes for the better in a short time. We make him wait for his own land, and pay for its additional value, before allowing him to do as he likes with it. But we can dispense with enlightened despots if we set each tenant to work as an improving cultivator within the limits of his own holding.

It may be objected further, that the proposal to allow a Commissioner to certify the rent exorbitant is inconsistent with what we have said of the danger of universal revaluation, and the impossibility of finding any fair measure of rent except the judgment of an intending tenant. We reply, first, that we have suggested, not a general revaluation, but a decision upon a definite allegation of fact put forward by the tenant, in support of which he would be required to give evidence. We suggest this in the firm belief that Irish rents are not, as a rule, exorbitant, and that three tenants out of four would not even undertake to prove that they are. In some cases, where land speculators have bought moderately rented estates with a view to raising the rents, and re-selling at a profit, there would be complaints. We may be told that such complaints should not be listened to, because the rent has been fixed by contract; and we admit that in compelling parties to adjust rent on a certain principle we are taking a step which is only justified by the impossibility of starting the Irish land-system on a contract basis in any other way. It is to be remarked, however, that in supplying a measure of rent we are only providing for the regular exercise of a power which is now indirectly exercised by a public officer. The County Court Judge, in disposing of a claim for compensation for disturbance under the Act of 1870, must decide whether the rent is exorbitant or not. It is said that landlord and tenant have sometimes brought a dispute as to the fairness of the rent into Court by means of a sham notice to quit and a sham claim for compensation.

We do not propose that the power to certify the rent exorbitant should be a permanent power, to be exercised as occasion should arise. If it were so, tenants would be encouraged to promise high rents, in the hope of getting them reduced. The power should be exercised once for all; and the tenant, protected against frequent and irregular increase of rent, would be left to make his own bargain in regard to the increase to be made at the stated ten-year period. It will be seen that these provisions are quite inconsistent with the policy of the Act of 1870. Tenant-right, as we have defined it, takes the place of the claims for

compensation given by the Act. The question whether a landlord has "reasonable cause" for removing his tenant is made to depend on the terms of an express agreement, not on a judge's notion of the proper management of an estate. Moreover, we have placed, and we think Parliament would do well to place, all tenants on one and the same footing. To give, as Mr. Gladstone has given, larger compensations and privileges to the smaller tenants, is to put a premium on subdivision, to relieve the poor at the expense of the future prosperity of the country.

The new agreements recorded by Commissioners, together with a brief record of leases and peasant freeholds where they exist, would form the beginning of a Land Registry. Every future contract relating to the land, should be recorded; and falsification of the Registry (as, for instance, by entering a smaller price than the price actually received for tenant-right) should be made a misdemeanour. The expense of making up the Registry in the first instance should be treated as part of the expense of the Commission; the expense of record might in the future be met by a small *ad valorem* charge. Every agreement entered in the Registry should be taken to bind persons purchasing or succeeding to the land. Annuities and mortgages should be, as at present, a charge on the landlord's estate in the land (which would not, we hold, be diminished by recognizing tenant-right as proposed). If the tenant mortgages his right to its full value, the landlord should be enabled to buy out the mortgagee and extinguish the tenant-right. Such is the rough outline of what we believe to be a workable scheme for the definition of tenant-right. It remains to speak of the second branch of the Land Commissioners' work.

On receiving notice from a Local Commissioner of land to be sold, the Chief Commissioners should have power to authorize him to enter into negotiations for purchase, and to ratify his bargain, if they think it a reasonable one. If they succeed in acquiring the land, the Local Commissioner should communicate at once with the tenants, and advise them of the steps which they must take if they wish to purchase from the Commission. These steps should be made as few, as simple, and as cheap as possible. The terms of purchase should be substantially those offered by the Church Temporalities Commission—one-fourth of the price to be paid down, the rest to be repaid, with interest, by instalments extending over thirty-five years. The purchaser should be allowed to make payments from time to time over and above the instalments due, so as to abridge his thirty-five years of expectation. Professor Baldwin thinks we might safely advance the whole purchase-money, and spread the instalments over a greater number of years. But we are disposed to think that

few men worth anything as cultivators would have any difficulty in raising the necessary one-fourth; and the demand for a portion of the price would prevent penniless men from going into peasant-farming as a speculation. Until the farm is paid for, subdivision and overcrowding should be prevented, and the purchaser should not be allowed to borrow on his interest except with the consent of the Local Commissioner.

These sales to tenants would leave the Commission with some holdings in hand, which the tenants would not offer to buy; and it might be found that part of a Commission estate consisted of reclaimable waste. These parts of the land should be used up, wherever they are suitable for the purpose, in creating small holdings, which should be offered on advantageous terms to persons willing to remove from overcrowded parts of the country, where scarcity is chronic. Measures should be taken to find such persons, and they should be sought for in districts as near as possible to the land on which they are to be settled; for if you settle a Monaghan man in Kerry, the people will regard him as a foreigner, and treat him accordingly. If it is necessary to remove tenants from Commission lands to make way for new proprietors, the operation should be conducted with peculiar caution. Care would have to be taken that the tenants might find work and subsistence elsewhere.

The dangers attaching to Government transactions in land on a large scale would be greatly lessened if the work of creating small properties could be undertaken by private enterprise co-operating with the Government. Facilities should therefore be given to individuals and associations for this purpose, and information should be freely given as to the precautions necessary to the safe conduct of such undertakings. It should be part of the Local Commissioner's business to take cognisance of all agencies for promoting peasant proprietorship and better cultivation, or for relieving overcrowded districts. From his reports the Chief Commissioners would be able to see at what rate their work was being done, and especially how many families were being raised out of the wretched state in which the western peasantry now continues to exist. The utmost pains should be taken to make the nature of the work thoroughly intelligible to the people. Local Commissioners should be instructed to communicate with the people directly—not by means of the agent, or the priest, or the local philanthropist, or any other intermediary. Statements in plain language of the legal rights and remedies of tenants, and of the conditions of peasant proprietorship, should be printed and widely circulated. It might also be useful to furnish tenants and peasant proprietors with agricultural information in the same form. You cannot teach

farmers very much in this way ; but you can teach them more than most Irish farmers know.

We have left to the last the questions which will arise first of all in the mind of the practical politician. How many Local Commissioners will be wanted ? How are they to be appointed ? And what salary shall we give them ? As to the number, we do not think it possible accurately to fix that till the work is well in hand ; but we should be prepared to begin by appointing one Commissioner to each of the 132 unions of Ireland. In unions partly urban, or where leases and large farms prevail, the work would be soon done, and the Commissioner would be able to come to the assistance of more heavily weighted colleagues. We do not propose to keep a permanent staff of 132 Commissioners ; when the Registry arrangements are well started, a new set of tenancy agreements framed, and an adequate number of small properties created, one Commissioner might suffice for each county. As to the appointment, we must trust the Government to make a great effort of enlightened patronage. Examination will not yield us the kind of men we want ; but the men are to be found in England and Ireland, if the Government will take the trouble to look for them. There would be jobbery, no doubt ; but there is no reason why the sons of Irish judges should not make good civil servants, if the whole conduct of this experiment is watched, as it ought to be watched, from head-quarters. As to the salary, if we take into account the low average of professional earnings in Ireland, we may reasonably hope to get good working Commissioners for £400 or at most £500 a year. If this scale were adopted, the whole expenses of the Commission, including the Dublin office, local offices, clerks, printing, and travelling expenses, might be kept within £200,000* a year for the first three years, towards which we should be prepared to offer a substantial contribution from the imperial treasury. After the first three years the expense would be much reduced, and the new system might be made self-supporting.

If this scheme were well started by a strong Government, if such changes were introduced into the machinery of it as experience might show to be necessary, and if moderate men on both sides of politics would unite to secure it a fair chance of success, we believe it might do much to solve the Land Question and to reconcile the Irish to English rule. There are other Irish difficulties in the future ; behind the Land Question lies the reform of local government, and behind that an Education Question of formidable dimensions. We shall approach these

* This does not include sums laid out in the purchase of land for division into peasant properties.

duties and dangers with more confidence if we can first make even a tolerably successful attempt to remove the misunderstandings and evil habits which have made Irish agriculture a byword. In making any such attempt we shall meet with obstruction on the right and on the left. The Tories will obstruct any measure which touches the smallest, the most useless, or the most invidious of the rights enjoyed by Irish landlords. But though the Tories may take this course it is not likely that the Conservative leaders will do so. They helped to pass the Act of 1870; they admitted the necessity of doing something to improve the working of the Bright clauses; and Conservatism generally has never been so bitterly opposed to a re-opening of the Land Question as the section of Whig opinion represented by Lord Sherbrooke. Mr. Parnell and his friends, on the other hand, are bound to receive any possible Land Bill as hopelessly inadequate, and to describe it as a fresh insult to the Irish people. But it is never safe to assume, when Irish members make such speeches, that they are giving utterance to the sincere feeling of those who sent them to Parliament. For some time past Irish constituencies have chosen their members much as an uneducated man chooses his lawyer. If a suitor thinks (as many honest poor men think) that all Courts are more or less regardless of equity, and that the law is a malign and mysterious agency for keeping people out of their rights, he will desire to have somebody to act for him who can bully the Court and circumvent the law. The average Irish elector has no confidence whatever in the fairness or goodwill of Parliament; he enjoys the notion of the panic and confusion produced in the House of Commons by the action of a handful of his countrymen; and he feels pleasantly sure that, while Mr. Parnell represents him, he will lose nothing for want of asking. But there still remains in his mind that love of impartial justice which was noted by a close observer as one of the features of the Irish character three centuries ago. He will shout, and riot, and possibly even fight for Mr. Parnell; but he knows that the League is anything but an embodiment of justice and reason; and the English statesman who can deal firmly with the popular demands will command in Ireland a respect which the popular leaders do not enjoy. We shall go far to destroy the last hope of turning the good qualities of Irishmen to account, if we act so as to persuade them that our legislation is guided by no definite principle, and that our only notion of government is to concede as much as will stifle the clamour of the moment and postpone ulterior demands. It may be that the principles of the scheme we have suggested are more definite than scientific; but they are at least principles generally recognized and understood among us. There are many theories of property in the air, and

if our next Land Act is a failure, we may have to embody some of them in a measure of an entirely new character ; or the time may come when we shall fall back upon our Indian experience, and assert the paramount ownership of the State in a manner at variance with all the established practice of the United Kingdom. In the meantime, we must be content to act up to the notions of agrarian legislation which are fully accepted by those who are responsible for the conduct of our national affairs. According to those notions, landlords and tenants must continue to exist ; we are called upon now to make an effort to remove misunderstandings and to establish co-operation between two widely but not hopelessly disunited classes of the community.



ART. V.—THE SCIENCE OF HISTORY.

1. *The Social Organism.* By HERBERT SPENCER.
2. *Bau und Leben des Socialen Körpers.* By Dr. SCHÄFFLE, Tübingen.
3. *Die Sociale Physiologie.* By PAUL VON LILIENFELD, Mitau.
4. *The History of the Intellectual Development of Europe.* By J. W. DRAPER, M.D., LL.D., New York.

IS History an "Exact Science?" forms the question to which we propose, in the following paper, offering an affirmative reply.

Before presenting, however, the systematic body of facts which constitute the science, we deem it expedient to pave the way for its reception, by alluding to the ancient and modern authors who laid its foundations, and made contributions to its superstructure.

Pre-eminent stands Aristotle, who posited the οἶκος, κώμη and πόλις, the family, the village, and the city, with their co-ordinate governments, as a ζῶν πολιτικόν, a "political animal," and "one of the works of Nature," in his "Politics."

"The good and true State" of Plato is formed of the rulers, warriors, and craftsmen, corresponding to the reason, will, and passions of the "good and true man," expounded in his "Republic." "Nothing is immutable and eternal upon earth: everything is subject to mutability, as is obvious from the growth of bodies as well as minds ; for no sooner have they arrived at maturity than they tend towards decay and death. The course of all nations, whose history has been transmitted to our times,

proves that this is the fundamental law of humanity (*humanarum rerum suprema lex*)” forms the wide generalization of the philosophic historian Tacitus, in his “*Dialogus de Oratoribus*.”

But the modern author who actually laid down the “Axioms” and defined the “Elements” of the “*Scienza Nuova*,” and selected the history of Rome, as the type of all nations: “*Storia Ideale Eterna, sopra la quale corra in tempo, la storia le tutti le nazioni*,” was Vico, of Naples, in the commencement of the eighteenth century.

Whether Niebuhr was acquainted with the “*Scienza Nuova*” or not, certain it is, he concurs with Vico regarding his historical type; for, “*Roman History*,” says he, “can boast of the greatest characters, actions, and events; it contains the complete development of the whole life of a nation, such as is not found in the history of any other people. In modern history, the English alone have passed through the same perfect career of development as the Romans, and, in a cosmopolitan point of view, the history of these nations must always be the most important.”

Essentially the same idea is found in Lessing’s “*Erziehung der Menschengeschlecht*,” as well as in Hegel’s “*Philosophy of History*.” “By art is created that great Leviathan, called a community or State, in Latin, *Civitas*, which is but an artificial man, though of greater stature and strength than the natural; for whose protection and defence it was intended, and in which the sovereignty is an artificial soul, as giving life and motion to the whole body,” appears to be an amplification of the “*Political Animal*” of Aristotle, according to Hobbes.

“In the education of a people as in that of an individual, memory must be exercised before the powers of reason and fancy can be expanded,” is the explicit statement of Gibbon’s views regarding the “*Rise, Decline, and Fall of Empires*.”

“There is an organization and a life of societies as well as of the individual. This organization has also its science, the science of the secret laws which preside over the course of events.” This is the ‘*Physiology of History*,’ and expresses the definite and pronounced sentiments of Guizot, the historian of the ‘*Civilization of Europe*.’ This scientific view of history has been adopted by Professor Seeley in a late number of *Macmillan’s Magazine*.

The idea that “the starting-point is necessarily the same in the education of the individual and the species;” and that “the chief phases of the former ought to represent the fundamental epochs of the latter”—viz., the fetichistic, metaphysical, and positive—forms, the basis of Comte’s “*Positive Philosophy and Polity*,” of Spencer’s “*Essay on the Social Organism*,” as well as of Lotze’s “*Microcosmus*,” the professed continuator of Herder.

“I hope to accomplish for the History of Man something

equivalent, or at all events analogous, to what has been effected by other inquirers, for the different branches of Natural Science," was the expression of the fond expectation of Buckle, at the commencement of his "History of Civilization in England."

And the latest works which have appeared in our province—"The Structure and Life of the Social Body" (*Bau und Leben des Socialen Körpers*), by Schäffle, of Tübingen, Lilliefeld's "Die Sociale Physiologie," and Draper's "Intellectual Development of Europe," crown the *catena patrum* of the founders and authors of Historical Science.

Such then is the merest outline of the growth and development of the latest and youngest of the sciences—the Science of History—the subject-matter of which is Polity, *πολιτεία*, a political organism, including the family, the village, the city, and State, peculiar to the human species, subject to the fundamental law of humanity, birth, life, and death (in accordance with the history of Rome, the type of all nations) susceptible of systematic exposition, exhibiting the successive and simultaneous phases, characteristic of individual and national evolution, and constituting the education of humanity, or the origin and progress of universal culture and civilization.

Without further preface, then, or special reference to the *collaborateurs* in our special province, the investigation of the Physiology of History will be pursued under the following divisions:—

I. *Cosmology*; or, the Geographical Distribution and Territorial Areas of Social Organisms.

II. *Political Morphology*; or, the Ideal Type of Social Organisms.

III. *Chronology*; or, the Chronological Periods of Social Organisms.

IV. *Ethology*; or, Genius and Character of Social Organisms.

V. *Political Physiology*; or, the Civil, Legislative, Judicial, Ecclesiastical, Medical, Educational, Literary, Scientific, Artistic, Agricultural, Commercial, Industrial, and Sanitarian Functions, peculiar to Social Organisms.

VI. *Ecclesiology*; or, the Religious Creeds and Ethical Codes of Social Organisms.

VII. *Glossology*; or, the Language and Literature of Social Organisms.

VIII. *Callistology*; or, *Æsthetics* and the Fine Arts.

IX. *Technology*; the Political Economy, Agriculture, Commerce, and Industries of Social Organisms.

X. *Historical Palæontology*; or, the Archæology of Extinct Social Organisms.

XI. *Historical Taxology*; or, the Classification of Extinct and Social Organisms.

XII. The *Comparative History* of Extinct and Living Social Organisms.

1. *Cosmology; or, the Geographical Distribution and Territorial Areas of Social Organisms.*—The first step necessary in the detailed consideration of political organization is the survey and analysis of the territorial limits and conditions—climate, soil, food, clothing, modes of life, aspects of Nature, and other combined influences operating on the human species, in the several quarters of the globe. All the relations which organization—astronomical, mineralogical, botanical, zoological, and ethnological—sustain to each other, may be classed under the fivefold division of Solar, Latitudinal, Altitudinal, Ethnological, and Political or Social:—The 1st originating in the planetary position which our earth occupies in the solar system; the 2nd, in the various terrestrial zones which diversify the parallels of latitude, from the equator to the poles, with their respective flora, fauna, and folk; the 3rd, in the respective zones of terrestrial altitude and aerial elevation, from the level of the ocean to mountain summits; the 4th, in the Races belonging to the various ethnologic areas; and the 5th, in the political divisions, nomad tribes and nations, which have undergone various degrees of civilization during the course of historic evolution in ancient and modern times.

Such are the cosmological environments expounded in physical and political geography, which originated (1) the primary conditions of the indigenous inhabitants of the earth; and (2) determined the formation of the civil and social character of the human species during the simultaneous and successive stages of historic evolution. But although physical and political geography, lately designated Physiography, forms the subject of instruction in our common schools, we deem it necessary to present a *résumé* of the well-known cosmological facts, for the purpose of exhibiting the influence of physical phenomena in the formation of opinion and character.

1. *The Solar Relations and Conditions of the Earth.*—Waiving all reference in this place to the stellar system, and the celestial geography of modern astronomy, we may affirm, what all the scientific world knows, that the mean position of our earth (with her axial inclination of $23\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$, between Vulcan and Neptune, and her annual revolution in her orbit) forms the source of day and night, the vicissitudes of the seasons—Spring, Summer, Autumn, and Winter, the geological, atmological, and biological phenomena of the terrestrial globe (rain, winds, hail, and snow, thunder, lightning, meteors, volcanoes, earthquakes, tides, eclipses, and the endless variety presented by the “Cosmos” or aspect of Nature, in the mineral, vegetable, and animal kingdoms, inclusive of the varieties of the human species) embraced by

the modern science of Physical and Political geography. Such is the heliocentric theory of the universe, the source of all our chronometric divisions of time, which are based on the rotation and revolution of the sun, moon, and earth—a theory the perception of which elicits the æsthetic admiration of its celestial order, harmony, beauty, and sublimity. On the other hand, when we compare it with the Ptolemaic theory, and the concomitant mythology of ancient times (the Sun, Moon, Venus, Earth, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn; crowned with the father or lord of day (Dyaus Piter) driving his horses of fire and chariot of fire across the vault of heaven; the divine titles, temples, rituals, festivals, and sacrifices, consecrated to the “hosts of heaven,” amongst the Oriental, Greek, and Roman nations of antiquity; and the surviving “relics” of Monondaeg, Tuesdaeg, Wednesdaeg, Thorsdaeg, Freyadaeg, Saeterdaeg, and Sunandaeg, devoted to the worship of the creative, preservative and destructive powers of Nature, by our Scandinavian ancestors, in the names of the days of the week) we are constrained to admit that the revolution of opinion, accomplished by the discoveries of modern astronomy, furnishes the most brilliant type of the omnipotent influence of physical phenomena during the progress of human evolution. The detailed investigation of the subject, however, belongs to the department of Ecclesiology and Glossology.

2. *The Latitudinal Relations and Conditions of the Earth.*—Passing from the illimitable fields of celestial space, swept by the telescope and verified by the spectroscope, we find that the survey of the terrestrial globe, diversified by the Arctic and Antarctic, North and South temperate and tropical zones, now invites our attention. The *coup d'œil* of Johnstone's “Physical Map of the Globe” (with its river systems, distribution of volcanoes, and earthquakes, distribution of winds, rain, storms, and hurricanes, distribution of plants and animals, isothermal, isothermal, and isochimenal lines of mean annual temperature and climate) is the simplest and speediest method of observing the actual form, features, and physiognomy of the sites and scenes of past and present civilization.

First, then, the slope and counter-slope of the great mountain system, peculiar to the several quarters of the globe, based on the Cainozoic, Mesozoic and Palæozoic strata of the earth (the Alps in Europe, the Himalayas in Asia, the Eastern system of Africa, and the Andes and Rocky Mountains in North and South America), determined the course of the rivers which drain their surplus waters, as well as the sites of the great “Centres of Civilization”—*e.g.*, Pekin, on the Peiho; Benares and Calcutta, on the Ganges; Babylon and Bagdad, on the Euphrates and Tigris;

Alexandria at the mouth of the Nile ; Constantinople, on the Bosphorus ; Athens, on the shores of Greece ; St. Petersburg, on the Neva ; Vienna, on the Danube ; Rome, on the Tiber ; Lisbon, on the Tagus ; Paris, on the Seine ; London, on the Thames ; Edinburgh, on the Firth of Forth ; New York, on the Hudson ; and Melbourne, on Port-Philip—all of which capitals have been selected by their original founders on account of their natural adaptation for habitation and international communication.

The Zonal Climates—polar, temperate, and tropical—are dependent on solar radiation, varying in all proportions, according to the distance from the central luminary and original source of terrestrial life, and modified by the polar and equatorial currents of wind, as well as by oceanic currents ; and, accordingly, the Arctic Circle is buried beneath mountains of everlasting snow and ice, is fringed with red moss, lichens, saxifragas, rushes, heaths, and willows, is the cradle of icebergs, and the home of the reindeer, the bear, the musk-ox, the sable, the seal, the walrus, and the whale.

The Temperate Zones—north and south—colder and warmer, ranging from $42\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ to $53\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ of mean annual temperature, or isotherms, are studded with broad expanses of deciduous forest trees, the pine, ash, oak, &c. ; figs, oranges, olives, and vines ; the common cereals, wheat, barley, and oats ; and supplied with the bison, buffalo, deer, stag, horse, ox, goat, sheep, pig, dog, cat, &c. ; in a word, these zones produce the timber, edible fruits, and useful animals, which furnish houses, food, clothing, beverage, and service, and constitute the most useful raw materials of agriculture, commerce, and industry, for the benefit of the human family.

Lastly : The teeming world of the Tropics and Torrid Zone, basking beneath the burning rays of the vertical sun, rejoices in all the luxuriance and gorgeousness of a brilliant vegetation : there flourish lofty date-palms, fruitful bananas, luscious melons and pineapples, cotton, coffee, sugar-cane, nutritious millet, maize, rice, allspice, pepper, &c. ; while gigantic lions, tigers, elephants, rhinoceroses, serpents, peacocks, parrots, ostriches, humming-birds, and insects of every species, hold their wild and wanton revels, and struggle for existence, on the hills and dales, plains, pampas, and prairies of Asia, Africa, and America, on the eve of approaching colonization and civilization.

The topographical meteorology of the Polar, Temperate, and Torrid Zones, embracing the annual rainfall, prevailing winds, storms, hurricanes, harmattans, typhoons, cyclones, and monsoons, active and eruptive volcanoes and earthquakes, demand special attention from the sociological student ; for the wild and untutored imagination of primeval humanity rose from "Nature to Nature's God," and ran riot in ascriptions of divine benevolence and malevolence, to the omnipotent forces of atmospheric pheno-

mena; paid divine worship to the fertilizing streams of the Ganges and the Nile, poured out prayers, propitiations, and libations to the devastating tornado, malignant "Satans" and Shivas, which swept their families and homesteads, like Job's into destruction; lavished sacred honours and attributes on animals, as well as men—supposititious incarnations of Brahma, Buddha, Jehovah, and Jove, in their temples, to heaven, earth, ocean, and all the hosts of heaven, from Pekin to Mexico.

- But the detailed treatment of this branch of Social Psychology (*Völker-Psychologie*) belongs to the province of Ecclesiology and the Genesis of Religious Creeds. The progress of agriculture, arboriculture, and horticulture, commerce and industry, dependent on the production and manufacture of the raw materials, belonging to the mineral, vegetable, and animal kingdoms of Nature, falls under the department of Technology.

3. *The Altitudinal Relations and Conditions of the Earth.*—The very same series of physical phenomena are observable on the scale of terrestrial altitude or hypsometrical elevation, tenanted by flora, fauna, and folk, determined by the diminution of the temperature, at the rate of one degree of Fahrenheit during the ascent of 300 feet, and shaded off with a glowing crown on the summits of the everlasting hills of snowy crystals, which melting, fertilize the alluvial soil of the plains and lowlands, while several picturesque plateaux, terraces, or table-lands, have furnished the scenes of a peculiar civilization in all quarters of the globe—*e.g.*, in Switzerland, the "Alpine playground" of Europe, at an elevation of 3,000 to 4,000 feet; in Beloochistan, Afghanistan, and Bokhara, in Asia, from 2,000 to 3,000 feet; in Abyssinia, in Africa, at 8,000 feet; in Mexico, in North America, and Peru, in South America, at 1,100 to 1,200 feet.

- 4. *The Racial Relations and Conditions of the Earth.*—Without discussing the insoluble problems of the "Origin of the Human Species" and the "Descent of Man," or expatiating upon his physical constitution, cranial capacity, stature, and complexion, we accept the conclusions and data of Ethnological Science, and content ourselves with the classification of the leading races, groups, and families, which form the inhabitants of the various ethnologic areas of the terrestrial globe—*viz.*, the Mongolian, Malay, Ethiopian, Caucasian, and American—the yellow, brown, black, white, and red Indian, or copper-coloured varieties of mankind.

The fusion and amalgamation of races, with the definite proportion entering into the constitution of the Social Organism, belong to the department of Political Physiology.

- 5. *The Political, National, or Social Relations and Conditions of the Earth.*—Our last cosmological division brings us face to face with the grand problem of the historical analyst—*viz.*, the

Social Organisms of every grade, from the simplest homogeneous Nomad tribe, to the most heterogeneous and complicated national constitution, with the various castes, classes, spheres, and modes of life, which mould the habits and character of the human species within a definite ethnological and topographical area. But as every student of universal history must be familiar with the common outlines of the political geography of Europe, Asia, Africa, and America, we refer him to the department of Political Physiology for the exposition and illustration of the influence of social institutions.

Such, then, are the cosmological conditions of terrestrial phenomena, revealed by the disciples of the modern sciences of physical and political geography, resulting from the solar, latitudinal, altitudinal, racial, and political relations of the earth; the origin of the distinctive characteristics of the six quarters of the globe—Europe, Asia, North and South America, and Australia, with their political, tribal, and national subdivisions; and the very sites and scenes of the great “Centres of Civilization,” determined by the mountain systems and river basins visible on its surface; in a word, the physical environments which moulded the genius and character of the social organism and civil society, in ancient as well as in modern times. Accordingly, we shall now proceed to the exposition of the historic genesis and evolution of the leading races and nations, who have conducted the past course of the culture, civilization, and “Education of Humanity” (*Erziehung der Menschengeschlecht*).

II. *Political Morphology; or, the Ideal Type of Social Organisms.*—Accepting, as we do, the data of modern biology, the doctrines, viz., of the typical plant and vertebrate skeleton derived from the comparative study of vegetable and animal physiology, we maintain that the distinctive characteristic of historical science lies in their application to the investigation and analysis of social organisms. Accordingly, we proceed at once to establish the Ideal Form and Representative Type of all political organization.

Waving all disputes regarding Roman Archæology—the poetic and historic origin ascribed by Virgil and Livy to primitive Latinism, and admitting, with Niebuhr, that “thieves, murderers, in short, rogues and vagabonds,” entrenched themselves behind the rude fortifications of Romulus, on the seven hills of “Roma,” we discern the original elements of the social organism which crystallized in the ground-plan of the homogeneous Senate, (100 “*Patres Conscripti*”) and religion of Numa, and from which were developed the Roman patricians and religious pontiffs, who constituted the dominant rulers and proprietors of the soil and servile “clients” (*clientelæ*) of Italy, who carried their victorious arms from Rome to Britain, and Parthia, from the Rhine to the Nile—the “*Orbis Romanus*,” who laid the founda-

tions of municipal government over the surface of Europe, Asia, and Africa, who developed the regal, consular, tribunitian, oligarchic, and imperial phases of civil administration, and who, finally, underwent political transformation, in the struggle for existence between Latin and Christian civilization, in "Roma Nova," or Constantinopolis, under Constantine the Great, A.D. 330.

Such is the merest chorographic and chronologic outline of the Roman State (*Civitas*); the *coup d'œil* of national genesis and physiology, with its simultaneous and successive phases, whose social evolution displays a striking similarity to the political development and constitutional history of Great Britain:—(1) during the period of social juvenescence, between the simple Patrician Senate and Saxon Wittenagemote (assembly of wise men); (2) during the period of adolescence, between the political struggle of the patricians and people, feudal Lords and Commons, for the administration of government, terminating in military despotism and imperialism; (3) during the period of social senescence, between the rival Barbarian, Oriental, Hellenic, Roman, and Christian elements, on the one hand, and the Papal, Protestant, and "Rational" forces on the other, remodelling and reorganizing the social state and civil society.

All details regarding the civil, legislative, judicial, municipal, military, naval, educational, medical, and sanitarian organizations and functions of ancient Rome, are excluded in this brief sketch.

The concluding branch of our representative type of all national organisms is fraught with political instruction; we refer to Social Pathology and Therapeutics, or the diagnosis of the signs and symptoms of social order and disorder, and the remedial methods, means, and measures, requisite for the maintenance of the "wealth and well-being of society," derivable from the study of Roman history. Involving, as this department of our subject does, however, the complete science of "Politics," still in its earliest infancy, we can do nothing more than refer to the common and classical repository of every "Statesman's Manual."

As already stated, the historical scientist bases his science upon the data of the anterior sciences; but, in spite of all the investigations carried on by Hellenic, Latin, European, and British philosophers in mental and moral science, no doctrine of psychologic evolution has yet met with unanimous acceptance. The fundamental doctrine of embryological development, which reveals the community of type, the essential identity of the nervous system, throughout the ascending series of extinct and living radiate, mollusc, articulate, and vertebrate organisms of zoological and anthropological life, as well as the repetition of the lower phases of life on each higher member of the scale of existence, furnishes a sufficient clue to all the homologies perceptible in the mineral, vegetable, and animal kingdoms of Nature; or, in the

language of Haeckel, its latest exponent, "Ontogenesis, or the development of the individual, is a short and rapid repetition (recapitulation) of phylogenesis, or development of the species, conditioned by heredity and adaptation."

Differ, then, as psychologists may regarding the quantitative and qualitative analysis of the members of the theriological (*θηριον*—animal) and anthropological kingdoms, the special endowments of each organic autonomy, are divisible into :—

1. External sensations, or impressions conveyed through the medium of the five senses.
2. Internal sensations or sentient (intellectual) activities arising from the common processes of logical observation, comparison, verification, and classification.
3. Internal (moral) sentiments, and callistological (æsthetic) emotions excited by their gregarious and social instincts, as well as by their physical environment.
4. Successive states of consciousness, during the course of organic evolution, retained in the memory.

Irrespective, then, of all controversy regarding the quantitative and qualitative analysis of the psychologic elements peculiar to each organic autonomy of theriologic and anthropologic species, (1) the normal and abnormal evolution of the lower sensations, or animal passions and appetites, display their domination in the juvenescent period; while (2) the sensitious, or intellectual powers, ethical sentiments, and æsthetic emotions acquire the ascendancy during the adolescent, as well as the senescent age; and (3) the successive states of consciousness, phases of life and character, constitute the biography of the human individual, and the history of the social organism.

In this manner the Historical Analyst is provided with a Psychological Index and Measure, for the purpose of testing the age and evolution of the integrant members, as well as of the entire Social Organism :—

Sensations	{ The pleasures and pains of life and labour }	Personal and national life.
	{ Social and industrial pursuits }	Social condition.
Sensitions	{ The pleasures and pains of knowledge }	Universal science and literature.
	{ Intellectual pursuits }	{ Intellectual condition.
Sentiments, moral .	{ Personal, domestic, and social affections }	Social ethics and institutions.
	{ Philanthropic pursuits }	Moral condition.
Sentiments, æsthetic	{ The pleasures and pains of art }	National art and arts.
	{ Artistic pursuits }	Æsthetic condition.
Individual and social organisms	{ Personal and social evolu- tion }	Personal biography and social history.

The adoption of Rome, as the type of political organisms, is sanctioned, not only by the authority of Vico, but also by Niebuhr, the latter of whom also declares that, "the history of all nations of the ancient world *ends* in that of Rome, and that of all modern nations has grown out of that of Rome"—tantamount to the expression of the final doctrine of our national type—viz., the propagation or *filiation* of political, as well as of religious and social organization, which will obtain sufficient illustration in the sequel.

Let us only add, by way of corroboration, that the political generalization derived from the study of universal history, by the far-reaching mind of Bacon, regarding the rise and fall of empires, coincides with the foregoing threefold representation: "In the youth of a State, arms do flourish; in the middle age of a State, learning; and then both of these together for a time; in the declining age of a State, mechanical arts and merchandise, learning hath its infancy, when it is but beginning, and almost childish, then its youth, when it is luxuriant and juvenile; then its strength of years, when it is solid and reduced; and lastly, its old age, when it waxeth dry and exhaust. In the most polite and powerful nations, genius of every kind has displayed itself about the same period; and the age of science has generally been the age of military virtue and success."

III. *Chronology; or, the Chronologic Periods of Social Organisms.*—Is the existence of political societies, limited by conditions of time as well as space, common to universal organization? is the next question, resolved by the science of Chronology, as the succession of time, ideas, and existence, the natural periods of which may be divided in accordance with the course of political, geologic, and astronomic evolution, into (1) Historic, (2) Pre-historic or Archæologic, (3) Geologic or Palæontologic, and lastly, Astronomic Time.

Historic Time falls into the natural divisions originating in the rise and fall of the successive political powers which assumed periodic pre-eminence during the course of civilization; we refer to the line of empire legible in our chronologic scale.

1. The Fall of Constantinople, A.D. 1453, synchronizing with the Renaissance of Learning, Pure Theism, and the Discovery of America by Columbus, A.D. 1492.

2. The Fall of Rome, A.D. 476, succeeded at no remote distance by the origin of Mohammedanism, A.D. 622.

3. The Birth of Christ, A.D. 1, the Destruction of Jerusalem, A.D. 70, and the general overthrow of Orientalism by Roman Cosmopolitanism, synchronizing with the rise of European Christianity, and its adoption and recognition by Constantine the Great, A.D. 325.

4. The Conquest of Greece and Persia, by Alexander the Great, B.C. 330, contemporaneous with the propagation of the Socratic, Platonic, and Aristotelian philosophy.

5. The Conquest of Babylon, Nineveh, Egypt, and Judea, by Cyrus the Great, B.C. 500, and the establishment of Zoroastrianism in Persia, Buddhism in India, B.C. 500, and Confucianism in China, B.C. 500.

6. The complete Conquest of Judea by David and Solomon, and the foundation of the Temple, B.C. 1000.

The only novelty introduced in our Chronological Chart of Historic Time is the omission of the foundation periods of Rome and Greece on the ground of uncertainty. They embrace, however, all the verifiable eras, usually comprehended under Modern, Mediæval, and Ancient Roman, Grecian, and Oriental History. As no historical records capable of verification have been transmitted to our time, we have been compelled to relegate the earliest traditions of China, India, Babylonia, Assyria, Media, Persia, Judea, and Egypt, to the regions of Prehistoric Time, and the department of Archæology.

Meantime no great objection can be taken to the "approximate dates," based on monumental inscriptions, Babylonian bricks, and papyri rolls, offered by modern Orientalists on behalf of Egypt, Babylon, Assyria, Media, and Persia. Accordingly, we accept provisionally the further chronological dates of B.C. 3000, tallying as it does with the 1500 years demanded for the life-period of a national organism, anterior to the foundation of Hebrew civilization.

But who can contemplate the leaves of the "Stony Bible," silently deposited during the course of the Eocene, Miocene, and Pleiocene periods of the terrestrial organism, teeming with fossils of extinct botanical and zoological species? Such is Geologic Time, embracing the millions and myriads of terrestrial cycles which transpired during the course of ages, and the "embryonic development" of the earth.

Or, again, what modern astronomer can take the wings of lightning, flash through the solar and stellar systems, calculate the genesis and life-periods of the innumerable "hosts of heaven," which gem the starry spheres, in endless mazes lost? Such is Astronomic Time, registered in the brilliant "Book of Life," but inaccessible and illegible to the denizens of our distant and petty planet. Can any one deny that it affords scope and verge enough for the evolution of universal life and phenomena, in the infinite realms of space and time and for the everlasting origination, aggregation, integration, and disintegration of Stellar and Solar Organization?

IV. *Ethology; or, the Genius and Character of Social*

Organisms.—The veriest scientific tyro readily accepts the common classification of Ethnology into Mongolian, Malay, Negro, Caucasian, and Red Indian, as well as Allophyllian races of mankind, with their patent and palpable characteristics of constitution, complexion, colour, and stature—their physical and psychal organization, corroborated by all our modern “Physical Researches into the Natural History of Mankind” (Pritchard); “Descriptive Sociology” (Spencer); and “Primitive Culture,” which “have brought History to the threshold of Science” (Tylor).

But as the historical analyst excludes the Allophyllian races from his investigations, and devotes his attention to the Mongolian and Caucasian, Turanian and Iranian, Hellenic and Latin, Shemitic Arab, Slavonic and Teutonic races, who have heralded the past course of civilization and education of humanity, the Sociological problem, started for his solution, resolves itself into, (1) the Racial Elements; (2) the Heredity; (3) the Language and Literature; (4) the Civil Polity; (5) the Religious System; and (6) the Social Education, which moulded the habits and character, and created the genius of any human race or individual, political and religious organization, corporation or association, in any given Ethnological Area.

The practical question then, for the historical analyst is, what formed the constituent elements of the genius and character of the Asiatic, African, and European; the Chinese, Hindu, Persian, Babylonian, Assyrian, Egyptian, Hebrew, Hellenic, Roman, Arab, Italian, Spanish, British, French, German, and Russian people? Such are the dominant races who have led the vanguard of ancient and modern civilization; and the solution of the Ethnological question, in every instance, is found in the analysis and synthesis of the Cosmologic, Chronologic, and Ethnologic “assemblage of conditions,” which determined the national character during the simultaneous and successive phases of social juvenescence, adolescence, and senescence—*e.g.*, the subject demanding scientific analysis in the historical province, is not, What constitutes the typical or ideal Roman or British character, for insertion in a modern fiction or romance? but, What racial, political, religious, and social forces determined the actual character, duty, and destiny, and dictated the policy of Brutus and Cincinnatus, Cæsar and Cicero, Seneca and Antoninus, on the one hand; or the British Harold and William the Conqueror, Bacon and Queen Elizabeth, on the other, during the juvenescent, adolescent, and senescent periods of national existence? Viewed in this aspect of historic and organic evolution, the heroes and representative men of

Rome and Britain will be found to have been "the products of the time," animated and inspired by "the spirit of the age" (*Zeitgeist*) in each Ethnologic area. "Man ist eben so gut Zeitbürger, als man Staatsbürger ist" (Schiller). Beyond all question, the classification of personal and national virtue (*virtus*, valour, worth, and greatness) will always depend upon the standpoint of the historic critic; witness the striking contrast between Bossuet's "Histoire Universelle" and Gibbon's "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire;" witness also the universal revolution of opinion accomplished during the course of last century, inaugurated by the modern method of "Exact Science," in Geology, Botany, Zoology, Physiology, Ethnology, and Comparative History, and exemplified in the "True Place of Man in Nature" (Huxley), the "Origin of Species" and the "Descent of Man" (Darwin), and Haeckel's "Naturgeschichte und Anthropogenie;" and the necessity of a new standard of scientific criticism.

Has each race and nationality, then, been stamped with a definite genius and character? That the population of each nation, from China to California, was distinguishable by well-marked characteristics of constitution, complexion, colour, and stature—physique—was fully apparent from our previous survey, and is amply confirmed by all physical researches into the natural history of mankind. What, then, does the analysis of their psychological and ethical constitution—psychique—reveal? Diversities of character in every latitude, terrestrial and political, official and non-official; Arctic, Temperate, and Tropical—princely, popular, and pauper—strike the eye on every hand, and demand dissection and investigation, into their origin and influence. Do not flocks of buttoned mandarins, jewelled rajahs, and many-tailed pashas (not excepting British nabobs) scour the plains of Asia with their cutlashed minions, tithe, mint, and toll the trembling ryots and peasants, and hurl their loads of prey and plunder at the feet of their master's throne, to sustain the monstrous magnificence of single Sultans, Grand Moguls, and "Sons of Heaven," from China to Constantinople? The abject, physical, social, and moral condition of the Chinaman, Hindu, Persian, and Turk, and of the Turanian, Aryan, Iranian, and Shemitic races—the cunning, crafty, cringing, falsifying, pilfering, vengeful, and credulous character, induced by the galling rule of ignorance, idolatry, superstition, and capricious absolutism, are only too well known. We shall therefore not dilate upon Asiaticism and Africanism. The late insurrection against British rule in India, and the horrors of Cawnpore, will long bear testimony to the correctness of the ethnological photography of every traveller to the East, as well as of Tennyson's couplet—"Better

fifty years of Europe than a Cycle in Cathay." Let us turn to Europe, then, with our anthropological tests, analyses, and a close inspection of our continental neighbours and contemporaries. Here we come in contact with the three great races—Latin, Teuton, and Slavonic—which maintain the struggle for pre-eminence in Europe. Can you pass a single frontier without instantly recognizing the distinction of racial constitution, complexion, custom, costume, and character? Scratch the French-polish which Peter the Great laid over the Slavonian, from Siberia to Sebastopol, and the Tartar blood appears in all the primitive purity of a rude and pastoral people. Imitativeness (the marked characteristic of national infancy), and imitativeness only of preceding civilization, superadded to nomadic patriarchy, prevails amongst the Pan-Slavic races. And the rough and ready exports of the "raw materials" of timber, tallow, hides, and caviare, metallic ores, and minerals, sufficiently declare the backwardness of Russian commerce and civilization.

The wide area, however, covered by the various branches of the Teutonic stock—Germany, Austria, Holland, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and Great Britain—presents a very different aspect. And yet, can we not trace in the fair complexion (*carulei oculi, rutilæ comæ, magna corpora, et tantum ad impetum valida*), massive features, open countenance, and robust constitution of the broad-browed German (of which Prince Albert formed an eminent type), the lineaments of the lineal descendants of the blue-eyed denizens of the Thuringian and Hercynian forests described in the "Germania" of Tacitus? In the indomitable valour and fortitude displayed in the Franco-Prussian war we see the very same characteristics which animated their ancestors to defend their Fatherland against the Masters of the World, and wrung the wail from the heart of Augustus, "Varus! give me back my legions." Nay, do we not recognize that same fortitude (intellectual power or strength of character, the foundation of all human greatness), exhibited in a different sphere, in the profundity, industry, and perseverance, which has raised them to the lofty position of the masters of Europe, and the world, in science, education, philosophy, poetry and criticism?

What scene, again, does the surface of Western Europe present to the anthropological photographer? Nothing more or less than a continuation of the Roman Empire, modified by the introduction of Frankish and Gothic elements, in the Gallic, Spanish, and Italian plains and peninsulas, moulded by Papal Christianity, and modernized during the course of mediæval feudalism into the French, Spanish, and Italian branches of the Latin stock, with those peculiar idiosyncrasies and special developments.

Can any linguistic differentiations prevent us from recognizing the Roman patrician in the Signor, Señor, or Seigneur, the people in the Tiers état, and the plebeian populace in the canaille and sans-culottes, gamins, and lazzaroni of Latin Christendom? In the olive complexion, the flashing eye, the hand on the sword or stiletto, the frowning Italian count, the haughty French noblesse, and the stately Spanish hidalgo; the old foes, with a new face, who played the patron (*patronus*, patriarch) with slavish clients (*clientes*, clansmen) in the fields and forum of ancient Rome?

Gaze on that human figure, brilliant with purple, stars, diamonds, jewels, tags, gold-lace, ruffles, high-heeled shoes, cocked-hat, feather, and gold-headed cane, surrounded with Maintenons and Montespons, Courtiers and Courtesans, pointing with pride, from the summit of the Tuileries to the possession of St. Germain on the right, Fontainebleau on the left, St. Cloud in the foreground, and a greedy retinue of spiritual directors and confessors, the patrons of art and literature, and behold the Imperial idol of "La Belle France," the successor of the Cæsars, the illustrious type of French "Gloire" and military valour—Louis the magnificent! "Le Grand Monarque!" The fourteenth of that name. Can you wonder that Paris became the centre of European civilization, the pattern of popular fashion, the seat of politeness and all human accomplishments? or that it supplied the world with silks, lace, wines, cognac, gimcracks, and articles of vertu, properly appreciated by the devoted followers of *Bon-ton*, and the fastidious epicures of "good society"? or that the famishing people, reduced by Imperial extravagance to the starvation point, should have risen *en masse*, smashed the gilded and attitudinizing *simulacrum*, with hosts of noble and spiritual statuettes which crowned the pyramid of Christian society, and established a "National Convention" of the three estates, for the security of "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity"? Long may the names of the exiles of France, Calvin and Rousseau, Volney and Voltaire—her political, religious, and intellectual emancipators, her real worth and glory, the fugitives to Ferney and Geneva, inscribed on the beadroll of civil, social, and religious heroes and martyrs—prove a warning to obscurantist obstructives of the progress of intellectual illumination!

We do not deem it necessary to enter further into a detailed portraiture of the prominent points of character—the fiery, impulsive, warm-hearted, generous passions and propensities—the "wild hysterics" peculiar to the Celt, or the hot-blooded populations of the Sunny South.

Our attention is now asked to the British branch, which was insulated from the great Teutonic trunk of Northern Europe, a

racial relationship attested by a striking family likeness in national traits and characteristics, as well as a common historic origin. For who knows not that the fleets of Scandinavian freebooters, and flotillas of Baltic filibusters, harried the coasts of Europe, swept the maritime provinces of their wealth, squatted for a while in Normandy, multiplied their hordes, summoned the bandits and brigands of France and Flanders to their standards, crossed the channel, slaughtered and subjected the Danes, Saxons, and ancient Britons, in possession of the British Islands, infeoffed themselves feudal lords of the soil, and squared their accounts to their own satisfaction in "Domesday Book," under William the Conqueror, the founder of the "bastard" stock of Norman civilization?

Such is the indisputable origin of the doughty Norman (north men) princes and peers, who curtailed the powers of their Suzerain Lord Paramount, by "Magna Charta," exterminated each other during the Wars of the Roses, found themselves bound by the Constitution of 1688, by the rising people, the numerous energetic "Middle Class" and "Great Commoners," who afterwards wrested from them a greater measure of "Reform" (1832), ultimately, secured "Household Suffrage" (1870) for the Community, and who now rejoice in a legitimate, limited, and Constitutional Monarchy of Queen, Lords, and Commons. Can you find a more correct specimen of the British character, moulded under the promiscuous education and influence of Feudalism and mediæval Christianity, than Bluff Harry, who rushes, sword in hand, to the breach against the common enemy, carries off "Defender of the Faith" for his laurels, but, stamping with royal indignation at the duplicity and tergiversation of the "Vicar of God" and *soi-disant* Father of Christendom, hurls defiance in his teeth, plants the tiara on his own brow as "Supreme Head of Church and State," glories in the suppression of nunneries, monasteries, mendicancy, and the monstrous vices of mediæval Christian institutions, and dooms wife after wife, priest and peer to the block, by "divine right to govern wrong," for the glory of God and the good of the country? "Nous avez changé tout cela." We are rooting out intolerance, inquisition in religion, class legislation and monopoly—the barbarous habits and practices bequeathed by mediæval Feudalism and Christianity. Can any one doubt, however, that the sterling constitution and manly qualities of "John Bull," the generous, ingenuous, good-natured soul, the boisterous big-heart, and roystering brutalities, reared on bread, beef, and beer—the staple products of the soil, nerved the "nation of shopkeepers" to carry their machineries, mechanisms, and manufactures—cotton, wool, and iron—into every market; to found families in America, Canada, Australia and New Zealand; to snatch the continent of India from

the gaping jaws of the "Northern Bear;" to threaten (from interference with international commerce, to make no bones of China), or that the people, palaces and pauperism, prayer-books, Protestantisms and prostitution, boxing, boating, racing, and fox hunting, drunkenness, poaching, adulterations and heterodoxies sprang from the rude stock and grafts of Teutonism, Druidism and Christianity?"

Long may British energy (*ενεργεια*, power of work), enterprise, and industry, prove the fac-simile and factory of Europe—an example to the world! Long may the disciples of Bacon, the founders of modern art and science, who have harnessed the lightning for messengers, and dragged the steam-ship and the rail-car at the heels of ministering fire, continue to tame the powers of Nature, to perform the national and international service of the universal family of humanity! And soon may the "relics" of piracy, prescription, patronage, protection, and privilege, civil, social, ecclesiastical and commercial, be swept from the statute-book of the realm by the institution of one common code of law and legislation for the common weal of the kingdom, and the attainment of universal toleration, non-intervention, and international arbitration!

So much for the salient characteristics traced in historic continuity and hereditary succession, which strike the eye of every ethnological observer; the complete delineation of which, exhibited in art, science, literature, religion, commerce and policy, constitutes the national genius of a people; and we shall only add in conclusion that minute attention must be paid by the author of any national monogram to the development and degeneracy of national character during the three periods of aggregation, productivity, and disintegration, in accordance with the divisions of our national type.

It only remains now to apply the test of psychological and anthropological evolution, and inquire—What advance have the nations who have culminated in the course of their development and education in Western Europe made beyond their preëcessors, in ancient and modern times?

The question is not simply—Has Confucius, Buddha, Manu, Zoroaster, Socrates, Aristotle, Plato, Cicero and Seneca, been thrown into the background by Luther, Bacon, Descartes, Leibnitz, or their peers, in art, science, literature, religion and philosophy? But has the average character of princes, peers, priests and people in the West been raised to a higher standard of intelligence and morality than in the East? and what is its psychological extent and value, in the intellectual, moral, and religious scale?

Replies to these questions, we are well aware, vary with the standpoint of every investigator; but we merely press such

queries to an approximate conclusion. Have the masses and millions of the Teutonic, Latin, and Slavonic races in Europe been driven into the frigid regions of our social latitudes, degraded into the mere "hands" and "tools" of powerful and opulent princes, peers and people, subservient to the sensual and sensational instincts of self-preservation and propagation? Can we vindicate our boast of the immense difference between the nominal and real practical slavery of ancient Oriental, Grecian, Roman and modern civilization? Has not the suffering people risen *en masse*, time after time, and chased the representatives of royal lions and eagles, with all their motley herds of purveyors, found guilty by popular verdict of malversation of taxation, maladministration of Government and self-aggrandizement, from their territories both in Europe and Britain? And does not the whole Continent heave with perpetual eruptions and explosions in the social atmosphere? Does the princely scramble for crowns, the sway of the sword, the scourge, the axe, and the knout, the popular "race for riches," the social devotion to Mammonism, and the "mud-gods"—"Dirt and Deity,"—alternately triumphant in Occidental life, demonstrate that average humanity has mounted to a much loftier degree in the psychological scale, than the vulpine, lupine, and feline predatory propensities of Turkish and Oriental civilization? Let Emerson reply: "We think our civilization near to the meridian, but we are yet only at the cock-crowing and the morning star. In our barbarous society the influence of character is in its infancy as a political power, and the rightful lord who is to tumble all rulers from their chairs, its presence is hardly yet suspected. The power of love, as the basis of a State, has never been tried. Could not a nation of Friends, even, devise better ways? We live in a very low state of the world, and pay unwilling tribute to Governments founded on Force."

To our mind the calm and considerate tone assumed by ethnological and anthropological critics of the countless varieties of the human species, due to the combined influence of territory, climate, race, government, religion, literature, hereditary tradition, and social development, is calculated to inspire the utmost toleration and courteousness in an age of perpetual travel, and international commerce and communication.

• V. *Political Physiology*.—Assuming that the reader is familiar with the modern doctrine of physiology, the "vertebrate skeleton," with its homologies and differentiations, osseous, muscular, nutritive, sanguineous, and nervous systems, common to the radiate, mollusc, articulate, and vertebrate kingdoms of Zoology, our contention is that any polity—*πολιτεία*—civil or ecclesiastical, domestic or municipal, exhibits a similar organic unity and cohesion in the genesis, structure, life, development, disorders,

and dissolution of its social body ("Bau und Leben des Socialen Körpers").

The fundamental atoms or units of all social organisms are male and female individuals, convertible by moral attraction and affinities into those domestic, municipal, provincial, and national bodies or corporations visible in the various ethnological areas on the surface of the globe. Accordingly, the male and female persons, powers, and properties, which enter into the organization of the domestic kingdom, form the fundamental type of the social microcosm and sociological basis of municipal, provincial, and national forms and functions.

The slightest observation of the organic condition of the social system reveals the existence of a series of civil, municipal, judicial, and legislative corporations which form the cerebral centre and backbone—"the collective wisdom"—of the civil community. And the ecclesiastical, scholastic, literary, military, and naval departments, complete the united professional service of the national organization; while the agricultural, commercial, and industrial members of the social organism supply the accumulation of "national resources," and contribute to their "distribution" through the common channels of communication—the roads, railroads, canals, and steamboats—the veins and arteries of the immense "body-politic," the exposition of which belongs to Plutology or Political Economy.

For the sake of illustration, take the "British Constitution:" the Houses of Lords and Commons form the collective wisdom, the source of all the political powers, legislative code and creed of the nation, municipal corporations, for the maintenance of police, lighting, cleaning and sanitation, school-boards, post office, excise and inland revenue, Court of Queen's Bench, Court of Session, Horseguards and Admiralty, and the national Churches of Scotland and England; and, although the legal and medical professions are independent of State control, the members are subject to the laws imposed by their respective legal and medical chartered corporations recognized by the State.

It is true the Literary profession forms at present an apparent exception, but the exception is more apparent than real; for literary talents and qualifications form the only standard of eligibility to the editorial office, or popular acceptance amongst authors in general literature, philosophy, science, and art; while all the members of the agricultural, commercial, and industrial departments (with their chambers and trades' unions) of the social body, comply with the inexorable laws of supply and demand, and offer the national resources to public competition.

The strong bond of union, then, which constitutes a civil community, is the existence of a national code of common law, pro-

fessedly providing security of person and property—"civil and religious liberty"—and carrying its ramifications into every department of the State, for the maintenance of social order and self-government. All history bears testimony to the belief in national personality and responsibility, and the terrible awards meted out to every deviation from strict justice and honour, during the course of political existence.

- Any attempt to analyse the structure of the "British Constitution," the growth of ages, the sphere and duties of civil and ecclesiastical government and legislation, must be held irrelevant in this place, and properly belongs to the incipient science of "politics" and "sociology."

So much for the mere structure and constitution of the social organism. The question now arises, Can you trace the genesis of the British social organization to its primary and protoplasmic germs and furnish a description of the simultaneous and successive phases of its development during the past course of its political life? Of course the reply is in the affirmative; and very simple in the present instance, and introduces us moreover to the proper province of *national* history—the biography or life of nations. For can we not distinguish the fusion of the old British, Welsh, Celtic, Manx, Saxon, Danish, Norman (Scandinavian), Flemish, and French stocks of population, which entered into the life-blood of the modern English, Scottish, and Irish members of the social body, as well as into the structure of the language peculiar to each race? discriminate the Roman, Saxon, and Norman elements which formed the nucleus of the early British Constitution at the Norman Conquest (1066)? and define the Hebrew, Hellenic, and Roman ingredients which were amalgamated in the Christian system formulated at the Nicene Council (325)? True ethnological, political, and ecclesiastical critics of every school will carp and cavil at the exact significance and value of the various social forces, which contributed to the creation of the British political and ecclesiastical organism. Be that as it may, all the phases which the British Constitution has undergone during the course of fifteen centuries are plainly legible in the broad outlines of the feudal (A.D. 325–1066), imperial (1066–1688), and constitutional epochs of its organic existence. And the very same division forms the most appropriate epochs in the chronologic study of British literature, science, art, agriculture, commerce, and industry, presenting an unmistakeable conformity to the life and development of our national type.

Singular as the fact may appear at first sight, William the Conqueror, the son of the miller's daughter of Falaise, partitioned England amongst his feudal barons, at the Norman Conquest

studded the land with castles and garrisons, and imposed his bastard French on the courts of civil and canon law; and yet, in spite of all the efforts of the conquering race, the Anglo-Saxon, or English, language drove the foreigner from the Court, the camp, the Church, and the country, and now forms the popular language of our social offspring in the New World and Australia. Moreover, were they not decimated in the Wars of the Roses, decapitated in the person of Charles I. by Cromwell in the Civil Wars between Roundheads and Cavaliers; shorn of their power at the "glorious Revolution" under William and Mary in 1688; overborne by the "sovereignty of the people" and the Reform Bill of 1831; and threatened at present with the total deprivation of their surviving privileges of entail, ecclesiastical patronage, and class legislation, in the popular demand for the abolition of the land laws, the cheap and easy transfer of property, and the disestablishment and disendowment of the national Church of the country? Again, Has not the "one holy Catholic and Apostolic Church" (ἐκκλησία) of Christendom, which formed an integrant member of the "holy Roman empire" (*imperium*), embodied in Norman cathedrals, abbeys, and rituals, been subjected to ecclesiastical disintegration, cleared of the "saints and Queen of heaven" (the transmuted gods and goddesses of their Hellenic and Roman pedigree), the masses, missals, transubstantiations and rituals of mediævalism, and reduced, in the practice of the countless protesting children, to the rehabilitated creeds and codes of social devotion adapted to the intellectual demands of the nineteenth century? And yet again, Who does not know that the Hellenic, Latin, Scholastic, Cartesian, and Baconian compound of hereditary literature and philosophy has been hurled into the crucible of modern criticism and research, crystallized in the serial and symmetrical systems of Europe and Britain, and crowned with the hierarchy of the modern circle of the exact sciences—physical, psychological, mental, moral, and social, peculiar to the nineteenth century?

Such, then, is the scientific method of investigating the physiology and development of the social organism, the struggle for existence, carried on between the race, language, religion, and polity of the various members; the conversion, conservation, and natural selection of the several social forces which co-operate during the hereditary transmission and adaptation (*Vererbung und Anpassung*) of the successive phases of its organic evolution—inaugurated by the cultivation of the exact science of History, ready for application to the analysis of the numerous extinct and living organizations which crowd the surface of Europe, Asia, Africa, America, and Australasia. in endless variety and

gradation of physical, mental, religious, moral, and social culture, and civilization.

Hitherto the only essays investigating Social Pathology and Therapeutics—social disorders and their remedies—has been restricted to general and incidental observations on the history of ancient and modern nations. Devoid as every nation is of all political science, our State physicians are engaged in watching the daily symptoms and “signs of the times,” recorded in our public prints, in quoting the results of the latest “social experiments” from China to California, and in modifying and adapting their social remedies and measures to their special requirements.

Numerous instances of national Filiation and propagation can easily be cited, but cannot be subjected to verification in their details. That Abraham and Moses, Cecrops and Cadmus, Romulus and Numa, Constantine and Columbus, formed the successive social offspring of Chaldea, Egypt, Phœnicia, Greece, Rome, and Europe, are political phenomena recorded in the register of the “births, deaths, and marriages” of the universal family of humanity; but will any scientific historian accept the narratives of the Hebrew, Hellenic, Roman, and Christian social migrations and aggregations with equal readiness as the latest recitals of the modern “exodus” from Britain and Europe to the New World, from A.D. 1492 to 1880? Certainly not.

The very dissolution of the social organism, as well as of its integrant and incorporate members, becomes the subject of observation and investigation, as, *e.g.*, was witnessed at the destruction of Jerusalem, A.D. 70; the fall of Rome, A.D. 476; and Constantinople, the extinction of the first Christian empire, A.D. 1453;—not only so, but the actual termination of a political organization becomes a problem of approximate calculation in the present day—*e.g.*, all the world is aware that our European communities of nations date their birth from the fall of the Roman empire, A.D. 476, attained their culmination in the sixteenth century, and are verging on constitutional senility and decrepitude in the nineteenth century. Surely the extinction of the temporal power of the Pope, and the foundation of a “free Church in a free State” in Rome; the dismemberment of the Ottoman empire; the establishment of constitutional government and a new civil polity on the basis of the “Code Napoleon” in France—“the eldest son of the Church”—form the commencement of a new era, in Rome and Constantinople, the two foci of European culture and civilization! At any rate, the centenary of national independence in the “New World” exhibits the extraordinary results of a novel social experiment on a new

site and soil, disengaged from the superannuated civil and religious institutions, which are subjected to re-organization on the same model in Europe and Britain, in the present

VI. *Ecclesiology; or, the Religious Creeds and Ethical Codes of Social Organisms.*—Can we trace the operation of the same law of spontaneous origination and organization in the ecclesiastical polities and religious systems, as well as in the civil polities, recorded in the archives of universal history? is the question which forms our next subject of historical investigation. Let the seven stages of the ascending series of our chronological scale be our reply:—

1. At the age of the Renaissance and Revival of Learning, we meet first with the fall of Constantinople and the Eastern Church, the Protestant Reformation, and the rise of Socinianism or pure Theism, A.D. 1453.

2. At the destruction of Rome, with the incipient ecclesiastical system of European Christianity, formulated at the Nicene Council, A.D. 325, and the rise of Mohammedanism, A.D. 622.

3. At the fall of Jerusalem and Judaism, with the origin of pure and primitive Christianity, A.D. 70, as well as its equivalent—Roman Stoicism.

4. At the era of Alexander the Great, and conquest of Western Asia, with the origin of Grecian Philosophy—*i.e.*, the love of wisdom (*φιλοσοφία*) and faith in pure "Being" (*το ον*), B.C. 300.

5. At the era of Cyrus the Great, with the birth of Parsism or Zoroastrianism in Persia, Buddhism in India, and Confucianism in China, B.C. 500.

6. At the age of David and Solomon, and the complete conquest of Palestine, the foundation of the Temple and culmination of ancient Judaism, B.C. 1000.

7. We encounter the existence of the aboriginal religions of humanity, Chaldean, Egyptian, Phœnician, Babylonian, Assyrian, Median, Indian, Chinese, and Allophyllian, which prevailed during the prehistoric periods of hoary antiquity, and are attested by the scientific data of archæology.

From this extensive catalogue it is evident that a thorough investigation of the subject would demand the analysis of the simultaneous and successive systems of religion and philosophy, theosophies, theogonies, and theories of the universe peculiar to the various races, tribes, communities, and empires of the earth, which have predominated during the course of historic evolution. For the mere purpose of stating the data and desiderata in this department, let us run over the series of Religious systems,

which must be systematized and expounded by the historical scientist.

1. *China* (Mongolian Race ;—Confucianism and Buddhism).—Whatever may have been the primitive religious customs peculiar to ancient patriarchism and tribalism in China, the worship of "Tien," the Lord of heaven, is inculcated in the sacred books (edited but not composed by Confucius, born B.C. 551). Not only so, but the religion of Buddhism founded by Gautama Buddha (born B.C. 500) in Thibet, author of the Tri-pitaka, or Sacred Law, based on the suppression and self-government of the passions, and the attainment of Nirvana, or pure Quietism, and Spiritual Equanimity, overspread China in common with Thibet, Burmah, and Chinese Tartary—thus constituting two religious systems which have met the requirements of 300,000,000 of the Mongolian race for the last two millenniums.

2. *India* (Aryan Race ;—Brahmanism).—Thanks to British, Continental, and Anglo-Indian Orientalists, the broad outlines of the chronologic evolution of the Hindu religion peculiar to the Aryan race has been determined with approximate exactness to fix the dates of the Vedas, the sacred books, or "self-evident word proceeding out of the mouth of God." (1) The Chhandas period, B.C. 1200-1000, the era of the composition of the Rig-veda, the institutes of Manu, and the offering of human sacrifices to propitiate the gods of the Hindu Pantheon by the Aryan patriarchs, who discharged the primitive functions of prophet, priest, and king *in propria persona*. (2) The Mantra period, B.C. 100-800, productive of the remaining three, the Sama, the Yajur, and the Atharva Vedas, and eighteen Puranas, or commentaries (inclusive of theogonies and the cosmogonies) upon them, during the course of which the domestic patriarchs were superseded by an ecclesiastical priesthood of Brahmans, by animal sacrifices, and an established ritual; the 3rd, B.C. 800-600, the Brahmana period, when the Brahmanic caste devoted their attention to the production of religious rituals, the Sanhita or Sanscrit prayer-book, tracts and treatises adapted to popular instruction, and animal sacrifices yielded to offerings of rice and other vegetable products of the soil; and 4th, B.C. 600-200, the Sutra period, swarming with a miscellaneous offspring of philological, hermeneutical, and rubrical vedangas and expositions deemed necessary for the ecclesiastical education of the candidates for the priesthood, and the proper discharge of the sacred functions in the Hindu temples.

All detailed analysis of the Hindu Pantheon, Brahm, Brahma, Vishnu, Shiva, and their divine ovations and incarnations and personifications of the powers of Nature, surviving

among the Indo-European races, must be excluded in our present limits.

3. *Rome, Greece, and Western Asia* (Indo-European races).—The close observation of the ancient Assyrian, Babylonian, Median, Persian, Phœnician, Palestinian, Egyptian, Carthaginian, Grecian, and Roman religions, demonstrates that one and all betray their common origin from the same stock, by a family likeness, a simple worship, sacerdotalism, and ritualism peculiar to the race, language, and region distinguished by differentiated characteristics and divine nomenclature; for the Assyrian title of Lord of Heaven is Asshur and Il, represented on the slabs of Nineveh by a human being and wings like the cherubim. The Babylonian is Bel; the Phœnician and Carthaginian is Baal (Lord); the Palestinian El and Jahveh (Almighty Author of Life), whose emblem was the cherubim, composed of the blended heads of an ox, eagle, lion, and man (divine power directed by sovereign reason); the Persian, Spento-Mainyus, Ormuzd, or the Spirit of Light, and Angro-Mainyus, or Ahriman, or the Spirit of Darkness; the Egyptian, Isis and Osiris, or the alternation of Day and Night, Light and Darkness, effected by the revolution of the solar system; the Roman, Jupiter, Dyaus-Piter, or Lord of Day; and the Greek, Apollo, the Source of Light. For Pantheons and particulars we must refer to special ecclesiology.

4. *Europe and Britain* (Latin, Teutonic, and Slavonic races, Christianism).—Although the primitive founders of the Society of Jesus swept away the sacerdotalism, sacrificialism, tithes, and ritualism of temple worship, characteristic of the religious polities and systems of antiquity in their radical revolution, and restored the original brotherhood and divine fatherhood of the universal family of humanity, according to the attestation of their lives, letters, and literary remains, collected into a "canon," or rule of life and worship, during the three first centuries of our era, and transmitted to posterity; nevertheless, a full-blown Christian hierarchy sprang up under the sunshine of imperial favour from Rome to Constantinople, from London to St. Petersburg, within the ethnological area of the Latin, Teuton, and Slavonic races, fully equipped with secular and regular priests, titles, tithes, temples, a college of cardinals and ecclesiastical princes, crowned with the Papal Pontiff, invested with a triple tiara of temporal and spiritual sovereignty, wielding the keys of heaven, earth, and hell, dowered with Peter's patrimony, "the States of the Church," and playing the god with the prerogative thunders of Papal infallibility throughout universal Christendom.

Time, and time only, must be granted to our ecclesiastical and

critical collaborateurs, Strauss, Benson, Farrar, Stanley, Pressensé, Renouf, Burnouf, Müller, and Beecher, with their Lives of Jesus, Ecclesiastical Histories, and Sciences of Religion, who are surveying the whole field of European Christianity, expounding the genesis, structure, and evolution, and plying their religious microscopes and tests, for the purpose of disengaging the Aryan, Iranian, and Shemitic, Hebrew, Hellenic, and Latin elements, superstitions, and hereditary traditions, from the pure and unadulterated theology and ethnology of humanity. But the lofty standpoint of the historical scientist qualifies him for the attitude of general arbitrator, in the midst of Papal, Protestant, and Rational Christian advocates, who cling to the antiquated and superannuated "survivals" of the creed of the "Juventus Mundi."

5. *Turkey in Europe, Northern Africa, and Western Asia*: (Mongolian, Aryan, Iranian, Shemitic, Negro, and Slavonian races;—Mohammedanism).—The very same sacred order has been perpetuated under the Mohammedan system, which displaced the earliest Christian organization prevalent amongst the Shemitic and Christian races in the east of Europe, and Mollahs, Imams, and Muftis proclaim the law of God in their domed and minaretted mosques, to 300,000,000 members of the human family, from Constantinople to Calcutta, from the page of the holy "Koran," published in successive chapters by their renowned and revered founder, Mohammed, in the seventh century of our era, and their devoted followers kneel on an extemporized carpet by sea and land, at the five successive hours of daily prayer, and breathe their ascriptions of praise to the Deity. "Great is Allah (equivalent to the Hebrew El, the sole and Sovereign Source of Life), and Mohammed is the Prophet of God!"

No analysis of the divine conceptions and ideals peculiar to these races and religions can be given here; suffice it to state, that one and all betray a graduated scale of Anthropomorphism. "In seinen Göttern malt sich der Mensch" (Schiller)—all the gods of humanity are only reflections of himself.

Since the commencement of the Reformation, the revival of learning, and the reorganization of modern society, in the sixteenth century, the hereditary and time-worn institutions of antiquity have been crumbling to pieces from China to California, from Siberia to Utah, and the universal and chaotic scene of social convulsion and revolution has been worse confounded by the swarming of anti-Christian, Protestant, and antagonistic sects, schisms, and societies—Chinese Taepings, Hindu Somai, Mohammedan Wahabees, Russian Raskolniks, Lutherans, Swedenborgians, Huguenots, Episcopalians, Methodists, Presbyterians,

Independents, Quakers, Shakers, Trinitarians, Unitarians, Morissonians and Mormonists, Spiritualists, Materialists, Harmony Halls, Communists, and Pantisocracies for the salvation of the species, and the universal redemption of humanity; and the striking similarity of the phenomena exhibited during "the struggle for existence," carried on between the ancient Roman and the early Christian faith, authorizes the anticipation of the construction of a religious system on a comprehensive basis, co-extensive and commensurate with the human race, entertained by the most penetrating and philosophic minds of the present age.

In this department Lord Amberley's "Analysis of Religious Belief" merits special commendation, and supplies a long list of authorities for the benefit of ecclesiological students.

VII. *Glossology; or, the Language and Literature of Social Organisms.*—The language and literature of the great historic races now form the theme of our next chapter of the life of universal humanity; and in this section the historical analyst traces the genesis of human language and opinion, the evolution and hereditary succession of ideas regarding the deity and destiny of man, and the physical and moral government of the universe within their respective ethnologic areas.

So far as human language is concerned, our simple office is the acceptance of the linguistic *data* offered by the philologist—the linguistic stock, with its various branches ramified throughout the terrestrial areas of "geographical distribution," springing from the Sanskrit, with all its cognates and congeners—the Zend, Shemitic, Hellenic, Latin, Latinized Italian, Spanish, French, Celtic, German, and Anglo-Saxon languages, peculiar to the extinct and living national organisms of Asia, Africa, and Europe. Accordingly, we relegate the history of the genesis of language arising in the "Gestures and Gesticulations of Animals" (Darwin), the natural expression of animal and human ideas and emotions, and all the runes, cyphers, cuneiform letters, Egyptian hieroglyphs, cursive and uncial signs, characteristic of linguistic development, to the province of Philology and the "Science of Language."

So far, again, as national literature is concerned, the detailed investigation of the literary products of human genius offer the most infallible index and measure of intellectual and emotional consciousness and capacity during the chronologic evolution of the education of humanity. In fact, according to the preceding observations of the site, soil, scenery, civil and religious polity of these centres of social distribution, from only the physical "environments," which determine and mould the physical and psychical development of human culture and civilization.

Strictly, then, the critical analysis and estimate of all national literary products should be divided, according to our national type, into the three periods of literary juvenescence, adolescence, and senescence; but the fossil relics of Oriental culture will not always admit of such exact division; accordingly, we are compelled, for the purpose of illustrating our historical method, to signalize (more especially in this place) only the more prominent characteristics of the literary genius and character of the respective races of humanity. Moreover, it is the course suggested by Bacon in his "Advancement of Learning:" "We recommend that the successive centuries (or shorter periods) beginning from the remotest antiquity, the principal works composed in the course of each, should be consulted, and that though these works could not be read through (for that would be an infinite labour), they should be so tasted, and their argument, style, and method should be so observed, that the literary genesis of their age should be evoked from the dead, as if by some incantation."

1. *China* (Mongolian race, B.C. 2637).—The sacred books of Confucianism: the "Five Classics," "Yih King," "Chou King," "Chi King," "Li Ki," "Chun-tsen;" and the four books, "Ta-heo," "Chung," "Yung-Lun-yu," and "Meng-tse." Also the sacred books of Buddhism, B.C. 500; the "Tri-pitaka: or Three Repositories," comprising the sutras or aphorisms; the "Vinaya: or Discipline," and the "Abdharma: or the Perfect Law."

2. *India* (Aryan race, B.C. 1200-200).—The sacred books of Brahmanism: Rig. Sama. Yajur and Atharva Vedas; Puranas; and Institutes of Manu.

3. *Persia* (Iranian race, B.C. 500).—The sacred books of Zoroastrianism: the "Zendavesta."

4. *Chaldea, Assyria, Babylonia* (Shemitic races, B.C. 2000). Literature transmitted on bricks, cylinders, inscriptions, and cuneiform letters.—*Judea* (B.C. 1500). Sacred books: "The Law of Moses," "The Psalms," "The Prophets," and "The Apocrypha."—*Arabia* (A.D. 622). Sacred book: "The Koran," and Arabic literature.

5. *Egypt* (Coptic race, B.C. 3000).—Literature transmitted on monuments, monoliths, temples, sarcophagi, hieroglyphs, and papyri rolls.

6. *Greece* (Indo-European race, B.C. 1500). Literature: lyric and epic poetry, drama, philosophy, and history.

7. *Rome* (Indo-European race, B.C. 753). Sacred books: The Lives and Letters of Jesus, Paul, Peter, James, John, and Judas. Literature: Lyric and epic poetry, drama, philosophy, and history.

8. *Europe, including Britain* (Latin, Teutonic, and Slavonic

ances, A.D. 476). Literature : Lyric and epic poetry, drama, philosophy, science, and history.

Bearing in mind that the sole office of a psychologist, like that of a botanist and zoologist, is the quantitative and qualitative analysis of these literary products of humanity—the first step takes us through “the door of wisdom,” the “*Ta Heo*” or Grand Study of Confucius, which forms the basis of the Chinese curriculum of science, literature, and religion, and the standard of eligibility for all candidates of the Civil Service throughout the Celestial Empire; it also takes us to the three Repositories of Buddhism, the mild and melancholy disciples of “the Lotos of the Divine Law,” who aspire to mental peace, purity, and perfection by the total subjugation of all the human passions. The second step carries us through the schools and temples of India, crammed with the prototypes of all the Cosmogonies, Theogonies, Theodicies, and Theories of the universe, which sprang from the “institutes of Manu”—the civil, religious, and moral code of Hinduism; the six systems of philosophy, the two Sankya, Nyaya, Vaiseschika, and the two Mimansa, deistic and atheistic, vedistic and atomical, which dominated Indo-European literature and opinion. The third step bears us to the pillared halls of Persepolis, the home of Cyrus and Xerxes, the conquerors of Babylon, Egypt and Greece, the source of all the tales and memories of Thermopylæ, Marathon and Platea, found in Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, and Arrian, closing with the retribution of Alexander the Great at Granicus and Arbela, whilst the moral notes of Zarathustra fall on the ear: “Wisdom is the shelter from lies; the humiliation of the Destroyer (the Evil Spirit); all perfect things are garnered up in the fair mansion of the pious mind, in the heart of the wise and the true, whom fame honours as the good. Therefore perform ye the commandments which, spoken by the mouth of Mazdu (the Wise Spirit) himself, have been given to mankind for the ruin and perdition of all liars, and the refuge and safety of him who believes in the truth: in them is the fountain of happiness.” The fourth step brings us to the sites and scenes of Shemitic culture, to Nineveh and Babylon, on the banks of the Euphrates and Tigris, with the lofty temples and palaces built in honour of Belus, the Sun-God; to the Chaldean account of Genesis lately recovered from the ruins of Nimroud; to Jerusalem, with its long roll of princes, priests and prophets, the law of Moses, the sacred poetry, the seers, censors, and satirists, familiar as household words to European and British ears; and to Mecca, the birthplace of the last of the prophets (save the Mormon), the Koran of Mohammed, and the relics of Arab literature bequeathed to Western Europe; the fifth step places us face to face with the Pyramids, the labyrinth, the Sphinxes, the

temples, tombs, monoliths and mummies of the Pharaohs on the banks of the Nile, bristling with sacred stories and mysteries hid from the foundation of the world, veritable "books of the dead," books of the lamentation and sighs of Isis, hymnologies, philosophies, astronomy, geometry, arithmetic, and history; and we listening to these "last words" of a living soul bound to the realms of Aahlu (Elysium), the Hades of Egypt: "O King Helios and all ye life-giving gods! take me to yourselves, suffer me to be the companion of the eternal gods; for I have honoured the gods my whole life through, to whom my parents devoted me. To the persons of my parents have I always shown respect; of other men none have I put to death; none have I defrauded of what was entrusted to me; nor have I been guilty of any other impious act. But I have sinned no less by eating and drinking what was not permitted; I have not sinned from myself, but owing to these." The sixth step transplants us across the Bosphorus to Athens (with its lofty Acropolis and Parthenon rejoicing in the divine protection of Pallas Athene—divine wisdom—the daughter of almighty Zeus, Dyaus Piter, the Father of Day), to its models of dramatic and epic poetry, and to the masters of philosophy, who laid the foundations of human virtue (*αρετη*), on justice (*δικη*), temperance (*σωφροσυνη*), true manliness or fortitude (*ανδρεια*) and wisdom (*σοφια*), and the "golden mean" (*μεσοτης*) of life and conduct. The seventh step plants us on the shores of the Eternal City, the standing type of all national organisms—Roma Antiqua, with its forum, senate and camp, the basis of our legislative, judicial, military and municipal institutions, and brings us into the presence of Cicero, Seneca, Epictetus and Antoninus, JESUS and Paul, the Roman reformers and "seekers after God," and fathers of primeval Christianity who laid the foundations of the organic life and character, the political, religious and ethical creed and code of the complete family of nationalities throughout the area of Western Europe. And the last step in our critical career introduces us to the ponderous tomes and voluminous folios of Byzantine, British and European literature—the rich, ripe and rare stores of the vast harvest of human culture and civilization, offered in the "Encyclopædia Britannica" to the world for the complete cycle of universal literature.

The magnitude of the subject must excuse the meagre skeleton of the tree of knowledge of good and evil, which has sustained the life of universal humanity during the past course of culture and civilization. The discussion of the exact value and rank in the order of merit of these literary products belongs to the department of comparative history.

VIII. *Callistology; or, Aesthetics and the Fine Arts of Social*
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Organisms.—The fine arts, architecture, sculpture, painting, music and dancing form the subject of our next historical survey ; and as they give marked and vivid expression to racial and national genius, they are fully entitled to due consideration from the historical scientist. Nothing but the crumbling ruins and relics of ancient and classical architecture, sculpture and painting, are found on the sites of the great centres of civilization. Sufficient materials, however, have been collected by our indefatigable antiquarians to impart a correct idea of the architectural, sculptural and pictorial genius of the various races who have successively participated in the past course of human culture, and ample compensation is offered to all artistic connoisseurs by the rich and abundant supplies of our British and European public museums, academies, and private collections. The sole object, however, we have in view at present is gained by repeating that the same course should be followed in tracing the history of the fine arts as of literature—viz., the observation of their chronologic evolution during the three periods of juvenescence, adolescence and senescence, in each ethnologic area. That evolution should be studied under the following divisions: (1) domestic, (2) municipal, (3) castellated, (4) ecclesiastical or religious, and (5) palatial architecture, sculpture and painting, including music and dancing, adapted to the requirements of the people, public and religious institutions, the nobility and royalty.

The merest glance at Ruskin's "Palaces of Architecture," Ferguson's "History of Architecture," or D'Anvers' "Elementary History of Art," is sufficient of itself to prove the existence of a consensus between the political, religious, literary and artistic development of natural genius—*e.g.*, the rise and uses of the Archaic, massive and heavy Doric orders in Greece took place between B.C. 600–470, the age of Solon and the Persian War; tempered and modified by the chaste and elegant Ionic, exhibited in the Athenian Parthenon between B.C. 470–338, the Persian wars and Alexander the Great; and was succeeded B.C. 338–146, during the period of social declension, by the gorgeous Corinthian, decorated with profuse ornamentation, displayed by the temple of Minerva at Priene, in Asia Minor, built by Alexander the Great.

IX. Technology ; or, the Political Economy, Agriculture, Commerce and Industry of Social Organisms.—Our next section includes political or social economy in the widest acceptation of that term, embracing the entire province of the common arts of national life and industry, giving expression to the practical and mechanical genius of national organisms which ministers to the common necessities, conveniences, decencies and luxuries of

the people—viz., the agriculture, commerce, manufactures, navigation, trade and occupations, exhibited by proprietors and tenants, masters and men, capitalists and labourers, operatives and skilled artisans, in the various ethnologic areas of the globe. The raw materials of the soil—mineral, vegetable and animal—form the inexhaustible fund of all national resources, and therefore of all the agricultural, manufacturing, metallurgic products, textile and fictile fabrics, demanded and supplied, in the shape of houses, furniture, food, beverages, clothing, and all the appurtenances necessary for homes and households, the wealth and well-being of society. But the scientific exposition of this department of national life and industry, the production and distribution of wealth, belongs to the professors of political economy or plutology. The recent appointment of an "economic council" in connection with the German Parliament, for the purpose of superintending the united provinces of agriculture, commerce and industry, merits special notice in the progress and influence of the peaceful arts of modern life, which are gradually neutralizing the barbarous and warlike policy of the hereditary successors of Roman imperialism.

Here then the duty which devolves upon the historical scientist is to trace the successive steps taken by each race and nation in reducing the natural products of the mineral, vegetable and animal kingdoms to the use and service of man; and registering the mechanical inventions and discoveries contributed by each for the advancement and improvement of agriculture, commerce, manufactures and trade during the periods of social juvenescence, adolescence and senescence, in each ethnologic area. Such works as Anderson and Macpherson's "History of Commerce" and Porter's "Progress of the Nation," extended according to our scientific scheme, and applied to the investigation of ancient and modern agriculture, manufactures and industry, may be regarded as indications of the course open to students of universal technology.

X. *Historical Palæontology; or, the Archæology of Extinct Social Organisms.*—Turn over the contents of any work on botanical or physiological science, and you will find a chapter entitled "Palæontology," containing the fossil plants and animals which formed the living denizens of the globe during the Eozoic, Mesozoic and Cainozoic ages of evolution. So is it in historical palæontology; for the architectural, artistic, religious and literary relics of extinct social organisms have been transmitted in various degrees of preservation in the ancient centres of civilization in Europe, Asia, Africa, as well as in America, and may be roughly, though not exactly, classified under the same divisions.

We refer, of course, to the surviving relics of Roman, Hellenic and Hebrew architecture, art, religion, literature and polity, belonging to the Indo-European and Shemitic races, absorbed and assimilated by the social bodies of Europe and Britain. And as the bold outlines of their political juvenescence, adolescence and senescence are plainly discernible during the tribal, oligarchic and autocratic epochs of organic life, we place the immediate ancestors of European and British polity and policy in the Kainozoic age of ancient history (A.D. 325—B.C. 1500).

The primitive Aryan stock, again, with its voluminous Sanskrit literature, contained in the Vedas and Puranas, springing from the Hindu people, with its offshoots of Buddhistic literature (B.C. 500) treasured by the Mongol and Chinese people in the Tri-Pitaka or sacred books of Sakya-Muni, and Persian literature found in the Zendavesta of Zoroaster (B.C. 500), which forms the parent stock of the cognate languages of the Hellenic, Latin, Teutonic and Slavonic branches, has been subjected to critical analysis and chronologic division, but cannot be traced to its origin; and must therefore be classed in the Mesozoic ages of ancient history.

When, lastly, the historical analyst surveys the crumbling pyramids, labyrinths, obelisks and mummies, with their papyri rolls studded with hieroglyphs, in Egypt; the slabs and cylinders of Chaldea, Babylonia, Assyria, Media and Persia, covered with cruciform inscriptions; and the monosyllabic lines peculiar to the language of China and sacred classics of Confucius (B.C. 500), belonging to the Coptic, Shemitic and Mongolian races, the assurance rises in his mind that he is standing in the presence of the torsos and survivals of the Eozoic age of "primitive culture," and the early dawn of ancient history—the morning-land (*morgen-land*) of the young world.

The problem started for solution in presence of the ruins, relics and remnants of Asiatic and Oriental culture is—(1) What is the qualitative and quantitative genius and character of the political, architectural, artistic, religious, literary, commercial and industrial products contributed by the Mongolian, Aryan, Iranian, Shemitic, Hebrew, Hellenic and Latin social organisms, to the common fund of human culture and civilization, during the successive periods of their organic evolution? And (2) What constituent elements of hereditary polity and genius were reproduced in the process of organic *filiation* in the successive nationalities which have conducted the course of culture and civilization peculiar to the past education of humanity?

Such is the nature and extent of the vast analytical problem offered to the historical palæontologist; the wide province of Oriental archæology needs, moreover, an appendix devoted to the

delineation of the surviving art and architecture of Mexican and Peruvian civilization in the New World.

Reference only can be made on the present occasion to the thoroughgoing analysis of an extinct social organism in accordance with the scientific method of inquiry; we refer to the profound works of Max Müller on the "Science of Language," on "Sanskrit Literature," and the "Hibbert Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion;" the former tracing the languages of ancient and modern Europe—Hellenic, Latin, Teutonic, and Slavonic—to their parent Sanskrit stock, and the latter explaining the religious evolution of the Hindu genius during the course of ages anterior to the Christian era.

XI. *Historical Taxology, or the Classification of Extinct and Living Social Organisms.*—The natural order of organic evolution, just as in botany and zoology, provides the historical analyst with a classification of national organisms, ranging from the simplest homogeneous group or aggregation of social units observed in Allophyllian tribes, through every grade of political development to the most heterogeneous, complicated and highly differentiated civil, religious and social organizations, and these fall into three leading types of—(1) Patriarchal or Tribal; (2) Feudal or Aristocratic; and (3) Autocratic, Monarchic and Constitutional or Federal Polity.

Not one of the extinct social organisms of ancient civilization, Asiatic, African, or classic European (Hellenic and Latin) transcended the stage of aristocratic, despotic, or imperial autocracy. Hence the dictum of Hegel, that freedom formed the birthright of one only in the East, of the few in Greece and Rome, and of the many only in Western Europe. All the patriarchal and imperial dynasties of Asiatic and Egyptian civilization bear ample testimony to the truth of these political phenomena; and the overwhelming majority of the Hellenic and Roman population, cramped and crushed beneath the fetters of social slavery under eupatrid and patrician, regal, consular and imperial government, offer sufficient attestation of the same class of social facts.

Federal constitutionalism, the latest form of monarchic government, limited by a representative council and crowned by a "president," dates only from the "new era" of political evolution; the French Revolution synchronizing with the "Declaration of American Independence" and the genesis of the "United States" (A.D. 1776).

That ecclesiastical polity and religious systems are subject to the same law of organic evolution which determined the course of civil polity, is patent with simultaneous and successive development of European Christianity; for the primitive form assumed by the ecclesiastical organization of Christianity was

Presbyterial, corresponding to the clans and chieftains of tribalism; the second was Prelatic or Episcopal, corresponding to the baronial feudalism of the Middle Ages; and the third was Papal, homologous to the autocratic character of the *ancien régime* of civil society under which ecclesiastics claimed to exercise the rights of an *imperium in imperio*. And if we cannot discriminate the successive phases of religious development with equal distinctness in the case of extinct social organisms, we must ascribe it to the dearth of historic materials. At the same time it must be acknowledged that the periodic evolution and critical analysis of Confucianism, Buddhism, Brahmanism and Islamism, offered by Legge, Davids, Müller and Muir, present an approximation to chronologic exactitude.

XII. *Comparative History of Extinct and Living Social Organisms.*—All historical and political authors from Herodotus, Thucydides and Aristotle, to Hegel, Schlegel, Niebuhr and Buckle, have subjected the races, empires, and politics, which fell within the scope of their intellectual vision to comparative criticism. But the cursory, credulous and occasional remarks which distinguish the majority of ancient authors on comparative history belong to the minority of the human race, and were, moreover, restricted by their limited acquaintance with the physical and political geography of "the world," familiarly known to every tyro in our modern schools and universities.

So lately as the last century the bald outlines of the imperial dynasties of ancient and modern, classical and oriental nations, formed the sum and substance of the "Histoire Universelle" of Bossuet, and were subordinated to the sacred annals of the Hebrew people. But in addition to the physical and political geography of the terrestrial globe, surveyed and mapped with the utmost correctness and minuteness from pole to pole, the table of the historical scientist in the nineteenth century has been covered with the sacred books, literature and history of all the ancient and modern races which have conducted the course of human civilization. Hence the demand for the systematic study and classification of the immense body of historic materials which confounds the great majority of uneducated minds of the present age; the tentative "philosophies of history" offered by Schlegel and Hegel for the solution of the problem of the universal history of humanity; and lastly, the formulation of the general laws regarding soil, climate, food, and aspect of Nature, which determined the character of European and American civilization by Buckle.

Assuming, then, a tolerable acquaintance with these preliminary essays towards the formation of historical science, we find that the next step to be taken in its further prosecution is the com-

parative estimate of the terrestrial areas, extinct and living social organisms, peculiar to the various races who have contributed their qualitative and quantitative quota to the modern culture and civilization of the nineteenth century.

Strange as it may seem, the sites and scenes of the eight great races—Chinese, Aryan, Iranian, Shemitic, Coptic, Hellenic, Latin and Christian—who have successively and simultaneously carried forward the education of humanity, have been confined to thirty degrees of latitude (20 to 50) within the temperate zone, the merest fraction of the complete terrestrial globe open to the future progress of colonisation and civilization; and the flora, fauna and folk peculiar to these terrestrial areas, along with the determining causes of the food, habits and habitations of their respective inhabitants, form the endless theme of chronologic contrasts and comparisons.

Under this department the entire science of Physiography (*Erd-Kunde*), including geology, geography, botany, zoology and ethnology, is laid under contribution for the exposition and illustration of our subject. Details are out of the question. As the veriest tyro in botany knows, the indigenous products of rice and tea in China, and the cereals (oats, barley, and wheat) in Britain, give rise to the agricultural and horticultural practice and food of the Chinese and British population; the predominance of cotton in India and wool in Britain determines the common dress of the people in these warmer and colder latitudes; the bituminous bricks of Babylon on the banks of the Euphrates, and the solid granite and freestone of the Scottish metropolis, suggest the cause of the difference between these examples of oriental and occidental architecture; while the very colour, complexion and character of the populations belonging to the various degrees of climate incident to the temperate zone reflect the nature and conditions of the several countries in which they dwell. But notwithstanding the existence of these indigenous physical conditions, the national "exports" and "imports" are capable at any moment of revolutionizing the entire "mode of life" peculiar to any territorial area.

Statistics regarding the raw and manufactured materials of commerce, trade and industry—the mineral, vegetable and animal products which form the exchangeable commodities of those areas—belong rather to the "annals of commerce" and "political economy" than historical science. But every sociological critic who surveys the international communication which is carried on by land and sea—steamship and railway—can foresee the utter abolition of ancient national rivalries and hostilities, and the future reign of peaceful commercial and social intercourse, amongst the numerous communities which form the independent members of the universal family of humanity.

The time has not yet arrived for the complete restoration of the *disjecta membra* of the fossil politics of ancient Orientalism, buried to a great extent in the Chinese, Buddhist, Sanskrit and Persian literature, and Chaldean, Babylonian, Assyrian, Egyptian temples, hieroglyphs, cuneiform inscriptions. On the other hand, when a comparison is instituted between Hebrew, Hellenic, Latin, and Christian civilization, an unmistakable parallelism is observed to run through the continuous course of the juvenescent, adolescent and senescent periods of their political development.

Credulity itself rejects the fabulous archæology, *literatim et verbatim* of any of those historic races. At the same time, who can deny that clans and chieftains, eupatrids and helots, patricians and slaves, serfs and barons, formed the distinctive characteristics of these early polities from Joshua to Saul (B.C. 1450-1096), Cadmus to Codrus (1313-1045), Romulus to Tarquin (753-500), and Hengist and Horsa down to the Norman Conquest (A.D. 450-1066) ? or that a struggle for political status and existence was waged between the royal, eupatrid, patrician and baronial castes, and the emancipated slaves and serfs during the adolescent period, and that it culminated in the imperial dynasties of Solomon, Alexander, Cæsar, and Napoleon during the course of their senescent epochs ?

Scope and verge enough is open, in such a vast field, for sociological analysis and differentiation of the various organic functions of the civil, legislative, military, educational and commercial departments of the several polities mentioned—in a word, for the study of the “constitutional history” of political Hebraism, Hellenism, Latinism and Christianity.

It may fitly be asked, under this head, What historic provisions—the professed end and aim of exact science—are sanctioned by the comparative survey of ancient and modern social organisms ? But the question is more easily put than answered regarding the constitution, character and age of “social bodies,” whose very birth is buried in the ruins of Rome and Athens : very little stress, moreover, in the absence of a national register and pedigree, can be laid upon dates ; for nations, as well as individuals, have met with premature graves, and sometimes have been swallowed up by more powerful neighbours. But the abolition of Christianity in the eighteenth century, and the late establishment of federal constitutionalism in France ; the existence of a “free church in a free state” in Rome, the former centre of Christendom ; the social and religious discord ominous of revolution in Germany ; the imminent expectation of Russian “reformation” on the attainment of political majority (800-1800) ; the loud demand for the disestablishment and disendowment of Christianity in Britain ; its total repeal in Ireland ; and the utter repudiation

of any national religion amongst the political offspring of Christian Europe in her colonies and the "New World," offer sufficient evidence of an early and total re-organization of modern society, such as occurred at the dissolution of the Hebrew, Hellenic and Latin social organisms.

So long as the sacred books peculiar to each ethnological area, which have lately come into our possession, are still *sub judice*, no hasty attempt should be made to pronounce a verdict during the present stage of transitional theological criticism, and during the reconstruction of the religious creeds and moral codes of universal humanity.

What, then, is the method prescribed, it may be asked, by the historical analyst? Undoubtedly the course pursued by Max Müller in his "History of Sanskrit Literature," "Science of Religion," and the "Hibbert Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion;" and by Lord Amberley in his "Analysis of Religious Belief." The full, fair and free examination of these religious products of the human mind, on the same principles as the analysis of the vegetable and animal products of the soil for the sustentation of the physical and moral energies of humanity must be instituted. This process has already resulted in explaining the origin of Henotism, or the adoration of the primary powers and elemental agencies of Nature; of Polytheism, or the selection of a restricted number of divine personifications; of Monotheism, or the elimination of one Supreme Power and King of Heaven; and, lastly, of Agnosticism, or the renunciation of all positive assumptions regarding the nature and personality of Deity, and the acceptance of the visible physical and moral divine government of the universe as the successive stages of the evolution of the religious idea, during the education of humanity. "In seinen Göttern, malt sich der Mensch" (Schiller).

Side by side, *e.g.*, with the primary stock of language springing from the Sanskrit within the ethnological area of India, and the transplantation of its subsidiary branches, Hellenic, Latin, Teutonic and Slavonic, the cognate religious conceptions of divine personifications and incarnations of Brahmanic Polytheism have been transmitted into Western Europe. Suppose, for the sake of illustrating the utility of an historic method, the question put, What formed the constituent elements of the creed of Christianity formulated at the Nicene Council (A.D. 325) derived from Hebraism, Hellenism and Latinism? The exhaustive analysis of these dogmatic elements offers the only satisfactory solution of the religious problem of the present age, a scientific feat the successful accomplishment of which we anticipate at the hands of Renan in the second of the series of "Hibbert Lectures." And without entering into details, it will be agreed on all hands

that the two dogmas of the "divinity of the Son" and the "Holy Spirit"—divine incarnations and personifications borrowed from Orientalism, Hellenism and Latinism by the Christian bishops who excluded (in Stanley's language, in his "Eastern Church") "the wrecked race who crucified Jesus"—formed the theological differentiation, added to the Monotheism of Hebraism, in the Nicene Creed, the *nucleus* of European Christianity. Our space will not admit, however, of a comparative survey of the simultaneous and successive phases of Christianity (325) and Islamism (622) during the juvenescent, adolescent and senescent periods of modern Europe. Suffice it to have indicated the method of study necessary for the scientific investigation of the "burning question" of the age, and to have requested attention to the decomposition of the two religious systems which have predominated in Europe for a millennium.

The only language and literature of Orientalism which has been subjected to scientific analysis is the Sanskrit, and its chronologic evolution divided into the Chandras, Mantra and Sūtra periods. But we must refer the inquisitive student to Max Müller on "Sanskrit Literature," Legge's "Chinese Classics," Rhys David's "Tripitaka of Buddhism," Spiegel's "Zendavesta," and Muir's "Koran" and "Life of Mohammed," for the purpose of extracting the complicated politics, theology, ethics, and philosophy treasured in these literary stores, accumulated during the course of past millenniums.

But the Hebrew, Hellenic, Latin and Christian language and literature are capable of more easy chronological comparison during the simultaneous and successive juvenescent, adolescent and senescent periods of their national existence.

1. Take, *e.g.*, Deborah's song, the idyll of Ruth, Homer's "Iliad" and "Odyssey," Macaulay's "Lays of Ancient Rome," "The Cid," "The Romaunt of the Rose," "The Niebelungen Lied," and Barbour's "Bruce;" the pastoral simplicity, the shout and shock of hostile tribes, and heroic romanticism—in a word, the lower sensations and impassioned sentiments of barbarous humanity—breathe through the poetic ballads and prosing "chronicles" peculiar to the primitive culture and tribal ages of Hebrew, Hellenic, Latin and Christian European civilization.

2. Take the drama of Job, the poetry of the Hebrew psalmists, and the satire of Ecclesiastes; the tragedies and plays of Æschylus, Sophocles and Euripides; the philosophy of Socrates, Plato and Aristotle; Virgil's "Æneid;" with the philosophy of Cicero, Seneca, Epictetus, and Antoninus; Dante's "Commedia Divina;" "Don Quixote," Descartes, Corneille, Racine, Molière, Voltaire and Rousseau; Bacon and Locke;

the lyrics of Burns, and the philosophy of Hume; Goethe's "Faust," Kant, Fichte, Schelling, Hegel and Haeckel; and the profound problems of life and mind, the philosophy of human passion, the harmonies of the heart, the dramas of life, the theories and theodicies of the universe, stamped with the impress of original genius, sublimity and beauty, form the index and measure of the literary products of the Hebrew, Hellenic, Latin and Christian adolescence.

3. Take the censors, satirists, and moralists of prophetism; the comedies of Aristophanes, the dialogues of Lucian, with the Apologies of the Fathers; the satires of Swift and the positive philosophy of Comte; the poems of Byron, Shelley and Wordsworth; the deadly struggle for existence waged between the disciples of the old and new faith—all these concur in revealing the operation of the disorganizing and reorganizing powers and principles which impart the peculiar hue and colour to the senescent periods of Hebrew, Hellenic, Latin and Christian culture.

Such is the cosmopolitan comparison instituted by the historical critic and concluding the exposition we have now offered in vindication of the claim of history to the title of an exact science amongst its predecessors in the complete cyclopædia. Beyond all question it conforms to the same laws of general morphology in its scientific structure, reduces the chaotic phenomena of universal history (*Weltgeschichte*) to the most symmetrical order, and presents the same facilities for systematic instruction. But our present limits forbid a detailed comparison of these "social experiments," conducted during the progress of human culture and civilization by the "Divine Government:" accordingly, we can only commend their study for the express purpose of preventing the civil, religious, and social evils which were incident to the early history and development of the human race.

ART. VI.—AFGHANISTAN.

1. *History of Afghanistan from the Earliest Period to the Outbreak of the War of 1878.* By Colonel G. B. MALLESON, C.S.I. Second edition. London, 1879.
2. *The Races of Afghanistan: being a brief Account of the Principal Nations inhabiting that Country.* By Surgeon-Major H. W. BELLEW, C.S.I. Calcutta & London, 1880.
3. *Kandahar in 1879: being the Diary of Major Le Messurier, R.E.* London, 1880.
4. *Causes of the Afghan War.* London, 1879.
5. *Baunú; or our Afghan Frontier.* By S. S. THORBURN. London, 1876.
6. *The Afghan Frontier.* By Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL, M.P. London, 1879.
7. *Lord Lytton and the Afghan War.* By Captain W. J. EASTWICK. Fifth edition. London, 1879.
8. *Memorial of the Patriotic Association to Her Majesty's Government.* Printed in *The Times*, September 4, 1880.
9. *Letters on Afghan Affairs in 1880.* Bombay, 1880.

PASSION is a poor ally in affairs of the reason, and questions of Imperial policy can be better discussed in the quiet of the study than in the uproar of the platform. To a very great extent our recent policy in the East—for the Eastern question spreads from the Danube to the Indus, from Constantinople to Peshawur has suffered by reason of its being made the subject of party discussion. These subjects are hacks upon which men ride to power, and it is unfortunate that many questions which were formerly regarded as outside the domain of party politics, have recently been brought within the long and unsteady reach of public discussion and polemical argument. No subject has been more before the public than what has been spoken of as the Afghan question. The pens of illustrious statesmen and lawyers were enlisted on both sides, the platform resounded with party cries, and even the pulpit was made the vehicle for the conveyance of sound views upon the question of the right and justice of the war in Afghanistan. Now we should be very unwilling to say that the fullest discussion of any question was not fraught with benefit. There is no subject too sacred to be touched by reason. The more that the free minds of free men and the free tongues and free pens of men free from all restraints but those of due responsibility and conscience, are brought to

bear upon a subject, the better for truth. But free discussion is a very different thing from discussion for party purposes. Many questions of domestic policy can no doubt be more satisfactorily settled after a full party debate. The nation can hold the balance true between the garbling of either side. In such a case the interested motives of the disputants can do little harm. Such questions are a fair field upon which men may fight for place and power. The interests involved are between class and class of the same community; and are in their nature like large parochial questions. But when the question is one of Imperial policy, when it is one by which our national neighbours may be affected, and in which consequently, other countries are interested, and may profit by our errors, or by our contentions, then it seems that the question ought to be removed out of the purview of party politics, no longer ought to be treated as a legitimate question upon which to fight small party battles for the sake of portfolios, but that the question should be looked at in a broader, calmer and clearer light than that of the jaundiced light of jealousy or of the flare of passion, and that every citizen should endeavour to think what would be best, not for himself, but for the nation as a whole.

Now we say, with confidence, that many questions which would formerly have been treated as national questions have in recent times been dealt with as simply party politics, and we regard this change as one which is to be deprecated. We think that to this deplorable fact many of the errors which have been committed in relation to Afghanistan are due. There has been too much heat and too little light in this discussion. We do not say that the present Government are alone to blame. Politicians on both sides seem willing to fall into this error. But we believe that many of the weak measures—and weakness in politics is almost as bad as wickedness—which have disfigured the administration both of Mr. Gladstone's and Lord Beaconsfield's Governments, are ultimately due to this unseemly fact. We shall endeavour here to raise the question out of the trampled mud of politics, and to find a solution for the Afghan difficulty, irrespective of all considerations of Whig or Tory, of office or opposition. The recent history of Afghanistan is in everybody's mind. Errors have no doubt been committed in the past, and while it may be of importance to some to weigh these in hair balances, and apportion the blame to those to whom it is due, to us it seems that the main question is rather as to the future than as to the past. Those who have been in power may have made grave mistakes. We are not concerned to defend all the utterances of Lord Lytton, or all the acts of Lord Beaconsfield's Administration. But we are seriously concerned that no

further mistakes be made, that the errors of the past be as far as possible retrieved, and that those who have the power now, use it to the advantage, and not to the detriment of the Empire. At no time has the importance of the Afghan question been so paramount. A wrong turn in the road of policy now will mean an immense distance from the path of rectitude as time carries us farther and farther. We have, before long, to come to a decision which will colour our policy for a quarter of a century, which may result, in excellent or terrible results, as we choose well or ill, which may hand down our names with honour or infamy to many generations who may have to reap the dire or happy harvests which we are about to sow. It behoves us to be very careful. No rash desire on the part of the present Government to do something which the late Government would not have done, will excuse it in the eyes of the people for an error. No attempt to follow in the policy Lord Beaconsfield is said to have inaugurated will be acceptable if it leads us wrong. The Government have a great opportunity. But great opportunity means great success or great failure. What are they to do with Afghanistan? Is what they have already done wise or prudent? These are grave questions, and if we cannot answer them we can present some considerations which may at least tend towards an answer. But the question, What are we to do in relation to Afghanistan? receives much light from a contemplation of what our policy has always been in relation to that country. That we could not be indifferent to the condition of Afghanistan long ago forced itself as a fact upon the obtusest of statesmen. Every one has been impressed for the last forty years with the belief that we had substantial interests in India, which might be jeopardized by the attitude of Afghanistan, or by the presence in Afghanistan of a powerful foe. It was evidently necessary to do something to secure a friendly attitude upon the part of Afghanistan. That has been our policy. There was a considerable difficulty in securing an attitude in the Afghans at all. It is very difficult to get an attitude in a jelly-fish, and the constitution of the Afghans was scarcely higher in the scale of national development than that of the jelly-fish is in natural evolution. That, then, has been the main difficulty. A strong nation amongst the mountains of Afghanistan would, no doubt, have been a valuable ally. Such a nation would, if friendly, have been the means of putting a limit to the land aggrandizement of Russia, and of turning the tide of aggression which has flowed and is flowing over Central Asia. But a nation which was not a nation at all, a nation which was so fiercely independent that it wished to be independent of all rule, a people to whom lawlessness was a law, was worse than useless as an ally. An open enemy in

such a position would be better than a weak friend. So it is that we have been led to attempt to give stability to certain Governments of Afghanistan without unduly interfering with the internal affairs of an independent State. We have set the rickety child in splints, and sought to get a "friendly attitude," by means of many arts. We once made the mistake of attempting to set up a Government under our influence and of maintaining it by means of our support. That that was a fatal error the history of the Government of Shah Soojah sufficiently shows, and wisdom would dissuade from a repetition of a similar blunder. But it might almost be said that there is one thing man does not learn from, and that is experience. Notwithstanding our then mistake—a mistake* so fatal that in thinking of it Sir George Campbell is betrayed into the strong language of conjuring the Government "for God's sake" not to attempt to establish a Government which does not succeed in maintaining itself without our aid (p. 66)—we are, it would seem, repeating history in our recognition of Abdurrahman, for it seems almost certain that he will be unable to hold his own against the terrible irruptive forces within the country, and the insidious influence of cunning Courts outside, without British money and British aid. This is the view taken by a writer of some sensible letters upon Afghan affairs, and Sir George Campbell has himself expressed a strong opinion that, "without the command of money and large foreign territory, no permanent government of Afghanistan as a whole is possible" (p. 65). For many years, as we have said, we have been trying to secure a friendly hold upon Afghanistan, and that policy has had two objects in view: the first and most important was the frustration of the designs of Russia; and the second, to secure peace upon our borders, and turn the races upon our frontier from marauders and thieves into harmless and inoffensive neighbours. The policy of the past, looked at as if one of these objects, instead of both, had been the motive of it, would be ridiculous. The constant aggression of the Afghan tribes upon our borders is a notorious fact. Any one who will look at the history of our relations with Afghanistan will see how much trouble these neighbours have given us. Even our recent experience might induce us to take some speedy and effectual way of getting rid once and for ever of all the annoyance and trouble which has come to us from our policy in that quarter. It is a curious fact, and one well

* That it was a mistake most people are agreed. The author of "Kandahar in 1879" thinks that the Ghilzais might have been used to oust Sheer Ali, and that a Ghilzai chief might thus have been made the Ameer; but he admits that it would have been a mistake, and goes no farther into prophecy than to say that such a chief "might have been able to hold his own and rule the country," (pp. 100-101), and he might not.

known to the people of India, that every conqueror of Hindostan has come thither by way of Afghanistan ; but when each of them had once reached the plains of India, his expulsion seemed impossible. And if that is true of the conquerors of India, it seems likely to be true too that trouble to us will come—if it come at all—along the same path. We have always since we became a neighbour of Afghanistan been kept anxious by the turmoil and anarchy which has existed almost continually in that hotbed of disorder. We have endeavoured to secure peace and friendship on our borders. The treaty with Dost Mahomed Khan marks one of our efforts (1855). The difficulties of the course we steered between Sheer Ali and Afzul Khan were innumerable, and their history is one of embroiled diplomacy. We had interests which it was necessary to protect, and we have sought to secure them as if the ruler of Afghanistan was an European Monarch, instead of an Eastern potentate, upon a throne which rested upon treachery. But let us get back to facts. The criminal returns show that murder is infinitely more frequent in the Punjaub than in the other parts of India ; but in the Punjaub the Peshawar district is most famous for its fatal crimes. Neighbours who carry death into one's borders require some recognition, and mere passive neutrality in relation to such firebrands, is more than the law of nations or morality demands of us. We have attempted again and again to punish the tribes who thus wrought mischief within our empire. It is doubtless, as we heard at the Mansion House the other day, the duty of a Government to secure life and property within its jurisdiction, but that duty is no less imperative when life and property are threatened from without, as in the case of the Punjaub, than when threatened from within, as in the case of Ireland. But all our efforts have not put an end to the raids of the wild tribes. We have sent them to a commercial Coventry, in punishment of their crimes, and denied them the benefits of our trade, but that without subduing the "passionate independence" of the Afghans, which some writers so much admire. We have, too, made retaliatory invasions of their territories without much result. We have marched into the hills, we have seen the tribes scatter before our arms, we have burned a village which was almost too poor to make a good bonfire, and have returned again with a tormenting fringe of natives on our rear. Even up to the most recent times we have not secured peace on our borders. Now this of itself is far from satisfactory. We ought to be able to keep these tribes in check and we have failed. It is true, that up to the present time the cohesion of the Afghan tribes has been so slight that union amongst them has been impossible, and serious self-originated combination against our arms has been

impossible. Still the number of murders in the Peshawar district remains to attest the feebleness of our repulsion of these unneighbourly neighbours, and calls for some measure, such, for instance, as that which was advocated by Dr. Bellew, which will terminate the restless and dangerous hostility of these aggressive mountain tribes. But it would be altogether erroneous to look at this question of our troublesome neighbours apart from the larger question of our relations to Russia. That country has been stalking over the world in seven-league boots. Since 1862 she has travelled on the road of conquest some 1,500 miles towards India. Lord Salisbury once told some Russophobists, who feared Russia, and who looked for confirmation of their fears to the enormous progress of that country, to study "large masses"—but, in answer to his superior sneer, we may say that it requires large masses to follow the Russian progress: Russian garrisons are now at Samarkand, Tashkend, Bokhara, and Khokan. They can mass armies within striking distance of our north-west frontier of India. Is not that a matter for serious consideration? Did Russia come in this force to acquire the desert? or is the desert the road to India? One will go a weary journey to Paradise; but Central Asia—it is not worth the annexation. Russian ambition will not stop in the sand. We do not say, as many have said, as the Patriotic Association in their Memorial to the Government do say, that the one object of Russia from the first has been India. We are content to believe that Russian progress is like skating, when every step requires a further one in order to maintain equilibrium. We are content to believe that, as apologists say, "tendencies have been stronger than promises," and that Russia has been forced on against her honest will until she is no further from our borders than Aberdeen is from London. We know that she is again on the war-path, and that every fresh advance is an excuse for further advances. All these facts complicate the question of—What is to be done with our troublesome neighbours the Afghans? The mere question of "policing" the frontier would be a very different one if Russia were still at the Caspian. What has always drawn Russia on has been the turbulence of the tribes beyond her borders. We do not say that that is not a sufficient reason for conquest. A civilized power is bound to secure her borders from lawless aggression, and Russia has in some instances been drawn on to the east by the crimes of her neighbours. Such barbarous nations as she was brought into contact with were not to be policed by means of occasional invasions, but by the strong, firm hand of conquest. But where is this march of Russia to stop? Neutral zones, when the neutrality is combined with savagery, are impossible, and it seems to be certain to all

wise foreseeing persons that England and Russia must meet in Asia.

In view of this conclusion, the Afghan Question assumes quite other proportions. It is no longer a question of securing the inoffence of these rabble tribes, but securing India against a foe who may step upon Afghan necks towards our frontier. If turbulence is the excuse of Russian advance, it will, when it is at Merv, find enough of that excuse in Afghanistan. If lawlessness invites the presence of the missionaries of law, Afghanistan is urging one of her great neighbours to come and rule her. The question to be solved at present is which of these great neighbours it is to be. If we retain what we have got, it will be England; if we retire now, after our loss of blood and money, if we go back again like a snail into our thin shell of frontier on the Indus, it will be Russia. Now the presence of Russia in Afghanistan would be fraught with terrible danger to us. Our whole policy has been to estrange Afghanistan from Russia, and to secure her friendship for ourselves; if we retire now, we cannot but think that our policy will result in what we have been seeking to avoid. For these reasons, and for others which we shall urge, we believe that the safety of our Indian Empire depends upon our continuing to hold Afghanistan. True, some scrupulous consciences would have us only take a little bit, apparently holding, like the woman who had the child out of wedlock, that the smallness of the size mitigated the criminality. But if these views are thoroughly considered, their seeming scrupulosity will be found to be nothing but cowardly shrinking from responsibility.

To those who deny the imminence of a Russian question in Afghanistan, history must be a sealed book. We know too much of the recent past to be able to shut our eyes to the immediate future. History tells us that while many of our statesmen continued to credit Russia with sincerity, her bills upon belief had already been dishonoured at other Courts. Her designs were not disguised by the flimsy falsehoods in which she thought fit to wrap them. A lie in the mouth of a habitually truthful person may deceive, but the continuity of deception in those who have already been convicted of falsehood can blind only the foolish to the truth. Russian policy has been better understood in Afghanistan than at the India Office. The Amir Sheer Ali knew the worth of Russian assurances, for he had seen what they had said and what they had done about Khiva. It is easy to promise when you have no intention to perform, and the diplomacy of Russia in relation to the Eastern Question seems to have consisted largely of unvarnished statements. She has by her practice tended to justify an unseemly emphasis on the latter part of the term, statecraft. But why these assurances should have deceived

English ministers, Indian viceroys, and large numbers of the English people, it is difficult to say. That they did deceive seems certain.* High officials clung to the last to Prince Gortchakow's promise not to send his agents to Afghanistan. We know how truly that was kept. When the Amir complained to England of the advance of Russia, and expressed his fears of that advance, when he went so far as to suggest the very method of Russian approach in prophetic history, and hinted that they would occupy Merv, that the Turkomans would then seek refuge in Afghanistan, and be a thorn in the side of the Russians, who would hold Afghanistan responsible, or would invade Afghan territory with a view to the punishment of the Turkomans—all this was pointed out to us; but we assured the Amir that his fears were unfounded. We had the Russian assurance that Afghanistan was outside the sphere in which Russia might be called to exercise her influence. True, she had made similar assurances before, and her progress had gone on unlimited by promises. True, the sphere in which she exercised what she called her "influence" had expanded and expanded. She had been drawn on from Orenburgh to Tashkend, from Tashkend to Khiva, and Central Asia was a Russian province. But still our Ministers credited Russia with honourable designs. We had doubts of her policy, but we dissembled these and played "a waiting game." We countenanced the Amir. We were convinced of the necessity of friendly relations with our neighbour. We must have intimate treaty relations. Even one of the most tardy of viceroys acknowledged that "our relations with Afghanistan are of a kind quite inconsistent with neutrality in its strict sense." We were most anxious to secure peace on its borders, and any embroilment of Afghanistan in an external war would, we knew, be a serious peril to India. We must, therefore, have a say in its external policy. We would, in case it was threatened, supply it with money, with arms and men, but we must be a judge of the necessity. The urgency of the case in the present instance was, we were certain, exaggerated. It might be well to have officers resident in Afghanistan. It would be well if an English officer of skill and ability surveyed the frontier of Afghanistan which we might be called upon to defend. All these negotiations took

* Are they not again deceiving our Government? If not, what is the meaning of Lord Ripon's statement at the Durbar held at Lahore on the 15th November, that his intention was to resume the policy of Lord Lawrence and follow in his footsteps; and that the chiefs, like the Government, must turn their attention to internal progress? There was really and substantially no distinction between the policy of Lord Lawrence and Lord Lytton; but it suits party purposes to make it seem that Lord Lytton's policy was a new departure, and the Viceroy is, we are sorry to see, a party politician.

place. At one time, at least, the Amir was ready to throw himself into our arms, but it was more consistent with Western custom to shake hands. We would have friendly relations, but we would make friends our way, not his. We knew that it was a fallacy to suppose that India could be defended upon the Indus, we knew that our battle must be fought in or beyond Afghanistan if it was to be fought successfully; and we were willing to enter into treaties by which the Amir was bound to be friend of our friends, and enemy of our enemies; we were willing to support and encourage him as *de facto* ruler, but not to meddle in the internal affairs of the country, not to recognize his dynasty. We were willing to subsidize if necessary; we did send arms, but at the same time we continued to place reliance upon the word of a perjured diplomacy, as if it had been as immaculate as a divine revelation. Credulity is a crime in politics! We have no right to give criminals the credit for the best of motives, and our mistake in that regard is an open door to outrage.

We have sketched thus rapidly, but we believe correctly, the policy of this country in relation to Afghanistan. Any more detailed reference to it would in these pages be superfluous. The Blue Books, which were ably analyzed and commented upon in a recent number,* contain a full and authentic history of all these negotiations to which we have alluded. Our object here is to understand the motives which in the past have dictated our political conduct in relation to Afghanistan. To some it might seem that there has been no principle of continuity in that policy, and that it has been changed in the hands of each successive viceroy. But such an opinion is consistent only with considerable ignorance. It is true that sometimes a Governor-General took a more apprehensive view of the situation than another. It is true that sometimes a Governor-General was inclined to go a little further to secure the friendliness of the Amir than a predecessor. But throughout the principle of the policy has been the same.† Every viceroy has looked upon Afghanistan as a neighbour with whom we must have friendly

* WESTMINSTER REVIEW, January, 1879.

† Hence the evil of Lord Ripon's statement (made on the 15th November at Lahore) that he meant to resume the policy of Lord Lawrence, and hinting that the last Viceroy had turned his attention more to external affairs than to internal progress. The press in this country believes that this statement will be received with satisfaction, and one party organ says: "It was an announcement of the final close of that unfortunate period in the history of our Indian Empire which was marked by the administration of Lord Lytton in Calcutta and of Lord Salisbury and Lord Cranbrook at home. The departure from this wise policy of former Indian statesmen which has brought about all the troubles of the Afghan war will be but a temporary aberration." This is of course erroneous and misleading, and shows the evil we commented on of

or intimate relations. Every viceroy would have looked upon friendliness between Afghanistan and Russia as a source of imminent peril. No one said that England must treat Afghanistan as she would any other independent neutral State. The money we have paid to it, our negotiations from the beginning to the end negative any such belief. Even the war which we have recently waged was a part of the same policy. We were determined that Afghanistan must have friendly relations with us, and not with Russia; that she should see that our interests did not conflict; and we undertook the war because the ruler of the Afghans refused to give us those securities for his friendliness which we deemed necessary to our own safety. But we confess that we think there has not only been a continuity of principle in our policy, but a continuity of weakness. Waiting-games are seldom winning-games, and our half-measures, our half-policies have, it seems to us, led to many of our recent difficulties. It is with regard to the future that we have to do; but we would protest most strongly against any reversion to that policy of doing as little as we can, that policy of purchasing friendship with money, and allies by promises, which has exposed us to continual danger in the past, and dragged us into an expensive and troublesome war in the present. Everyone admits that there is danger from Russia in an unfriendly Afghanistan: are we to enter again upon the old policy of first creating an Afghanistan out of the wreck of disintegrated races, which war within its borders; and then to secure the friendliness of the State which is propped by our bayonets? We hope not. Our fear—let us look it in the face—is not Afghanistan, but Russian aggression; the way to meet it is to be aggressive too, and not by a shrinking policy of monetary conciliation. Russia cannot complain if England meets her upon her war-path ready for battle, instead of waiting until that war-path has brought its bloody track into our own peaceful fields. To meet Russia where she ought to be met, to be in a position to expel Russia—not necessarily by war, but by the strength which is a guarantee of peace—England must be in possession of Afghanistan. Now, as formerly, we have two matters to consider in making up our

making such matters party cries. Mr. Gladstone at the Mansion House said that the policy of the Government was to restore the independence of the people of Afghanistan, and to secure their friendly relations with the Indian Empire. Lord Lawrence said long ago that the policy towards Afghanistan was to "bear with the Afghans as far as we could reasonably do so, and to endeavour by kindness and conciliation to bring about friendly relations, gradually leading them to see that their interests and ours do not conflict." Now that has been the policy throughout, but the "bearing so long as we reasonably could" came to an end when there was a Russian mission at Cabul, and the time has gone by for restoring Afghan independence.

minds as to our policy. We must remember that Afghanistan is a most troublesome neighbour to India—that that very troublousness would be the excuse for Russian aggression; and that if Russia was in possession of Afghanistan there would be nothing to prevent her becoming the mistress of India too. We suppose we may assume that few readers of this REVIEW would hold that a Russian conquest of India was a matter for congratulation to Englishmen.

We believe that it would be a matter for centuries of condolence with the inhabitants of Hindostan. We shall, therefore, not in this place argue that we should do what we can to prevent such a consummation. That, to prevent it, we should, if necessary, undertake the control of Afghanistan, is what we believe many will be prepared to admit, and the issue will be joined on the question whether it is necessary or not. We are prepared to argue that it is necessary and justified. But we think that the future of Afghanistan ought to have some of our care, irrespective of the question of the safety of India. We believe most firmly that Afghanistan must ere long be annexed either by India or Russia. The belief that two great and civilized nations might keep a neutral zone of uncivilization between them has long ago been abandoned. No student of history, of policy, believes that such a neutral zone is possible between Russia and England in the East. Afghanistan must be ruled by the Emperor of Russia or the Empress of India. Now we ought, we think, to consider which alternative will be the best for the people of Afghanistan. We may be accused of partiality by those who are unscrupulous as to the weapons they use in the warfare of words, but we cannot believe that any candid mind will deny that while the influence of Russian conquest is baneful, the influence of British conquest is on the whole beneficent. The one is a great school of freedom, the other is a seminary where every green shoot of personal autonomy is crushed beneath the weight of mountainous authority. In the one the public service is pure, in the other it is corrupt. In the one the Government acts as a trustee for the people, in the other the Government acts as if it had a fee simple of the bodies and souls of its subjects. Mr. Cowen, in one of his eloquent speeches, if we remember aright, compared the power of Russia to a great iceberg floating from the north into southern seas, and chilling with its great cold presence the heart of summer in the very eye of the sun. But might it not, even more aptly in comparison with England, be likened to that child of Alpine winter, a glacier, while English influence is like that child of spring, a river? Does it not sweep down from its cold fastnesses, in slow lumbering progress, but with a weight which crushes the rocks, and hollows

the mountains? Does it not score the valley, uproot the tree and herb, and accumulate along its sides, and at its limit, huge cairns of stones, or moraines, as monuments to its destructiveness? Nothing flourishes near it! It is like the march of winter! A river, on the other hand, flows along, and its sound is laughter. It sometimes does harm in its intemperate floods, but for the most part it fertilizes all it touches. It makes all the valleys green; trees grow upon its margin; the meadows beside it are full of flowers; cities rear themselves upon its banks, and argosies float upon its bosom. But leaving similes and looking at facts, we ask anyone to compare the provinces which Russia has conquered with our own India, and say in which the inhabitants have the greatest amount of happiness. Can it be said that we have been unjust in India, and that our conquests there have resulted in the misery of the races over which we rule? There are some, we believe, who would even go this length in reckless assertion. But their irresponsible venom has been triumphantly answered by the Director-General of Statistics to the Indian Government. Mr. W. W. Hunter, in his recent lecture in Edinburgh (Nov. 12), has shown that the English rule in India has been an immense blessing to the people. It has diffused peace and comfort amongst the inhabitants, it is promoting the spread of intelligence, it insures justice to millions who formerly had reason to identify law with caprice, and government with anarchy. There are now roads where there were none, the country is, as the Americans say, "gridironed" with railways, there are schools everywhere, and the laws are as excellent as those of the mother country. But the Government has not only done these things: it provides against famines by its stores, plants cinchona in order that the people may suffer less from ague, tries to discover a cure for snake-bite, and withal taxes the people much more lightly than its old rulers used to do. The revenue, too, which is raised, is no longer spent, as it used to be, in the pomp of courts, but in those things which conduce to the peace, the happiness, the comfort and convenience of the people. But if we look on this picture, and on that which is held up to us in any reliable work on Russia, we see what a laggard contrast the provinces of all the Russias make to a smiling India, and we are forced to the conclusion that, if these results have followed our conquest of India, we might look for as favourable results from our continued occupation of Afghanistan. When we propose this annexation in the interests of the Empire, we are not unmindful of the interests of the inhabitants of the country. The first conditions of the happiness of a country are a settled Government and the peace which such a Government alone can give. Now, it is certain that these boons can only be

given to Afghanistan by a strong government of conquest. The withdrawal of our arms from Afghanistan would leave the people worse off than they have ever been before. We have no right to vacate a seat of government which will be occupied by anarchy when we are gone. Our invasion will have been a positive evil to the great mass of the people, unless we are prepared to confirm our victory of war with our victories of peace. We want to make friends, and if we turn our backs now we leave enemies. We made war on the Amir, and the people have suffered. The memory of our invasion will make gunpowder which enemies will not hesitate to use. But apart from these political considerations, which we shall have to consider hereafter, are there not some philanthropic reasons to be urged for our continued occupation? Remember, we only displace conquerors by conquerors. We displace oppressors by a law-abiding Government. The Afghans, the dominant race in Afghanistan, rule over an inferior race of Indian blood, who till the land, who are in the position of serfs, but who are the aboriginal inhabitants of the country. The masses of the inhabitants require government and law, and shall we withhold these blessings from them when we have been the means of depriving them of a ruler who insured them some amount of order? We think that merely for the sake of the inhabitants, who without our rule will be left to the mercies of anarchy, and who under our sway may in time enjoy a community of blessings with the inhabitants of Hindostan, we ought to continue to hold and rule Afghanistan. The addition which would be made by such a government to the great treasury of human happiness would be immense, and it would justify the assumption of heavy responsibilities, of heavy burdens which might be lightly borne in so noble a cause.

But we confess, although the happiness of the inhabitants of the country weighs with us in advising the annexation, it is not the principal reason for the course which we think it would be well to adopt. It is, however, so intimately connected with these reasons, that our decision would be incomplete, as to grounds, unless that reason had also been referred to. The happiness of the people of Afghanistan is not only a question for the philanthropist, but for the statesman; for the latter ought to be aware that it is only a peaceful, a happy, a strong, Afghanistan which could be any protection of our Indian dominions against the large encroachments of Russia. Had there always been a strong and stable Government at Cabul, our policy of the past would have been less foolish; and did such a Government now exist, our policy for the future might move in the same direction. But there never has been a real strong Government of Afghanistan as a whole, and the possibility of such a Government from a native

source is denied by very competent authorities. Under these circumstances it behoves us to do something more than we have been endeavouring to do. We have seen that we have made efforts to establish a strong friendly Government upon our north-west frontier of India. We lent our countenance to *de facto* rulers, but we hesitated to promise to protect such rulers from their enemies. We withheld our money when we could, and sent as few arms as possible. We insisted upon the presence at Cabul of a Resident, that most irritating of ambassadors; and, still with a view to the friendship which we courted, we had ultimately to go to war. But what do we propose to do now? To found friendship upon enmity? To have the enemies we have made by the sword turned into friends by the magic of a treaty? Is a nation's memory so short that it can forget the blood we have spilt and tears that have fallen? It is true we said our war was with the Amir of Cabul and not with the people, but, as Mr. Burt remarked in the House of Commons, we really have expended our energies in fighting the people of Afghanistan. Will these people take our word for it that we were their friends, and that the deaths we caused were deaths by misadventure? Is it not the fact that if we retire from Afghanistan and leave them to that "passionate independence," which has made unity impossible and rule impracticable, we shall leave behind us the bitterness and deep hatred, which is the stuff which foes, not friends, are made of?* Have we not gone much too far for that? Have we not made the impossibility of a strong friendly power greater than it was before? It is only by courtesy in the past that we could have spoken of the Afghan nation. The rule of the Amir was scarcely efficient anywhere. There were some curious growths of free institutions in his borders which often degenerated into licence, and there were many tribes which were quite independent of the central Government. What will be the state of Afghanistan if we withdraw from that gnarled land? Are we to allow any ruler, Abdurrahaman or anyone else, to attempt to bring the country under his sway? What hope is there of such a result? Neither Dost Mahomed, nor any other Amir, ever pretended to be the ruler of the great mass of tribes who hold the country adjoining India, from Surat in the north, to Quetta in the south? What hope is there now, after our invasion, that any ruler could subdue half of the rebellious elements within his country? Are we to assist any *de facto* ruler to obtain a rule over Wakham, where at the best of times the government of the Amirs was

* This is the opinion of most authorities. See Sir Geo. Campbell's "Afghan Frontier," pp. 47, 50; and "Letters on Afghan Affairs," p. xv.

merely nominal? Are we to attempt to force the Badukshanees back into the suzerainty of the Afghans, whose yoke they have thrown off? Are we likely, if we undertake these duties, which would cost us as much as to subdue the country on our own account, to make these races more friendly to us? Is it the sword and the rifle that get allies? Are we not certain, if we undertake any such volunteer service, to drive those races into the arms of Russia, into that embrace which turns out to be the strangling hug of a bear? Would such a course be policy or play? The country will not, we are certain, sanction any such policy. Sir George Campbell warns us, we think rightly, that it is a fallacy "to suppose that we can find or establish a strong and friendly Government with whom we can make terms" (p. 7). But he seems, we think erroneously, to believe that we might make a number of little and friendly Governments out of the various tribes round a strong Government of our own at Guznee, with whom we might make terms. We confess we see little more reason for believing in one than in the other, and we think that each of these small independent States would remain an element of danger to our establishment at Guznee. To us it seems that there is only one way to make savages and children friends, and that is by the firm rule of equal law. If we are content to hold Afghanistan as a place of arms, if we are content to assume the grave responsibilities of this addition to our Empire, and the burdens of the cost which would necessarily be involved—for it would be many years, we believe, before the small revenue which we might derive from Afghanistan would be sufficient to meet the establishment charges—then in time, it may be a generation, but in time, we should find that we had added not only an impregnable country, with a most healthy climate, and roads and products which would tempt our commerce, to our dominion; but had secured for fellow-subjects a quiet, peaceable, robust and happy race of people. That these would be useful to the Empire we cannot doubt. We have recently seen Indian troops in Europe, and we cannot but think that in any future war in which England might be engaged, she would employ many Indian soldiers. Out of India, Indian soldiers would be more useful than at home, for ever since the Mutiny we have shrunk from placing too many arms in the hands of natives. But suppose the native troops of India withdrawn to Europe or Africa, they might be replaced by Afghans. We are not in such a millennium yet that we can dispense with a military establishment, and troops drawn from the many brave and robust races of Afghanistan would be of invaluable service in India. This idea is favoured by Sir George Campbell, who says "We might hold India with the aid of Asiatic non-Indian soldiers" (p. 79). But

although these are our views, we must not shut our eyes to the fact that quite other opinions are held in other quarters. Many persons we believe still cling to the belief that the Indus is a good enough frontier for our Indian possessions. Sir George Campbell, who has had much and valuable Indian experience, takes a somewhat curious view in his little work, "The Afghan Frontier." He remarks that he has "always thought and said that if the mountains of Afghanistan had been occupied by a people in any degree resembling those of the Himalayas, if the Afghans had in any degree resembled in character the people of Cashmere or of the hill country of the Kangra, Simla, or Kumaon districts, or even those of Nepaul"—he "should have thought it extremely desirable that we should, in some shape, occupy the country and so complete our defences; but we know by painful experience that the Afghans are a people of a totally different character—turbulent, bred from infancy to the use of arms, and with a passion for independence in which they are exceeded by no people in the world" (pp. 2, 3). His argument would seem to be that docility should invite outrage. But one of the strongest reasons why we cannot complete our defences on the north-west of India without permanently occupying the country is that these people are turbulent, bred to arms, and intolerably independent. Centrifugal force is all very well, but when it breaks the wheel to pieces it goes too far. Independence is a stalwart virtue, but when it makes law and government impossible, its excellence is open to question. He goes on, however, to say that he has thought "that the passion for independence of a people occupying such a country is the best safeguard of our frontier." We, on the contrary, should have thought that that quickset-hedge of a nation, turbulent, bred to arms, and lawless, was the very worst protection which we could have found; indeed, Sir George Campbell himself ought to have thought so, for a few pages further on he remarks that the Amir's power—that power which was to protect us against the might of Russia—"fell to pieces" before our arms, "at the first touch" (p. 13). He also says at a later page that "no two tribes ever seem capable of uniting against us for offence, and if ever they did unite they would still be contemptible enemies down in the plains" (p. 44). And these are the people who are to stand between us and Russia! Indeed, it could not be otherwise. Turbulence on a border is the forerunner of annexation. When turbulence lies between two borders, one of the nations must police that turbulence into order, and in this case it is only a question whether that is to be accomplished by England or Russia? Very few people in this country would boldly answer "Russia" to that question. They desire to see it done, if absolutely

necessary in the last resort, by England. But they would rather wait and see if the chapter of accidents will bring about a stable native Government in that country which has hitherto only developed government by distraction. They would assist any native who got the power to keep it, and in so aiding him earn his gratitude and so secure the friendly relations which have been our object all along. They would insist upon a resident at his Court, because we must know that he does not intrigue with Russia, and in that way they would irritate their bolstered Amir, clip the very wings of his power in the eyes of his subjects, and show the string by which their puppet king was pulled, and by which his sceptre was swayed. This, we say again, is impolicy! The time for such temporizing with stern facts has gone. You must grasp the nettle! It is too late to try to leave it alone. It will sting you if you try any half-measures. Even Sir George Campbell, who cannot be regarded as the advocate of heroic policy in Afghan affairs, says, "My experience is that if you deal with hornets only two courses are possible. One not to stir them up and aggravate them, the other to smoke them out and take the nest." In this case it is too late to say "Don't stir them up," for that has been done; let us take the nest and tame the hornets!

But all persons do not admit, as Sir George Campbell does, that even as a last resort we should occupy Afghanistan. Many, as we have said, still think that we have a sufficient frontier in the Indus. Those persons are, however, in their opinions without any support from military authority. Even those who, like Sir George Campbell in 1849, thought the Indus a satisfactory boundary then, have had to advance with the times and events which have been pushing us forward, and hold that something in addition would be necessary now. We know that the policy of the late Government was to rectify our frontier, and to secure a frontier which would enable us the better to repel the shock of war when it should come. We have never been led to suppose that in that respect the present Government holds different views. We need not in the light of these facts discuss the question of our existing frontier. Many things besides events would compel us to advance. Our extreme positions, as at Peshawar, are unhealthy. We are close to most troublesome tribes who, ever since our conquest of the Punjab, have rendered themselves most dangerous neighbours. Our invasions of their country in retaliation for their raids have been somewhat futile military performances. But, as we said, the Indus as a frontier is no longer a practical question, and may be dismissed. Some advance is to be made. Some portions of Afghanistan are to be retained. Now there seems to be very great difference of

opinion as to what points in Afghanistan we ought to continue to hold. We think it would be a fatal mistake to regard this as merely a military question. No doubt it is well to secure strong positions from a military point of view. We may have to meet a strong foe on this ground : let us choose our positions carefully. But quite apart from the military is the political question. The possession of a stronghold in the centre of Afghanistan would not be so important as the possession of a stronghold in the hearts and affections of the people of Afghanistan. We are not denying the importance of securing military *points d'appuis* but we are insisting upon the other duty of civilizing and subjugating the Afghan people. We ought not only to make Afghanistan a place of arms, but a place of peace. The rocks and hills of the country will no doubt prove defenders in case of invasion, but an orderly and law-abiding people would prove even better defences than those rugged fronts of the great mountains. As we said, we have two duties—to defend ourselves from Russia and from the Afghans. By ruling the latter well and wisely, we shall go far to keep the aggression of the former far from our borders. But before we say what seems to us convincing as to the necessity of the occupation of the whole country, let us examine some of the most feasible suggestions which stop short of our desire.

A German writer speaks of Afghanistan as “the glacis of the fortress of Hindustan,”* and physically that country is admirably adapted for defence. Mountains always endow people with courage. Nature there seems in league with strategy. And in Afghanistan the features of the mountain ranges are such as to make it an almost impregnable place of arms. To the north of Afghanistan stands the Caucasian range, now known as the Hindoo Coosh, which stretches from the Himalayas in the east, into Armenia and the Russian Caucasus in the west. To the north-west the mountains rise to an enormous height, and the passes over them are from 16,000 to 17,000 feet high. Indeed, the easiest pass north-west of Cabul, leading to Bamceau and Turkestan, is a little over 12,000 feet high, and the mountains amongst which such a pass is a valley rise to a height of about 20,000 feet. This of itself is a grand rampart, and our forces in such passes would for a great part of the year be the frosts and snows. But, besides this, it is important to note that the ranges are for the most part tilled on one side, with high elevated plateaus on the other. In the case of the Himalayas the precipice is towards India, and the elevated plateau we call Tibet. But when we look at Afghanistan we find that the steep

* Quoted by Malleon, p. 8.

face of the mountains is to Turkestan and the Oxus, that most of the country of Afghanistan is high, rough table-land, and that it again presents a rugged and precipitous front to our Indian Empire. Such a country seems to have been made for defence against the north, and once occupied by a foe might be used as a terrible natural fortress of offence against India, which lies at the foot of its huge ranges. The country itself would in strong hands be impregnable. It consists, as we have seen, of mountainous highlands. It is a country of fastnesses. There are very few valleys in it, and it all drains, as might have been expected from our description of its features, to the Indus. The roads through it run from west to east, and it is almost impassable from north to south. These east and west running valleys are the highways into and out of India, and those who can command these can command our Empire. Now it seems to have been the policy of the late Government, and so far as we know it is the policy of the present, to secure our safety by taking and keeping the Indian ends of these roads. The thought of the late Government seems to have been to rectify the Indian frontier by adding to our possessions command of the three great passes—the Khyber, the Bolan, and the Kurram. Now we think that there are serious objections to such a frontier. No doubt, as we said, the command of the roads is the command of India; but to command roads it is more important to possess the country on each side of them than to be posted on the roads themselves. It is to be remembered that these roads run through a very inaccessible hill country, and that that hill country is inhabited by tribes which have already proved excessively troublesome upon our existing line of front. It is a very difficult thing, in a military point of view, to hold such roads through such a hostile country; and although some able writers have recommended the absolute conquest of the hill tribes lying between these three routes, that does not seem to have been a part of the plan we are considering. That the complete subjugation of these tribes would necessarily follow, we do not for a moment doubt, and we are strengthened in this belief by the strong opinion of Dr. Bellew;* but that it was no part of the scheme is, to our mind, the cause of its deficiency.

Again, as a question of military necessity three long columns ought to have means of lateral communication and support. But, in the case of these three valleys, no such communication is possible, for they are separated by inaccessible mountains. It seems somewhat strange to some competent authorities that the Gomul or Goleru pass was not chosen as a route, instead, at any

* "Races of Afghanistan," p. 84.

rate, of the Kurram. It is said to be the principal trade route, it is said to be easy, and the fact that it is chosen by the traders would seem to indicate some such advantage, and it lies along the high land between Guznee and Quettah. The reason why it was not chosen, and a much more difficult pass was adopted, is that our authorities knew nothing or next to nothing about it. It has never been surveyed! Could any fact be more significant of the insecure position which we hold in relation to Afghanistan? We were pledged to support Afghanistan in case of foreign invasion, and yet we did not know the merits of the principal trade route between the centre of Afghanistan and India. But passing from that, to us, sad confession, and returning to the question of the occupation of these routes, we ask whether, by such an occupation, we should not be committing what seems to be the worst mistake in warfare—unduly extending our front to possible enemies? Each of these columns of possession would be nothing more than a double line of assailable front. But the question is not bare of authority, and we are glad to find so competent a critic as Lord Napier of Magdala expressing the opinion that our frontier must be beyond the hostile tribes. "It is," he says, "for the interest of the Empire that when the day for the struggle comes we should fight our battles beyond the mountain barrier. I think it is necessary for the interests of our Indian Empire that we should advance beyond the mountain barrier and fight the battle of India outside and not inside of it." There are two reasons, as we have pointed out, why we should push on until we reach the high ground beyond the hills rather than remain in the valleys. The highlands of Afghanistan are blessed—besides the two things of which Dost Mahomed boasted its possession—viz., men and stones—with an excellent climate. This fact is not to be forgotten when we come to consider the question of occupation. The climate is exceedingly fine, and is such as produces a robust and vigorous race. But the valleys in which our columns of possession would be placed are far from healthy. Indeed, viewing the whole question, we confess we fail to see much advantage to be gained by securing these roads, and by occupying them, or strongholds along them, without, at the same time, conquering and conciliating, as Dr. Bellew proposed, the hostile tribes who make barriers worse than mountains between us and Afghanistan. In such a position we should be a source of irritation and bitterness within their borders, and such irritation and bitterness would be readily turned to evil account against us in the hands of intrigue, and we might find our three routes running through a country friendly to our enemy. It ought to be remembered, as all historians tell us, that money will rule in Afghanistan where a sceptre will not. No sovereign

can have a stable throne in that country who has not a deep treasury. We have ourselves found the oil which relieves the itch of greed useful upon many occasions. A good deal of our diplomacy at Cabul has been in rupees. But what can we do in the way of bribery which will compare with the large and liberal corruption of Russia? Russia comes there graduated in corruption after a long course of private study of its abominable methods, and, if we are content to do nothing more than occupy these routes, we should soon find them overshadowed by a foe more formidable than the Afrides or the Afghans of Khost. We must, it seems to us, be the rulers of these peoples. We must not give the outwork of our position into hostile hands. We must establish a strong Government on the high and healthy land beyond the hills, and be prepared, if need be, to fight the battle of India there. It is a truism, however, to say that the battles that are best prepared for are never fought. To be ready to fight is one way to escape war, and we are confident that nothing would be more likely to bring about a strong, permanent peace between this country and Russia than the firm establishment of our power in Afghanistan. That fact would be stronger for peace than a hundred treaties. These latter are the sport of the cunning, but the possession of an impregnable country is the security for the peace of national thieves.

There is another suggestion made short of the occupation of the country, which demands careful consideration. We are at the present time in the possession of Candahar, and it is said by many that we should secure our safety in India by retaining our hold upon that city. This has been urged upon the Government by the Patriotic Association, which is composed of many able and illustrious individuals, and their recommendation merits the careful consideration, not only of Her Majesty's Government, but of every person who has the security and welfare of the Empire at heart. We say, at once, that we agree with much that is stated in the Memorial of the Association. We should be content with nothing less than what they pray for, but we should desire, for the reasons which we shall hereafter urge, more. Lord Hartington, in his reply to the deputation which presented this Memorial, admitted that there were reasons in favour of the retention of Candahar. "I believe," he added, "that military men—though there is a great difference of opinion amongst military men themselves—are of opinion that Candahar is an important strategical point for us." Now there is no doubt that there is difference of opinion upon this as upon most points. If unanimity were the rule, statesmanship would be child's play. It is the duty of the Government, however, to come to a conclusion as to which is the best opinion, and we cannot help thinking, not-

withstanding his lordship's guarded expression, that they believe, what most competent authorities hold, that Candahar is an all-important point of 'vantage in a military point of view, or, in the words of the Memorial, "Its strategic position and its defensive capabilities render Candahar a military *point d'appui* of enormous value. In a word, Candahar is the key of Afghanistan, as Afghanistan is the key of British India. Garrisoned by British troops, it would be an impregnable bulwark of the Empire." Upon this point we neither possess the local knowledge nor the military skill requisite to be in a position to give an independent opinion. We can only weigh the evidence and express our conviction as to the weight and authority of that on the one side or on the other. There is no lack of materials. The opinions which have been expressed have been innumerable, and many of them have more foundation in desire than in reason; but, with due allowance for prejudice, we cannot but come to the conclusion at which, as we say, the Government has evidently arrived, that in so far as military matters in India are concerned it would be very important that Candahar should be in our hands. We have spoken of the west and east-running routes in Afghanistan. Candahar commands the most important of these. Competent critics hold that the conquest of India will come through Herat and Candahar, and indeed it is a historical fact that all the great conquerors of Hindostan have approached it by Candahar. The position of the town is such that it not only dominates this route, but commands the whole of the fertile country by which it is surrounded. But looked at in other aspects besides the military one, the continued occupation of Candahar is very important. The inhabitants are peaceful and industrious, and dislike the tyrannical rule of the dominant Afghans. The best rulers are those who can govern themselves, but the characteristic of the Afghan is, as Dr. Bellew says, that he is not "fit to govern himself or others and badly wants a master."* We believe that our continued occupation would be, not only just, as it would relieve the oppressed, but popular. The memorialists of the Patriotic Association assured the Government that all classes in Candahar would regret our withdrawal. Then it is not only a military point of 'vantage, but a commercial stronghold. The district is, as we said, fertile, and the people industrious. The railway which is made to Quetta could, we believe without difficulty, be extended to Candahar, and as Candahar commands the trade routes from Persia and Central Asia to India, the traffic in wool, minerals, dyes, and wheat, which are all abundant products of the country,* would soon

* "Races of Afghanistan," p. 55.

be great. In a trading nation it would be fatal to us to have these routes in the hands of an enemy; and the weakness which has characterized the hands that held them, and would again hold them if we withdrew—that is our enemy. While there is weakness in these Afghan Courts, there is room for Russian intrigue, and where Russian intrigue goes to-day, Russian arms will go to-morrow. No better field for British enterprise offers itself anywhere, and British enterprise will do as much to frustrate Russian intrigue as British arms. In the long run the yard-measure is as powerful as the sword. We know that the Russian conquests in Central Asia have curtailed our trade in that direction; we know, too, it is a political axiom, that our trade follows our flag, and if our flag waves permanently at Candahar we might recoup ourselves for those losses, we might develop the industries of the country, increase the already considerable revenue of Candahar, find markets for ourselves, and open our own markets and those of Europe to products which at present find no consumers. All these advantages seem to urge the necessity of the continued military occupation of Candahar, and of the political union of that country with our Indian Empire. The minimizing argument of Lord Hartington, that it would be very difficult to hold Candahar, that it would require a large force, say 10,000 or 15,000 men, and that possibly these might be more usefully employed in other ways for the protection of India, had been to some extent met by anticipation by the memorialists; for they pointed out that “three-fourths of the troops required could be drawn from the large force we have been compelled to maintain on the frontier.” But if it is true that the occupation of a town and district like Candahar would imply not only a large force of occupation, but a large force as protection to our communications, that only indicates the advantage of the larger scheme which we have not hesitated to recommend. Unruly neighbours require a larger police force than the same neighbours would require if they were once subjected to the discipline of law. We do not leave robbers at liberty, merely making our bolts secure—we incarcerate them; and the incarceration of the unruly population of Afghanistan in the bands of strong equal laws would be the surest and cheapest way of securing peace upon our borders. It is a fact which has been long recognized, as we have seen, that self-defence compels a civilized nation to encroach upon an uncivilized one, or upon, to use the words of Russian excuse, populations of a predatory and nomadic character. Even if we do not do it in Russian fashion, by spike and gun, we do it by commerce and trade, and, as the history of the Indians of North America shows, the latter are often not less deadly than the former. We have in the past kept a large establishment on

the borders of Afghanistan : these might be well used in putting an end once for all to the lawlessness of the Afghans. "Subjugation," says Dr. Bellew, "is what is required for the Afghan. . . . With him subjugated, all the races of the country will be easily controlled and governed."* Surely, then, it would be better to attempt this radical measure, which will put an end to the firebrands in that land, give peace within the boundaries of the country, and, as in the play Mephistopheles shrinks before the cross-shaped hilt of the sword rather than the points, it is before sacred peace that Russia will fall back. But when we propose the annexation either of Candahar or of the country as a whole, we are met by Lord Hartington's argument that we have no right to do such a thing. We have not been asked by the inhabitants to annex Candahar, and "although they have acquiesced in our presence more peaceably and willingly than other Afghan tribes, I do not know what evidence there is that the people of Candahar would be at all willing to submit permanently to our rule. . . . It seems to me it would require a very strong reason, almost the absolute necessity of self-preservation, to give us any right or title to annex an unwilling population on which we have made war, and which has done, so far as I am aware, nothing to entitle us to destroy its independence." This raises no doubt some very important questions. First, one of fact. Should we destroy the independence of a race? Is it true that the people of Candahar are independent? Surely Lord Hartington is aware that they are ruled by the Afghans, that they suffer under the tyranny and oppression of an alien race. We should deprive the Afghans of the independence which enables them to enslave a peace-loving people ; and in doing so, we need scarcely wait for a formal invitation. We cannot doubt that the withdrawal of our troops from Candahar would expose the industrious inhabitants to anarchy, which in Afghanistan is compatible with tyranny. Are we still to hesitate for a formal resolution to justify our possession, a possession which has not only been acquiesced in, but which has been accepted with pleasure by the people? But besides the question of fact, there is one of principle. The self-preservation, which Lord Hartington must mean, can scarcely be preservation in immediate peril ; but preservation in any peril which may in the clear future-looking view of reason be imminent. Statesmanship must look before and after. *The real policy of the nation must be one which embraces not to-day only, but to-morrow. If all the virtues are prudence, all statesmanship is forethought. Now we cannot but think that the self-preservation involved in the question of British India and the advance of Russia is sufficiently imminent to

* "Races of Afghanistan," p. 53.

justify any measures which may avert the result of Russian designs on the ground of piratical policy. We have already seen a Russian mission at the Court of Cabul, at a time when the Amir refused to receive a similar emissary from our viceroy. Is it not time to think of self-preservation? Are we to be again and again hoodwinked by Russian assurances that she has "no intention of going further south," that "extension of territory is extension of weakness," and that Afghanistan is beyond the region in which she might be called to exercise her influence. The time for blind credulity in such promises is past. From the beginning to the end of our fumbling diplomacy we have had in view the great power which was approaching India on the north-west, and which might at any time be upon our borders, not only with her own strength, but with the magnificent cavalry of Central Asia and the forces of Afghanistan to assist her in her enterprises. The course of conquest widens as it flows, and it is doubted by few who take a large view of history, who have made themselves acquainted with the past of Russia, that she will desire above all things to find a way to the south, to emigrate from the perpetual winter which broods upon her own vast domains to that perpetual summer which smiles upon the country which is the pride of Asia, the cradle of history, the darling of the sun—India! With such facts before us, we cannot but think that the question of self-preservation is not as remote as the Secretary of State for India would have us believe. We must provide against the dangers which are to come. It will be too late to prepare when they are here. Are they not sufficiently imminent to justify the retention of Candahar—to justify, if need be, the annexation of Afghanistan? Those who have read this essay with agreement or conviction will answer that question in the affirmative. But there is another serious principle involved in Lord Hartington's reply to the deputation. He asserts that our right to annex depends upon the wish of the inhabitants. That seems to be assumed by his Lordship as an axiom. But it is an axiom which was not recognized by those who undertook a war with a view to rectify our frontier. There was no thought then of asking the permission of the wild tribes whose country we meant to occupy. But if the right to annex is to depend upon the wish of the inhabitants, the right to continue our existing connection must similarly, we should say, depend upon a continuity of a desire to remain connected. In that case, has not Ireland a right to dissociate itself from England? It can scarcely be doubted that a majority of the inhabitants of that country would hail the repeal of the Union as a relief from Saxon oppression. Is their wish for such a "liberation" a sufficient reason to bring the question of disunion within the

range of practical policy? Would it be possible for England to secure her own safety with a free Ireland at her side? Besides, the freedom of a country is not a guarantee of immunity from outrage, and might not Ireland become to-morrow the prey of some ambitious European statesman, who was less scrupulous to consult the wishes of those whom he conquered? What would England say, if Ireland, whom she had generously divorced on account of incompatibility of temper, was married "by capture" to some foe? Would not England repent her resolution? But, besides, if the rule is good for Ireland, why not for Scotland, why not for Yorkshire? Are we to have England under a renaissance heptarchy? Or are we to stop until we put an end to all government, and have every individual a kingdom as well as a law unto himself? No! there are more paramount claims upon the consideration of a great Government than the desire of every little community or body of persons. "We must," as Bacon says, "do a little injustice to get much justice." People in civilized communities sacrifice liberties to enjoy liberty. And the mere desire of an ungoverned and ungovernable tribe of half-savage conquering Afghans must not be allowed to stand in the way of the Imperial policy of this great nation, which will result in the welfare, the peace, the happiness of millions.

Most people, then, as we have seen, seem to think we ought to retain some permanent hold upon Afghanistan. We have seen what views were entertained by the late Government. We have considered the proposal of the Patriotic Association. Sir George Campbell thinks that either Quettah, or some better cantonment in that part of the country, should be permanently occupied in strength, and connected with India (p. 62), and still thinks, as he did in 1849, that we ought to hold what he calls a "porter's lodge" in the Khyber. But, as we have seen, in the last resort he would be willing to take the high land and hold Guznee and the country about it. Then many writers think with Lord Napier that the battle must be fought beyond the mountains, and several competent authorities believe very firmly that these are only palliatives, that they are only steps on a road on which there is no stopping, and that we must ultimately annex the whole country.* Again, during Lord Lawrence's Governor-Generalship, a memorandum of Sir H. Rawlinson, which has been often referred to in this discussion, was sent to India to elicit the opinion of Anglo-Indian civil and military authorities. Lord Lawrence's despatch contains minutes and memoranda of a large number of such officials who had special knowledge and

* "Races of Afghanistan," p. 10; "Kandahar in 1879," p. 279; "Letters on Afghan Affairs in 1880," p. 13.

experience of the frontier question. They differ from one another in many ways, but they all agree in recognizing the immense danger to India of a hostile Cabul. Where, then, are we to find firm advice amongst such counsellors? The Indus as a frontier is abandoned. We must have a hold on Afghanistan, and any hold but a grasp will irritate the inhabitants, and continue an enmity which our wars have rooted. We have conquered the country—why should we not keep it? The very diversity of the advice shows that there is no one hold which will satisfy all the requirements we have in view. We must not be content with a scientific frontier, with Candahar, Guznee, or Cabul: we must hold the whole country! This is no cold-blooded advice to go to war and shed innocent blood in order that we may possess ourselves of the land. The war has been fought! It was forced upon us, and it is past! The blood has been spilt, the country has no ruler. The news of treachery at Cabul is too common to sell an evening paper. The country is lawless and the crimes of anarchy cry for government. Why should we hesitate to give the country the rule it requires? The Afghans who so much require to be subjugated are those turbulent neighbours of ours in the East; but the Western Afghans, who are more pastoral in their habits, more content to live by their own flocks than on the flocks of others, require our protection. They have less of that "fierce independence" which Sir George Campbell relies upon as a barrier between India and Russia. The weak are always those who are the earliest prey.

"Men always hate the man that's great,
Nor cease to fall on him that's small."

Hence there is another necessity for the annexation of the whole rather than the mere occupation of some stronghold which might make us safe while it would leave those peaceful peoples at the mercy of aggression where no mercy is! It is no injustice this, but justice of the best type—to relieve the oppressed, to displace the tyrannous, to govern a people for their own benefit. A strong Government of Afghanistan from native sources is, we believe, impossible; and consequently we cannot but regard the wish which Mr. Gladstone expressed at the Mansion House "to restore the independence of the people of the country" as "Utopian." It would be as hopeful to give back his independence and razors to a suicide, as to hope for friendly relations from them. Afghanistan must in the future be governed either by England or Russia. At present we have the possession, and no one could say "no." But if we withdraw, and hereafter we see the necessity more clearly to propose to do then what we ought to do now, Russia may be in a position to dispute our right, and then the battle must be fought in a hostile, instead of a friendly country. Are we then to allow things to revert to their former condition—

to allow this hot-water spring, Afghanistan, to bubble on our frontier and embroil us with our great neighbour, or are we ready to take some risk, some expense,* some responsibility for the benefit of the people, for the quiet of our borders, for the defence of India, for the welfare of the whole Empire?

It is sad that imperial concerns—concerns which transcend the limits of country and have to do with the interests, not of a country or a nation, but humanity—should be judged of in a spirit of petty parochialism. The interests involved in this large measure which we advocate are not selfish. England's greatness dispenses with a few hundred miles of mountainous country. Her dominions will scarcely be appreciably extended by this trivial annexation. True, her commerce will increase; but what is the commerce of Afghanistan to the mart of the world? We assume responsibilities by this action, rather than appropriate rights. We are willing to spend rather than reap. But we must have a rest from the troublous policy of years, which has directed anxiety continually to our north-west frontier. We shall then have subjects to whom we can bring the blessings of peace, and who will learn the great resources of their rich country. We shall have done with the petty intrigues of years for the stakes—the friendship of a savage—and we shall be face to face with Russia, and put a limit to her unresting progress and Southern ambition. It will be a strange meeting on that rugged boundary-line, the meeting of liberty and oppression—of a free country and a country of slaves, of a military nation with a commercial people, of civilization with benightedness—of progress with retrogression!

Everyone who is familiar with the history which we have suggested rather than sketched—a history which is amply recorded in the works, the names of which we have placed at the head of this article, and as it has been more than once narrated in these pages, all who know the painful efforts which we have made during the last thirty years to oust Russia by friendly arts from Cabul and to obtain an amicable hold upon Afghanistan, would be glad to hear that the entanglement of these threads of policy, which ended in a knot, which we cut by war, was at an end. We have in the past argued as much from the purse as from the reason—why should we become misers now? All our arguments from purse and pen ended in estrangement from England, ended in alliance with Russia, in war! We have made a clean sweep—let us begin a new policy, let us settle the Afghan question once for all by retaining the firm and peaceful hold of British rule upon the country which so urgently requires good government.

* Money spent in that way "would be more efficacious than money spent in subsidies." ("Letters on Afghan Affairs," p. 13.)

INDEPENDENT SECTION.

[Under the above title a limited portion of the "Westminster Review" is occasionally set apart for the reception of able Articles, which, though harmonizing with the general spirit and aims of the Review, may contain opinions at variance with the particular ideas or measures it advocates. The object of the Editors, in introducing this department, is to facilitate the expression of opinion by men of high mental power and culture, who, while they are zealous friends of freedom and progress, yet differ widely on special points of great practical concern, both from the Editors and from each other.]

ART. I.—BIMETALLISM AND THE FINANCES OF INDIA.*

1. *Report from the Select Committee on Depreciation of Silver, together with the Proceedings of the Committee, Minutes of Evidence, and Appendix.* Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, July 5, 1876.
2. *Majority Report of the United States Monetary Commission, created under the Joint Resolution of August 15, 1876.* Ordered by the Senate of the United States to be printed, March 2, 1877.
3. *Conférence Monétaire Internationale de 1878. Procès-Verbaux, Ministère des Affaires Étrangères.* Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1878.
4. *Report of the Commissioners appointed to represent Her Majesty's Government at the Monetary Conference held in Paris in August, 1878, dated 27th November, 1878.* Parliamentary Paper C 2196.

IN entering on the discussion of the question of bimetallism, I do so with a full knowledge of the all but overwhelming opposition that has manifested itself in England against the principle. Bimetallism, or the double legal tender, has been condemned by Mr. Gladstone, Viscount Sherbrooke, Mr. Goschen, Mr. Bagehot, Mr. John Stuart Mill, Professor Fawcett, Professor

* It may have seemed strange that in my article on "East Indian Currency and Exchange" in the last number of this REVIEW I did not take notice of Mr. W. T. Thornton's article, entitled "A New View of the Indian Exchange Difficulty," contained in the July number. The simple explanation is that my article had left my hands here in San Francisco a considerable time before I saw Mr. Thornton's. The cardinal defect of his article is, in my opinion, that he assumes the depreciation of silver, and never once touches on the appreciation of gold. In the following clause of a section he exhibits the fallacy which runs through his whole article:—"Although the depreciation (of silver) has

Stanley Jevons, Professor Bonamy Price and numerous others, while the advocates of the principle have been stigmatized in most contemptuous language by Mr. Robert Giffen and by Professor W. G. Sumner of Yale College. Such an array of authorities may appear altogether overpowering; and, to most Englishmen, the weight of such names may be thought to be so decisive on the subject, that it may seem like entering on a forlorn hope for me to attempt to combat the unanimous opinion of such a distinguished host of political and financial leaders. My reason for so doing, however, lies in the fact that I do not know any single one of the above authorities who has offered any adequate discussion of the subject, or who has shown a thorough knowledge of the question under review. I propose to try to show that the views adverse to bimetallism which have been put forward by so many eminent men, do not touch upon the essential principles of bimetallism at all; and that their condemnation of minor issues which they imperfectly present, is little more than an exhibition of intellectual gymnastics. The discussion of the question in England has been chiefly in connection with the necessities of Indian finance, and the solution of the Indian exchange difficulty is one of the most pressing questions of practical statesmanship. I shall therefore begin by showing the attitude of English public men on the subject, so that the case which I hope to overthrow may be fully presented to the reader.

In a letter dated March 3, 1879, to the Bullion Club of New York, acknowledging his election as a member, Mr. Gladstone wrote as follows:—

“I cannot doubt that they [the members of the Club] will render much service by collecting information, and I hope also by discussion. Their title will be liked on this side of the water. I must not, however, presume to offer an opinion on your matters beyond stating my adhesion to these propositions—that State debts ought to be paid in a medium of not less value than that in which they were contracted; that gold is the best standard; and that a double standard is not in strictness any standard at all.”

Viscount Sherbrooke (then Mr. Lowe) spoke as follows in the debate on the Indian Budget on May 23, 1879:—“The suggestion

not as yet diminished the purchasing power of the rupee in respect to anything except bills of exchange,” &c. Here he assumes the depreciation of silver, but says there has been no depreciation in it in respect to anything but certain gold values written in bills of exchange. He agrees that silver prices have been stationary; and if that is the case, how can silver have depreciated? The truth is, gold has risen in purchasing power; but Mr. Thornton, looking at the problem from the English gold standard point of view, declared that silver had depreciated, instead of that gold had appreciated.

of the double standard would not meet the necessity of the case, as, according to the relative value, people would at one time pay their debts in gold and at another time in silver.* In the report of the British Commissioners to the International Monetary Conference at Paris in August, 1878, signed by Mr. Goschen, Mr. H. H. Gibbs, and Sir T. L. Seccombe, the following passages occur:—

“M. Feer Herzog (Switzerland), M. Pirmez (Belgium), and Dr. Broch (Norway), proceeded at once to expose the economic fallacies and practical impossibilities involved in the United States proposals, and argued strongly in favour of a single gold standard. We ourselves considered that the impossibilities of establishing a bimetallic system by common agreement for all the world were so obvious that it was scarcely worth while to argue on the matter, while we declined, as also unnecessary, any discussion of the general merits of a single or double standard. . . . We considered that while a universal double standard was a Utopian impossibility, a single gold standard throughout the world would be a false Utopia, and that further steps in that direction might tend to produce incalculable disasters to the commerce of the world. . . . A further point would be whether, if there should be a further considerable disuse of silver, and especially if the countries which have now a forced paper currency should ultimately adopt a gold circulation, the demand for gold would not be so great as to render it difficult for the existing supplies to bear the strain, and whether the additional demand for gold might not cause formidable convulsions in trade and finance. We were unanimously and emphatically of opinion that it was better that the currency of the world should continue to rest upon the two metals than that any efforts should be made to displace silver from its share in performing the work of the currency at large.”

Mr. Bagehot offered the strongest opposition to bimetallism in his “Some Articles on the Depreciation of Silver,” reprinted from *The Economist*, where he says:—

“But even in that case the English people would, rightly or wrongly, never have consented to change their currency; they would have told the Indian financiers to adjust their system of raising a revenue to the new circumstances. . . . Most advocates of ‘bimetallism’ now admit that unless all countries adopt it, and unless all countries keep to it, it is a very faulty system. It is not a currency of two metals, but an alternative currency, sometimes of one and sometimes of another. Countries with such an alternative currency always use the cheaper metal and sell the dearer metal. Creditors in it are always injured by being paid in the cheaper metal; debtors are always benefited by being enabled to pay in it. . . . And even if this system was at once, say, by ‘miracle,’ imposed on all the human race, it would be very imperfect. It forces an arbitrary equation, in which there is no naturalness, between gold and silver.

* *The Times*, May 24, 1879.

. And the effect of the bimetallic system, if universal, would be to fill the world with the cheaper metal only."

It is with feelings of regret that I place on record passages that Mr. Giffen and Professor Sumner have not seen any impropriety in writing on a subject that in my opinion they do not understand. Mr. Giffen declares himself as follows: *—

"The case against bimetallism thus appears to my mind overwhelmingly strong, and the dislike manifested towards it seems accounted for. Bimetallism, moreover, is really impracticable. If one or two, or even more, nations try it, they do not succeed in getting the two metals in use, and it is not even conceivable that all should agree to try it. If bimetallists are sometimes reviled as lunatics, and economists like Mr. Bagehot can hardly be brought to overcome their disgust at the argument for bimetallism, so as to turn aside even to discuss it, they are surely not without excuse. Mathematicians do not stop to argue with squarers of the circle, or with reasoners that the earth is flat."

Professor Sumner thus unburdens his truculent and disdainful feelings: †—

"We have then one issue joined: I propose to show that a bimetallic circulation is as absurd and impossible as perpetual motion, so that a convention of the whole human race could not realize it. For the exposition of the bimetallic fallacy, as well as a number of others which are now widely held and even taught, it is necessary to show that legislation cannot affect value at all. I do not like to say anything that may appear arrogant and unbecoming, but I feel justified in protesting, in the name of all that scholars and scientific men respect, that a man who calls the mint an 'unfailing and insatiable customer' does not deserve respectful treatment in the arena of scientific discussion."

Passing from these mediæval anathemas of two economic pontiffs, an Englishman and an American, I wish to state the fact that Mr. H. H. Gibbs one of the three British Commissioners to the International Monetary Conference at Paris in 1878, who in their report declared bimetallism to be "a Utopian impossibility," though exactly in what sense an impossibility can be Utopian I have never been able to understand, has recanted in a pamphlet entitled "Silver and Gold," admitting that since the Conference he has seen reason to change his views in favour of bimetallism. Mr. Hugh McCulloch, the London banker, formerly Secretary of the United States Treasury, in delivering a lecture at Howard University announced his con-

* Article on "The Case against Bimetallism," in *The Fortnightly Review* for August, 1879, pp. 292-293.

† Article on "Bimetallism," in *The Princeton Review*, for November, 1879, pp. 549, 556, 575.

version from being a supporter of the single gold standard to being an advocate of bimetallism. It requires some moral courage for a Director of the Bank of England and a London banker thus to announce in unmistakable language that they have seceded from the faith of English monetary orthodoxy.

In order to clear the way for a proper comprehension of the questions at issue, I shall present a few observations on the fundamental principles of money. The most important element in the money problem is its quantity. Given a certain volume of money in circulation in a country, any material addition to that quantity without a corresponding increase of business will produce increased prices, while any material diminution will produce lower prices. Yet additions to the circulating medium as likely to bring about greater activity in business are rightly regarded as much less unjust than subtractions from it which cannot fail to paralyze trade. If we had or could possibly have an absolute standard of value as we have of weight and measure, there could be no expansion or contraction, anymore than there could be a pound of fifteen ounces or a yard of forty inches. But such a standard of value is an impossibility, and the terms single gold standard and double standard are equally misnomers as they have none of the characteristics of a real standard. The British view is that given by Mr. Gladstone—namely, that gold is the best standard, and that the double standard is not in strictness any standard at all. In my opinion gold is not a standard in the sense generally assumed, but if the term standard can be applied at all, even approximately, it is much more applicable to bimetallic money than to a single gold currency.

This question of a standard of value will be best illustrated by a reference to the subject of prices. When a grocer charges four shillings a pound for tea, how does it happen that the price is not three shillings or five shillings for that special quality? This price of four shillings depends upon the quantity of money in circulation; with a smaller quantity of money in circulation the price (without change in the conditions of the demand or supply of tea) might be three shillings, with a greater quantity of money it might be five shillings. If, therefore, such changes of price are possible, solely as the result of a change in the volume of money, how can there be any real standard in the British gold currency. If there were such real standard, then changes in the volume of the currency could not produce changes in prices. There is a certain amount of money in circulation in the United Kingdom, perhaps altogether £150,000,000, consisting of probably £100,000,000 in gold coin and bullion, £20,000,000 in silver, and £25,000,000 in notes against which no specie reserve is held by the issuing banks. If these £150,000,000 are

in circulation, then every pound of tea, coffee, sugar, &c., every article of clothes or furniture, every single transaction in which any part of this money has been actually expended, being all singled out, and the £150,000,000 distributed over all these payments that must necessarily be made in cash, the result is not merely a list of relative values showing the relative estimate in which each article is held as compared with all others, but a list of actual prices, and in this list the special quality of tea that I have supposed above is rated at four shillings per pound. The consequence is that the so-called single gold standard in England could only be a standard so long as the quantity of money in circulation maintained a constant relation to the quantity of its uses; and there is no necessary connection between the increase or diminution of actual cash transactions in England, and the amount of money that may be from time to time in actual circulation. If through falling off in the supply of gold, or through increase in the demand for it, such as that which Germany has lately made, the quantity of money in circulation fell from £150,000,000 to £120,000,000, then all other conditions having remained unchanged, the articles for which cash must be paid will bear the same relative values, but the prices of those articles will be lowered twenty per cent. in order that £120,000,000 may overtake payments on the same transactions for which £150,000,000 were in use before. When the special pound of tea came to get its share of the £120,000,000 there would be only 3s. 2½d. available for that article, that is twenty per cent. less than four shillings as £120,000,000 is twenty per cent. less than £150,000,000. It will be readily understood that this is not an exact analysis of the actual facts, because the transactions into which price enters, alone can be effected by changes in the volume of money, while contracts to pay or receive certain sums, and all banking and such like business as using or calling for specific sums of money can undergo no change, so that the whole effect of the variations in the amount of money in circulation falls upon articles into which price enters.

The amount of money in circulation being thus distributed over all the articles and transactions where actual money must be paid, the prices thus arrived at for that limited number of articles determine the prices for the infinitely greater number of transactions which are completed by the use of documents with little or no money. All the great transactions of commerce which take place almost entirely by documents come to this ultimate completion, that the petty payments of life and the retail trade of the shopkeepers regulate the prices of produce for the vast commerce of the country.

To illustrate the point still further, let us take the case of

France. There the amount of money in circulation is at least fifty per cent. greater per head of the population than it is in the United Kingdom. Now what does that involve? Does it involve prices fifty per cent. higher? No; but it is a certain indication that the economy of money is much less developed than in England, and that if the amount of money per head of the population is fifty per cent. greater, there are either fifty per cent. more transactions effected by actual money than there are proportionately in the United Kingdom, or the money may move from hand to hand more slowly. While prices tend all over the world relatively towards the same level, each country has a different volume of money per head of the population, so that the moneys of all countries can be exchanged at approximately equivalent prices for the same articles, allowance being made for tariffs and charges of transportation, &c.

It will thus be readily seen how important is the function of the volume of money relatively to its uses. I now remark further that gold, silver, or paper money may be designated by legislation as legal tender here and not legal tender there; but prices in any country turn neither on gold, silver, nor paper, but on the volume of money of whatever kind or description that may be legal tender in that country, or may pass current from hand to hand as money, even although it may not be legal tender. The money of the United Kingdom consists just as undoubtedly of the uncovered notes of the Bank of England, of the non-legal tender notes of the English, Scottish and Irish banks, and of the £20,000,000, or thereabouts, of florins, shillings, and smaller silver coins, as it does of the gold from the placers of California or the quartz reefs of Australia. What though the Bank of England five-pound note costs less than a penny to produce, and the shilling less than tenpence, so long as the banknote performs all the functions of money—though not available for export in barter—that five sovereigns could do, and more conveniently, and the shilling does everything that the twentieth part of a sovereign could possibly do.

It is not anywhere disputed that Germany, the United States, Sweden and Norway, Denmark and Holland, have, within the last eight years, withdrawn gold from the countries where it would, except for such action, have been in circulation; but it is not so universally conceded that this diminished supply of gold coin in gold-tender countries must infallibly have been the chief cause of the all but universal fall in gold prices in England. It is altogether impossible that such large accumulations of gold could have been made in countries that formerly used but little gold, without diminishing the quantity in circulation in gold-tender countries; because in the meantime there was no

additional supply of gold from the mines to meet this sudden demand. In England, where the material of money itself has risen in value, it is difficult to bring home the facts to those unaccustomed to the subtleties of the subject, because they find that the sovereign has an invariable weight and fineness, and that if they placed £1,000 in a bank some years ago they can still draw out £1,000. What is not so perfectly evident is, that as average prices have considerably fallen, the £1,000 will now purchase of average articles as much as £1,150 or more would have done six years ago, and that most of this increased purchasing power, this increased demand of commodities, which they have actually in their possession, has been obtained by legal process at the expense of other classes of the community.

In England there is uniform denunciation awaiting proposals to bring about a just currency on the part of those pretending to be authorities, such as Mr. Goschen, with the single exception among leading men of Viscount Sherbrooke, who has been bold enough to advocate the introduction of paper-money into India. But in my opinion the whole field of the money question is as open to the discussion of legislators and statesmen as any other public question. What can be more palpable than that the British money system is solely the result of the action of the British legislature. The latter has decreed that gold shall be the sole unlimited legal tender; that the Bank of England shall be authorized to issue £15,000,000 of notes of £5 and upwards, without any reserve of coin or bullion, and whatever amount of notes they choose against gold and silver coin and bullion, of which the silver shall never exceed one-fifth* of the total reserve, though the Bank never really holds any silver in the Issue Department, the small amount of subsidiary silver for change being in the Banking Department, and that these notes shall be legal tender everywhere but at the Bank itself; that the Scottish banks shall issue £2,676,350 of notes, the Irish banks £6,354,494; and as many notes against reserves of gold and silver as they choose; that the English Provincial Joint Stock Banks shall issue £2,464,861 in notes and the English private Banks £3,576,703. It has also decreed that silver in florins, shillings, and smaller coins shall be legal tender for forty shillings, and that copper or bronze shall be legal tender for twelve pence. All these provisions are restrictions of the most arbitrary kind. The effect of this elaborate system, in connection with equally elaborate systems in other countries, is, that the amount of money at any moment depends on the legal restrictions thus laid

* The proportion of silver that may be held in the reserve, is often erroneously stated at one-fourth of the whole; but it is in reality one-fourth of the amount of gold, or one-fifth of the whole reserve.

down, though it may not be possible to count out and determine what the amount in circulation really is. The amount of gold in England is, however, the share of the amount of gold in existence, available for internal use or foreign exchanges, which, distributed through the action of prices over the countries, that by legal enactment have made gold legal tender, belongs to England. If Russia, Austria and Italy should come into the circle of gold-using countries, then England's share of gold would be less than it is now, and this would be the result of deliberate legislative decree. If the present stock of gold coin and bullion in England be £105,000,000, though it is probably less after the drain of the last few years, that is the result of the law which says that gold shall be unlimited legal tender, supplemented by a certain limited amount of notes, which are equivalent to as large an amount in gold, less the species reserve against notes, as the people are willing to hold of notes, and by £19,000,000 of silver which is overvalued, but which takes the place of so much gold. Change the law, forbid the issue of notes, except against an equal amount of specie in reserve, and the value of gold will be increased all over the world. But it is of the utmost importance it should be clearly understood that our forefathers fixed all this for us. If the United States should limit still further the issue of greenbacks, or adopt the advice of English sciolists who urge the demoralization of silver, gold would be considerably increased in purchasing power, to the detriment of the entire producing and trading interests of our country. Any legislative change in the legal tender function of gold or paper representative of gold, any increase or diminution of the supply of gold from the mines, any increase or diminution in the transactions demanding the use of actual money, will change the purchasing power of gold in all gold-using countries; and this fluctuating value of gold will be entirely and solely the creation of law, because gold is perfectly useless for money without the law which makes it legal tender. It may be a suitable material for many, though that it never can be as suitable as paper the experiences of Scottish banknotes show; but without the legal tender function it would not exchange for one-half of the commodities it does for to-day. I am, therefore, justified in laying down the principle that, with the single exception of China, the money systems of the world are all strictly regulated by law.

The next consideration that arises is, whether the regulation of money is such an easy, final, and equitable task that the system decreed in 1816, and supplemented in 1844, was so inflexible for all time that there is no need to touch it, no need to examine it? This is the fixed attitude of British statesmen, and of the leading organs of the press, and Mr. Bagehot has declared,

in truly Oriental fashion, that the British people intend, rightly or wrongly, to maintain this system, while Professor Fawcett denounces suggestions towards more rational views as currency nostrums, implying that they are unworthy of consideration. But, fortunately for the world, anathemas do not range very far, or last very long in these days. The British people cannot remain blind to the fact that the contraction of the volume of money during the last six years has given to holders of all kinds of securities, such as consols, railway debentures, bank stock, &c., hundreds of millions sterling, in purchasing power, more than that to which they had any equitable right, or to which they laid any claim; but which a blind, unreasoning system of legal regulation of money, thrust upon them in a form that they could not refuse, so that in all human probability they did not understand it had been given to them.

Lenders of money, and investors in the best class of securities, deal chiefly in figures. They give and take documents specifying certain figures. The thing represented by these figures is the sovereign—a certain weight and fineness of gold—and if gold has in the meantime increased in purchasing power, the figures in the documents, though remaining unchanged, have become of greater value—they represent more of general commodities. Now the merchant, and manufacturer, and farmer do not deal in figures, except that they contract to make payments in that form, but what they deal in is in merchandize of all kinds and in labour, and what concerns them most closely is the range of prices. The banker calls for his money in the exact figures he specified for; but the farmer and manufacturer must take the market prices for their goods or produce, and if the volume of money is contracting, as it has been doing in England during the last six years, they must take so much less than is their just due, solely because an extremely faulty system of regulating money has caused a contraction in the volume of money in circulation, and compelled lower prices by legal process, by the continuing *fact* of the British legislature. This latter august body practically says, if the volume of money remains stationary compared to its uses, justice will be done between man and man; if the volume diminishes relatively to its uses, as it has been doing for years, large numbers of people now solvent, and in no danger of insolvency, will be impoverished and ruined, because they will have to give up a larger amount of property to pay their debts than under a just system of money they would have to do.

Germany, the United States, and other countries demanded gold, and England and other than gold-using countries had to deliver it up, because, with a gold currency and open mints, this

is a demand that cannot be resisted. The British Legislature extending to the single gold tender a superstitious reverence, stood by in silence when gold was being drawn away, and thus made dearer; yet it cannot be pretended for a moment that the Legislature is not responsible for the care and supervision of the money system. So far as there may be deficient harvests, or prosperity or depression in trade, and that these may be due to natural or unavoidable causes, individuals must take the risks and chances, though the result may be unexpected fortune to certain classes, and unexpected misfortune to others. But where, by an imperfect system of money, most manifest injustice is done, or permitted by direct legal enactment, it is an abdication of the functions of statesmanship to meet legal confiscation of one-half of the people and legal enrichment of the other half by a pitiful *non possumus*. Previous British Legislatures having made strict regulations, the effect of which is that a certain amount of money, no more and no less, is in circulation at any time, it is the imperative duty of the Legislature of the day to sedulously watch the supply of money, its sources and conditions, so as to judge whether changes in these regulations are not necessary to obviate injustice. While Mr. Gladstone assures us that gold is the best standard, apparently assuming that because the sovereign is a standard of weight and fineness, it is, therefore, a standard of value; Mr. Goschen warns us that the further extension of this standard "might tend to produce incalculable disasters to the commerce of the world," and that the disuse of silver, and its supersession by gold, might cause formidable convulsions in trade and finance. Is there any such fear to be apprehended from the increase or decrease of the number of yard-sticks or gallon-measures, which are real standards? Now, if such would be the effect, in Mr. Goschen's opinion, of a further adoption by other countries of this so-considered gold standard, is it not of the very principle of self-preservation that the Government should regard it as their most imperative duty immediately to take whatever steps may be advisable to save the country from the financial ruin which the action of other countries may at any moment bring upon us? I remark, further, that if Mr. Goschen has been roused by danger so as to see ruin in the further extension of the single gold tender, it is an incontrovertible inference from his principle that great injury has already resulted from the disturbance of the area of the operations of the single gold tender by the recent addition to this area of Germany, the United States, and other countries. The consequence of this extension of gold over a larger area has been that an inevitable depression has taken place in gold-using countries, and has continued for several years. Over-pro-

duction in certain branches of industry, such as cotton goods and iron, may have taken place so that these and other articles were probably more largely produced in proportion to their consumption in the world than were other articles. The remedy for this is in the open competition that crushes out the weakest, until the capital and labour remaining in these businesses are more nearly in proportion to the share of these industries in the consumption of the world. If in England there has been a great fall in prices during the last few years, and no such fall in India, this shows clearly that there has been an element at work in England that was not operative in India—namely, a less stable system of money, and that, therefore, the fall in English prices has been due mainly to the appreciation of gold as other causes of depression would have manifested themselves in Indian prices. There is no proof, there can be no proof, that the world was over-producing all kinds of goods four or five or six years ago, and that the depression arose from that cause, but there is indubitable proof that the gold-using world was unable to consume the same quantity of goods as before, except at vastly reduced prices; or, to put it differently, the reduced volume of money made lower prices inevitable, and the gradual fall of prices paralyzed British industry, exhausted the resources of British manufacturers, merchants, farmers, and other producers, because all fixed loans, rates of interest, promissory notes, debts, rents, and fixed incomes had to be paid in gold of a gradually increasing purchasing power; and, therefore, merchants and producers had to part with more and more of their goods than they had reasonably expected, so as to meet their obligations in gold, while their goods were daily diminishing in price.

This drastic process of bringing to a new equilibrium the debts and credits of the British people by adjudging, however unintentionally and ignorantly, all creditors to receive fifteen per cent. or more of purchasing power that they had no claim to, and all debtors to pay a like amount of additional purchasing power that they did not legitimately owe, and to suffer immense loss in the consequent derangement of all business, was a disaster for which English prejudice and English ignorance never can be a sufficient excuse on the part of legislators who assume to lead and to rule the country. We had the humiliating spectacle of seeing a Select Committee of the House of Commons, with Mr. Goschen at its head,* meet in solemn conclave to examine wit-

* The other members of the Select Committee were, Mr. Baxter, Mr. C. B. Denison, Mr. Kirkman Hodgson, Mr. Hubbard, Lord George Hamilton, Mr. Massey, Mr. Mulholland, Mr. Fawcett, Mr. Cave, Mr. Shaw, Mr. Hermon, and Sir Charles Mills.

nesses and to draw up a most elaborate "Report on the Depreciation of Silver," while the facts of the case showed, and the Indian Government demonstrated with indubitable evidence, that silver had not depreciated in general purchasing power; and certainly no possible proof could be adduced in London of any depreciation in the purchasing power of silver, except in relation to gold. I do not hesitate to say, while valuing very highly the mass of facts and statistics which the Committee brought together in their Report, that for their purpose the publication of two facts, completely vouched for and admitted on all hands—namely, first, that silver prices had not increased in India, and that, therefore, silver had not depreciated; and, secondly, that gold was at a premium of from twelve to sixteen per cent. in Calcutta, would have been of more service to the country than the publication of a report assuming that they had proved beyond all doubt the existence of a depreciation in silver of which they adduced, and could adduce, no proof whatever.

The statement of the two facts above referred to would have demonstrated to all persons competent to judge, that there could not practically be a steadiness in all Indian prices, and at the same time a sudden rise in gold of sixteen per cent. except through the one agency of the rise in the purchasing power of gold, and to this momentous fact the attention of the British Legislature ought to have been directed. But to this day the all but universal view of British statesmen and public speakers and writers is, that silver prices have remained practically stationary, but that silver has greatly depreciated in purchasing power; and ever and anon speeches receive the highest encomiums of the British press which bring into juxtaposition these two utterly contradictory ideas. So much the British superstition of the so-called single gold standard, which I prefer to call the single gold tender, which it is, while it is not a standard at all, has to answer for; and the question is, how long British statesmen and economists will worship with unfaltering faith at the shrine of this fetish which their own ignorance and prejudice have set up? England, above all countries, has incessantly urged on this fatal policy of a universal single gold tender, until now it stands aghast at the ruinous effects of its own propagandism, though it shuts its eyes to much of the injury that has been wrought, its patriotic prejudices having been too inveterate for it to appoint a Parliamentary Committee to report on the appreciation of gold—the great monetary question of the last eight years. Nothing could show with such incomparable clearness the perfect success of what might seem the conspiracy of English gold monometallists, than the monumental fact that Mr. Goschen and his coadjutors have produced a folio volume of 330 pages to

prove the depreciation of silver which has been unanswerably shown not to have depreciated, and Parliament has accepted it without the expression of doubt or demur. Following a similar train of imaginary ideas, Mr. Goschen has recommended the Government to pursue a policy of expectancy, "until they were quite certain that the abnormal temporary causes were exhausted and had disappeared,"* clearly applying these remarks to silver, when in truth there have been no abnormal causes affecting silver, except in so far as its relation to gold is concerned.

Yet, when the United States Congress made successive attempts to palliate the evil of a diminishing volume of money by making silver full legal tender, though without free coinage, the most denunciatory cries went up from England against such repudiation and robbery. Mr. Gladstone, even, in the letter already quoted, hints unmistakably at what he doubtless regards as a blot when he says that "State debts ought to be paid in a medium of not less value than that in which they were contracted;" and in further saying that gold is the best standard, and the double standard no standard at all, he undoubtedly had present to his mind the idea that to introduce silver as full legal tender, or to adopt the double legal tender pure and simple, was to defraud those creditors who had stipulated to be paid in gold. What was not, it is evident, present in Mr. Gladstone's mind was the fact that the payment of State debts was being clamorously demanded in a medium of much greater value or purchasing power—namely, gold that would purchase sixteen per cent. or more of the average staple commodities of the world than the same weight and fineness of gold would have done years before when the State debts were contracted. What deceived Mr. Gladstone was the inveterate English idea that gold is an absolute standard of value, that its purchasing power is always constant, whereas, if he had been sojourning at the time he wrote the letter by the banks of the Ganges or the Wangpoo, the Calcutta or Shanghai price lists would have shown him that, without other material change, gold had risen sixteen per cent. in purchasing power, and he would have at once concluded that it was a gross injustice that debtors should have to pay sixteen per cent. more than they bargained for. Under these circumstances he would have seen that silver was for the time comparatively stationary in purchasing power, or rather appreciated, he would have escaped entertaining the fallacy of the depreciation of silver, and thus he would never have spoken of gold as the best standard, nor written a voluminous report, as Mr. Goschen has done, to prove the existence of the non-existent.

The report of the United States Monetary Commission, drawn up by Senator John P. Jones, of Nevada,* is by far the most elaborate exposition of the fundamental principles of money of which I have any knowledge. In some of its details and subsidiary inferences it is undoubtedly open to amendment and qualification; but as a treatise on money in its practical aspects for the purpose of enlightening the Congress and people of the United States with a view to legislation, it is a work of the very highest importance. It goes completely to the root of the question with convincing comprehensiveness, and is to open and unprejudiced minds an immense advance in its economic elucidation over any work that is authoritatively accepted in England. The experience of the United States with greenbacks during the Civil War has led to a vast amount of desultory criticism of the money problem amongst Americans, and the result is that the few able men who have probed the question to the very bottom are far in advance of the statesmen and economists of any other country. To this report of Senator Jones, and to his speeches in the Senate, Americans have been much indebted,† and they are well worthy of the attention of those who wish to understand the bearings of the monetary question in the United States.

The standard or measure of value is only an approximate and not an absolute standard or measure, although I must use the term standard for want of a better. This standard in the countries such as England, using gold as sole unlimited legal tender, silver as limited legal tender, and notes like those of the Bank of England, as unlimited legal tender, except at the Bank itself, and notes like those of the Scottish, Irish, and English Provincial Banks; or, besides gold, using silver as unlimited legal tender, but without free coinage, as in France and the United States, is the total amount of the affective circulation of money, whether gold, silver, or notes in all countries using gold. England, France, the United States, Germany, Holland, Denmark, Norway and Sweden, Belgium, Switzerland, Portugal, Canada, the Australian Colonies, and other countries of less note all use gold, and though

* The other members of the Commission, besides Senator Jones, who signed the Majority Report, were, Senator Lewis V. Bogy, Representatives George Willard and R. P. Bland, and Mr. W. S. Groesbeck.

† Mr. S. Dana Horton, one of the American Commissioners to the Paris Monetary Conference of 1878, in a valuable volume published in 1877, thus expresses himself: "Senator Jones of Nevada, whose sound position on the subject of money had, in 1874, attracted the attention of the country, made the question of resumption and the double standard the subject of exhaustive discourse. His speeches on the subject are landmarks in American monetary debate."—*Silver and Gold*, by S. D. Horton, p. 48.

silver may be unlimited or limited legal tender, the silver coins that pass for a higher value in gold than they are intrinsically worth as bullion, perform exactly the same function as if they were gold coins, and the banknotes in circulation, whether legal tender or not, so long as they pass current, perform exactly the same function as money as if they were really the gold which they represent. It is evident, therefore, that those countries which use gold are so connected through their money systems that they have practically the same standard of value. India has not this standard of value, nor has China, neither had the United States from 1861 to 1879. Yet previously to 1872 India had the same standard, or very approximately so, because the bimetallic system of France formed the link that bound silver and gold together, and made it impossible, except for very brief periods, that they should vary more than the limits of the rates of exchange that will cause gold or silver to be exported or imported.

Before 1872, therefore, all countries with open mints using gold or silver as the material of money, were under the same standard of value with very limited variation, and now with bimetallism entirely in abeyance, all countries using gold with open mints are under the same standard of value. I may state here that the charge of two per cent. for coinage of rupees in India was a divergence from the French ratio, indeed a divergence from the bullion value of the coin in addition to the variation on account of the exchanges. It is evident that the standard of value in bimetallic times was not the sovereign, the franc, the dollar, the rupee, &c., but it was the mass of the effective circulation of money in all those countries using gold or silver relating to the transactions in those countries which were performed by the actual use of money. Real standards or measures, such as a yard-stick or a gallon measure, will practically mete out or mark the same quantity for all time; but a sovereign, a franc, or a dollar is changing in purchasing or measuring power day by day. These coins are merely units of money. If the present amount of gold and its representatives in actual circulation in the United Kingdom be £150,000,000, the sovereign would still be of the same weight and fineness if that amount were reduced to £75,000,000. In the latter case the standard of value would be one-half of its former quantity, all prices would be a half less than in the former case, and the sovereign would have double its former purchasing power. However perfectly self-evident this fact may be when looked at calmly and intelligently, it is nevertheless continually ignored in England, where the current belief infecting even the minds of our leading statesmen is that a sovereign is a coin of fixed

value, and that it is to be clung to as the sheet-anchor of our commerce, and indeed of our wealth and prosperity.

Transferring our point of view, however, to the indisputable fact that the total amount of all the money in effective circulation in all these gold-using countries is the joint standard of value, we see at once how this standard, though fluctuating, is arrived at, and how under the the fluctuations to which it is liable prices rise and fall through the action of the supply of money alone, as distinct from changes in the prices of commodities arising from the relation between the demand for them and the supply. We are now in a position also to understand the changes that took place in consequence of the d monetization of silver by Germany, and the adoption of the single gold tender by Germany, the United States, and other countries. Before 1872 all these countries were single silver tender countries, with the exception of the United States, the money of which was inconvertible Government notes or greenbacks, with national banknotes convertible into greenbacks. The bimetallic system of France made gold and silver interchangeable at fifteen and a half pounds weight of silver to one pound of gold, and made impossible any wide divergence from that ratio.

Now, it may be asked, why was it practically impossible that any wide divergence should take place? To explain this I shall assume that when the Latin Union determined to suspend the coinage of silver for private individuals, Belgium had dissented from the step and had resolved to stand alone in the world under the bimetallic system. Germany had, we shall assume, £40,000,000 of silver to dispose of, and if Belgium were the only bimetallic country it was bound to take all of Germany's silver that no other country cared to take until all the gold in circulation in Belgium, which let us suppose to have been £10,000,000, was exhausted. When the whole of Belgium's gold was finally driven out of circulation, bimetallicism would have ceased to exist. Thus nothing can be clearer than that under certain circumstances bimetallicism will be a failure. This is a liability that it shares in common with many principles which, tested under crucial conditions, are found not to be of universal application. But, on the other hand, let us suppose that France and the other members of the Latin Union had not closed their mints to the silver of private individuals. Then there would have been £40,000,000 of silver that Germany had to dispose of, and £40,000,000 of gold that it desired to become possessed of. Now so long as the standard of value remained unchanged, England could have had nothing to do with this transaction in its essential elements. England had its share chiefly in gold of the number of units of money of which the

whole standard of value was composed, and therefore if Germany sold £40,000,000 of silver in London, and from time to time withdrew £40,000,000 of gold from the Bank of England, England under the bimetallic system would have handed the silver to France and taken gold for it. In this case bimetallism would have vindicated itself as a principle of the greatest importance, and why? Because Germany had only £10,000,000 of silver to sell, and that would have more than absorbed all Belgium's gold; but France alone had £200,000,000 of gold, and for it to take £40,000,000 of silver and to give up £40,000,000 of gold, would have been to perform an operation of the easiest description and without a single element of danger in it. Indeed, having suspended the bimetallic system and thus refused to take £40,000,000 of silver for £10,000,000 of gold at the par of fifteen and a half to one, France has quietly imported all Germany's surplus silver at a very large discount in gold. But for the patriotic jealousies which were so much in the ascendant in France after the Franco-German War, there would have been no suspension of bimetallism in France, and the standard of value of countries using gold would not have separated itself effectually from the standard of value of single silver tender countries.

But, as the Latin Union closed their mints to the silver of private individuals, there were created two standards of value where formerly there had only been one. The gold standard and the silver standard parted company from that moment, and endless financial confusion and ruin have been the result. The extension, since 1872, of the single gold tender to Germany, the United States, and other countries, has produced a large contraction of the gold standard of value, whereas the silver standard has remained comparatively unchanged. This is the cardinal point in the whole monetary controversy of the last few years, and I shall endeavour to answer the broad question, omitting many qualifications, as to the result of the suspension of bimetallism and the change from one money standard to two money standards, one of gold and one of silver. England and its colonies, France, Germany, Belgium, Holland, Norway and Sweden, Switzerland, Portugal, &c., adhered to, or adopted the single gold tender, and the United States joined them in 1879; while India, China, the Straits Settlements, Java, the Philippines, the South American States, Mexico, &c., adhered to the single silver tender. It will probably be suggested that France has still £100,000,000 or £125,000,000 of silver; but so far as this silver and that in other single gold tender countries are concerned, it is precisely the same as if paper money to the same amount were in circulation. Indeed, the essential element of this gold standard is the number

of pieces of gold of which it is composed, together with the number of pieces of paper and of silver representative of gold. Gold itself is a mere form, as Viscount Sherbrooke has contended, no better as money than a similar amount of paper money; but he still believes in the occult virtue of a gold standard, whereas I believe in neither gold money nor a gold standard, but in a just standard of money into which gold may enter as part of such standard.

The function of gold as money ceases when the gold coins leave the country in which they are legal tender. They then assume the form of mere bullion to be given in barter, and it is clear that paper money, as having only the single function of money, is much more suited to that purpose than gold, which has the two functions—that of legal tender as money and that of a commodity to be given in barter. We have abandoned barter as far as possible by substituting legal tender money, but we have retained gold and silver for purposes of money, although they have intrinsic value which is objectionable in the money systems of advanced nations. Paper money cannot be exported, and that is a great advantage over a metallic money system that is increased or diminished in consequence of the needs or demands of other countries. I would say further that not only would Government notes, convertible or inconvertible, serve the place of gold, and properly established and regulated be a much more satisfactory currency than gold in the more civilized countries; but, if the currency were of inconvertible notes, these would be equally good money, whether bearing the insignia of England and the signature of Mr. Gladstone, or the insignia of Turkey and the signature of the Grand Vizier, so long as they were both issued under proper precautions. At first sight this may seem an utter absurdity, but looking below the surface it will be seen to be true. If Mr. Gladstone were to issue a note stating that the British Government will pay one sovereign, and that this note shall be legal tender for that amount, what better would it be than a similar note of the Turkish Government, when, both being inconvertible, neither the British nor the Turkish Government had any intention of making payment. What gives such notes validity is not the promise or the signature of the British or Turkish Government, but solely the fact that the note in both cases is legal tender. The only difference between the British note and the Turkish note would arise if the Turkish Government were to over-issue their notes, and thus so increase their standard of the value as to diminish the purchasing power of each of such notes, while the British Government might be trusted not to over-issue.

In truth, it is of no consequence whether money is of gold,

silver, copper, iron, bronze, wood, paper, or other suitable material ; but it is of the utmost consequence that the material or materials being once fixed upon, and the number of pieces or units obtained that are to compose the standard of value, the additions to or subtractions from this mass of units should tend, as far as possible, to maintain the same average level of prices, that is, to maintain the same ratio between the quantity of money in circulation and composing a single standard, and the quantity of payments in which this money is to be actually used. Money has two, and only two, essential conditions—quantity and legal tender. In a good system of money the quantity ought to vary according to the amount of the uses to which it is to be applied, while the legal tender function is constant. The material of money is altogether unimportant so far as the money function is concerned ; if gold be rapidly increased or diminished it may be the very worst kind of money, and it is clear that in countries advanced in civilization, paper money, which can be increased or diminished according as circumstances may demand, is capable of being made an approximate standard of value superior to all others. The supply of the precious metal may increase or diminish, and prices rise or fall in consequence, without there being any possible means of making the supply conform to its uses. If, in the United Kingdom, we were to decree that the amount of money in circulation should be so much per head of the population, increasing *pari passu*, or less rapidly if considerable economy was being effected in the use of money, as population advanced, then we should have a system of money with a rational and intelligible basis to it, something which might be dignified with the name of a standard. What can be more irrational than that the money standard should follow the vagaries of gold, the annual production of which has fallen off one-half since 1855, and of which the supply from the mines is still diminishing ; whilst Germany, the United States, and other countries, have absorbed large quantities of gold during the last eight years, though formerly they had little or no gold in their currency.

But while recognizing the immense importance of paper money, I nevertheless look at the money question as a practical one. The chief money of the world is gold and silver, and the question is not which system is theoretically the best, or which is the money of the future, but how can we best mould or regulate the existing money systems of the world, so as to maintain as just a standard or standards of value as a complete knowledge of the principles of money will enable us to do ? It is not improbable that there are £800,000,000 of money composing the single gold standard—that is, taking the gold, subsidiary or token silver, and

paper money in actual circulation in all those countries that adhere to the single gold tender. Each country has its own divisions of gold into its own coins, which are simply pieces of fixed weight and fineness, the units of money by which business is to be carried on in each country. Coins are simply convenient weights of a certain quality of gold or silver, and a silver shilling, or a piece of wood, or a pocket-knife, if inscribed by Government authority with the words, "This is legal tender for £10,000, or £100,000," would pass current for so much without demur. In fact, the whole £800,000,000 of money in circulation in England, the United States, France, Germany, and other single gold tender countries, are simply counters; and a sovereign or one pound note is nothing more nor less than the $\frac{1}{800,000,000}$ th part of the whole standard of value. Gold is not the magical element in the question: the magical element is the figures 800,000,000; and if the whole of the money at present in circulation in these single gold tender countries were suddenly swept away, and pieces of paper, inscribed with the words, "This is legal tender for 1, or for 20, or for 100, or for 10,000," were issued by the British Government, the figures 1 and 10,000 would represent the value of 1 and 10,000 sovereigns respectively, just as completely as if it was stated that they were sovereigns. And the same would apply to the corresponding figures in France; they would represent francs and fractions of francs for small change.

On the English form of estimating, there are 800,000,000 units of money and sub-divisions of units; and if a note was printed, "This is legal tender for one unit," whereas the corresponding note of approximate equivalence in France, where francs are the units, would be for 25 units. On the French system of estimating of 20,000,000,000 units and subdivisions of units, the money systems of England and France would be exactly the same as they are now. The purchasing power of the sovereign depends on its relation to the whole gold standard of value. It is now, let us suppose, the $\frac{1}{800,000,000}$ th part of the whole standard, and its future purchasing power depends on whether the standard increases or diminishes relatively to the payments it must make. We cannot control the amount of uses that may arise for money, but we can and ought to control the quantity of money, so as to make it correspond approximately to a fixed ratio between the amount of money and its uses. Increase the number 800,000,000, and the purchasing power of each unit is diminished; reduce the number, and the purchasing power of each unit is increased. But if the 800,000,000 units of our system, or the 20,000,000,000 units of the French franc system, or the 4,000,000,000 units of the United States dollar system, could be increased or diminished to suit the increased or diminished transactions they should have to

effect, then we should have over all those countries under the single gold standard an approximately perfect system of money. So long as those countries are advancing in population, it is certain that an increasing amount of money will be necessary, if justice is to be done; and the question arises, how are increased quantities of money to be obtained when the gold supplies are falling off, unless we supplement the deficiency with increasing issues of paper money?

• It matters not in which country or countries of those under the single gold tender the increased issues of paper money are made, as, through the action of prices, gold will flow from the country or countries issuing paper money, and distribute itself over the other gold standard countries in proportion to the share which each must take in the automatic allotment, thus providing for the increasing transactions of the whole gold standard countries. But though any country can issue paper money to the extent of the gold it has in circulation, it cannot issue more than that amount without bringing its money to a discount in gold, and thus severing itself altogether from the standard of gold-using countries, and setting up a standard of its own with a greater number of units than it had under the gold system. In opposition to the view generally accepted in England, I can see no practical nor theoretical objection to a considerable issue of legal tender inconvertible notes in England, so long as there is left in the country a fair margin of gold with which to meet demands for exportation. If the total number of units of money on the English system circulating in the United Kingdom itself be 150,000,000, the money of England could not possibly go to a discount in gold unless all the gold were first expelled from the country; because its appropriate number being 150,000,000, it could only go to a discount if those 150,000,000 were exceeded; and if some part of the 150,000,000 were withdrawn from circulation, the other gold standard countries would each have to give up a part of their gold to England, so as to keep English money from going to a premium in gold. All the exchanges would at once turn in favour, as it is called, of England, and gold would flow in.

• What possible objection could there be to the issue by the British Government of £50,000,000 of inconvertible notes? If such an amount were issued, the effect would be to distribute the £50,000,000 of gold that would be nearly all displaced, over all the countries of the gold standard, England itself included, in proportion to the number of units that each country holds of the 800,000,000 of units of money estimated on the English system. There would in that case be an increase in the number of units to each country of six and a quarter per cent. The monetary

principle affecting such inconvertible issues affirms that there can practically be no discount on unlimited legal tender money of any kind so long as there is any gold in circulation in the country, because if there are more units of money in a country than can be kept at par with gold, the rates of exchange will expel all the superfluous units of gold from the country, and if all the gold be expelled the remaining money will only go to a discount if the number of units in circulation is too great to remain at par with gold. Therefore a currency of inconvertible legal tender notes can never go to a discount so long as they are not issued in too great quantity; and by contracting a currency of inconvertible notes where gold is not legal tender, the value of these inconvertible notes or units of money can be raised to any extent above the purchasing power of gold. A currency of paper money starting on a par with gold may, by gradually being reduced, rise in purchasing power so that the unit or note which began by being equal to a sovereign may rise to be worth two, five, twenty, fifty, one hundred, one thousand sovereigns or more, even if legal tender for one sovereign were printed on it, depending on the extent to which contraction of the currency might be carried.

How is it that £100,000,000 or more of token silver of unlimited legal tender is kept in circulation in France, when the coins are worth as bullion only about eighty-four per cent. of the value at which they pass current? In a gold currency inconvertible notes pass at the value in gold of the figures printed on them, though practically they are intrinsically worthless; and the only difference between them and French silver is that the silver is worth a good deal of what it passes current for. According to the theory against which I am contending, French silver of unlimited legal tender ought to be at a discount, because, in precisely the same way as notes, it cannot be exported because it has not the necessary intrinsic value, and the Government make it no more redeemable in gold than they would inconvertible notes. But if silver were withdrawn from circulation in France, gold would flow in from other countries to take its place, though the effect of such a step would be to diminish the standard of value of the gold-using countries and to lower prices. When, therefore, it is alleged that there cannot be a gold currency and a large quantity of inconvertible notes kept at par in any country, I maintain there is nothing easier, and I appeal to the example of France, although, instead of printing on a piece of paper of infinitesimal intrinsic value "This is legal tender for five francs," the French Government choose to put their stamp for that amount on a beautifully fashioned piece of silver worth at present a little more than four francs. But after

going to this expense the French Government authorize the Bank of France to issue about £85,000,000 of convertible notes, and to lock up in the bank vaults about £50,000,000 of silver, and about £30,000,000 of gold, and these notes, though in excess of the gold and silver held against them, perform all the uses of money without going to any discount. If the gold and silver in the Bank of France were by some catastrophe to sink into the bowels of the earth, or into the depths of the ocean, the standard of value would be totally unchanged, the only difference being that the notes would have to be declared irredeemable, so that the holders of notes, who at present hold them willingly and do not want coin, would be told that they could not convert their notes into coin, but that they could go into any bank, counting-house, or shop in France and pay in these notes just as completely as if they had redeemed the notes in coin and presented the coin. In France these notes are the real money, while the gold and silver in the Bank of France might as well, so far as the money function is concerned, be deposited in one of the fixed stars. The fact that the notes are in excess of the coin held against them simply shows that, as with Bank of England notes, the people are willing to hold more of them than they know there is actual coin in reserve against them. And the notes that are in excess add so much to the gold standard, making the unit of money of less value than it would be if there were no notes.

Having said so much in explanation of the principles that underlie systems of money, I return to the consideration of the disruption of the single specie standard of value in the world, and the establishment of two separate standards, one of gold and one of silver. It will be remembered that the silver coin in the gold standard countries is token silver of no more importance, so far as the gold standard is concerned, than a similar quantity of paper money, though the keeping of the silver in these countries is of great significance to the single silver standard countries, because it is in the power of countries like France to substitute paper money for silver, and thus to throw upon the silver standard countries an immense amount of demonetized silver. The joint standard of gold and silver which had lasted from 1785, when the French Government established the bimetallic system, making fifteen and a half pounds of silver exchange for one pound of gold, was dissolved in 1874 by the closing of the mints of France and the other members of the Latin Union to the silver of private individuals as a precautionary measure and a protest against the anti-silver legislation of Germany. To wander off into other supposed causes such as the excessive production of the Nevada

mines, the sale by Germany of its discarded silver, and others of a similar though a minor character, is to pursue empty shadows. The United States absorbed large amounts of silver in the coinage of subsidiary coins and of standard silver dollars, and, as a fact attested beyond all possible doubt, exported less silver since the opening-up of the Nevada mines in 1874 and 1875, now practically exhausted, than they did prior to the discovery of these ore-bodies which a few years ago alarmed the world.* Neither would the German silver have had anything to do with the divergence, but for the suspension of the bimetallic system by France.

I shall now try to show the overwhelming strength of the bimetallic principle, and the marvellous rapidity with which it responds to the action of abnormal amounts of gold and silver. I pass over the theory propounded by men like Mr. Bagehot that the purchasing power of gold is determined by its cost of production in the mines that just pay expenses, with the remarks that there would be a purchasing power of gold if there were no new production for the next ten years, that legislation may throw on the gold markets of the world or withdraw from them an amount of gold equal to what the mines now supply in five or ten years, and that mining for gold is carried on in the hope of profit but to a very great extent not only without profit but with continual loss of capital greater or less, and frequently with total loss. The value of gold has no direct relation with the cost of producing it, and further the annual amount of gold from the mines that enters into coinages mostly to repair waste is not perhaps more than two per cent. of the total amount of the gold money of the world, so it is very safe to say that the purchasing power of gold is determined far more by the manifold influences that affect legislation and the increased demand for gold from advancing population in regard to the ninety-eight per cent. of gold in stock, than by the petty two per cent. that the mines annually contribute to make good the wear and tear, if indeed the wear and tear are not now eating into the stock. It is hardly necessary to say that the stock on hand of most other articles of gold and silver, and particularly of the great staple articles of consumption, is rarely more than a year's supply, whereas the stock of gold and silver money is probably fifty years' supply of the quantities that enter into the coinages. The article of which there is one year's supply on hand will tend to conform closely to the cost of production, but there are no such conditions when there is fifty years' supply, and largely fluctuating

* See statistics of exports of silver from the United States, in the Money Article of *The Times*, of April 5, 1880.

demand and largely fluctuating supply in consequence of population and legislation.

It is an established principle that supply and demand, apart from fluctuations in the purchasing power of money, regulate prices. Excessive supplies of articles lower prices, excessive demand raises them. Now all the prominent statesmen and financiers of England, with not a single exception I know of to whom the term prominent could fairly be applied, think they settle the question of bimetallism by saying that it is impossible to make gold and silver exchangeable at a fixed ratio, because the purchasing power of each will depend on the supply and demand affecting each. And at first sight it might very naturally be concluded that this view is right, in the sense in which they use the terms. But it is of the principle of bimetallism to bring a new element into the problem which these authorities entirely overlook, but which, conforming to the principle of supply and demand, produces remarkable results. The new element which they overlook is that when the French Government decreed that gold and silver should exchange at the rate of fifteen-and-a-half to one, they provided the means of keeping them at that ratio by declaring them legal tender. The consequence was that the French Government decreed a perpetual and unlimited demand for either gold or silver at this ratio of fifteen-and-a-half to one. This legal tender ratio and practically unlimited demand controlled and regulated the supply of these metals; and, so powerful is the principle that, as a matter of positive fact, France could have taken all the silver of Europe and the United States and all the new supplies available for coinage without sustaining any shock or subjecting itself to any material inconvenience. How could gold and silver possibly diverge in France from the fixed ratio? As long as there were large amounts of both silver and gold in circulation in the country, how could silver diverge from gold even one quarter per cent. Gold money was no better than silver money, both being endowed with the magic of unlimited legal tender, and is it a possible supposition that holders of gold money would continue to hold it if they could get one-half per cent. more money whether of silver or paper by parting with the gold money?

The greater or lesser discounts which are commonly assumed to be inevitable are utterly impossible, so long as both metals are in circulation and legal tender; and the difference between the present relations of gold to silver in France, and those existing under the bimetallic system is, that at present the legal tender function makes a limited quantity of silver coins pass current for so many francs at more than their intrinsic value in bullion, and indeed without any regard to their intrinsic value whatever;

whereas under the bimetallic system the French mints were open to silver, and silver coins circulated at exactly their intrinsic value as bullion. In 1785, France said to the world, "The value of gold coins shall be fifteen-and-a-half times that of a similar weight of silver coins; and, in spite of the great fluctuations in the relative supply of the two metals, and the numerous changes in coinages in various countries from silver to gold and from gold to silver, France has found that the bimetallic system never once was endangered. Mr. Bagehot declared that bimetallism "is not a currency of two metals, but an alternative currency, sometimes of one and sometimes of another;" and Viscount Sherbrooke,* speaking in the House of Commons on international coinage, on August 6, 1869, used these words:—"A gold and a silver standard is not a double but an alternate standard. The two metals are always fluctuating in their relations to each other. It is in the nature of things for the cheaper metal for the time being to drive out the dearer." This assertion of an alternate standard is a pure theory, without a scintilla of fact to support it during the bimetallic period from 1785 to 1874. It is, as I have shown in the cases of Belgium and France, a practical question, demanding a large enough area such as France within which to operate.

Let us suppose that there were £100,000,000 of silver and £200,000,000 of gold in circulation in France in bimetallic times, and that large quantities of new silver were sent to the mint, it is evident that until £200,000,000 of silver had been coined, all the gold† would not have been driven out of circulation, and so long as there was gold in circulation silver would not fall to a discount in gold in Paris, because the two were equally legal tender for all payments. It is true, nevertheless, that if all the gold had been driven out of circulation—something which never was in danger of happening—further increased quantities of silver, added to the currency beyond what was necessary to meet the wear and tear, would have caused silver to fall to a discount in gold, though it by no means follows that silver would have depreciated in general purchasing power. But though there are clearly theoretical limits to the successful working of bimetallism, as a question of practical financial statesmanship France might have gone on single-handed for another hundred years without meeting with any combination of unfavourable circumstances that would have endangered, not its money system, but its bimetallism, because it would have been the appreciated metal leaving the

* Then Mr. Robert Lowe, and Chancellor of the Exchequer.

† Even if £200,000,000 of silver had been coined, practically a large amount of gold must have remained in circulation, its effect being to increase the amount of the standard of value.

country, and the metal of stationary value remaining there, just as often as it would have been the stationary metal driven out by the depreciated one. Mr. Bonamy Price* puts "the great crucial problem" thus:—"Would it have been possible to maintain a bimetallic money of two metals, both legal tenders, when the law in coining declared that gold was worth fifteen-and-a-half times its weight in silver, when, close by its side, the metal market was willing to give, say, thirty-one times the weight of silver in exchange for the gold?" This is what ancient cloistered Oxford contributes to the controversy, and it may have relation to problems in the moon or in some of the fixed stars. But in France no divergence from the ratio of fifteen-and-a-half to one took place during the continuance of bimetallism from 1785 till 1874; and it is safe to say that with the bimetallic system in England, France, the United States, and Germany, gold and silver would not diverge from the fixed ratio by one per cent. in a thousand years. That Mr. Price should make even a supposition of the possibility of thirty-one to one under a bimetallic ratio of fifteen-and-a-half to one, shows that he has not yet comprehended the terms of the problem.

Is it not begging the question to assert that under bimetallism people always pay in the cheaper metal? So long as bimetallism is effective, there can be no cheaper metal, because the mint, that "unfailing and insatiable customer," which has roused Professor Sumner's ire, offers for all gold and silver fifteen-and-a-half to one; and therefore no Frenchman, from 1785 to 1874, nor since 1874, paid his debts in any cheaper metal than French legal-tender money, whether of gold, silver, or paper, nor can he pay them in anything of less value or less easily acquired than standard French money. Nor could a Frenchman in bimetallic times, nor can he now, pay his debts abroad in any less valuable form, when he uses specie, than that of the intrinsic value as bullion of either gold or silver.

I cannot insist too strongly on the wonderful power of the bimetallic principle arising from two elements, a fixed price between gold and silver and a practically unlimited demand at that price. If there were, under bimetallic conditions, £550,000,000 of gold, and £650,000,000 of silver money in the world, both legal tenders at fifteen-and-a-half to one, then in the case arising that exceptionally large amounts of silver were offered for coinage—though under bimetallism they cannot come from any source except from the mines—what demand for

* In Article on "Money," in the *International Review*, of New York, for September, 1880, p. 245.

silver is there to keep it from falling one fraction below the fixed ratio of fifteen-and-a-half to one, supposing that to be the ratio? The answer is very evident. There is a demand for £550,000,000 of new silver before any change can take place in the fixed ratio, that is, before bimetallism can cease; because the law makes that the legal tender rate, and as there are £550,000,000 of gold in circulation, that whole amount must be driven out of circulation before silver would stand alone with no gold in the coinages of the world towards which it could maintain the ratio of one to fifteen-and-a-half. Even if the £550,000,000 of new silver could be got, is it for a moment to be credited that £550,000,000 of gold could go out of circulation? Where could it go? How could there be a single silver standard currency? Unless all that amount of gold were positively destroyed from off the face of the earth, the immense mass of it would remain in circulation, and it would be utterly impossible to break bimetallism, though in this case we should have a depreciated standard of value, that is, higher prices; whereas what England is suffering now is an appreciated standard, that is, lower prices.

Looking, however, to the practical aspects of bimetallism, I would ask what would be the effect on gold of exceptional additions of silver to the bimetallic currencies? The immediate effect of abnormal additions of silver would be to lessen the demand for gold, and thus let gold flow over into the arts, if it would, so as to maintain the fixed price with silver. In such case, if no gold went out of circulation at all, the effect would be to add so much silver in addition to the world's bimetallic standard of value, and thus reduce, by this automatic process, the purchasing power of the unit of money—the sovereign, franc, dollar, rupee, &c. If there are £1,200,000,000 of gold and silver in the world, and perhaps £200,000,000 of notes, then the addition of £50,000,000 of silver would make the world's bimetallic standard of value £1,450,000,000, instead of £1,400,000,000, so that this £50,000,000 of silver, the appearance of which on the markets of the world would at present alarm and utterly paralyze Europe and America—would really add only three and a half per cent. to the bimetallic standard of value. I am arguing on the general proposition, and leave out of consideration the question as to how much of the £1,400,000,000 are in effective circulation, and, therefore, how much would be affected by the addition of £50,000,000.

But, under the bimetallic system, where could the additional £50,000,000, or a similar amount of gold, come from? Not from the mines, as that would be a practical impossibility; but such a sum might come on the markets of the world if France went to war, suspended specie payments, and issued inconvertible

notes. It is not likely that France or Germany will be subjected to such a strain as they both were in 1870 and 1871, yet their being at war caused no currency disturbances outside those countries, in England for instance.

Most of the economists are agreed on the principle that exceptional additions, such as happened after 1849, to the money of the world, are by no means certain to depreciate to a corresponding extent the purchasing power of the units of money; because in an advancing era these additions, instead of being spread over the same number of payments which were made before these additions took effect, are often applied to new enterprises and new business which increase the number of transactions requiring actual money, and, therefore, help to maintain the purchasing power of money at its old level. But, in the reverse case, where the standard of value is being diminished, as in the case of gold standard countries, England included, since 1874, the contraction of the currency is certain to paralyze trade, and to impoverish and crush out numbers of people who, but for the injustice of a legally-diminishing standard of value, would have held their own in comfort and content.

Now the virtue of bimetallism is, that making one money standard for all gold and silver using countries, the only disturbing element that can possibly intervene is the supply of gold and silver from the mines; whereas at present there is not only that element of disturbance, but there is the continual danger of Governments changing their legal tender, and thus making considerable changes in the standard of payments. If either of the metals should through any cause be offered in exceptional quantity at the world's mints, the effect of such addition to the single standard of value of the world is to produce only one-half of the disturbance in the purchasing power of the units of money, and that would take place if additions of gold were made to the single gold standard, or of silver to the single silver standard. And, on the other hand, if, instead of additions, there are withdrawals of gold or silver from the current coinages, the effect is similarly very much less on the aggregate gold and silver standard than would be the case if gold were withdrawn from a gold standard, or silver from a silver standard.

Under the bimetallic system the rates of exchange between the countries composing the world's single standard of value cannot possibly vary beyond certain fixed limits—namely, the bullion points for export or import; therefore approximate justice will be done in those international transactions of commerce and finance in which all nations are interested. But under the present system of two metallic standards with which the world is afflicted, the gold rates of exchange and the silver rates have parted

company in a way which would have been utterly impossible if France had alone maintained bimetallism.

The consolation which British statesmen administer to those who have suffered from this divergence is that things will rectify themselves, that the abnormal causes will cease to operate. Now, in my opinion, the abnormal causes are as likely to become more abnormal in the future as they are to cease to operate; and it is manifest that no rational views can prevail on this subject until British statesmen see the abnormal causes as they exist in England, and leave off calling the normal course of events in India abnormal. British Cabinet Ministers of both parties must abandon the rôle of blindfold statesmanship which they have so persistently followed during the last eight years on the questions of currency and coinage. I maintain that but for the bimetallism of France, the single gold tender system of England would have been an egregious failure as a standard of value after the gold discoveries of California and Australia; and the exchanges between gold tender countries on the one hand and silver tender countries on the other, if there had been no bimetallism, would have diverged very widely without any means or hope of their coming together again. After 1849 France, under bimetallism, and with by far the greatest gold and silver coinage in the world, took the gold that would have weighed on England's gold coinage and sent the Indian exchanges up probably to 2s. 8d. or more the rupee; and after 1874, doubtless looking to the resumption of bimetallism, it took the surplus silver of Germany and gave up gold, thus to some extent saving the purchasing power of gold from being raised still more than it has been, and also at the same time saved the divergence in the gold price of the rupee now at 1s. 8d. from being perhaps at 1s. 6d.

Indeed, of all countries, England, with its extensive commerce on every sea, was the country *par excellence* that ought to have had a bimetallic system. No one who understands this subject can doubt that it would have given greater stability to the exchanges between England on the one hand and India, China, Java, the Straits Settlements, the Philippines, South America, Mexico, and other silver money countries on the other, if England as well as France had been under the bimetallic system: The exchanges of these silver countries had to be arbitrated through the medium practically of Paris where silver and gold were both legal tender, although the bills were drawn on London in gold and payable there. Thence arose in London the fluctuations in the gold price of silver as compared with the price in Paris.

We are now confronted by another peril that besets the path of monometallism. The United States in 1879 not only absorbed

all their own production of gold, amounting to about £6,294,000, but they imported £14,930,500,* making in round numbers more than £21,000,000 of gold. Now the total production of gold in the world in 1879 was less than £19,000,000; and the incontrovertible inference from this fact is, that the gold money countries are constituting their standard of value. England has usually taken about £5,000,000 of gold annually for the purposes of coinage and of the arts; other countries had their share likewise; but here come the United States and absorb two millions sterling more than the total production of the year in the world, besides absorbing all their £7,400,000 of silver produced in 1879 with the exception of £1,456,300 which they exported, against more than £5,000,000 of silver exported in each of the years 1872 and 1873. It is beyond all doubt therefore that the United States, pursuing the policy urged on them by English statesmen and economists, are monopolizing far more of the gold and silver of the world than formerly; or, to state this in other words, their action is reducing the quantity of the gold standard of value and thus producing a bad and dishonest gold money—namely, a money of diminishing quantity and of increasing purchasing power, in face of increasing populations and increasing payments requiring actual money. It is no whit different in the United States. They absorb much; but to keep up their standard to a just level they would require to absorb more. Even their coinage of somewhat more than \$2,000,000 of silver per month does not help them much, as this is only \$25,000,000 per annum added to the gold standard of perhaps \$4,000,000,000 of money in gold using countries, and not added to their own currency, though it appears there. There can be no doubt therefore that, at the present time, the gold money countries are suffering from a contracting and therefore unjust money system; and in face of it no country under the gold system can escape financial disturbance and loss to the debtor and to the trading and producing classes which would not exist under a just system of money.

Although the standard of value in single silver tender countries is much more stable, much more just than the gold standard, still the silver standard also is diminishing in quantity. The United States are absorbing nearly all their own production of silver, and India is importing less silver than formerly, while it is fairly to be presumed that the uses for it are increasing. The conclusion, therefore, is irresistible, that the two great standards of value in the world, the one of gold and the other of silver, are

* See statistics of movement of gold in the United States in the Money Article of *The Times* of April 5, 1880.

both contracting in volume while the uses for money under both systems are increasing. But gold is contracting much more than silver; though, fortunately for England, France may still for a time give out gold and import silver, and thus moderate the contraction of gold, though it will render the contraction of silver in India more marked. If such be the case, then both the gold system and the silver system are failures as systems of just money, though the gold system is the more unjust.

It may be asked why I advocate bimetallism when the inevitable result of it would be to raise the purchasing power of silver and to lower the purchasing power of gold? The answer is very evident. I am aiming at a just system of money in opposition to a haphazard system in England, which capricious chance, and not intelligence, directs and controls; and in my opinion there is no hope of getting it except through a single standard of value under bimetallism or the double metallic standard. This can, I believe, be best accomplished by adopting the French ratio of fifteen-and-a-half to one, because France and the other members of the Latin Union have a very large quantity of silver coined on that basis, and the adoption of this ratio would enable the Latin Union to at once open their mints to the silver of private holders, and the Indian exchanges would at once rise to their former level of about 1s. 10½d. to 1s. 11d. It is evident that to adopt any other ratio would involve a large re-coining of silver; and to adopt the French ratio would be to revive that practically unlimited demand for silver which France suspended in 1874, and but for which suspension would inevitably have existed to-day at the ratio of fifteen-and-a-half to one. At the same time it would be better to have bimetallism on some satisfactory ratio than to have the present system, which is, beyond all doubt, transitory. The present indefensible and dangerous attitude of England may well cause the gravest anxiety in case that it might precipitate such action on the part of France or the United States, or both together, as would imperil the cause of just money for a generation in this little world of ours. If England does not abandon the masterly strategy of the ostrich, of which, like that bird, it is so proud, France, or the United States may become tired of waiting on such self-satisfied ignorance.

It is perfectly evident that if the United States, following the all but unanimous advice of England, were to demonetize the standard silver dollar, there would be £14,000,000 of these dollars and £7,000,000 a year of silver ready to start to Europe and mostly to India, as such a step would alarm France so that it would not take in any more silver. If the United States demonetized this silver with the view of replacing it with gold,

the Indian exchanges would fall still further; and if, accepting what might seem the inevitable, France were to abandon its attitude expectant of bimetallism, and to withdraw the legal tender function from silver, there would be £100,000,000 of silver set free to find its way mostly to India and China. Under such complete success of the single gold tender system and repudiation of silver, the rupee would fall probably to 1s.; and to make up the £17,000,000 annually for England, India would have to find an additional amount of 13,60,00,000 rupees—as if it takes 20,40,00,000 rupees to get £17,000,000 of gold in London at an exchange of 1s. 8d., it would take 34,00,00,000 rupees to procure the same sum in gold if the exchange was at 1s. the rupee. What grounds have the British and Indian Governments for expecting that the United States or France will not abandon the present expectant attitude, and take a final plunge which will divorce the gold standard much further than at present from the silver standard, by raising the value of gold and depreciating that of silver? What financial convulsions would overtake the world! What a monetary revolution would be effected! What terrible injustice would be done if such an incalculable disaster were permitted to take place through the blind unreasoning prejudice and perversity of England's political leaders!

Mr. Goschen declares that the business of the world ought to be carried on with the aggregate of the gold and silver coinages of the world, and to this I give my most unqualified assent. But I maintain—in opposition to Mr. Goschen, who regards the fixing of a ratio between gold and silver as impossible—that bimetallism which, of the three factors, demand, supply, and price, fixes two of them, namely, the price of fifteen-and-a-half of silver to one of gold; and practically, unlimited demand at that price for either or both metals, gives, in the completest and most assured form possible, the aggregate of the gold and silver coinages for the business of the world, only it is in one consolidated standard, and not in two relatively fluctuating standards as Mr. Goschen recommends. It will readily be observed that in all other articles demand and supply regulate price; but in bimetallism, price and demand for each metal regulate the supply. And so strong is this principle of price and demand regulating supply, that I believe if France, England, the United States, and Germany, were to adopt the ratio between gold and silver of fifteen-and-a-half to one, or of seventeen to one, the ratio adopted would last for a thousand years.

I have already said that, under the modern conditions of increasing transactions in the world and diminishing supply of gold and silver from the mines, even the bimetallic system cannot save us from a diminishing and therefore unjust standard of

value ; and in this respect I differ from M. Cernuschi, and Mr. Ernest Seyd, Mr. Samuel Smith of Liverpool, Mr. Stephen Williamson, M.P., and other English bimetallists. Bimetallism itself is with me only a means which will assist in gaining a higher end, while with these bimetallists it is an end in itself. I can see no other possible solution of the practical problem of honest and just money than the adoption by France, England, the United States, and Germany, of bimetallism on some fixed ratio—there is no special magic in fifteen-and-a-half to one beyond the fact that it existed before, and it would be convenient for France and other countries that it should be adopted again—and then to supplement the failing supply of the precious metals from the mines with an adjuster in the form of inconvertible paper money. I am convinced that what is claimed for bimetallism is true, and that the need of larger quantities of money than the precious metals can give, so as to have a just standard, demands the co-operation of the printing press. There is no alternative if justice is to be done.

If the United States would fall back on the inconvertible greenback, as the greenback party are trying to bring about, and with great prospects of success, it would be a benefit to the United States and to the world at large. If they decreed that gold and full-valued silver should not be legal tender, but that the Government would hold gold and silver for export, but not for currency, to be shipped on presentation of greenbacks, then the United States would have a currency of inconvertible greenbacks, but really in strict agreement and conformity with the bimetallic standard of the rest of the world. The United States would thus set free so much gold and silver which would help to keep up the quantity of the bimetallic standard in other countries, and France, England, and Germany would secure the maintenance of bimetallism, well assured that the United States would not resort to any vagaries of remonetization or demonetization.

What I am contending for is for a just system of money, and not for a gold standard or a silver standard or for bimetallism. I look simply and solely at the quantity of money. I recommend the United States to have a standard of inconvertible greenbacks, which may conform to a metallic standard if they please to legislate for it. I have no prepossession for anything but justice in the matter ; and as justice implies a system of money equitable to both debtor and creditor, I maintain that there ought to be some automatic means of adding to or subtracting from the currency, so as to uphold an approximately just standard of value ; and as we have no control over the supplies of gold and silver, and as at the present time we cannot increase them when increase

is needed, it is evident that gold and silver, whether separately or in bimetallism, cannot provide us with a perfectly defensible and scientific standard of value. Therefore it is that I suggest the only remedy that seems to me within the field of practical statesmanship: and that is bimetallism, which will cut off the vagaries of legal tender legislation in the leading countries, where alone they are dangerous, and leave only the annual supply from the mines to be dealt with, supplemented by inconvertible paper money to supply the additional money requirements of an age in which many countries are advancing with giant strides, and thus must have larger quantities of money to maintain a stable standard of value. • •

In face of the dangers to which I have already alluded as inevitable, if the United States or France or both should change their legal tender laws as affecting silver, the practical question might be asked—whether Lord Hartington and the Indian Council are prepared to take the responsibility of such a step being taken by these Governments, without making the most determined efforts to ward off such a catastrophe. It does seem strange that the only Government represented at the Paris Monetary Conference of 1878, that had supreme interests at stake in the American proposals being accepted, was England; and that our representatives were the most strenuous in their efforts to thwart the accomplishment of any result. There are those in England who think that some imaginary silver “ring” in the United States prompted the Conference, and that America being a large producer of silver resorted to this expedient to get a higher price for its product. I may say, with considerable knowledge of the circumstances, that there never has been a silver “ring” in the United States; and without injustice, that the Nevada silver mine-owners, including the English shareholders of the Richmond mine, never, in my opinion, knew enough of the merits of their position to understand what they could get up a “ring” for; though what could have been a stronger case to present to a Protectionist Legislature at Washington than that the United States mints should accept domestic silver at the par of the old silver dollar, that is, that they should coin domestic silver into dollars of 412½ grains nine-tenths fine for the benefit of the holder, and that foreign silver entering any United States port except for re-export, as of Mexican dollars or bar silver at San Francisco, should pay a customs duty amounting to the difference between the silver dollar at par with gold, and the gold price of the day for silver amounting to from twelve to fifteen per cent. The Nevada mine-owners had to support their case, the prescriptive right to do this very thing which had been continued from the foundation of the American mint in 1792 till 1873, when the

silver dollar was demonetized by an omission in the drafting of the revised statutes and not by direct legislation. The difference would have been that the silver the United States bought and coined at a large profit since the passage of the Allison Bill in February, 1878, would have been coined for private owners with this large profit to them. Yet so little did the chief silver mine-owners of Nevada think of a "ring" that they never even troubled themselves to apply to Congress for this protective legislation which would have brought them large gains. To descend further to the all but incredible—the leading silver mine-owners were really so little alive to their own interests and to the merits of silver as money, that they favoured the continuance of the single gold tender, and never once even petitioned for the remonetization of silver!

It is certain, however, that no country had so much to gain as England from the acceptance of bimetallism; only Mr. Goschen and his coadjutors were sent to the Conference with instructions not to commit themselves to anything unless indeed it were to declare that the fixing of a ratio between gold and silver was "impossible"—although M. Leon Say,* the President of the Conference, assured the members that France was not moving towards the single gold standard, but waiting in the expectation of resuming bimetallism, of resuming the fixed ratio that Mr. Goschen pronounced "impossible." M. Say might well offer this assurance when he had before him the most complete and most overwhelmingly successful record for bimetallism in France that has ever been shown in the history of the world for any monetary system. Leaving things that are "impossible" in the eyes of British statesmen, yet every-day facts to French statesmen, there is something not only possible but highly probable—and that is, that at some not very remote day the Secretary of State for India and his Council may be startled by the news that, following the urgent advice of England, America has demonetized silver, and that the Indian exchanges are tumbling no one knows whither.

Those responsible for India may be willing to sit tranquilly upon a volcano; but it seems something like criminal negligence that any British Government should sit calmly by without trying to bind down France and the United States to some definite system, so that some certainty may be imparted into the finan-

* M. Leon Say spoke as follows:—"Le Gouvernement s'est clairement expliqué à ce sujet. Il a déclaré très catégoriquement que nous ne marchions pas vers l'étalon d'or unique; nous sommes, selon lui, dans une situation expectante et de laquelle nous ne sortirons que pour de bonnes raisons, quand elles se seront produites, et vraisemblablement pour rentrer dans le système du double étalon."—*Conférence Monétaire Internationale de 1878*, p. 76.

cial position of India. Without such certainty the United States and France might act without any injury whatever to themselves so as to put the Indian exchanges down to a shilling, and the British Government have not stirred a finger in negotiations to provide against the probable occurrence of such a catastrophe. But if prejudice and ignorance* must prevail in the councils of England, if national vanity in Mr. Bagehot's form of "rightly or wrongly" must stand in the way of rational statesmanship, there is then one thing that it is the bounden duty of the British Government to bring about. If they will not in any way countenance efforts towards a just system of money, and thus remove the contingency of further monetary perils to England and India, they can have no possible excuse for continuing the debt and other annual obligations of India in England as a gold debt. The Indian people may fairly say they are interested in a stable standard of value, and they have one—namely, silver; and if you English, the controlling power in such matters, leave them at the mercy of an avalanche of silver and of such a scarcity of gold as may make their good, honest, just rupee, which was formerly worth 1s. 11d. of your fluctuating gold money, and is now worth 1s. 8d. of your appreciated gold, worth perhaps only 1s. in your further appreciated gold and their then depreciated silver; if by such means you who can settle this question of the relative value of gold and silver so as to last a hundred years beyond a peradventure, are willing that they should stand in the deadly peril of having the gold value of the rupee fall further, and perhaps to 1s., adding a further sixty-six and two-thirds per cent. to the burden in rupees of their gold debt, and requiring from them an annual additional contribution to make the £17,000,000 of 13,60,00,000 rupees; they may say, I repeat, if the British Government are willing to place them

* This may seem a strong expression, but when Mr. J. G. Hubbard, M.P. for the City of London, a Director and former Governor of the Bank of England, a Member of the Select Committee on the Depreciation of Silver, can rise in his place in the House of Commons, and deliver, unchallenged, a speech showing such unadulterated ignorance as the following and other passages exhibit, it is time to call this kind of folly by its right name:—"One of the plans suggested by which to improve the existing state of things was that of a double standard, more properly called an alternative standard. Another plan had also been invented called the bimetallic system, and bimetallism had been preached as a doctrine by a variety of distinguished men. It had been remarked that this scheme was entirely free from the inconvenience attaching to a double standard," &c.—*The Times*, June 13, 1879.

It is somewhat of a farce that a banking specialist like Mr. Hubbard should solemnly propound to the perhaps equally unenlightened House of Commons the difference between the double standard and the newly "invented" bimetallic system,—the difference, in short, between the system of *six*, and the system of *half-a-dozen*.

through sheer ignorance and misdirection in the direct jeopardy of utter bankruptcy, then the British Government cannot resist the Indian appeal to convert the gold debt of India into a silver debt, so that in Indian money and in silver taxes and silver liabilities they may be able to provide against a catastrophe which is looming ominously over their devoted heads.

India may contend that it wishes to exchange its uncertainty for certainty; and if the British Government and the British people are so satisfied in their own minds that they are sailing over summer seas, that they are gliding over the waters of smooth finance, why should they, the dictators in this matter, refuse to convert this gold debt into a silver debt, strictly cognate to the Indian money system? If there is no danger in the outlook, no breakers in the sea of finance, why should not Englishmen willingly exchange gold loans for silver loans, and thus put India's finance in an intelligible position? If there is danger in the outlook, are the British Government willing to neglect the solemn duty of protecting the interests of India; and are they willing that, without one rupee of benefit to India from continuing its debt in gold instead of silver, the divergence of the gold standard from the silver standard may become so great as to land India, not in figurative, but in actual bankruptcy?

J. BARR ROBERTSON.

INDIA AND OUR COLONIAL EMPIRE.

INDIA AND CENTRAL ASIA—*Afghanistan*.—General Roberts' great march and victory did less to restore English prestige in Southern Afghanistan than the rout at Maiwand, and the humiliating incidents of the siege of Candahar had done to injure it. At home men did not cease to ask who was responsible for these disasters, and soon a long series of letters and dispatches was to give a more or less imperfect answer. Of course, in the first instance, Government both in India and in England had to render account, and even their warmest friends must admit that much still remains to be said before their defence can be regarded as adequate. Lord Hartington, no doubt, will give fuller explanations this session than he was able to do last year, and we must be content here merely to say that from the Blue Books already published, the case against the Government seems to be somewhat as follows: For several months before Ayub Khan started from Herat, it was known that he intended to start—it was known, too, that his strength as regards both men and guns was such as it ultimately proved to be. The temper of the people and of the Wali's troops was known, and it might have been conjectured that he would possibly be joined (as he was joined) by the tribes-men *en route*. It seems to be admitted that the force which General Burrows had could hardly have been relied on, even when skilfully handled, to defeat the Afghan force, while the troops left behind at Candahar were hardly an adequate garrison for the place. Nevertheless, the Government of India sanctioned the despatch of General Burrows' brigade to the Helmund—hampering him by instructions not to cross the river, and at the same time (even after the mutiny of the Wali's troops had occurred) urging upon him, through the Commander-in-Chief, the extreme importance of not allowing Ayub to escape unattacked towards Ghazni. This is a serious case enough. But more serious still is the question, why they allowed the Reserve Division, which ought to have been available to reinforce Candahar, to be itself so weak and unorganized that though they knew before the end of June that Ayub had actually left Herat, hardly any appreciable number of troops reached Candahar before

General Burrows' defeat and the complete stoppage of communications between Candahar and the Pishin valley.

Subordinate to the question of the responsibility of Government is the conduct of the Commanders, and on this the Viceroy and his advisers have already passed a definite and unfavourable judgment. Much to the disgust of the officers at Candahar, no regular Court of Inquiry was held, but General Roberts was directed to report on the whole matter, and the action of Government is believed to have been based on the results of his inquiries. The formal despatches submitted by Generals Burrows and Primrose were written more than a month after the battle of Maiwand, and are distressingly meagre and evasive. They evince, one would say, a consciousness of criticism, and of the uselessness of attempting to meet it fairly. Soon after the battle of Candahar—for by this name General Roberts' victory is officially to be known—a column was sent to bury the dead at the line of retreat and on the battle-field. The examination made on the spot threw light on many points which the discordant narratives of the survivors left in doubt. And since first impressions did a grave injustice to many of those engaged, we may attempt to sketch again the outlines of the affair, taking as the basis of our narrative the reports of those who visited the field, and the results arrived at by critical inquiries at Candahar. It appears then, that the Political Department was utterly at fault with regard to intelligence—especially after the mutiny of the Wali's troops, and the general declaration of the country people against us. After the withdrawal to Khushk-i-Nakhud it was found impossible to ascertain anything about Ayub's movements—the circle within which our small bodies of cavalry could patrol being, of course, very limited. Vacillation and, it is believed, discord prevailed in our councils. At length on the fatal morning news came in that the Pass at Maiwand had been occupied by a small body of fanatics. General Burrows moved from Khushk-i-Nakhud in order to drive them out and occupy it himself, for he was anxious to fulfil the wishes of Government, and not allow Ayub to "slip by." He had to take his baggage-train with him, for the simple reason that he had no force to leave behind to guard it. Maiwand is about 12 miles from Khushk-i-Nakhud. When the General was approaching it he saw, four miles off, what ultimately proved to be Ayub's army in line of march. He seems, however, to have thought it was merely an isolated body; indeed, to understand the mistakes of the day, it is necessary to remember that the barren plain was bathed in a bright haze—hardly less deceptive than our English fog. Had General Burrows then occupied a long line of buildings and enclosures on his right, towards which

Ayub was marching, he would have compelled his enemy to attack, and would himself have had every advantage of position. Unfortunately he did not do so. Immediately in front was a dry torrent bed; a gun was pushed across this, and fire was opened on the body of the enemy, which was in sight. As the gun was thought to be going too far, an effort was made to bring it back, but for some reason Lieutenant Maclane, who was in charge, did not retire as ordered, and General Burrows seems to have allowed this incident to determine the choice of his position. He crossed with the main body, and arranged his men in the order already described. In his front and on his flanks was the torrent bed, which enabled the enemy to manœuvre, unseen and unhurt by our fire. Our men, on the other hand, especially the native troops, were exposed in the open. Almost from the beginning the Ghazis had contrived to get in the rear, and once the enemy had pushed his guns to proper places on the edge of the torrent bed, our lines were exposed to an enfilading fire. Nevertheless, for hours all the troops (with the exception of two isolated companies of the 23rd N.I.) stood firm. The artillery in front was splendidly handled, the Wali's smooth-bores being manned by some of the 66th. The cavalry, too, though exposed to a trying fire, behaved well; and to the last the 66th kept firm, repelling time after time the attacks of the fanatical swordsmen. At length ammunition for the guns ran short. Whether their withdrawal preceded or followed the final collapse is disputed; it is enough that the native troops on the left, wearied by repeated attacks of fanatics, despairing too of what seemed an objectless resistance, curled up on the 66th, and the whole mass was borne back on the enclosures, which ought in the first instance to have been held. The 66th fell back in fair order, but the native troops almost gave themselves up to the mercies of the fanatics. In the enclosures the 66th made a splendid stand. One body of 100 kept thousands at bay, till they fell one by one to the last man. Here indeed most of the English deaths occurred. General Burrows himself behaved with almost boyish bravery, and, as a fighting officer, with singular coolness and forethought. "Had he been a subaltern instead of commander, he would have won his V.C. twenty times." Not far from the battlefield the searching party found a spring of water. Had it been discovered on the fatal day, the fugitives might have found strength to rally, and the frightful losses on the retreat would have been avoided. But, as it was, maddened by thirst, they pushed on all night towards Candahar—the care shown for the wounded, and the cool intrepidity with which Lieutenant Slade protected the rear with his guns, being the one redeeming feature of the flight. Ayub had lost so fearfully

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himself that his men made hardly any real pursuit.' Our loss was due to thirst and fatigue, and the attacks of villagers, who turned out in increasing numbers the nearer the scattered bands got to Candahar. One thing must be said in praise of these Afghans. No indignity was done to the dead, and the searching party found that on the battlefield most of the bodies of our slain had been already decently interred.

General Brooke, despatched from Candahar with a small body of men to help in the fugitives, had to fight his way, and clear of the enemy, several of the villages through which he had to pass, and there can be little doubt that had he not advanced to the ford of the Argandab, few of the weary soldiers would have been able to struggle on to Candahar. This is perhaps the most pleasing incident of the defence. General Primrose has been censured by the Government for the precipitancy with which he evacuated the cantonments. The defensive preparations for the siege are admitted by every one to have been excellent, but the sortie on the 16th was as objectless as it was disastrous. General Primrose explains that it was meant to compel the enemy to show their hand, and says it removed the fear of the Ghazis which till then unnerved our soldiers. But the panic fear was as strong as ever when General Roberts reached Candahar, and it was the news of his approach—not, as General Primrose thinks, the daring shown in the sortie—that compelled Ayub to retire to the Argandab.

As to what Ayub's plans were, there is good reason to believe that when he left Herat his design was rather to hang on the outskirts of the Candahar province, and thus render it impossible for the Wali to consolidate his rule; that he had, later on, a design of passing on to Ghazni, and establishing himself at that centre of disturbance as the representative of the Yakub Khan faction; and that, finally, urged by the fanatical tribesmen who joined him, he conceived the plan of evading General Burrows' force, and making a dash at Candahar. Had he done so, the place might have fallen by a *coup de main*; so that General Burrows may fairly allege that, whatever were his errors in strategy, the loss he inflicted on the Afghans prevented a disaster graver even than that of Maiwand. Ayub's vacillation subsequently during the siege is easily explained if we remember that he had to satisfy three parties with separate interests—the local tribesmen, his Herati regiments and his Cabuli regiments, and that his plans must have been affected, and indeed confounded, by the news of General Roberts' march through Ghazni and General Phayre's advance from Quetta. There is evidence that he made desperate efforts to organize the whole of Southern Afghanistan against us—efforts which had only

a partial success. After the battle of Candahar nothing certain was known of the movements of the defeated prince, and as news came from Herat of another revolt there against his authority, it was too hastily assumed by the party of withdrawal that his power was effectually crushed and English prestige completely restored. News, however, subsequently came of his progress through the Zamindawar country, and along the western frontier, with a small band of followers, and soon it was definitely announced that the discredited fugitive had not only reached Herat, but been received there, and was again building up a dangerous power. The Durani people of Southern Afghanistan did not forget that he alone of Afghan leaders had refused to come to terms with the English (of his letter to General Roberts they no doubt had never heard), and that he had inflicted on us a defeat, the memory of which will long survive the memory of our successes. They saw him still standing forth as the guardian of the boy Musa Jan, that son of Yakub Khan who represents the legitimate dynasty, so far as any power in Afghanistan can be regarded as legitimate. Thus Ayub was able to leave as governors of the western provinces of Farrah and Sabzawar, Hashim Khan and Muhamad Hasam Khan—two sirdars whose names have been prominent in the record of agitation and hostile action since the English Government committed itself to the recognition of the “adventurer from Central Asia,” Abdurrahman. Thus, too, even in the immediate vicinity of Candahar, the people until lately have been expectant of another attack from Herat, and rumours have constantly been afloat of great gatherings in Zamindawar; of designs on the part of Ayub—now of establishing himself at Farrah, there to await the moment when our withdrawal would leave Candahar open to his advance; now of a march through the country south of the Helmand, to occupy our forage grounds west of Quetta, and possibly to attack our communications east of that place. The truth, however, appears to be that Ayub is as weak at Herat as Abdurrahman is at Cabul; that he has made ineffectual attempts to obtain help and recognition from Persia; that his exactions have so irritated the people of the town and the adjacent tracts, that they have made overtures both to our authorities at Candahar and to Abdurrahman. The Shah would, no doubt, have been glad enough to have made Ayub his lieutenant at Herat; but he was occupied with the troubles of the Kurds in the West, and with the complications arising from the pressure exercised by Russia, more especially in connection with the Turkoman expedition. If here we note that Ayub's difficulties were increased by constant incursions of Turkomans who sacked village after village in the

north of the province of which he is nominally lord, it is to indicate how intimately related are the factors of the questions, too often separated in discussion, of Candahar, Cabul, Persia, and the Turkomans. At almost any moment we may hear that Ayub has gone to Russian territory, "to watch events" in Afghanistan, and to be in the hands of the authorities at Tashkent as useful a tool in coercing Abdurrahman as Abdurrahman himself was in terrifying poor Shir Ali. The chance of an amicable understanding between the two cousins may be dismissed. It would not survive a week after our withdrawal from Afghanistan, leaving Candahar as spoil to be fought for; and undoubtedly in such a struggle the sympathies of the people would be with Ayub, our declared enemy—not with Abdurrahman, our only half-declared friend.

Let us now revert to Candahar. General Roberts found the city desolate and terror-stricken; but in a week or so the expelled inhabitants began to return, and soon the demands of so large a force made trade brisker than it had ever been before. It was months before the country-people around began to show any real confidence in the maintenance of peace. A frank declaration that we intended to remain permanently would no doubt have pacified the country, and even an opponent of annexation admits that in six months the province would be as peaceful as Scotland. But though Lord Hartington's declarations led every one to suppose that Lord Ripon was free to act independently on the best advice he could get—though a majority of the Supreme Council are known to be in favour of annexation—though the opinion of General Roberts is decidedly averse to abandonment, and military critics generally share his views, it is almost boastfully asserted by the Radical organs that the decision at which the Cabinet (fresh from platform agitation in the provinces) arrived months ago will be carried out. Against Ministerial infatuation protest is of course vain. Men who, like Lord Northbrook, ought by this time to be statesmen, can only speak of the policy of annexation as "a criminal policy of rivalry with Russia for influence in Central Asia." Such presentments of the case are simply dishonest. We deplore the necessity which seems to compel us to occupy tracts beyond our old frontier, which for some time at any rate cannot pay the increased cost of occupying them. If we insist that our rule will lead to extension of cultivation, to development of trade with Central Asia, to the peaceful repression of Afghan barbarism, we do not pretend that the probability of these happy results is our inducement to the task. It is simply an element to be put against the element of immediate outlay in calculating what is the cheapest way of securing peace to India in a long

future. We take leave to say that if Lord Northbrook and Lord Hartington still hold the opinions they expressed two years ago about the danger to English rule of Russian interference in Afghanistan, they are bound to admit that the temporary outlay will in the long run prove sound economy. At present it would seem they have some idea that the danger may be averted by a fresh "understanding" with Russia, of the kind which experience has shown us are wholly illusory, because Russia is loyal to them only as long as there is no temptation to be disloyal. Even now the English proposals are believed to be received coolly at St. Petersburg. It is, we trust, likely that the course of events will be too strong even for Ministerial resolves. If Birmingham doctrine be sound, we might safely have evacuated Candahar after the relief. But, face to face with fact, a Ministry of Englishmen cannot outrage common sense. It was seen at once that Candahar *must* be held through the winter. The silence or indecision of the Government added enormously to the immediate difficulties of the situation. No one at Candahar cared to be prominent in helping a power which at any moment might abandon its friends. The country was kept in agitation by the ever-present possibility of change. New works, such as healthy barracks and fortified magazines, could not be undertaken. Supplies were abundant in the country round, but owing to the want of carriage they were brought in with difficulty, and forage especially, being heavy and bulky, was scarce. A railway would have facilitated supplies by setting free an immense amount of carriage engaged in the transport rendered necessary by the constant changes of troops along the line of communications. But a railway could not be vigorously pressed forward, at any rate to Candahar, till it was known whether we were to be in a position to control the terminus. The Wali, whose loyalty had even been doubted by some of our officers, was without influence, and our officers were not allowed to organize any regular government of their own. Mr. Lyall, the Foreign Secretary to the Government of India, came to the place to find out the feelings of the people. What the result of his inquiries was on the mind of Government we do not know; but not very long after his departure the Wali, who till then had not been formally relieved of the duties which the arrangement concluded by Lord Lytton imposed upon him, received permission to retire to India with his family. This was followed by the announcement that a more regular form of government was to be organized by our Resident—for it seems there can be a "Resident" without a Court for him to reside at—and that in his efforts to this end he had the cordial co-operation of all the sirdars of the province. Indeed, precisely as the chances of our remaining

became better defined, the indications of tranquillity became abundant. Cultivation is now general, and supplies are collected without any military demonstration.

The troops which came with General Roberts from Cabul had of course earned their right to rest. They were accordingly, after a brief delay, marched to India, one brigade inflicting some slight chastisement on the Khojak tribes; and another, under General Macgregor, marching through the Marri country, visiting the villages and the head-quarters of that unruly tribe, and exacting fines and abject apologies for the raids they had committed on the line of railway during the time of trouble. General Roberts himself came "on sick leave" to England, where he had to face, in a succession of public banquets and ceremonies, a more formidable ordeal than that of Afghan warfare. At Lahore a good many of the regiments from Afghanistan were assembled for the Viceroy's durbar. There, too, were many of the officers who had led them so well. The appearance of the troops was splendid, and was not, we may be sure, without its effect on the assembled princes. Lord Ripon spoke as cordially of their achievements as if he had been the author of the war, and announced a long list of honours and decorations for both rank and file. Sir Donald Stewart (already Military Member of Council) received his order of G.C.B. and the congratulations of the Viceroy. Here we may add that, later on, at Bombay, Lord Ripon addressed the survivors of the 66th, and did ample if tardy justice to the heroism of their comrades.

The veterans having left Candahar, there remained, besides the English soldiers, only the Bombay troops, men admittedly inferior in physique and training to the Bengali regiments, and discredited in popular esteem by recent events. It was therefore thought desirable to withdraw a portion, and to replace them by Bengal regiments. This was done, not without great strain on the transport, and still greater on Bombay susceptibilities; and, as a corollary, General Phayre, who had hitherto been in command at Candahar, was superseded by General Hume, a distinguished soldier, but unfortunately wholly untried in Afghanistan.

The work on the railway, which runs not by the Bolan route, but by a line roughly paral-^lled to it, from Sibi, was resumed, and even if Candahar be abandoned, it seems hardly possible that the Pishui valley will also be given up. From recent news it would appear that *any* step in the policy of abandonment is possible to the present Cabinet.

Elsewhere in Afghanistan a good deal that the Gandamak treaty secured to us has been quietly abandoned. But much, too (like the

Pishui Valley), is to be kept. The dreaded cholera did not attack our troops on their march through the Khaibar, but the regiments left behind to guard the Pass as far as Lundi Kotal have suffered much. At present there are many indications that they are to be withdrawn, and that, though our sovereignty does not lapse, the Pass is to be kept open by an agreement with the local Afridi tribes—involving, of course, subsidies, and, as people in India think, certain disappointment. As to the Kuram Valley (which it will be remembered was only assigned to us by the treaty), it has been wholly evacuated. We have in form kept our pledges to the Turis, the local tribe, by recognizing their independence, but it is not likely to be respected by Abdurrahman, if he succeeds in consolidating his power. The Peshawar Pass and the highlands apparently have been restored to the Amir. As to Cabul itself we are almost wholly without authentic intelligence. It is not known whether Government has so much as a news-writer there. But the rumours which filter through to Peshawar or Candahar tell us nothing very encouraging. Abdurrahman, apparently to secure the support of the tribes generally, has given or offered the widows of Shir Ali in marriage to men of inferior tribes—such as Mahomed Jan. This has caused grave offence to the Duranis. Mahomed Jan himself has finally declared that he is for the house of Yakub Khan. South of Ghazni the new Amir's authority is hardly nominal, and the Ghilzais are by no means in hand. One of his chief advisers, however, is said to be Asmatulla Khan, the old "fox" of the Lughman country, who gave us so much trouble. The Cabuli regiments who marched away from Ayub's camp reached Cabul safely, and some of them apparently have accepted service with Abdurrahman. His great danger is the existence of arms scattered among the tribesmen, and these are only slowly being brought in. We do not know how far he has succeeded in realizing revenue. It is certain, however, that in Afghan esteem he is by no means strong, and when a rumour of his assassination and of anarchy at Cabul was current at Peshawar, no one affected astonishment. This is the ruler on whose chance of success and of loyalty Lord Hartington seems willing to stake the interests of England in Afghanistan, but to whose success he has contributed little, as far as Ministerial statements indicate, but a position which we had shown our anxiety to escape from.

• *The Expedition against the Tekkés.*—The Russian Government is absolutely reticent regarding both the plans and the operations of its commander in the Turkoman country, and though Krasnovodsk is now connected by telegraph across the Caspian with the European system, little can be positively affirmed. One thing, however, seems

fairly clear. The preparations being made are far greater than would be necessary for defeating the Tekkes, and are obviously intended to enable Russia to hold their country. Thus, a railway is being constructed across the desert from Krasnovodsk to Kizil Arvat, and is already completed one-fourth of the whole distance. By this line, when it is ready, according to some authorities, General Skobeloff intends to bring his main force, which is now waiting on the other side of the Caspian. Taking warning by the blunder of his predecessor, he proposes to accumulate supplies, and have communication with his base secure before bringing his men across in force. But according to other views (or conjectures) he has already a sufficient force in the Tekke oasis to commence operations against Geoktepe at once! The story that the Russians have already prepared a fortress east of Geoktepe is in itself whimsically absurd, and seems to have arisen merely from the visit of Russian officers to Northern Persia. Similarly, the report that a column from Samarcand is intended to advance on Merv—that it has, in fact, already started—to co-operate with General Skobeloff, may arise simply from the despatch of another “scientific expedition” (*Russian* for “pioneering column”) to the Oxus, or from movements of troops connected with the demonstrations in Kulja. Of preparations on the Turkoman side we do know something, for the *Daily News* correspondent, excluded from the Russian camps, has gone through Persia to their country. They have assembled in great force at Geoktepe, being reinforced by a contingent from Merv. The earthworks of the place have been strengthened; but already provisions—the cardinal difficulty—are said to be scanty. They have no artillery, while even now General Skobeloff has a hundred guns; and there is no doubt that a heavy and sustained artillery fire would thoroughly demoralize the defenders. General Skobeloff, we ought to say, is beyond doubt established at Bami, the first post in the long Akhal oasis after the passage of the mountains. This place he has fortified and provisioned, and it would even seem that he has also occupied Beurma—farther East. The Tekkes are said to be much disappointed by the English moderation in Afghanistan (which, of course, they do not understand)—they now despair of English help, and though bent on resistance to the last, seem to regard subjection to Russia as their inevitable doom. That power will know how to utilize their energies farther East. Meanwhile the relations of Persia with the belligerents are somewhat strained. The Shah has refused to help the Turkomans and they have refused to give him the hostages he required. Meanwhile they vex Northern Persia as well as Afghanistan with their raids, and beyond doubt the dwellers in the border-land, as well as the

Persian officials whom Muscovite blandishments have reached, wish well to Russia. But the Russian purchases of grain at Meshed have been so great that the Shah, to prevent famine, has forbidden farther exports. Hence Russian displeasure. Meanwhile the Austrian officers who are engaged in organizing the Shah's army, and who wish to see Persia made a barrier against the indefinite growth of Russian power, profess great solicitude regarding the Russian plan of operations from Central Asia against Northern Afghanistan and Persia.

The Viceroy's Tour and Illness.—At the beginning of the cold weather, the Viceroy, having had first some tiger-shooting in the sub-Himalayan districts, made a tour through Western India, beginning with Amritsar and Lahore, and ending with Puna. His speech at the great durbar at Lahore was noticeable chiefly by the absence of any reference to Afghan policy which could reassure the assembled princes of the Punjab, sensitive as they are to every breath of rumour from Cabul and the great European power dimly discerned beyond. His praise of Lord Lawrence's policy was a colourless piece of good taste, appropriate in an address to the chiefs among whom John Lawrence laboured so long. Lord Ripon, however, showed sufficient interest in Afghan affairs to visit the railway works beyond Sibi. Everywhere he had the usual wearying business of ceremonial and sight-seeing to get through, and as India at the best is trying to those who face its climate after middle age, the feverish attack which followed his visit to Puna hardly seemed surprising to Anglo-Indians. Few Viceroys, while still new to their work, have had such gravely important issues to decide as Lord Ripon. The questions urged by the various deputations were in themselves of deep interest, comprising as they did the question of broad *v.* narrow gauge, of popular *v.* higher education, of State aid to private effort *v.* State systems of education. As to the question of gauge, the gravest discontent exists among the commercial classes of Western India at the break in gauge on the new line which connects it with the Punjab. Lord Ripon promised to reconsider the matter. As to education, both before leaving this country and since, Lord Ripon has been urged at length to give effect to the spirit of Lord Halifax's famous despatch, the "Charter of Indian Education." The key-note of that document is expenditure on the education of the masses and encouragement of the efforts of individuals and societies by State grants in aid. As to the system which actually exists, missionaries complain that they cannot compete with the Government schools, and thoughtful men of all classes feel that, while the provision for popular education is inadequate, a large sum is spent in giving the doubtful benefit of a college education at the public ex-

pense to a number of young men who do not make any fruitful use of their knowledge, or smattering of knowledge, and who are discontented because Government, having educated them, does not also provide for them.

The Landslip at Naini Tal, by which fifty Englishmen perished while attempting the rescue of some of their native fellow-men, caused, of course, the deepest sorrow in every Indian station. The loss of property was, however, less than the sensational telegrams represented. A large expenditure will be necessary to render the rest of the little station absolutely safe; but Government has agreed to contribute liberally, and as Naini Tal is the prettiest of hill stations, the house-owners can well afford the outlay to give it the one attraction wanting—security.

Cashmere.—There has been a revolt in Northern Cashmere—perhaps it would be more accurate to say an invasion. The trouble is said to be due to the instigation of the ruler of Badakshan; but, such as it is, it seems to have been suppressed by the English Resident at Gilgit—the frontier post towards the Passes of the Hindu Kush—with the aid of the Maharaja's troops. The incident has revived discussion regarding the Maharaja's misrule and his disloyal correspondence with the Amir of Cabul, and public feeling has been further irritated by his discourteous refusal to take the place assigned to him in the Viceregal procession at Lahore.

The Inquiry made by Order of the Government into a charge preferred against the son of a petty native prince, the Raja of Chota Udaipur, of having tortured and murdered his wife, caused some painful feeling in the native Courts, and led Anglo-Indians to fear that the unfortunate blunder made by Lord Northbrook in the public trial of the Gaikwar of Baroda would be repeated. In such cases, it is all but impossible, whatever the truth of the charge may be, to get untainted evidence, and further steps, it is said, are not to be taken with reference to the accused.

THE COLONIES.

We have to thank the peculiar ingenuity of commercial enterprise in the United States for a welcome public exhibition this autumn of Colonial energy and well-being. In offering substantial money prizes to be scullied for by the world on the Thames, the "Hop Bitters" Company of New York has done a great deal—unintentionally no doubt—to wean English popular opinion of its ignorance of the Colonies, and

of the idea—true enough in days not long gone by—that Colonial was but another term for the hardships of semi-savagery of backwoods and bush life. The very fact that professional scullers, of no mean calibre, can come into being and make a livelihood of rowing for big stakes in our various Colonial capitals, carries home to the mind of the English masses, in trenchant if humble fashion, the fact that in our Colonies there exist big centres of English population and English life. It is well worthy of note that a series of races inaugurated for purely commercial or “sporting” ends should have so distinctly political an influence. These three or four days’ racing on the Thames have done much to enlighten the London masses on the advanced and “civilized” condition of our Colonies; and they have appealed directly to classes of society altogether without the pale of articles or lectures.

The influence of the Colonies on English industries has been evident this autumn, though it is remarkable that there has been reluctance, almost amounting to blindness, to recognize this influence. During the past quarter the English iron industries have been in an unwonted ferment of work, and leading economists and manufacturers have suggested various, and in some measure antagonistic, causes for the fact of this renewed production, proceeding without any adequate demand being apparent. But not only have manufacturers, as if by some instinct, stirred the furnaces with a renewed vigour to which they had long been strangers, but the general public have manifested a strong and practical desire to invest in the stocks of iron that have in consequence accumulated with great rapidity. No doubt the most outward and visible cause of this somewhat sudden reviving of an industry that had of late years relaxed greatly in its efforts, was the eager and sudden rush into the market of American buyers. But this rush was soon over, and yet production and investment continued. It is often difficult to define the instincts that at times regulate the action of communities, and in this instance many of our prophets are at a loss to arrive at any satisfactory analysis. They will, however, find much to aid them in the reports that have of late been so frequent from our various Colonies of the planning and prosecution of numerous lines of railways. The greatest and first of the results of the present revival of trade is certainly the planning and carrying out of schemes of railway extension throughout the British Empire. Canada proposes as the *pièce de resistance*, to have a new one thousand miles of railway in working order before three years are out. The contemplated “feeders” to this main line promise to be almost as extensive; and local lines are being pushed with vigour in other districts of the Dominion. In

the West India Islands we hear of railway extensions; at the Cape and in Ceylon great works of this kind are in process of realization. In Australia, with her vast distances, railway enterprise is just now in the ascendant. The line that is to join Sydney to Melbourne is being laid with great vigour. New South Wales is racing with South Australia, the one from the east and the other from the west, to cover the many hundred miles that will enable them respectively to tap, for the benefit of their own ports, the rich pastoral districts of the Riverina. Queensland is devising schemes to foster the extension of her railways, and contemplating in a decidedly serious mood a "trans-continental railway," to connect the various capitals with Port Darwin, on the north coast; thereby lessening greatly the time of mails between Australia and Europe. In brief, wherever we turn in the British Empire we find a more or less recent growth in the demand, present and prospective, for rails and other metal work incidental to railway construction. This is a material and tangible cause for anticipations of increased demand, and it is a cause which is altogether beside the prospective demand of the established American and continental markets.

The *Canadian Dominion* usurps to itself a large share in this rising demand for rails. The main artery—the Canada Pacific Railway—is already in hand, and the Dominion Government estimates that within three years no less than one thousand miles of this railway will be in working order. This will carry goods and passengers right through from Halifax and Quebec to the Rocky Mountains; and in three short years give to the great Canadian north-west that certainty and facility of communication the absence of which has ever been the one great drag on the rapid development of new areas of fertile soil. The financing for this railway, on the bonus and land-grant systems, has attracted ample capital from Europe as well as America. The main success of this trunk line is furthermore intimately connected with the existence of sufficient tributaries and feeders. A "system" is at once rendered necessary, and already local energy is hard at work solving the detailed problems of desirable local extensions.

In various districts these latter are being pushed forward, not only on paper but in reality. The "Canada Central Extension" intends before the year is out to be running trains right through to Lake Winnipeg. Manitoba proposes to run a line of its own from Portage-la-Prairie up to the Saskatchewan. A new line is projected which shall complete through communication from Emerson (Manitoba) to Rapid City. This will be a "feeder" from the Pacific Railway, penetrating some of the best wheat country in the north-west. Meanwhile

in the other provinces railway-making is still in active progress in the Quebec and St. John's districts.

It is interesting to notice that capital should be forthcoming for all this new railway extension, and yet there is little room for surprise in the face of the rare phenomenon of the English funds at par. Among other concomitant influences, however, we can trace that of migration. There is a positive change of population proceeding at the present which at once stimulates and is stimulated by this rapid railway extension. Much confusion of observation has necessarily resulted because of the fact that the records of this movement are, for the present, intricate and complex—inasmuch as they depend on "returns," which are necessarily subject to varied and contradictory local exigencies. Thus the simple introduction of a trifling alteration, whereby immigrants in Canada are booked through to the north-west instead of having to "report themselves," as of old, at Toronto, has led one-sided writers to point to the Toronto returns for proof of a falling-off in immigration into the Dominion. Again, the routes that the emigrants take to the north-west pass at present, in the absence of the coming Canadian railways, through portions of the United States. At once we see paragraphs in the papers referring to the increase of migration from Canada into the States. As a matter of fact, however, the increase of migration to the Canadian north-west, for the above reasons, actually swell the only published records of migration from Canada. The real truth will be readily descried in the rapid increase of settlers in the north-west itself. Fast increasing investments in land are sure signs that population is arriving and to arrive. Indeed, even the buyers on speculation promote immigration by every means in their power, as being the one great cause of the eventual success of their speculations. Already these men are combining with others to urge on the Dominion and the Home Governments the desirability of establishing on this rich soil of the north-west some of those unlucky Irish who seem to be ill able to prosper on Irish soil. The Bright Clauses would in the north-west of the Dominion of Canada find indeed a "fair field and no favour."

— This "cheapness" of money, to use the popular term, is further aided by the general revival of prosperity in enabling Canada to enter on this railway extension. This prosperity is producing one effect British farmers would do well to notice. Those on the spot are asking these very farmers to emigrate, "*because land and produce are rising in value, with every prospect of a continuance in rise.*" These reports put pressure on investment and hasten the inflow of capital; but they exterminate in the end the very conditions—cheap soil and low price

of produce—of which the British farmer fears the competition. Thus the danger remains, that this inflow of capital and population, and the consequent stimulus to enterprise, drive matters hastily to the opposite extreme, and that the fated reaction consequently follow. It is matter of concern to remember that the high tariff which Canada has recently set up will prevent these anxieties of the future profiting by the alleviating, if not preventive, influence that freedom of commercial intercourse with other countries has always been found to possess.

There is at the present great and increasing activity in all trades. The great lumber industry is in specially good circumstances just now, and minor manufactures are one and all doing well. Meat and fruit preserving has developed a marked demand for skilled mechanical labour; and the rapid "taking up" of the new wheat area is already calling for towns and villages furnished with an adequate number of skilled mechanics competent to supply the local demands for repairs and working of machinery, and so forth. These new municipal governments generally adopt the "bonus" system for attracting betimes this requisite skill and experience. Exemption from local taxation for a period, free plots of land, money grants, and other means, are adopted by these municipalities to attract the commodity required. It is worthy of notice that the success of this municipal "bonus" system in encouraging the early start of manufactures on a scale commensurate with the actual requirements of the communities, is meeting with much appreciation in *British Columbia*. The affiliation of this colony into the Dominion is thus bearing fruit in this assimilation of customs and management.

Among our tropical farms and factories fringing the Atlantic matters progress surely, if steadily. In the *West Indies* the main question of prominence is the labour supply, and in this the Indian Coolie still figures prominently. British Guiana, taking the lead in this matter, affords some significant statistics. The Coolies come to that colony, and by their labour enable the planter to make a good thing of it. But these statistics also show the highly essential point that the Coolies themselves also make a good thing of it. They remit sums to India that can in the aggregate be counted in thousands of pounds; and, in addition, they both spend and save considerably in the colony itself. Those who return to India carry with them sums sufficient to set them up in their native village as leaders of their community. Large numbers also remain to set themselves up on their savings in the *West Indies*. Whatever they do, this system of labour has cer-

tainly so far developed a highly profitable use of labour benefiting largely some part or other of the Empire.

This side the Atlantic, on the *West Coast of Africa*, where "farms" give place to "factories," our struggle seems continuous to keep peace, so far as may be, among the tribes with whom we deal, and through whose territories other tribes pass to deal with us. Merchants are proverbially and actually at the forefront of human enterprise; their energy leads them to face difficulties from which all other classes shrink; respect for such qualities, coupled with a consciousness of the increase they bring to the general wealth and well-being, always causes merchants to be the favoured children of a nation. It is thus that the English nation is usually willing, without too severe inquiry, to give good and general support to the enterprises of our merchants of the West Coast. Of late years the French have developed an acquisitive energy unknown before. Those interested are, in the usual course, complaining that the French are pressing hard, even if not actually encroaching, upon the jurisdiction and the "paramount interest" which we have been at considerable pains and expense to establish over certain sections of the coast. Our traders in this part of the world are explaining that France is exhibiting just now a tendency to push her influence over the north-western corner of Africa. Her sons are already scheming supplementary bases, not only on the West Coast, but in the far interior, where foot traders, and even railways, are to arrive, and by the route of the Senegal tap the interior for trade in the direction of Sego and Timbuctoo. For these purposes, which are calculated in the end to need two millions of money, they have already decided on preliminary expenses to the extent of £30,000. The more enthusiastic among them trust to the day when Frenchmen from Algiers will shake hands with Frenchmen from the Senegal at historic Timbuctoo.

The reasons and the prospects of this new trading enterprise are obvious, and in every way praiseworthy. Exception, however, may justly be taken to sundry details. For instance, the reasons for the scheme of penetrating from the Mellicourie River to establish a protectorate over the Delina River area are neither so obvious nor so praiseworthy. The West Coast of Africa, southwards of Cape Blanco, falls first of all to the charge of the French—from Portendiok to the Gambia. At the Gambia English supremacy commences with the Bathurst station, and extends, with the exception of scattered and small Portuguese stations, to the Sierra Leone district. The authority of the republic of Liberia succeeds along the "grain and ivory" coasts; and the "gold coast" is again under British authority. The Mellicourie

River is in the heart of the Sierra Leone district; and it is difficult to see with what purpose, or what prospect of adequate success, the French should thus collide with our jurisdiction.

The reports from *Ceylon* are most favourably concerned with a revival of "good times"—in some measure, no doubt, a reflex result of that in process elsewhere, but in great measure also due to the increased energy and *skill* that has of late been applied to the leading industries of the island. Liberian coffee has proved a profitable innovation. Capital and organization have recently taken in hand those products which, even in their native and undirected production, won for the island its fame as the great "spice" island. The export of coffee for this year shows a satisfactory increase of six per cent. over that for the previous year. Other reports exhibit like advance. Among them figure such comparatively new products for *Ceylon* as tea, cocoa, and cinchona; this latter showing the remarkable but not altogether unexpected increase of a trebling in amount.

In spite of all this real prosperity, Government finance proclaims itself to be in unsatisfactory plight. On every side want of money is the pretext of a *non possumus* policy. In many ways these curtailments of expenditure, however necessary to a policy of economy, are not such as meet the expectations or desires of merchants and planters—two classes now, more than ever, sanguine of future prospects, and so of future needs. Much dissatisfaction has for some time been expressed at the "caution" exhibited by Government in the extension of the railway system; and now much fresh dissatisfaction has been aroused by the Council's rejection of the two alternative plans proposed by Sir J. Coode for the perfection of Colombo as a port. The older scheme of the local surveyor—Colonel Fyers, R.E.—was adopted in their stead. And though the Council has thus shown that it is not captivated by that peculiar modern phase of hero-worship which would make Sir J. Coode the Sir Garnet of colonial harbour works, it has nevertheless come to a decision which publishes the fact that this policy of economy is based on the principle of setting the present before the future, and of undertaking and planning works, not in consideration of the uses to which they are eventually to be put, but rather in consideration of the amount of money that can at the passing moment be got together for the purpose.

This policy is of undoubted advantage *for the moment* to the community regarded as taxpayers. This is a most important consideration in *Ceylon* when depression of trade visits the island. Not only is there then the natural falling-off in the revenue, but it is always observable that crime and lawlessness increase *pro tanto*; and that the

ratio of police apprehensions increases as the revenue falls off. Thus there is some pretext for the contention that at such times relief of taxation may assist directly in maintaining security of property. But at best such measures, if so undertaken, are but temporary palliatives; they are more likely to gloss over than to remedy the evils dreaded. There is high need under such circumstances of a consistent policy, to be maintained for years, and the ultimate aim of which shall be to secure a sufficient popular prosperity to render the burden of revenue easily borne *en permanence*. Whether this policy be one of enterprise and expenditure, or of caution and economy, is a question that must rest on the shoulders of those in charge. But the answer should be a policy and not a temporary expedient.

At no distant date Ceylon will find valuable markets, and in some respects active rivalry, in the tropical portions of Australia. This area has recently forced its way to the front. *Western Australia*, by the discoveries and explorations it has pushed northwards, has done much to bring into notice this great and fertile area of Australia. Queensland and South Australia have exhibited a no less direct concern in the matter; and, indeed, that it is in a measure a concern of all the Australian Colonies is seen by the fact of the Conference assembling in Melbourne to discuss the great question of Chinese immigration, a question of no real pressure excepting in climates where European labour is impossible. Such climates rule over a large portion of Australia; and it remains to be asked why Colonies in which European labour is not only practicable but most eminently flourishing, should be burdened with the concerns of territories of totally distinct social and economic conditions.

The very fact that the Government of *South Australia* should be the Australian Government most busy with the details and *burdens* of tropical management in *Northern Australia*, marks the anomalous stage that has now been reached in Australian developments. There has been a history of continuous breaking-off of new jurisdictions or Colonies so soon as increase of population made such divisions necessary. Occasionally, indeed, matters were allowed to proceed too fast, and attempts were made in contradiction to this essential reason for division, as in that unsuccessful endeavour in 1848 to establish a separate jurisdiction for North Australia. But since the noble completion of the trans-Australian telegraph lines and the energetic explorations of Western Australia, and the enterprise of Queensland squatters and miners, North Australia has become a reality, with all the "incidents" and questions that authorize and even require separate treatment.

We find the Parliament at Adelaide spending its time over the details of a Sugar Cultivation Bill, which shall recognize the fact that European labour is impossible a thousand miles away. This same Government, in respect of the same distant charge, has to warn European labour that it will not succeed in the far north. The Chinese, however, are flocking thither, and have already come to blows with the whites; and the contiguity of the northern coast to "the islands" and New Guinea is already breeding the troubles incident to a growing traffic which result from the rapid increase of population on the Australian side of the water. The gold-fields of this northern territory are attracting large numbers of Chinese, and chiefly by reason of the fact that white labour is impracticable. A poll tax on Chinese immigrants, and a heavy export duty on the gold found, are the schemes suggested for the present maintenance of English authority. In Adelaide the feeling is very strong that this northern territory must be made not only to provide the expenses of its own management, but also to refund the large advances already made from the south to enable the "territory" to come into "national" being. The Brisbane Legislature is in like manner vexed with the question of this Chinese and also of South Sea labour, because of the fact that at the present it rules much tropical territory.

The fact that labour must be "coloured," and that its supply will consequently be of that shifting type which has already extended itself to the Mauritius and the West Indies, and will embrace Indian Coolies, Chinamen, and South Sea Islanders, proves that for long years to come this Northern Australia will not be recognized as capable of self-government on the parliamentary system. The question remains, Will the Government of Brisbane, Adelaide and Perth care now to be saddled with this new drain on brains, time and *pocket* involved in watching over and administering this large and far-distant tropical district?

If we glance at the map of Australia, and bear in mind this development of its northern shore, we shall at once see that the time is near for a fresh breaking-off of jurisdiction; and that there is reason in the proposal to make up a Crown Colony of North Australia, drawing its boundary line at the 20th or other convenient parallel of south latitude. Such a division must be contemplated before the *purchase* of land in the interior adds to the expenses of demarcation of frontier. In agitating for such a division the three colonies directly concerned will be relieving themselves of burdens great in the present and greater in the future. At the same time, they will by this means take the surest measures for putting a large neighbouring area on a fair way towards securing that prosperity which will have just as great and favourable

effect on their own prosperity in future days as if they themselves had borne the burden and cost of first maintenance.

In more normal Australian affairs we find *South Australia* busying herself with the fact of the failure of her farmers to enter the English market by the side of that farmer's bogus, "American competition." In South Australia the exaggerated reports of the first successes of prairie farming in supplying the European market with wheat at once set the local farmers to work at wheat-growing. Climate and soil seemed to favour them at first. It was soon discovered that wheat could be grown over a large area which "good authorities" had previously held could not grow wheat. The farmers at once took advantage of the "purchase by deferred payment" system, which forms a special feature of the carefully elaborated land scheme of South Australia, and which was intended to enable men without much capital to become, in course of time and work, landowning farmers; thus it was sought by Act of Parliament to establish that stable and trustworthy yeomanry which is popularly supposed to be generated by proprietary rights in small parcels of soil.

These calculations were, however, formed in days before wheat-growing had become a mania, and they were considerably falsified by the appearance of a large class of wheat-growers who took advantage of this Act to hold and extend their hold over vast tracts of soil at a minimum first cost. It was soon discovered that the first crop of this virgin soil ran fifteen, twenty, or even twenty-five bushels to the acre; but it was also discovered that the succeeding crop, such was the character of the soil, fell to an average of from seven to ten bushels only. These facts led to an unwholesome evasion or misuse of the law: cases were known of farmers obtaining possession of a large area of soil by means of the comparatively small first instalment of the "deferred payment" system, raising the first good crop, levanting with the proceeds, and profitably forfeiting further claim on land that has thus been exhausted in their own favour. And this soil, that had been thus cropped, was not merely impoverished by the cropping; it was, in addition, "broken up," and no longer even natural pasture. For years to come large tracts of soil were thus rendered as useless and unmarketable as soil in Queensland that has been overrun by "marsupials." But even legitimate wheat-farming in South Australia is not likely to take its place just yet on the regular list of England's "foreign competitors." The costs and charges of transit to England now range from 2s. 9d. to 3s. a bushel, and as the expenses and risks of the farming only find profit in a price on the spot of 3s. 6d., it is obvious that South Australian farmers will only be able to appear in the

English market provided wheat be over 50s. in price. And in such case the English farmer will have no cause for complaint.

In *Victoria*, for the time being, most things have yielded to the absorbing prominence of a first International Exhibition. The opening ceremony was perhaps the grandest and most extensive spectacle yet seen in the Australian Colonies. The cantata in honour of the occasion, composed in *Victoria* and performed with the assistance of 1,500 local musicians, is distinct evidence of the great growth of that British community which first settled on the unoccupied lands at the head of Port Phillip just fifty years ago.

In spite, however, of this interest in the Exhibition, politics could not altogether control their wonted restlessness. Mr. Berry, again Premier, has displayed of late some of those attributes usually conceded to statesmen, but which, in his case, had previously been conspicuous only by their absence. It is true he has hereby offended some of the more ardent among his former followers; but both for Mr. Berry and for *Victoria* such a development of character, if permanent, is fraught with much advantage. It is a development similar in kind to that so frequently noticed in the case of young and ardent members of the House of Commons, when experience and years sober the more excitable and rash promptings of a first contact with parliamentary things and parliamentary power. Mr. Berry has wisely declined altogether to allow the burning question of Parliamentary Reform to flaunt itself in the wished-for serenity of political atmosphere that should properly accompany the Exhibition episode. He thus avoids pressing on the notice of the many visitors in Melbourne that miserable condition of affairs, social, political and commercial, which precedes, attends and follows "deadlocks," and which her detractors allege has now become almost the normal condition of affairs in *Victoria*.

But though the Colony has been spared for the time the troublous discussion of this imminent question, a partial step towards its solution has been taken. When the Bill to continue payment of Members was sent to the Upper House, that House proposed that the measure should be divided into two Bills, providing for payment of Members of the two Houses respectively. To accomplish this a conference of the two Houses was called, and Mr. Berry, with a new-born moderation, at once assented to the proposal of the Council. When the tail of his own party remonstrated, his reply was that the Council has shown forbearance and a spirit of conciliation, and that he was resolved to follow their good example. Such wise conduct in days gone by would have taken the edge off many a crisis: it is a signal advance on what has occurred in past years. The immediate result was that the Council passed the Bill for payment

of Members of the Assembly, but rejected the Bill providing payment for themselves. This conference and this result are strictly on the lines leading to a final settlement of their troubles which the WESTMINSTER REVIEW has advocated. This most recent Act will certainly give the Upper House far greater power in the Colony, and will also add to the popular support given to the party that advocates the abolition, or at all events the modification, of this "payment of Members." On the other hand, the Council have lost hold over the continuance of a Bill for payment of Members now that that Bill no longer affects their own House.

In spite, however, of these improving tendencies, Mr. Berry has, on his return to power, renewed his extraordinary demolition of the Victoria Civil Service. His chief pressure is want of money. The remedy he adopts is the curtailment of expenditure even at the cost of efficiency. For a Civil Service you require men who are not only capable but thoroughly trustworthy. Such a commodity obtains a high price in the open market, and unless you can give a "fancy value" to the occupation, the price you pay must be high, or the Civil Service inefficient or corrupt. In England this Civil Service has this "fancy value," and it is always possible to obtain from the leisured and cultured classes endless recruits for the ranks of a Civil Service capable of performing work of the first order, and for pay that is often little more than nominal. In the Colonies this class is not sufficiently large; but much may be done towards establishing this "fancy value" by careful selection for the posts, and, above all, by giving the service an undoubted character of permanency. Mr. Berry appears to ignore these facts, and to see in the Civil Service a mere item of expenditure, by saving in which he can assist his Government in its financial straits. But his reductions are meeting with severe censure from all sides. Sir B. O'Loughlen, Mr. Berry's former Attorney-General, has shown that in the Law Department, at all events, the proposed reductions will actually entail increased expenditure. It must be hoped that the good sense of Victorians will in the end prevent this action from issuing in the putting the Civil Service of Victoria within the grasp of politicians, and in the breeding in Victoria the blighting and expensive race of "carpet-baggers."

The Exhibition has gilded over the generally unsound financial condition of Victoria. The free-trade section have indeed suggested that all exhibits in the Exhibition should be "marked in plain figures," with their prices in the countries of their origin. They hope thus to open the eyes of the heedless multitude to the state of things they unconsciously endure. By comparison with the other Colonies, Victoria is suffering sadly. In Queensland the quarter's revenue shows an

increase of one-sixth; in South Australia there is an increase of one-sixth; in New South Wales there is an increase of more than one-fifth. But in Victoria, the only protectionist colony, the quarter's revenue shows a decrease for this same quarter. We shall await with anxiety the census of 1881. At the present it is commonly reported, among those who know, that able-bodied labourers are leaving Victoria by the thousand for the neighbouring Colonies, and that all the capital that can be set free has been transferred to other Colonies. Certainly this singular want of elasticity of revenue, in marked contrast to the other Colonies, tells a serious tale for Victoria.

New South Wales, indeed, is just now enjoying a high period of prosperity. Among other items, there is a uniformity in the good reports from the gold-fields, and an increased production of gold may be looked for of decided dimensions. The drought that had been prophesied, and indeed had threatened, has been driven off by copious rains. The vigorous extension of railways is typical of the energy the Colony is now displaying—an energy fed by the gratifying results of wide-spread success in varied industrial effort.

In *New Zealand* the Maories still continue persistently to put fences across the roads being made through their Waimete plains. The offending fence-makers are quietly taken in charge, and the Government is at considerable loss as to their temporary disposal. It is true they resist Government, but in such good-humoured and peaceful protest that they are regarded on all sides as misguided children rather than public criminals. It is a noticeable episode this last protest of a race against its own civilization. The mad prophet Te Whiti is raising the voice of the Maori race in deprecation of its impending doom of disappearance; for, in spite of all the care and skill of good government the race dwindles and dwindles to its death.

The Basuto rebellion has given *South African* affairs a fresh hold on English notice. And it is perhaps well that this should be so, for the history of all previous wars tells no uncertain tale of the fatal callousness to South African affairs which inevitably follows on the successful issue of a "native war," and which leaves matters altogether unsettled, until they drift once again to fresh renewal of hostilities with other black races, and to fresh burdens for the British taxpayer.

Since this rebellion first broke out but little has been visibly accomplished towards its suppression, but preparations on a large and significant scale have for long been in active progress. General Clarke early forced his way to the beleaguered authorities at Mapetong, and thus from the first upheld the prestige of white armed power. Further than this his attempt did not proceed. He retired, himself, to the

more civilized quarters in King William's Town, to assume the head direction of all operations. This is no doubt the only proper post for the officer directing the campaign, and General Clarke has done wisely and well in entrusting details of detachment work to subordinates. The Colonial troops have assumed the offensive in various directions, but without much definite or wide-spread success.

But of far more importance than this actual fighting, both to the Cape Colonists and to Englishmen at home, are the conditions that will be imposed on the Basutos when peace comes with the inevitable triumph of the whites. The extreme parties have each now had their say. The last word has been with the "Aborigines Protection Society." Under its auspices a great deputation waited on Lord Kimberley to urge him to adopt its well-known views. It is well all sides should obtain a hearing; but when this has been said, all has been said that is necessary in reference to this deputation. It had, however, one practical result: it afforded the opportunity for Lord Kimberley to make the welcome assertion in public that the Imperial authorities have not in any way abdicated their position as the responsible heads of the Empire; and whether Imperial troops are eventually called in, or whether the Colonial forces, unaided, dispose of the Basutos, the Imperial authorities will still retain their right of assisting the Cape Town Government to make a settlement of the question in dispute in accordance with English ideas and English principles.

Already the Cape Colonists are feeling the severity of the sacrifice they are compelled to make in this attempt to maintain unaided what has been somewhat euphemistically termed the "internal defence of the colony." It is reported there will soon be no less than 13,000 European troops in the field. Such a levy is a terribly severe drain on a scattered population numbering not more than 250,000 all told. It is as though the British Isles put into the field an army of two million men. And additional force is lent to this contention when we bear in mind that in England an army of even these gigantic proportions would be largely recruited from classes that, whether from poverty or affluence, find it "pay" to give time to such work. On the one hand the struggle for employment, and on the other the inheritance of profit, create in a fully peopled country a margin of human beings economically fit to follow soldiering as a profession. This is by no means the case in a colony where, on the contrary, every male of age is busily engaged carving out his own immediate livelihood, and where there are no leisured classes. When the reckoning follows on this Basuto war, the Cape Colonists will be brought to consider the actual economic consequences entailed by their enjoyment of empire over native districts.

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

THEOLOGY.

"THE Angel-Messiah" is the title of a new work by Mr. Ernest de Bunsen, whose leading idea that the history of mankind is the history of a continuity of divine influences is curiously illustrated in its pages.¹ The Essenes, in his belief, form the connecting link between Magian, Rabbinical and Gnostic Judaism on the one hand, and Parsism and Buddhism on the other. In the most ancient parts of the Zendavesta the one god Abura-Mazda is designated as the first of seven angels, but by later passages in the Holy Book of the Iranians, Sraosha is designated vicar of God, mediator, divine messenger or angel. This ideal hero and Messiah of Iranian tradition, originally connected with fire, appears in the West as Eros, the god of love, the vicar of Zeus and framer of the world. It thus becomes probable, continues Mr. de Bunsen (though we confess we do not see the probability), that the West Iranians, the Chaldæans, Casdim or conquerors in B.C. 2458, the year of Shem's birth—that those whom Berosus calls Medes, introduced into the West the doctrine of the Angel-Messiah. The Essenic Order was established not later than B.C. 143. Before this time Buddhistic records about the birth of the Angel-Messiah existed in the East, and the Essenes, who have many doctrines and practices resembling those of the Buddhists, probably or presumably believed in and expected an Angel-Messiah. John the Ashai (Bather) was an Essene, and pointing as he did to the future Messianic baptism with the Holy Ghost, he must have regarded the Messiah as an incarnate angel. John, however, did not believe in Jesus as the Angel-Messiah, and Jesus openly opposed the teaching of John in his denial of the present immanence of the Spirit of God in man. Jesus, indeed, did not regard himself as the Angel-Messiah, but "the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven" imply a hidden wisdom, and indicate a traditional key of knowledge which Jesus may have possessed. Jesus knew that the medium of divine revelation in past ages was the enlightened conscience of man. "After a long and systematic hiding of the truth, Jesus saw no other way for the fulfilment of His divine mission than to suggest to the people by parables as much of the truth as they could then bear. By preaching and living the doctrine of conscience, Jesus opened the way for the gradual revelation of the mystery kept in secret since the world began. As Jesus had opposed the doctrine of John, so his twelve apostles opposed that of Paul, who shared with the proto-martyr Stephen the belief that Jesus was the Angel-Messiah. Paul's gospel was very different from that of the

¹ "The Angel-Messiah of Buddhists, Essenes, and Christians." By Ernest de Bunsen. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1880.

twelve, but they initiated and acted on a compromise which led to their harmonious co-operation. The commission to Peter as the Rock, though mysterious, is historical, and the primacy of the Roman Church may have been an institution founded by Jesus Christ for the purpose of transmitting from generation to generation a holy trust. To the Roman Church belongs the high honour of effecting a final compromise, including the enlargement and revision of the New Testament. "By acting in the spirit of Peter and Paul, the peace in the churches, in the future, will be established and maintained, and, after due preparation, the Holy Spirit will assemble the nations of the whole world in the unity, not in the uniformity, of the faith, and Christ shall be all in all." Such is the hypothetical theology of Mr. Ernest de Bunsen. His book shows much research, extensive reading, and, in a qualified sense, some erudition, but we consider it, notwithstanding, a remarkable example of perverted ingenuity and misapplied learning. To us, in fact, it is a mere theological castle in the air. The author has been so candid in his use of the potential mood that it is difficult for us to realize that he quite believes in his hypothesis himself. He tells us, for instance, that "Philo's writings *prove the probability* almost rising to certainty that the Essenes did expect an Angel-Messiah; that it is *probable* that the Essenes represented, if they did not introduce, that conception. Elsewhere he says, "they *may have* believed in it." Whether the Essenes believed in this doctrine, and we see no proof that they did, we most assuredly do not. The idea is not new, and we do not allow that it is true. Julius Hellwag in 1848, rightly affirming that in the early church the popular theology conceived the pre-existent subject in Jesus as an angel, applied it, in a slightly modified form to the Pauline Christology. We submit that there is no evidence to show that Paul regarded Christ as an angel. Mr. de Bunsen quotes Acts vii. 38, to prove that it was the Angel-Messiah who was with the fathers in the wilderness; he declares that Ananias of Damascus almost certainly regarded Jesus as that Messiah; that the doctrine re-appears in the Epistle to the Hebrews, the Apocalypse, and the Fourth Gospel. We cannot find it in his citations. If Justin Martyr calls Christ *ἄγγελος* or *ἀπόστολος* we are not therefore justified in affirming that he literally transformed Him into an angel. Mr. de Bunsen has peculiar views on the composition of the gospels. Holding that the tradition of the resurrection of Jesus on the third day is of Essenic origin, and that the appearances of the risen Saviour were merely apparitions, he asserts that the narrative of the resurrection in the first three gospels, has been added to the revised text of the most ancient gospels, probably not before the publication of the fourth gospel in the second century. The history, however, was known to Justin Martyr before the year 150; and the *Memorials* from which he derived it must have been in existence some time previously. The testimony of St. Paul, too, though it does not prove that it was in the synoptics, shows that the resurrection on the third day was an article of belief in apostolic times. Mr. de Bunsen while thus *revising* the New Testament literature, takes the Greek Alexandrian version of the old Hebrew Bible under his par-

ticular protection. Yet he must be well aware that there are abundant proofs of arbitrary interpretation, omissions, additions, interpolations, in the Septuagint, and in particular that the translation of *Daniel* is so bad, that the ancient church adopted Theodotian's version in preference. Mr. de Bunsen has persuaded himself that "the Mosaic Scriptures, said to have been lost during the captivity, were recomposed in the Aramaic language on the return from Babylon." Equally wonderful is his persuasion that Peter was at Rome A.D. 41-42 and that he and Philo were on intimate terms when there. He believes this because Eusebius regards it as not at all improbable. Eusebius says, no doubt, that Peter and Philo met in Rome, but he says also that Philo read aloud in the Senate his *De Legatione ad Caium*; a statement, which, considering the censure which Philo passes on the Emperor Caligula, and the hatred he evinces for the Romans in general, may be pronounced a fiction. Though Mr. de Bunsen has read much, and is, in a certain sense, a learned man, he is not by any means infallible. He makes the gender of the Hebrew word for *spirit* feminine, whereas it is common; he says that the word Adonai as a name of Deity was not introduced into the Hebrew Scriptures before the return from Captivity; yet it occurs in Gen. xviii. 27, Amos iii. 7, 8, 11, Isaiah vi. 8, for all of which instances we must bespeak a date prior to the Captivity. The singularity of the hypothesis of the Angel-Messiah is not recommended to us by the logic, the learning, or the exegetical power of the author.

Mr. de Bunsen is of opinion that the *Epistle of Barnabas* was composed by the apostle whose name it bears, some time after the destruction of Jerusalem." Mr. Samuel Sharpe, who has recently published this Epistle in the original Greek from the Sinaitic manuscript, agrees with Mr. de Bunsen. Although the *Epistle* is now generally regarded as spurious, it is, at any rate, a very early record of the theology of the Alexandrine school, and we are not surprised to find it quoted as a genuine work of Barnabas by Clemens Alexandrinus. Assuming however that the fellow-labourer of St. Paul was really the divinely-inspired man that he is said to have been in the Acts of the Apostles, we should certainly say that this Epistle was not written by him. The twelve apostles are decrified in it as pre-eminently sinful: the scarlet wool around a stick in the Jewish ceremonial is declared to be the sign of the Cross; the boys who sprinkle the people are explained to be three, because they do so in witness of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob; the devil is picturesquely denominated the Black One and the Wicked Prince; the flesh of the hyæna as an article of food is prohibited, because the animal at one time is male and at another female!! Abraham's household of 318 men is said to be symbolical of Jesus who is eighteen, and the Cross in the shape of a T which is 300, the numerical value of the Greek letters, and truer or more genuine doctrine than this, the inspired writer protests no one has ever learned

2. "The Epistle of Barnabas." From the Sinaitic Manuscript of the Bible. With a translation by Samuel Sharpe. Williams & Norgate. 1880.

from him. If St. Paul's chosen companion really taught such "skimble-skamble stuff" as this, we cannot wonder that "the contention was sharp between them." For our part we find it impossible to admit that Barnabas wrote such rubbish, nor can we allow that the *Epistle* was compiled soon after the fall of Jerusalem. Two sections in it have been thought to determine the date. The prophecy of the ten kingdoms, adapted from Daniel, is susceptible of a more plausible explanation than that proposed by Mr. S. Sharpe. The ten kingdoms represent the ten emperors from Augustus to Domitian, omitting perhaps Vitellius; the Little Horn is the feeble, old, and vacillating Nerva, who is called a side-sprout, inasmuch as he was not a descendant of a previous dynasty, but merely a nominee of the Senate. The Three Great Horns which he humbles are the three redoubtable Flavii, Vespasian, Titus and Domitian. The second passage which has been thought to supply a proximate date occurs cxvi. In opposition to the divine will the servants of the enemies who destroyed the Temple, and the Jews themselves, are described as about to rebuild it. Now, as it was supposed by them that Hadrian, about A.D. 119, was a proselyte to their faith, "the vain hope" of this "wandering people" revived, and it seems natural with Volkmar, Keim and others, to refer this prediction to the expected building of a new Temple between 119 and 130, when the insurrectionary spirit of the Jews again manifested itself, terminating in the final revolt and dispersion of that unhappy race. There is another argument which has been advanced against the early date sometimes claimed for this *Epistle*. If the Fourth Book of Esdras is really quoted in it, as Hefele is of opinion, and if, as is generally held, that production did not appear till the end of the second century, it is scarcely possible to ascribe the authorship of the *Epistle* to Barnabas. The source of the citation has however been disputed.

While Mr. de Bunsen, as we have seen, places the composition of the Fourth Gospel in the second century, but before the year 132, Mr. Samuel Sharpe presumes its possible existence before the date of the *Epistle* of Barnabas. In a somewhat miscellaneous production entitled the "Institute Essays"³ by American divines, we find two dissertations on the date and authority of this gospel. The first, by Professor Ezra Abbot deals principally with the external evidences of its authorship, and shows considerable research and minute and apparently careful examination of controverted passages or opposing citations, both in patristic and modern critical literature. As we have always been of opinion that two of our gospels, *Matthew* and *Luke* certainly known to Justin Martyr, we have no interest in challenging Professor Abbot's verdict in their regard. That Mark's Gospel was known to Justin under the name of *Peter's Memorials*, mentioned by him, we cannot admit; and, in spite of remarkable resemblances between Justin's language and that of the Fourth Gospel, we are not

³ "Institute Essays," read before the Ministers' Institute. With an Introduction by Rev. W. Bellows, D.D. London: Trübner & Co.

convinced that Justin was acquainted with it. The omissions and doctrinal divergences are in their turn equally remarkable, and they neutralize the force of the argument in favour of that hypothesis. Professor Abböt invokes the aid of Mr. Matthew Arnold in fighting the good fight of conservative criticism. But the opinion of an amateur theologian is of little value when contrasted with that of scholars and divines of established reputation. Mr. Arnold is satisfied that Basilides, who appeared in Rome about 125, cited this gospel. Baur, Zeller, Davidson and others are equally certain that he did not. Dr. Martineau who at first thought the appeal to the *Philosophoumena* conclusive on this point, tells us that he was greatly disappointed "on reading the account in the original to find no evidence that any extract from Basilides was before us at all." It appears, on the contrary, that the citations are most irregular. Singular verbs are found with a plural subject, plural verbs with a singular subject, and singular and plural subjects huddled together in most admired confusion, so that whether it is Basilides in person who is quoted, or only "one of that set," or the set in general, is by no means evident. The second essay on the same subject is not learned or minutely critical. As a destructive argument, however, it has considerable force. To the objection: Where, if they are not records of objective realities, did the narrations of the Fourth Gospel come from, the author replies: "As well might the Roman Catholic ask in triumph whence all the pathos and tenderness, all the consolation, grace and ecstatic visions, millions, and among them grand intelligences and canonized saints, have received of Mary, Mother of God and Queen of Heaven, if, as you say, she were but the humble loving Palestinian mother of Jesus of Nazareth?" In reading this gospel, he continues: "The author, as John, is so indistinguishably interwoven with the tide of its discourse, that it often becomes impossible to tell when Jesus ceases to speak, or where he begins." And it cannot, he asserts, be too often repeated: "There are no real characters in this gospel, there are simply embodied sentiments and ideas." Of the remaining Essays, that by Dr. Gustav Gottheil on "Monotheism and the Jews," if not very original, is marked by a liberal and intelligent spirit, and vindicates the Hebrew people from the reproach of rejecting Jesus. The people, as such, the author maintains, had no share in his tragic fate, and he quotes the Jewish historian Jost, who "denies even that he was sentenced by a properly constituted Synhedrin." The other Essays deal with topics religious, social and moral. The theology is vague, and the language sometimes rhapsodical. The Ministers' Institute, from which the Essays borrow a name, is an association of Unitarian and other ministers willing to join them in literary work. It was founded in 1876, and has had only two sessions.

In the second volume of Hausrath's "New Testament Times,"* a trans-

* "A History of the New Testament Times." By A. Hausrath, Ordinary Professor of Theology in the University of Heidelberg. "The Time of Jesus," vol. ii. Translated with the Author's sanction from the third German Edition. By Charles T. Poynting, B.A., and Philip Quenzer. Williams and Norgate. 1880.

lation of which is comprised in the theological library of Messrs. Williams and Norgate, the historical relations of the life of Jesus are illustrated partly by material drawn from Josephus, Tacitus, and other secular writers, and partly and principally by the narrative in the Synoptic gospels, that of St. John being scarcely noticed. Dr. Hausrath has much to tell us, that is attractive and informing, but in our opinion he is too conservative in his views, and occasionally too much disposed to fanciful combination. Is there any real coincidence in the circumstance that the *possible* year of Jesus' birth was that of the pretended return of the fabulous phœnix? Is it demonstrably true that in the Parable of the Ten Pounds, Jesus describes the commencement of the reign of Archelaus (p. 68), and if so, is it likewise true that in the same parable Jesus compares Himself to a prince who goes into a far country, and has the vengeance of Archelaus, a parallel in the vengeance of Jehovah? (p. 237)

In a sensible little book with a flippant title,⁵ Mr. M. J. Savage endeavours to answer the question, What is Christianity? and guided principally, it would appear, by Professor Robertson Smith, and Dr. Edwin A. Abbott, reconstructs the "Life of Jesus" on the basis of the triple tradition contained in the "unapostolic digests," which have reached us under the names of *Matthew*, *Mark*, and *Luke*. His conclusions are, that in the common evangelical record no distinctive doctrine of the orthodox creed is taught; that Jesus is purely human; that natural and rational origins can be assigned for the stories in which miraculous power is attributed to Jesus; that the synoptic narrative reports no physical resurrection or ascension, and recommends no outward rite or institution such as we find in the historic church; that the Messianic Dream was only the local and temporary form of the hope that for ever animates and leads on the race, and that the eternal part of the gospel lies in devotion to a divine ideal, and in love and service to man as the motive power in lifting up the race into the realization of that ideal. According to Mr. Savage, his chosen guides, Professor R. Smith and Dr. Edwin A. Abbott, either doubt or deny the Johannine authorship of the Fourth Gospel, and therefore he passes wholly by it, though he does not, as he says, dogmatically reject it. In point of fact, however, he does reject it, since he fixes its dates "towards the last [years] of the second century." In the composition of his book, the author has fallen into some errors which with a little care might have been avoided. Had he been better instructed, he would hardly have placed the Fourth Gospel so low down the stream of time as he has done, or have considered it conclusively proved that Mark is the oldest of the Gospels; or have stated that Martyr was born about the year 200; or that he was as far from the time of Christ as we are from the time of Shakespeare; or that Macauley (*sic*) said he could not believe in ghosts, "he had seen too many of them" (the remark was made by Coleridge).

Mr. Savage is certain that if the Evangelical Alliance is Christian,

⁵ "Talks about Jesus." By M. J. Savage, &c. London: Trübner & Co. 1880.

Jesus is not. In January, 1877, an American Branch of this Association was organized in New York. The work entitled "The Religious Condition of Christendom" is a reproduction in English of the proceedings of the Seventh General Conference of the Alliance, which was held last autumn in Basle.⁶ The volume contains Papers on the relation of Christianity to modern society; the duties of employers and workmen, the position and influences of the press, religious freedom, the education of the people, intemperance, &c. If we may accept certain statements which we find in this volume, there are 3,000,000 persons in England who have taken the temperance pledge, and more than 50,000 in America who die every year of intemperance; thousands of converts to Mahommedanism have been lately made in various parts of Asia; and "Vandal Scepticism," which appears to include liberal theology and absolute infidelity, is slowly dying; 12,000,000 of human beings perished during the last few years in the dreadful famine in North-east China; and, finally, Massachusetts surpasses every equal territory on the globe for general diffusion of intelligence, virtue and prosperity.

Not less orthodox than the contributions to the miscellaneous volume just noticed, are the clerical authors of the "Exposition Homiletics and Homilies" which illustrate the First Book of Samuel, the very Rev. R. Payne Smith, Rev. Professor C. Chapman, Rev. D. Fraser, and Rev. B. Dale.⁷ The Introduction gives the requisite critical date and inferences therefrom fairly enough. The book is described as made up of detached narratives, and the compiler, who is said to be unknown, is conjectured to have flourished in the reign of Jehoshaphat. The numerals in the Book of Samuel are acknowledged not to be trustworthy, so that it was hardly worth while to explain the impossible slaughter of the men of Bethshemeth (50,000 or more) for touching the Ark. The attempts to remove difficulties by dexterous exegesis are seldom, if ever, successful. The remark of the compiler, 1 Samuel ix. 9, 10, he that is now called a prophet was before times called a seer, is, whatever a reconciling criticism may pretend, a sure indication that the Hebrew word *Roeh* had been superseded in the writers' time by the modern term *Nabi*. That the latter word occurs in the Pentateuch is a proof that the document in which it occurs was written after the new word had come into use. Dr. Patrick and others tried long ago to avoid this awkward admission; the repetition of his device, with artificial refinements, by his successors, shows how little progress in discernment has been made. The act of Samuel in anointing David was nothing less than treason. The sanction of Jehovah is claimed for it and for the *economical* falsehood which Samuel had recourse to.

⁶ "The Religious Condition of Christendom," Described in a series of Papers presented to the Seventh Conference of the Evangelical Alliance held in Basle. 1879. Edited by the Rev. J. Murray Mitchell, M.A., LL.D. London: Hodder & Stoughton.

⁷ "The Pulpit Commentary." Edited by the Rev. Canon H. D. M. Spence, M.A., and the Rev. Joseph S. Exell. 1 Samuel. London: C. Kegan Paul & Co. 1880.

order to conceal the treasonable transaction, 1 Samuel xvi. 2. The difficulties in this passage would not perplex a liberal theologian, for he would regard the narrative as mythical. But our commentators, from their orthodox point of view, are forced to invent an apology. Samuel, it is pleaded, was not obliged to tell the *whole* truth. To which we rejoice, Samuel did not, tell *the* truth at all. He suppressed the important fact, and substituted a show and a fiction. Again, there can be little doubt that when David took refuge in the cave of Adullam he was neither more nor less than a freebooter, but he is transformed by accommodating criticism into "a leader of the faithful"—the indebted, the discontented, being similarly refined into "free noble spirits," and this, though we are expressly told that David's band comprised wicked men and sons of Belial, and though David himself lied, deceived, and pillaged, as a desperate bandit captain might be expected to do. The "Pulpit Commentary," in a volume of which these apologies for deception and lawlessness are inserted, is, we regret to say, a work which we are quite unable to regard as having any substantial value, but its common-place theology and conservative exegesis will render it acceptable to a very large class of traditional devotees.

Still more welcome, perhaps, to those who stand on the old paths will be "The Life and Work of Jesus Christ,"⁸ by Rev. F. A. Malleon, who not only repudiates the criticism of Ewald, Strauss, and Renan, but condemns the latitudinarianism of the authors of "Ecce Homo" and "Philochristus," and even censures Canon Farrar for his semi-genueflections to the Idol of Rationalism. Mr. Malleon believes in the full and plenary inspiration of Scripture, and receives every miracle in all its details and accessories. The character of his "Life of Jesus" will be readily inferred from this statement. The style in which it is written recalls his own description of "some limpid beck, edged with emerald velvet banks and spangled with mountain blossoms," &c.

The practice of habitual confession to a priest is one of which the advantages are greatly outweighed by the disadvantages. We should object to it, because it supports and even pre-supposes the power of the Keys—*i.e.*, sacerdotal despotism, and invests a clerical corporation with supernatural prerogatives. Mr. Thomas Thornely scarcely touches, however, on the theological phases of the question, but is content with a study of "The Ethical and Social Aspect of Confession."⁹ In moderate language and a thoughtful subdued attitude of mind, he indicates the numerous objections with which the practice is assailable. It encourages undue reliance on others, and thus weakens force of conscience and will; it takes the place of the affections and motives, which it is sometimes said by its defenders to stimulate; it creates a habit of timorous, morbid introspection, and like dram-drinking induces

⁸ "Jesus Christ: His Life and His Works." By Rev. F. A. Malleon, M.A., Vicar of Broughton-in-Furness, &c. London: Ward, Lock & Co.

⁹ "The Ethical and Social Aspect of Habitual Confession to a Priest." By Thomas Thornely, B.A., LL.M., Lightfoot and Whewell Scholar in the University of Cambridge, &c. &c. London: Macmillan & Co. 1880.

an artificial, but after a time an irresistible craving for its continuance; and lastly, it impairs the moral value of family life, and tends to supersede the intimacy of husband and wife. Dr. Jelf's testimony is cited to show how the confessional may interfere with filial confidence and obedience. Far from acting as a powerful deterrent from crime, the confessional would seem to have but little efficacy in discouraging it, even if no graver charge can be brought against it. Such, at least, seems to be our author's opinion, who refers to the "Tables of Comparative Morality" compiled by Mr. Hobart Seymour, and which, he affirms, prove that the advantage is unmistakable with the countries where the confessional is not in common use.

In "A Protest against Calvinism," a religious reformer rejects Romish, Orthodox, and Unitarian views of the gospel, and offers "a more scriptural view of his own."¹⁰ To us the language of St. Paul appears to favour a view approximating very closely to the doctrine of Calvin, Augustine, and Orthodoxy, where their teaching is in harmony, however great in some respects the divergences may be. The author of the little work before us, looking only to one aspect of the Pauline theology, contends that Christ's death was not a substitutionary atonement or expiation. And if the language of the Apostle is to be considered as mere metaphor suggested by Jewish imagery, "the view" advocated in these pages of simple reconciliation and pardon by the sacrifice of Christ becomes intelligible enough.

A critical inquiry into the sources of the Christian religion, as known to Mahomet, and a comparison of passages in the Koran corresponding with statements in the canonical or apocryphal gospels, have convinced the author of "Jésus Christ d'après Mahomet,"¹¹ of the bad faith of the founder of Islam in the uses which he has made of Christian documents. Rejecting the opinion of M. Garcin de Tassy, who defines Islam as a Christian aberration, and of Dr. Hamlin, who pronounces it a reform of the then existing Christianity, M. Edouard Sayous, a man of some erudition, decides that there is ample proof of the antagonism of the religion of Mahomet to that of Jesus, describes it as at once dependent on the antecedent creeds of Jew and Christian, and yet so distinct, as to be entitled to the character of one of the three great Monotheistic religions.

The long discouragement of evangelical religion, the active pretensions of the Jesuits, the arbitrary and dogmatic assertion of the Immaculate Conception, and the condemnation of the rights and liberties of the modern state, in the Papal Encyclica and Syllabus, 8th December, 1864, are among the causes assigned by Dr. Christian Bühler for the original of the *Old Catholic* Reform. The Church, so-called, as we gather from his pages,¹² aspires to identification with a purer and

¹⁰ "A Protest against Calvinism," &c. By the Author of "The Orthodox and Unitarian Views of the Gospel Refuted." London: Simpkin & Marshall. 1880.

¹¹ "Jésus Christ d'après Mahomet," &c. Par Edouard Sayous, Professor Agrégé, &c. Paris: E. Leroux. Leipzig: Otto Schultze. 1880.

¹² "Der Alt Katholicismus, Historisch-kritisch dargestellt." Von Christian Bühler, Pfarrer. Leiden.: Brill. 1880.

earlier Christianity than that of the Protestant or Roman Churches, and in this sense claims the distinctive title of *Christian-Catholic*. While far from considering the Protestant Church heretical, and while acknowledging the truth that lies in the recognition of the Pauline doctrine of justification by faith, it desires to assimilate itself to the older Jewish type of Christianity, and without excluding the principles of faith to give a certain prominence to that of works. The Old Catholic Church is accordingly distinguished by its adherence to time-honoured forms and ceremonies: its acceptance of the seven sacraments, its dependence on tradition as well as scripture, its episcopal organization, its view of the eucharist, conceived as a sacrifice as well as a communion. With all this, conservative tendency there is in the *Christian-Catholic* Church a decided reforming spirit actively at work in removing from the traditional creed the dogmatic interpolations and practical permissions or corrupting accretions of the Roman Catholic Church. The Old Catholics are at present a little flock of 100,000, but the learned author of this critical and historical sketch looks confidently forward, not to a rapid increase of numbers, but to its purifying and enlightening influence, "as a church within a church."

Notwithstanding our frequent and profound dissent from some of the views advocated in Professor Charteris's Collection of Early Testimonies to the New Testament writings, entitled "Canonicity," we thankfully accept his work.¹³ Based on Kirchofer's "Quellensammlung," now out of print, the book claims to have a form and substance of its own, "though the text is still an attempt to collect and classify rather than characterize the passages on which controversy turns." The "Testimonies" range from Barnabas to Jerome, and include the attestations of heathen, heretical, and extra-canonical gospels. Dr. Charteris, who opposes the theory of the Tübingen school, of course defends the authenticity of the Fourth Gospel, and maintains that it was quoted by Basilides. He declines, however, to admit the absolute genuineness of the Ignatian Epistles, and is convinced that the Apostolic Barnabas did not write the Epistle which bears his name, considering the most probable date of its composition to be A.D. 119 or 120.

The late arrival of a fresh instalment of "The Pulpit Commentary" will account for its non-appearance, in these notices of books, in an earlier and more appropriate place. The volume now before us, as a Commentary on Genesis,¹⁴ is introduced by a flourish on a canonical trumpet, which, though loud as "a blast from that dread horn on Fontarabian echoes borne," too often gives an uncertain sound. Dr. Farrar's colleagues however, more than compensate for his critical hesitations. The

¹³ "Canonicity. A Collection of Early Testimonies to the Canonical Books of the New Testament, based on Kirchofer's 'Quellensammlung.'" By A. H. Charteris, Professor of Biblical Criticism and Biblical Antiquities in the University of Edinburgh, &c. Blackwood & Sons, Edinburgh and London. 1880.

¹⁴ "The Pulpit Commentary." Edited by Rev. Canon H. D. M. Spence, M.A., and Rev. Joseph S. Exell. "Genesis." By Rev. Canon F. A. Farrar, D.D., Right Rev. H. Cotterell, D.D., Rev. T. Whitelaw, M.A., Very Rev. J. F. Montgomery, D.D., Rev. W. Roberts, M.A., Rev. Prof. R. A. Redford, M.A., LL.B., Rev. F. Hastings. London: C. Kegan Paul & Co. 1880.

established results of laborious investigation in Germany and England are quietly set aside, and the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, and not of Genesis alone, is maintained. The Mosaic cosmogony is regarded as a divine revelation; and the old nursery legends are vindicated with all the resources of the extravagant exegesis natural to men who are determined to believe what sentiment, prepossession, and custom dictate.

An Essay on "The Evidential Value of the Acts of the Apostles," by Dr. J. S. Howson, Dean of Chester, has disappointed us.¹⁵ The evidential value does not prove much; local or archæological similitude, as has often been said, affording no presumption of the authenticity of a narrative; and undesigned coincidences, at best, guaranteeing only a partial and relative accuracy. Dr. Howson, too, very inadequately appreciates the theory of the Tübingen theologians, if he really thinks that "it suffices to quote Bunsen" in their disparagement, or if he supposes that he rightly describes that theory when he denounces it, with Bunsen, as "the modern attempt at [*sic*] Baur to supplant history by means of a novel."

Mr. William Cunningham in "The Churches of Asia" writes courteously and intelligibly in advocacy of his own view of a Christian Philosophy of History and in correction of the hypothesis of Baur.¹⁶ He argues that the Christian idea of a divine kingdom worked itself out, and that in the ecclesiastical organization of 200 A.D., its system of fasts and services, its three orders of ministers, and its power of excommunication, we find it completely realized. He admits, however, that the Christianity of 200 A.D. is no longer the Christianity of 33 A.D. His preference of the Gospel of St. John, as an authority, in the discussion on the day of Christ's death, to that of the Synoptists, with whom St. John stands, as we believe, in irreconcilable contradiction, seems to us a preference for the palpably unhistorical to the probably historical statement. A vindication of the claims of the Gospel which bears the name of the beloved disciple to the honourable authorship usually assigned it, is accessible to all who care for the subject in the Essay of Dr. Ezra Abbot, contained in a volume by members of the "Institute" in America already noticed by us, and just republished in a separate form.¹⁷ With the cogent arguments which have been adduced by numerous writers against its genuineness it does not attempt to grapple; its leading object being to prove that our Four Gospels were known to Justin Martyr. The Essay evinces much minute research.

¹⁵ "The Evidential Value of the Acts of the Apostles." The Bohlen Lectures, 1880. By the Very Rev. J. S. Howson, D.D., Dean of Chester. London: Isbister. 1880.

¹⁶ "The Churches of Asia." A Methodical Sketch of the Second Century. By William Cunningham, M.A. London: Macmillan. 1880.

¹⁷ "The Authorship of the Fourth Gospel: External Evidences." By Ezra Abbot, D.D., LL.D., Busey Professor of New Testament Criticism and Interpretation in the Divinity School of Harvard University. London: Trübner & Co. 1880.

"The New Truth and the Old Faith,"¹⁶ by a Scientific Layman, is also a vindication, not of a Christian document, but of the Christian religion. The vindication is ingenious, but not conclusive. The reasoning, however, such as it is, is conveyed in agreeable and intelligible language. The writer adheres to the orthodox doctrine of a creative and designing mind; he respects the truth which he discerns in the Mosaic cosmogony, but thinks the record is not to be taken literally; he contends that the facts of consciousness show that the human will is free; he allows that the physical efficacy of prayer is discountenanced by science, which, however, does not deny its spiritual influence; he offers believers requiring confirmation of their doubts the cold comfort to be got from the reflection, that science cannot demonstrate that there is no hereafter; he maintains that though the Darwinian theory may be the main agent in developing life, it does not explain the origin of living types or that of the prophets. And, finally, he removes from the mystery of the Trinity all which makes that mystery by his hypothesis of three aspects or manifestations of God. The vindication of the old creed thus offered us is made to rest partly on the positive limitations of science, partly on the weakness of its negative arm, partly on paralyzing concessions, partly on non-natural interpretation, and partly on assumptions which can be parried by counter-assumptions, if not demolished by an antagonistic logic.

PHILOSOPHY.

AN account of the life and philosophical ideas of Spinoza, at once reliable and full,¹ has certainly hitherto been a want in English literature. Of the *Ethics* we at present possess only a slipshod translation; and those writers who have been impelled to enlighten their fellow-countrymen on a system of thought so alien to the ordinary British mind, have usually busied themselves far more with refutation and exposure of the "fallacies" and "monstrous absurdities" of the inflexible monist, than with the less ambitious but primary task of explaining, in clear and intelligible language, what it really was that Spinoza attempted to set forth in his Euclidian Metaphysic. For the future, however, the dependent reader will be able to resort to secondary sources of information without the risk of carrying away a grossly distorted conception of the work of one of the profoundest thinkers of all time; and if, in addition to the present admirable introduction to Spinozism, Mr. Pollock could be induced to undertake a translation of his author's masterpiece in its entirety, he would render a service to the student scarcely inferior in value to that which he has just performed. The volume before us could only have been written by a man thoroughly

¹⁶ "The New Truth and the Old Faith." By a Scientific Layman. C. Kegan Paul & Co. 1880.

¹ "Spinoza: his Life and Philosophy." By Frederick Pollock. London: C. Kegan Paul & Co. 1880.

persuaded of the importance of the philosophizing of Spinoza, not only in a historical but also in a practical point of view. Mr. Pollock sees, and we think truly, that much of the best science of the time has, if unconsciously for the most part, an ontological basis very similar to that assumed by Spinoza; that, in fact, we are only now coming into possession of the full significance of the great rational mystic. Not the least important part of the book is the careful attempt to trace the relations of Spinozism, both in reference to forerunners, the genesis of the system, and with respect to its influence. Among many topics deserving praise it is difficult to single out one or more for special notice. It would, of course, require the judgment of a specialist to pronounce upon the accuracy of all the interpretations, more particularly as there are points (as in the chapter entitled "The Deliverance of Man") where our author himself confesses to considerable bewilderment; but the reader will always be stimulated to the highest order of reflection, even when unconvinced. In the chapter on "Spinoza and Theology" there are some excellent passages, which do not lag behind the utterances of the author's friend (to whom the book is dedicated), the late Professor Clifford, in able vindication of the religiousness of Modern Science, and in noble scorn of the fears which restrain men from seeking its light. We heartily subscribe to one of the concluding sentences of the work: "Wealth in vital ideas is the real test of a philosopher's greatness, and by this test the name of Spinoza stands assured of its rank among the greatest."

There is a good deal of very suggestive matter in the little *brochure* of Herr Meydenbauer,² though its detailed criticism belongs rather to the physical astronomer than the student of philosophy proper. The author's object is to show that the known phenomena of our solar system harmonize better with the hypotheses of the philosopher of Königsberg, than with those of the celebrated French mathematician, Laplace. In support of the writer's opinion, certain passages are adduced from Kant's "Allgemeine Naturgeschichte des Himmels," and compared with the results of recent observations, optical, spectral, analytical, and mechanical.

Dr. Bahnsen, one of the most distinguished of the disciples of Schopenhauer, made his first independent appearance in the philosophical literary world in 1867, with a work entitled "Beiträge zur Charakterologie," following up this venture with another ethical treatise in 1870, and a criticism of the application of Hegelian principles by Hartmann, in 1871. He has just published the first volume of a work³ which appears intended to systematize his theoretical and practical views. Dr. Bahnsen is the advocate of Real Dialectics, a doctrine which regards Existence as essentially involved in contradiction, a contradiction never to be overcome, and therefore not simply ideal, but real. The present

² "Kant oder Laplace?" Kosmologische Studie von A. Meydenbauer. Marburg: 1890. (David Nutt.)

³ "Der Widerspruch im Wissen und Wesen der Welt. Princip und Einzelbeurtheilung der Realdialektik." Von Dr. Julius Bahnsen. Erster Band. Berlin: Verlag von Theobald Grieben. 1890.

volume is divided into two parts—the Antilogical Principle (or general introduction), and the Theory of Being and Existence (or Ontology, Metaphysics, and Natural Philosophy, on real dialectical principles). The author entertains no illusions as to the peculiar difficulty of his position, a difficulty mainly due to the apparent absurdity of rationally advocating a theory of the essential irrationality of the World-Essence. We are seemingly born with a bias to conceive the world as reasonable at its root, a bias which certainly has not received much check, but rather quite special fostering, for some time. Since Hegel's bold constructions, Rationalism has been in the ascendant, and there have not been wanting of late signs of a tendency, even in England, to identify the Rational and the Real. As Dr. Bahnsen sees clearly⁴, there is no chance for his system until the human mind resumes its lost humility, is content to find its norm in Being, and altogether refrains from imposing its own norms thereon. This distrust of the omnipotency of Reason would seem at first sight to be less uncommon in our own country; but we must remember that with us Reason has rather shifted its empire than been dethroned. The confidence in a rational Metaphysic or Theology has simply been transferred to an unflinching belief in the inner harmony of scientific first principles. It is the object, then, of Dr. Bahnsen to show that even here, in this supposed realm of mere experience, irremovable antinomies obtain, and that an attempt to unify the world, even in its physical aspect, is vain. The book strikes us as a remarkably able production. Whether it will receive the attention it deserves we may be permitted to doubt, in the present temper of the scientific world, both at home and abroad; but those who have leisure to spare for questions of fundamental philosophy, and are able to survive the first shock of the idea of a world for ever out of harmony with itself, will doubtless find much exercise of a bracing sort in following the Doctor's expositions and arguments, and perhaps see reason to abate somewhat of that logical self-sufficiency which is a mark of conscious man, whether by gift of nature or by intellectual acquisition.

Part I. of Dr. Schmidt's Tractate⁴ examines the idea of Deity in its form of phenomenon, soul, and spirit of Nature, the deities of the uncultivated people of our own time, and offers a *critique* of Max Müller's "Philosophy of Mythology;" the second part is a discussion of the classic deities, Hermes, Hestia and Pallas Athene. At first the apparent world as a whole is man's God. The discrimination of parts, and therefore the notion of partial deities, presupposes a higher stage of mental faculty. When this power of decomposing impressions was attained, two courses were open to mankind—to regard the heavenly bodies, bodies beyond the reach of human control, as severally independent gods in their own right, or as powers subordinate to the general world-power. The one course initiated Polytheism; the other Monotheism. All these powers were endowed with a soul; a considerable period elapsed before the

⁴ "Die Philosophie der Mythologie und Max Müller." Von Dr. Engen von Schmidt. Berlin: 1880. (David Nutt).

notion of spirit was disengaged therefrom. We have this separation already explicit in Hebraism, however, where *El Schaddai* is the God of the patriarchs, the *animistic power* of heaven and earth, and *Jehovah*, the God of Moses, the *eternal spirit* of heaven and earth. Dr. Schmidt is throughout ingenious and suggestive, and in his criticisms of Max Müller seems to us to be often very effective, especially in respect of the latter's overweening confidence in the value of philology in unravelling the mysteries of primitive thought and feeling.

No living writer has done so much to promote the study of Logic as Professor Jevons; and the book mentioned below⁵ will, we believe, not be found the least useful of his contributions to the science. Whether for teachers or self-educators, no better aid to instruction in Deductive Logic could have been devised. The plan pursued is that of proposing certain crucial questions, and furnishing reasoned answers. Then a number of questions are propounded on each branch of the subject for the student himself to resolve. We have here, however, far more than a mere exercise book, the author's handling allowing of a discussion of the disputed doctrines of the science. Even Inductive Logic comes in for some share of attention towards the close. The author's attitude to Sir William Hamilton is made more explicit than in previous writings. Professor Jevons agrees with Archbishop Thomson and De Morgan in holding the proposition "Some X's are not some Y's" to be both useless and absurd; and considers the insistence on a quantified predicate in practice, because of its theoretical conceivability, to be an error of the first magnitude. Hamilton's unfortunate departure from the logicians in respect of the force of the ambiguous particle "some" our author rightly characterizes as a very grave mistake. We are sorry to see that Professor Jevons is disinclined to recede from positions which criticisms have shown to be indefensible. He still holds that Proper Names are connotative, arguing that, in narrowing down the extension of "thing" to "Augustus de Morgan, Professor in University College, London," we should on arriving at the individual have a "breach of continuity," if at the point of attaining the greatest intension we refused to allow aught but denotation to such ultimate term. But we venture to suggest that the Professor is here confusing the *singular* and the *proper* name; the illustration chosen disguising the confusion. Undoubtedly, "Augustus de Morgan, Professor in University College, London," is connotative, because a part of the name, viz., "Professor in University College, London," is significative, meaning the fact of exercising a certain function; but if our author had simply written "Augustus de Morgan," it would have been impossible to have assigned a connotation to the term, for "Augustus de Morgan" is in itself insignificant. Again, we think it would have been more satisfactory if Professor Jevons had, once for all, owned that he had made a blunder in affirming in his "Principles of Science" that a conclusion is derivable from two negative premises. Professor Robert-

⁵ "Studies in Deductive Logic." A Manual for Students. By W. Stanley Jevons, LL.D., M.A., F.R.S. London: Macmillan & Co. 1890.

son thoroughly exposed this mistake in *Mind*, and the statement should have been as speedily as possible withdrawn. But we now find Professor Jevons writing, "Professor Robertson is substantially right, but it may be noticed that my words were so cautious as hardly to commit me to an erroneous statement." Both parts of this sentence are inaccurate: Professor Robertson was not merely "substantially," but *entirely* right; and how our author can say his "words were so cautious as hardly to commit" him "to an erroneous statement," it is difficult to comprehend, when we read, "Here we have two distinctly negative premises, and yet they yield a perfectly valid negative conclusion" ("Principles of Science," 1st ed., p. 76). These, however, are minor blemishes in a work which, as we have said before, we rate very highly, and expect to find appreciated by the educational world.

Although written with some exaggeration of statement and excess of warmth, "Life and Mind: on the Basis of Modern Medicine," both text and editorial comment, contains much good sense and truth worth laying to heart. "Ideal-Hylozoism," as the editor styles the creed here advocated, is in fact the implicit belief of every scientifically-educated mind of the day, being indeed a sufficing working hypothesis for a healthy and active life. We should only quarrel with it, indeed, when it passes from the stage of a working-hypothesis to an inflexible dogmatism—when, in short, it ceases to be pure positivism, and aspires to be also distinctive negativism. We cannot admit that the great religious reformers of the world have been merely deluded enthusiasts, or persons afflicted with cerebral diseases; and modern science is by no means incompatible with a transcendental ontology. However, to those who would be "healthy and wealthy," if not also contemplatively wise, we will admit the book is likely to be a useful guide; but we do not think the world would be nearer its paradisaical state if the physicists deserted their laboratories and the pure thinkers their secluded haunts, and a life of action was deemed the only life worth living. It is scarcely over-thinking that is the vice of the age—indeed, if Faraday be a typical specimen of the degenerate class, some vices are strangely like virtues.

In this new work by the author of "Erewhon" grave charges of disingenuousness and *suppressio veri* are brought against the distinguished author of "The Origin of Species." Mr. Darwin is accused of having treated the writer of the present volume with something worse than discourtesy, and of having been guilty of concealing details concerning the history of the doctrine of Evolution which, had they been known, would have diminished the credit of the propounder of "The Theory of Natural Selection" in the eyes of the world. It would be improper, of

⁶ "Life and Mind: on the Basis of Modern Medicine." By Robert Lewins, M.D. Edited by "Thalassoplektos." London: Watts & Co. 1880.

⁷ "Unconscious Memory: a Comparison between the theory of Dr. Ewald Hering, and the 'Philosophy of the Unconscious' of Dr. Edward von Hartmann." With Translations from these Authors, &c. By Samuel Butler. London: David Bogue. 1880.

course, to pronounce judgment on matters of a personal nature on the strength of an *ex parte* statement, and the more public question will doubtless be thoroughly investigated by the historian of the Science of Biology; but Mr. Butler's attempts to recall attention to the labours of earlier theorists, such as Buffon, Lamarck, and Dr. Erasmus Darwin, however motived, can hardly be detrimental to the interests of science. The other half of the book deals with recent theories of "Unconscious Memory," and contains among other things a translation of the chapter on "Instinct" in von Hartmann's "Philosophie des Unbewussten." Mr. Butler seems to hold that all Nature is originally conscious, and that there is "no matter which is not able to remember," memory being the mark of life. Life and matter are equally eternal, and in a deeper sense than that of the popular creed, God is everywhere. Mr. Butler's literary ability, as his former readers well know, is considerable; and in the present volume there is no lack of vigour or elegance of expression. The book before us strikes us as scarcely adequate to its theme. (We are thinking of the properly scientific part.) A fuller study of Von Hartmann also, we venture to suggest, would disclose a sympathy between the two writers on points of importance which (judging from some off-hand remarks) would probably surprise Mr. Butler. The unfortunate word "Unbewusst" is apt to mislead the impatient student, who does not regard the German writer's philosophy as a whole.

Further investigation of the Psychology of Desire and Volition being certainly much needed, any serious attempt to grapple afresh with such subtle phenomena is deserving of commendation; and we are of opinion that Mr. Turner has done some really good work in the volume before us.⁸ The first half of the book is, indeed, far superior to anything that has been written of late on these subjects, the author being evidently a careful observer both of mental processes and of the outward and visible signs of mind. We are unable, however, to express ourselves as strongly with regard to the strictly metaphysical portion of his work. The question of the Freedom of the Will is discussed at considerable length, with the result that "the word 'I' is the name of a *real* spiritual entity; that the controlling agent in Volition is a *spiritual* personality which has an existence distinct and distinguishable from the mental phenomena and processes it controls, and from the physical organism which it employs for the attainment and effectuation of objects, freely chosen from alternative courses, and decided upon in the exercise of this regal power of choice." Mr. Turner lays great stress on the futility of attempting to eliminate the personal pronouns, and the conception of individuality; and though he believes that he rises above the region of subjectivism, transcending the sphere of the phenomenal, his elaborate argumentation comes after all to the report of self-consciousness. He thinks he is in accordance with Kant, but Kant's reliance on Free Will did not go beyond the assertion of a

⁸ "Wish and Will: an Introduction to the Psychology of Desire and Volition." By George Lyon Turner, M.A. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1880.

practical hypothesis; and how little sympathy he would have had with our present advocate of the doctrine, an attentive reader of the "Paralogisms of Rational Psychology" may readily imagine. But we fear our ontological divergence from the author is too great to make comment on his position profitable. His *Weltanschauung* is not ours; and his dogmatism concerning the Human and the Divine Natures far too extensive for us to follow him. Indeed, a large number of his arguments cannot but be simply *ignoratioes elenchi* to those who are not of the same "household of faith." Lastly, if Mr. Turner is writing for the enlightenment of a religious sect he, doubtless, does well to introduce so many reflections of a non-scientific character; but, if he desires to reach the ear of the disinterested philosophical public, he should more strictly regard the boundaries of Metaphysics and Theology.

We have not read for some time so agreeably written a work on a grave subject as Mr. Leigh's "Story of Greek Philosophy." The author's design is to entice the reader to the study of Philosophy by presenting a series of connected *tableaux* of the critical incidents in Man's attempt to grapple with the great problems of all time. The present volume (a first instalment) deals with the Story of Philosophy to the birth of Christ; and we are sure that no better book could be put into the hands of a novice than this moderate-sized volume, which, without any pretence of learning, gives in a small compass, and in well-chosen language, the quintessence of the classic efforts at unravelling the mysteries of the universe. We do not know which portion of the book to select for special praise, but we would call attention to the excellent account of the life and death of Socrates. The philosophical character of Plato is also well-sketchd.

POLITICS, SOCIOLOGY, VOYAGES, AND TRAVELS.

TO translate Kolb's well-known work on comparative statistics¹ single-handed is no small undertaking; and Mrs. Brewer is to be commended for the industry with which she has applied herself to her task. If Herr Kolb had possessed the faculty of lucid arrangement, and if Mrs. Brewer had taken the precaution to have her work carefully checked by some competent assistant, we might have congratulated ourselves on the appearance of a very useful book of reference. Unfortunately, neither of these conditions is fulfilled by this portly handbook. Herr Kolb has collected a considerable number of interesting facts and tables; but he is content to give us the results of his inquiries with little regard to logic or symmetry. He passes with bewildering suddenness from one subject to another, and seldom attempts to arrange all the facts relating to any department of

¹ "The Story of Philosophy." By Aston Leigh. London: Trübner & Co. 1881.

² "The Condition of Nations, Social and Political." By G. F. Kolb. Translated, edited and collated to 1880 by Mrs. Brewer. With original notes by Edwin W. Streeter, F.R.G.S. London: George Bell & Sons. 1880.

social life under a single heading. We have not had an opportunity of consulting his book in the original, and cannot therefore decide whether the author or the translator is to be held responsible for the strange blunders by which this version of it is disfigured. Some of the mistakes which we have marked in the statistical account of the United Kingdom are evidently pieces of careless translation. Thus on page 48 Mrs. Brewer speaks of the "irregularity of the succession to the throne in England and Hanover"—a somewhat inaccurate way of stating the fact that the law of succession was not the same in the two countries. Again, on page 50, in the account of the income tax, the statement that "licenses were imposed in lieu of other taxes in 1870," may perhaps represent something intelligible and correct in the original; and on page 55, "diplomatic circle" can only mean "diplomatic service." But there can be no mistranslation of figures; and some of the figures in this book are more curious than trustworthy. On page 36 the population of the more crowded parts of Liverpool is said to be 63,823 to an acre; on page 37 the number of Irish counties is wrongly given as 33 instead of 32; the tables of local taxation on page 61 are added up on some principle unknown to Colenso; and the same distracting peculiarity is found in the classified list of literary productions on page 89. At page 83 we are informed that "in Ireland 955 persons possess 29,743,402 acres." We hear a good deal now-a-days of the rapacity of Irish landlords, but we can hardly believe that 955 owners monopolize an area exceeding by nearly 50 per cent. the total acreage of the island. We also decline to admit that one British soldier can be as ignorant as 86 ordinary men, and must therefore reject the statement on page 88, that "8,604 *per cent.* of the infantry of the line are unable to read." We could easily add to this list of errors, but we have said enough to prove that this volume has been very carelessly put together. The most lenient theory we can form in regard to its composition is that Mrs. Brewer has sent her work to press without submitting it to the revision of some person capable of checking and criticizing it. Such precautions are never to be dispensed with in the publication of statistics.

Thirteen years ago Mr. Herbert Spencer began, by proxy, the immense collection of political and social facts of which the seventh instalment is now presented to the public.³ Dr. Scheppig has abstracted and compared some hundreds of volumes bearing upon Hebrew and Phœnician history; and the results of his researches are very clearly and accurately displayed in the tables which he has prepared. Mr. Spencer admits that the tabular method is only approximately effective in work of this kind; and we must say that our examination of Dr. Scheppig's tables tends to the confirmation of this judgment. We find a large number of facts and generalizations arranged on perpendicular

³ No. 7. "Descriptive Sociology; or Groups of Sociological Facts." Classified and arranged by Herbert Spencer. "Hebrews and Phœnicians." Compiled and abstracted by Richard Scheppig, Ph.D. London: Williams & Norgate. August, 1880.

and horizontal lines; but the line does not always indicate the true historical connection in which the facts are to be considered. The very necessity of classifying facts as "ecclesiastical and political," or as "structural and functional," is unfortunate; social developments are classified separately, though they may have a common origin. Moreover, the tabulator must, if his arrangement is to be consistent, decide dogmatically between conflicting opinions as to the origin and meaning of national customs or beliefs. Dr. Scheppig, for example, has adopted the theory of Graf and Kuenen, which assigns the "Elohistic element" in the Old Testament to the Exilic or post-Exilic period of Jewish history. If, as may very well happen, this theory should be modified by further researches, these tables, and the elaborate collection of extracts on which they are based, will lose appreciably in value. We are inclined to think that Mr. Spencer's collection of facts might have been even more useful and instructive than it is, if it had been issued as a series of treatises embodying, in the ordinary literary form, all that is known of the social and political development of the various races and nations of mankind. Such treatises, if arranged on a general plan drawn up by Mr. Spencer, would have furnished the student of sociology with ample materials for comparison and induction. These "groups of sociological facts" are recorded here in a form which is not quite exact enough for an Atlas, and not quite independent enough for a book. They are, in fact, a series of magnified note-books; and it is the common experience of students that one man's note-books are another man's bewilderment. We cannot but admire the industry of a gentleman who has read so many books and made so many notes; but if we wished to understand the domestic institutions of the Jews or the Phœnicians, we should turn, not to a compilation of this kind, but to some of Dr. Scheppig's authorities. It may be, however, that we do an injustice to this extensive undertaking by criticizing a single instalment of it before the complete scheme has taken shape.

Among continental teachers of social and economical science M. de Molinari holds a high place. In the volume before us³ he undertakes to describe the changes which have taken place in our industrial methods since the beginning of the present century. The subject is large, requiring for its successful treatment extensive knowledge of facts and thorough grasp of economical principles. M. de Molinari has performed his undertaking, on the whole, with remarkable success. His style is at times somewhat diffuse—a fault which we attribute, not without general sympathy, to journalistic habit; but he is always clear, pointed, and master of his subject. The peculiar feature of the book is the skill with which its author keeps in view throughout his inquiry the interaction of political and economical laws. He shows very clearly that the extension and simplification of trade have contributed to bring about changes of immense importance in the language, institutions, and policy of civilized nations. Very interesting in this

³ *L'Évolution Economique du Dix-neuvième Siècle.* Théorie du Progrès. Par M. G. de Molinari. Paris: C. Reinwald. 1880.

connection is the description of joint-stock companies as an application of the constitutional principle in the industrial sphere. We are not allowed to dwell upon the undoubted benefits of modern progress, to the exclusion of a just estimate of its dangers and drawbacks. M. de Molinari is perfectly aware that Democracy is not always a progressive force; he lets us see that the spread of education and the development of popular institutions have brought with them some considerable dangers. On the one hand, we have exaggerated Individualism and revolt against law; on the other hand, Socialistic exaggerations of the supremacy of the State. It becomes increasingly difficult for the statesman to form a clear conception of the limits set to his powers and duties; and thus, while we are pressing forward to further reforms, the indispensable machinery of government is neglected, and gets out of order. The means at our disposal for protecting the weak, and for detecting and punishing fraud, are not improved; but the skill of those who defy and evade the law makes steady progress. We need not repent of our confidence in the principles of free trade and free government because of these dangers; but it would be foolish to shut our eyes to the fact that such dangers exist. In the concluding chapters of this work, M. de Molinari endeavours to trace the probable course of future economical development. In a companion volume to the present he proposes to deal with the political evolution of the century.

Mr. Jamieson does not succeed in convincing us that "business people" require to have a special rendering of political economy prepared for their use.⁴ His book is simply a re-statement, in somewhat loose and unscientific language, of elementary propositions which may be found in any manual of economical science. We are at a loss to know how any man who has read Cairnes can sit down and write such slipshod insignificant stuff about supply and demand as may be found in Mr. Jamieson's twelfth chapter. We are informed that the first part of this work (in which the said chapter and others of equal merit are contained) was written for the sake of the second part, in which a new theory of the relation between money and prices is put forward. Mr. Jamieson boldly undertakes to refute Mill's theory of supply and demand, and Bagehot's theory of the depreciation of silver. We confess to a lingering belief in Mill and Bagehot; but we cannot enter into their defence at any length. To meet arguments like these it would be necessary to begin by defining all the scientific terms which he uses in this book. Mr. Jamieson is, no doubt, a good man of business, and some of his remarks on commercial matters are shrewd enough; but he has a good deal to learn before he can be accepted as an authority on so complicated a question as the Indian silver difficulty.

Professor Luigi Cossa's "Guide"⁵ amply redeems the promise of its

⁴ "Political Economy for Business People." By Robert Jamieson. London: Effingham Wilson. 1880.

⁵ "Guide to the Study of Political Economy." Translated from the second Italian edition, with a Preface by W. Stanley Jevons, F.R.S. London: Macmillan & Co.

title-page. It is not so much a compendium of principles as a book of advice to the student—informing him of the bounds and divisions of the science to which he is being introduced, and of the best authorities on each of the subjects to which his attention must be given. It forms a bibliography of political economy, complete enough for all but antiquarian purposes. Dr. Cossa appears to have read widely in the French, German, Dutch, Spanish, English, and Italian literature of his subject; and it is evident from the brief remarks which he appends to the names of his authors that he has read carefully as well as widely, and is not the mere “ferret and mouse hunt of an index.” On p. 32 Dr. Cossa has omitted to mention Bluntschli’s “*Lehre vom Modernen Stat.*” the most comprehensive treatise on political science yet published. When he comes to speak of Socialism, he might with advantage have given us some particulars relating to the works of Lasalle, Marx, and other leaders of German socialistic opinion. It may be that Dr. Cossa, who is himself an orthodox economist, does not wish to direct the attention of students to misleading works. But there could be no better test of a man’s mastery of sound principles than to set him to work upon Lasalle’s “*Law of Wages.*” to pick out the truths and the fallacies in that remarkable pamphlet.

Mr. R. L. Nash has brought science to bear on a subject which comes home to the business and the bosom of every Englishman who has, or had, money to invest.⁶ He has ascertained with great care the return, in interest and in increased capital, yielded by the various investments in which English capital has been laid out in the last ten years. The result of his retrospect is, on the whole, satisfactory. We have gained more and lost less than we are sometimes tempted to suppose. Even the foreign loans, by which we have from time to time sustained losses, have yielded a profit. “He who, say ten years ago, risked one-third of his capital in Turkish, one-third in Italian, and one-third in Portuguese bonds, would at the present time stand a considerable gainer by his investments.” We observe that Mr. Nash anticipates that the investments of the next ten years will not be so profitable as the investments of 1870–80. The best securities to hold during those years were the “moderate risks,” offering from five to seven per cent.; for the future five to six per cent. will be the return on moderate risks, “and the lower limit should certainly be adopted if the sum to be invested is not sufficiently large to enable you to hold a considerable number of them.” Mr. Nash would, no doubt, allege in support of this opinion the facts that the railway systems of civilized countries are for the most part completed, that iron ships have been constructed in sufficient numbers to replace our wooden merchantmen, and that any extension of telegraphic and telephonic communication which may take place in coming years is not likely to call for a very large supply of capital. We have also to take into account the fact

⁶ “*A Short Inquiry into the Profitable Nature of our Investments.*” By Robert Lucas Nash. London: Effingham Wilson. 1880.

that many countries which have hitherto been borrowers as often as they wanted large sums are now beginning to save their own capital. It is to be hoped that the securities of the Indian Government, for example, will be held in increasing proportion by our Indian subjects. On the other hand, we should remember that we have not seen the last of those impulses which have been so often communicated to our great industries by the influence of scientific discovery and the invention of new processes. Even at this moment a large amount of capital is called for to substitute steel for iron in many kinds of construction. We need not altogether despair of seeing an account of our investment for 1880-90 as favourable as the account here presented by Mr. Nash for 1870-80.

Before passing from political and economical subjects to the books of travel before us, we may dispose of a volume which can hardly be classified under any of the sub-headings of this section.⁷ The reader who takes up "The Tcherkess and his Victim" will suppose, when he reads the preface, that the book is a record of political observations. After reading the introductory chapter he will change his mind, and conclude that the author is going to give us a liberal selection from his own experiences of foreign travel. On proceeding further into the book he will at last become convinced that a series of impossible fictions is being palmed off upon him as a record of real life in Constantinople. In the course of time a kind of plot is developed; the persons who were at first introduced to us as really existing, or as types of Constantinople character, resolve themselves into creatures of romance, and discover for the most part that they are one another's long-lost brothers and sisters, and the like. The hero of the book is a young American, who commits manslaughter three times without betraying the least emotion. When we add that some of the characters in the book bear a caricature resemblance to persons actually residing at Constantinople, we have said enough to enable our readers to judge how far this work is concerned with "moral, social, and political" facts. Two small grains of history may perhaps be extracted from this mass of dull fiction. If it is true that the lint sent out from England for the Turkish wounded in the late war was sold by the Turks in Constantinople, and that the refugee camp at Phanaraki was placed there, not to suit the convenience of the refugees, but to catch the eyes of the English passengers in the Bosphorus—if these statements are true, they should certainly be made known in England.

Miss Bird is already favourably known to English readers by her descriptions of scenery and life in the Sandwich Islands and in the Rocky Mountains. This pleasant and instructive book⁸ will add to her reputation as a traveller and as an author. Miss Bird, by the way,

⁷ "The Tcherkess and his Victim: Sketches illustrative of the Moral, Social, and Political Aspects of Life in Constantinople." By a Resident of the last Three Years. London: John Hodges. 1880.

⁸ "Unbeaten Tracks in Japan: an Account of Travels in the Interior, including Visits to the Aborigines of Yezo, and the Shrines of Nikkô and Isé." By Isabella L. Bird. Two Volumes. London: John Murray. 1880.

forbids us to describe her two volumes as a book; they are, as she modestly explains, only a collection of letters and notes. We are disposed to agree with her in thinking that if she had taken time to recast her materials, her work would have been even better than it is. Parts of her narrative are encumbered with minute explanations and topographical details which might have found their places in appended tables and maps. Having made this one remark to save our credit as critics, we hasten to acknowledge that Miss Bird has given us a very complete and interesting account of New Japan. The recent history of the Japanese empire reads like a political romance. An entirely new order has been introduced in Church and State since 1868: the feudal rights of the *daimios* have been abolished or bought up; the "two-sworded" men at arms are content to serve as peaceable and efficient policemen; a strong central administration has been formed upon European models, and the first steps have been taken towards popular government. A superficial observer might say, "We have here a *philosophe* who reigns by divine right, an army of government officials, educational congresses meeting in provincial towns, vote by ballot, and a redundant supply of solicitors. What can civilization do more?" Miss Bird enables us to penetrate beneath the surface, and to perceive how little can be done by imposing civilization from above on an ancient people. She does full justice to the pleasanter side of Japanese character—their quaint courtesy to strangers and to one another, their docility, and their industry; but she tells us at the same time that they are a people sunk in immorality, ignorant with all their education, wearily sceptical and yet grossly credulous and superstitious. Their worship is addressed to the gods of wealth and longevity; the whole intelligence of the nation seems to be absorbed in the development of material prosperity. Such are the general impressions derived by Miss Bird from some months' travel in Japan—such travel as surely no invalid ever attempted before. Attended only by a native lad, Miss Bird made her way from Yedo to the splendid shrines of Nikkô, and thence, by a hitherto unexplored route along the Kinugawa River and down the Tsugawa to Niigata, on the western coast of the main island of Japan. From this point she turned northward, traversed some 368 miles of difficult country, crossed the Tsugaru Strait in a gale of wind, and landed at Hakodaté. From Hakodaté Miss Bird was able to explore part of the island of Yezo; and her curiosity in regard to the Ainos led her to dispense for a time with her one servant, and to take up her abode among that little known people. This wonderful journey was performed in *kurumas* (light gigs drawn and pushed by men), on the backs of treacherous and refractory packhorses, and in boats of various kinds, ranging from a small and very unsafe steamer to a "dug-out" of a primitive pattern, navigated by two Aino boys. Of these Ainos Miss Bird gives on the whole a favourable account. They are savages, apathetic, hopeless, and apparently fated to die out before the Japanese Government succeeds in civilizing them; but savages of graceful manners and musical speech, who treat the confiding stranger in a

hospitable manner. Miss Bird has a knack of finding out the good qualities of the people and places she visits. Her descriptions of the house in which she lodged at Nikkô, of the alpine scenery of the Kinugawa, and the milder beauties of the Tsugawa, of her voyage in the Aino boat along the Sarufutogawa, are all admirable. Without presuming to interfere between Miss Bird and her medical advisers, we venture to hope that she will keep far away from English fogs in coming winters, and that she will relieve the solitude of her wanderings by writing more letters like these.

Mrs. Brassey's narrative of a voyage round the world figured as "the book of the season" some years ago.⁹ It is now re-issued in a cheap form as one of an educational series, in which Bacon, Milton, and other popular writers appear to be included. We do not regard this as a particularly suitable book "for school and class reading," but it would do very well to lend to pupils who are disposed to take an interest in their geography lessons.

Another traveller from the far East is Mr. Burbidge,¹⁰ an adventurous botanist, who has returned from Borneo and the Sulu Archipelago with a great store of strange plants and equally strange experiences. Borneo is the third largest island in the world, but it has been hitherto almost entirely outside the circle of English interest. The career of "Rajah Brooke" has made us familiar with the name of Sarawak, and most of us are vaguely aware that England owns the island of Labuan; but of the people of Borneo, and of the Malay power which governs there, we seldom hear. Mr. Burbidge has much to tell us of all the aspects of life in those tropical swamps and forests—of the huge ferns and the masses of beautiful orchids which attach themselves to the trees, of the wonderful shapes and colours of various pitcher-plants, and of sundry strange fruits, chief of which is the durian, of which Mr. Wallace has told us that a man might well make a journey to the East for the sole purpose of tasting it. Mr. Burbidge tries to be impartial in his estimate of this fruit, but when he assures us that the taste of a durian is "like the music of a well-played violin on the ear—rich, soothing, sweet, piquant," we perceive that he too must have surrendered himself wholly to the mysterious charm of it. Besides his botanical notes, which are of considerable scientific value, Mr. Burbidge has set down for us a good deal of information about the races who inhabit Borneo. The Dyaks, it would appear, are taking to peaceable ways, and the savage customs of the native Borneans are disappearing. But Malay government will never make much of the island; and the time may come when some philanthropic person will suggest that we should extend our influence from Labuan over the whole archipelago once infested by Bornean pirates. Mr. Burbidge seems to anticipate some such consummation; but it does not appear, from his account of matters, that any sufficient excuse for annexation is likely to be offered us. The concluding chapter of this

⁹ "A Voyage in the 'Sunbeam.'" By Mrs. Brassey. Adapted for School and Class Reading. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1880.

¹⁰ "The Gardens of the Sun: or a Naturalist's Journal in Borneo and the Sulu Archipelago." By F. W. Burbidge. London: John Murray. 1880.

book contains a number of hints which would be exceedingly useful to any person intending to travel in the tropics.

In September, 1878, Colonel Grodekoff, a Russian officer serving under General Kaufmann, presented his "leave-report," and requested permission to return to St. Petersburg, *viâ* Afghan Turkestan, Herat, and Persia. The permission was readily given, and the result was the journey, part of which is described in this little volume.¹¹ Colonel Grodekoff records his observations and adventures in a plain military style, and indulges in no reflections, political or sentimental. He begins his chronicle at the frontier of Afghanistan, which he entered by crossing the Oxus at Patta Keesar. From this point he was escorted to Mazar-e-Shergef, a town lately promoted to be capital of Afghan Turkestan, in place of Balkh, which is now almost entirely deserted. Here Colonel Grodekoff and his servants were detained for some time in strict but not dishonourable duress, awaiting Shere Ali's reply to the Colonel's request for a safe conduct. The reply—thanks perhaps to the good offices of the Russian Embassy at Cabul—was most friendly. Attended by an escort of Afghan cavalry, Colonel Grodekoff proceeded by way of Balkh and Maimene to Herat. He was not allowed to visit Merv, but he passed near enough to that much-discussed stronghold to form a shrewd opinion as to the character of the road between Merv and Herat. His opinion that Merv is not the key of Herat will no doubt be quoted as conclusive by those who think, with the Duke of Argyll, that we have nothing to fear from the Russian advance towards India. It would appear from Colonel Grodekoff's account that the Uzbeks look forward to a Russian occupation of Afghan Turkestan. Some of them addressed to him a question which the Armenians put to Lord Sandon on a certain historic occasion, "When are you coming?" Like the Turks, the Afghans have been hard masters to their alien subjects. The vices of Mohammedan officials are everywhere the same; the representatives of the Ameer seem to be as lax as the pashas in regard to strong drink and other matters. So little is known of the inner life of what was the empire of Shere Ali, that we are glad to have these incomplete but careful notes of a Russian observer. Mr. Marvin—whose intelligent curiosity has more than once been of service to the public—has performed the work of translation in a readable, if somewhat slipshod, manner. He has also added a political essay of his own, which does not add materially to the value of the book.

Mr. Seebohm's narrative of a journey to the Petchora Valley carries us almost to the northern extremity of the Russian Empire.¹² In company with Mr. Harvie-Brown, the author planned and executed a very successful summer campaign against the birds of that desolate and thinly-peopled region. Besides the ornithological notes and drawings in which Mr. Seebohm has recorded the scientific results of his

¹¹ Colonel Grodekoff's "Ride from Samarcand to Herat, through Balkh and the Uzbek States of Afghan Turkestan." By Charles Marvin. London: William H. Allen & Co. 1880.

¹² "Siberia in Europe: a Visit to the Valley of the Petchora, in North-East Russia." By Henry Seebohm, F.L.S., &c. London: John Murray. 1880.

journey, he has collected some interesting particulars of the customs and beliefs of the human inhabitants of the Petchora Valley. Of the Samoyedes—whose name has often served Mr. Carlyle as a symbol of northern savagery—he has not much that is favourable to report. Their pagan customs are giving way before Russian civilization; but their improvement is very slow, and they are not apparently a race of any great promise. Mr. Seebohm was also brought into contact with some communities of those Old Believers (*Raskolniks*) whose relations with the Government of St. Petersburg afford the material for an occasional paragraph in our newspapers. These Dissenters differ from the Holy Synod in holding the use of potatoes and tobacco to be unlawful; but in their addiction to *vodka* and avoidance of soap and water they appear to be quite on a level with their more orthodox compatriots.

Morocco has been much described of late years; even the sacred city of Wazan was visited by Dr. Rohlfs, who disguised himself as a Mussulman pilgrim. We must confess that we always read the narratives of disguised explorers with a certain suspicion. They have deceived others: how then can we trust them implicitly? We are, therefore, glad to have a description of the Sacred City from the pen of Mr. Spence Watson,¹³ who made his way thither without any disguise, relying on a safe-conduct procured for him by the influence of an English lady who has consented to become the wife of the Cherif of Wazan. Without any special linguistic or scientific acquirements, Mr. Watson possesses many of the qualifications of a successful traveller; he sees all that is to be seen, and enters with unflinching spirit and good humour into every strange experience. It is part of his philosophical creed that "most men are disposed to treat you better than you are conscious that you deserve;" and though we do not suppose that Mr. Watson was treated better than he deserved by the Moors, he appears to have been treated very well indeed. Into the holy places, of course, he was not allowed to enter; but every privilege of the guest they freely accorded to him. In return for their hospitality he was able to supply them with stories of England, medicine (dispensed by himself in a somewhat random fashion), magnesium light, and india-rubber squeakers. These last appear to have created quite a *furor* in the higher circles of Wazan society. According to Mr. Watson's description, the Moors are an interesting people—simple, refined, and artistic in many of their ways, and less imbued with fanatical suspicion than they are said to be. The Sultan's government is, of course, thoroughly bad.

Lieutenant-Colonel Butler has collected in one prettily got-up volume¹⁴ a number of sketches of his American, Indian and South African wanderings. Readers of the "Great Lone Land" need not to be told that Colonel Butler is a most fascinating story-teller—eloquent

¹³ "A Visit to Wazan, the Sacred City of Morocco." By Robert Spence Watson. London: Macmillan & Co. 1880.

¹⁴ "Far Out: Rovings Retold." By Lieut.-Col. W. F. Butler, C.B. London: William Isbister, Limited. 1880.

and humorous, in love with nature in her wilder aspects, and full of sympathy with all that is kindly and dignified in the ways of men who make the wilds their home. We must pass over the American sketches in this book without stopping to criticize—merely mentioning, for the benefit of those who take pleasure in Christmas tales, that they will find in the first of these papers, “A Dog and his Doings,” a ghost-story of the most genuine, credible and awe-inspiring character. The series of papers headed “South Africa” will be read with peculiar interest at the present moment. Here, for example, is a striking description of the region in which our countrymen are now carrying on war :—

“It is a land of jagged peaks and scarped precipices, of torrents and rocks, of secluded valleys and great wind-swept hills. Snow rests for many months in the year upon its ragged hill-tops; grass grows rank and green in its many valleys. A thousand crystal streams flash over rocky ledges, and ripple through pebble-paved channels, and all the year round there is a sense of freshness in the air, for the breeze that sweeps the land blows over peaks set ten thousand feet above the sea-line. This in Africa—that land of heat and sun, of swamp and forest? Yes, even in Africa lies the region just pictured; this Switzerland of South Africa, mountain Basutoland.”

Colonel Butler's graphic account of the Basuto war of 1852 gives a fresh meaning to what we read in the newspapers of to-day of the difficulties of South African warfare. It is worth remarking that our author, though a soldier and a firm believer in the benefits of English rule, takes what the “forward” party among the colonists would call the anti-English line in regard to our frontier wars. While appreciating highly the primitive virtues of the Boers, he expresses a strong opinion that their land-hunger and their Old Testament politics have led to many flagrant acts of violence and injustice; and he regards with true soldierly contempt the race of military contractors and speculators who make their profit out of England's imperial difficulties. Many of his topics must be by this time painfully familiar to Englishmen who take an interest in South African affairs—the vast extent and inferior cultivation of the Dutch farms; the attraction offered by gold and diamonds, wherever they exist, to all the blackguardism of Europe; and the impossibility of maintaining respect for law among the motley crowd of natives and colonists in the centres of money-making enterprise. But even when he touches on these familiar themes, Colonel Butler never fails to add to our knowledge, and to throw fresh light on the problems of colonial life.

Mr. E. F. Knight¹⁵ is a member of the junior bar who has devoted a portion of the abundant leisure enjoyed by gentlemen of his profession and standing to a journey of observation among the mountains of Montenegro and Albania. He may be excused for assuming that the public would desire to have some literary record of what he saw, but he would have done well to consider whether his record need take the form of a book. One of Mr. Knight's travelling

¹⁵ “Albania, a Narrative of Recent Travel.” By E. F. Knight, Barrister-at-law. London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington, 1880.

companions has given us his account of their journey in a magazine article, and we are disposed to think that the valuable part of this work could without difficulty be compressed into the same shape. Mr. Knight and his friends visited Montenegro and Albania in the autumn of 1879 (so at least we infer from passages of the narrative, which is totally without dates). They saw nothing of the warlike operations then in progress; for they were turned back from Priserin, the head-quarters of the League, and from Gusinje, where the Albanian troops were confronting the Montenegrins under Marco Milano. But they went to Cetinje, where they had an interview with Prince Nikita, and saw the Minister of Finance playing billiards with the post-boy for pots of Austrian beer; to Scutari, to Podgoritz, and finally to Dulcigno, of which interesting town Mr. Knight would no doubt have taken more careful note if he could have foreseen the Naval Demonstration.

We cannot quite make out why Mr. Berry should have thought it necessary to publish an account of his American travels.¹⁶ If every man who has dined in the hotels, played cards in the railway carriages, and shaken hands with the President of the United States, must record his experiences in an octavo volume, we shall become a nation of authors before we are aware. Mr. Berry may perhaps have thought that original reflection and easy humour can make even a hackneyed subject interesting; but if this was his literary ideal, we cannot congratulate him on having attained it. His reflections are for the most part simple expressions of wonder on discovering that most Americans wear black coats, or that a New York waiter never fails to distinguish the owner of each of the hundred hats entrusted to his keeping. As for Mr. Berry's humour, it is enough to say that he thinks it amusing to speak of a pair of boots as "pedal integuments."

Mr. Berry introduces us to a citizen of Chicago who disposed of the pretensions of a rival centre of commerce with the trenchant remark—"St. Louis! I wouldn't be found dead in St. Louis." This gentleman might possibly have spoken with more respect of the chief city of Missouri if he had studied the works of that eminent publicist, the Hon. Britton A. Hill. As a lawyer and a politician of some forty years' standing, Mr. Hill has had many opportunities of observing the defects of the Federal and State constitutions of the Republic. In the work before us¹⁷ he propounds a scheme of administrative and financial reform, which would amount to a complete revolution in the practice not only of the United States, but of modern civilized governments generally. Mr. Hill's ideal government is of the kind commonly known as "paternal." He proposes that the State should forbid foreigners to settle on its territory unless they produce evidence that

¹⁶ "The Other Side: How it Struck us." By C. B. Berry. London: Griffith & Farran. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. 1880.

¹⁷ "Liberty and Law; or, Outlines of a New System for the Organization and Administration of Federative Government." By Britton A. Hill. Second Edition. St. Louis: G. J. Jones & Co. 1880.

they are free from all external allegiance, political or spiritual. Having thus secured a free field for his experiment, he would proceed to take in hand the sanitary, educational, and commercial development of the nation; providing for each child a good physical and mental training, for each man a vocation in life, and for the citizens generally a sufficient basis of prosperity, in the shape of an inconvertible paper currency equal in amount to the total value of exchangeable commodities in the country. No man should be absolutely compelled to submit to the new order of things, but if, by his own fault or by the fault of his parents, any citizen remains uneducated or idle, the State should have him imprisoned and kept to hard labour, "or, if need be, executed." The liberties of the people should be further protected by rendering all public officers liable to criminal prosecution for malfeasance. In order that none may plead ignorance as an excuse for framing his habits without regard to the new constitution, the whole law should be codified in a good literary form, so that a man may carry it about with him and read it to his family of an evening; and the purity of the magistrates who administer this new law is to be secured by providing that any judge who "refuses to do manifest justice or equity," sleeps on the bench, or reads "papers, books, letters, or cards of invitation to parties or dinners," or expresses contempt or disdain of any litigant or attorney, shall be sent to a penitentiary. We may remark that if Mr. Hill's legislative style is adopted in the Republic of the future, the citizen who wishes to read the code to his family will require a truck to convey it to his residence. It would be impossible, in the space at our command, to enumerate one half of the measures suggested in "Liberty and Law," or to do justice to the author's theories of universal history and jurisprudence. The cardinal error which seems to us to pervade all Mr. Hill's argument is the assumption that "the State" is, in some mysterious way, wiser and better than the men who compose it. If we admit, for example, that absolute paper money is the financial embodiment of pure reason, it is none the less evident that such money will not circulate unless the average trader can be got to believe in it. The average trader wants to know exactly where the commodities are which the paper represents; without this knowledge he refuses to trade at all, and if his knowledge is only partial, he will demand an amount of paper exceeding in nominal value the solid goods which he gives for it. Mr. Hill would perhaps interfere to force people to part with their goods at a certain price in paper; he might even provide that any person expressing contempt for his "absolute money" should be held to have committed an offence against the Educational Code, and should thereupon be sent to hard labour, or (what would come to much the same thing) to enforced attendance on the lectures of an inflationist professor. When we can secure an infallible Government which has the courage of its infallibility, Mr. Hill's theories will be much to the purpose: for the present we prefer to adhere to the received Liberal belief, that Governments, when they undertake to tell us how to manage our private concerns, are more likely to be wrong than right. We ought to say that when

Mr. Hill leaves his theoretic platform and condescends to facts, his observations are often reasonable and useful. His remarks on local taxation and the debts of local authorities in the United States are specially instructive. We have been accustomed to regard the States as a land of light taxation, but in view of the fact that the people of Boston pay 29 dollars a head in local taxes alone, this common opinion will have to be reconsidered. Mr. Hill's book is well adapted to suggest topics of reflection to American patriots; and as the recent elections seem to prove that "absolute money" is not popular with American business men, we may safely congratulate him on having attained a second edition.

A Transatlantic jurist of a different type from Mr. Hill is Mr. Melville M. Bigelow, of the Boston bar, whose careful collection of "Placita Anglo-Normanica" is well known to students of legal antiquities. In this history¹⁸ Mr. Bigelow gives us, in a systematic form, the results of his study of Anglo-Norman procedure. The subject has been treated by many eminent writers; but it has been regarded by historians from the layman's point of view. Mr. Bigelow brings the skill of a practised lawyer to bear upon it, with considerable effect. His chapters on the Writ Process and on Distrain will enable the student of history to distinguish between proceedings which are often confounded under a common name. In regard to the writ, Mr. Bigelow shows very clearly that it is a mistake to suppose that the original purpose of the writ was to set forth the form of the action. That was done by the plaintiff himself in the count. "The writ and the count are two converging forms, approaching almost to contact by the time of Glanvill, fully meeting only in the next century. But the count is unbroken from Alfred to Victoria." In the earlier chapters of this history Mr. Bigelow has, we think, laid rather too much stress upon the connection between the Anglo-Saxon Witenagemote and the Great Council or King's Court of the Norman period. The King's Court was the result of three factors—the Witenagemote, the Norman Barony Court, and (most important of all) the absolutist ideas of William the Conqueror, who was quite determined to do away with the system of territorial aristocracy which had given so much trouble to the Dukes of Normandy and the Kings of England. The point is worth insisting on, because the success of the Conqueror's policy is the cardinal fact in the history of our Constitution. By breaking the power represented in the old Witenagemote, William levelled down conquerors and conquered, nobles and commons; and thus was produced that union of classes against the abuses of monarchy to which we owe the Great Charter.

Mr. John Jenkins's account of the laws relating to religious liberty and public worship is written in a strongly Protestant and Puritan spirit.¹⁹ Before he arrives at his subject he treats us to 120 pages of

¹⁸ "History of Procedure in England, from the Norman Conquest. The Norman Period (1066-1204)." By Melville Madison Bigelow, Ph.D. London: Macmillan & Co. 1880.

¹⁹ "The Laws relating to Religious Liberty and Public Worship." By John Jenkins, Esq., Registrar of County Courts. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1880.

mere eloquence, all about Martin Luther, the Pilgrim Fathers and the immortal memory of William III. We are told of a time when the laws of Europe were "impregnated with the Papal sway," when "priest and layman gambolled in the same licentious paths," and "the voice of eternal justice was hushed by the lullaby of the priest." "Against this despotism," our author tells us, "not a voice was lifted up"—which is rather hard upon the author of the treatise "*De Auferibilitate Papæ*," and other distinguished anti-Papal writers of the period before Luther. When he comes to speak of the effects of the English Reformation, Mr. Jenkins declares for the Puritans, as the friends, not only of truth, but of freedom. Having thus taken up firm ground as a party man, he has no difficulty in pronouncing a decided opinion on all controverted passages of history. The trial of Prynne is "infamous," but the trial of Laud does not disturb Mr. Jenkins's composure. The Long Parliament granted "full toleration to all sects and parties"—an astounding statement on which we need hardly make any comment. When he has worked clear of the historical part of his book, Mr. Jenkins assumes a style more befitting a Registrar of County Courts, and proceeds to give us some account of the Mortmain Act, the Acts against disturbances in churches and chapels, and some other Acts. We do not perceive that all this throws much light on the "laws relating to religious liberty and public worship," nor can we conscientiously say that Mr. Jenkins has made a valuable contribution to our legal literature.

Mr. Westlake has responded to the demand for a second edition of his "*Treatise on Private International Law*," published in 1858, by issuing what is practically a new work on the same subject.²⁰ Much has been added to our knowledge of international law since 1858 by judicial decisions, by the speculations of publicists, and by the labours of such bodies as the Institute in whose deliberations Mr. Westlake has taken an active part. In re-arranging his materials, Mr. Westlake has followed for the most part the order of the Italian Code. The first edition of this book is so familiar to English students of law, that we need not criticize at any length this revised form of it. We observe that the decisions of English judges are distinguished by appending the surnames only, after the unceremonious foreign fashion. To the reader of our Reports, accustomed to the look of "Sir G. Jessel" or "Jessel, M.R.," the curt "Jessel" of Mr. Westlake has a somewhat bald appearance.

A translation, with Commentary and Glossary, of the French Code of Commerce, is likely to be useful to several classes of persons.²¹ Lawyers and men of business may consult it for their practical purposes, and the law reformer (who is not always a lawyer or a man of business) may draw profitable lessons from the comparison of the

²⁰ "*A Treatise on Private International Law, with Special Reference to its Practice in England.*" By John Westlake, Q.C., &c. London: William Maxwell & Son. 1880.

²¹ "*The French Code of Commerce and most usual Commercial Laws. With a Commentary, &c.*" By Leopold Goirand, Licencié en Droit, Avoué au Tribunal Civil du Département de la Seine. London: Stevens & Sons. 1880.

merits and defects of our commercial law with those of the French law relating to the same subjects. Whatever be the purpose with which this book is taken up, it will be found that M. Goirand has done his work well. His English is remarkably clear and good, and his Commentary affords sufficient proof that he possesses the characteristic French gift of divining exactly what his readers will require to have explained to them. English writers sometimes hastily assume that French law, being codified, must be much simpler and more intelligible than our own. But the system embodied in the Constitution—*celle du moment*, as the French booksellers say—and the Codes is not by any means easily understood, especially by Englishmen. It is a system which leaves more to the discretion of public functionaries and less to the discretion of the individual citizen than our English system; it must be administered, therefore, by a larger and more elaborately organized staff of judges. The French merchant is evidently much more governed than his English rival; he is compelled to keep his books in a particular way, and to submit them annually for official inspection; and if he is obliged to go to law, the rules as to appearances, production of documents, and other matters, are minute and rigorous. On all these points, M. Goirand's work may be consulted with confidence by the English merchant or lawyer who is brought into contact with the French law.

"The Three Estates"²² is a good title for an anti-democratic pamphlet; but we can hardly be expected to attach much importance to the constitutional theories of a gentleman who sets out with the notion that the Queen is one of the "Estates" of her own realm. It is perhaps a sign of the low esteem into which the Lords Spiritual have fallen that their existence as a separate Estate is unknown even to Conservative publicists. Having discovered on a cursory inspection of this treatise that "Publicola" is capable of misquoting the most hackneyed lines of Wordsworth (p. 27) and Goldsmith (p. 32), we have not been able to study his exposure of the evils of democracy very carefully; but we observe that his remedy for those evils is rateable plural voting. In default of this, he would be satisfied with Mr. Hare's system of representation.

Another disciple of Mr. Hare's is Mr. Alfred Cridge, editor, we believe, of the *San Francisco Chronicle*, who has endeavoured in this pamphlet²³ to work out a remedy for the evils introduced into American politics by the Caucus system. He proves without much difficulty that the arts of professional politicians may succeed in returning a member who represents only a minority of electors. We have to thank Mr. Cridge for an able summary of the various schemes of perfect or proportional representation which have been from time to time put forward. After passing in review the Cumulative Vote, the Geneva Free List, and the "Transfer System" elaborated by

²² "The Three Estates; or, Household Suffrage in its Relation to Capital and Labour." By Publicola. London: John Heywood. 1880.

²³ "Voting not Representation: a Demand for Definite Democracy and Political Evolution." By Alfred Cridge. San Francisco. 1880.

Mr. A. E. Dobbs, Mr. Cridge fixes upon the Preferential System of Mr. Hare as the most effective and satisfactory. We agree with much of what Mr. Cridge has to say, and we wish him all success in his struggle with the Caucus; but we cannot quite share his sanguine belief in "proportional representation." As the late Mr. Bagehot has pointed out, the Proportional System implies a good deal of arrangement beforehand by the central agents of each party. It would not prevent the Caucus and the party ticket from being revived in a new and dangerous form. We do not expect much political benefit to result from improvements in the mere machinery of elections. No system secures anything like a perfect representation of all the represented; and no system is too rude to give a satisfactory result if wisdom and public spirit have the working of it.

More than eight years have elapsed since the rise of the Agricultural Labourers' Union brought the condition of the peasantry prominently before the public. It was in the West and South of England that the farm labourers had most to complain of; and among those who came to their aid few were able to render them more effective service than Mr. F. G. Heath. The simple record of Mr. Heath's tours of observation in the West of England did more than many blue books to make us familiar with the wants and aspirations of the rural poor. We are now enabled to estimate some of the results of the movement of 1872. To his notes of 1872 and 1873 Mr. Heath has now added some account of a tour undertaken in the summer of last year through parts of Wiltshire, Somerset, and Devon.²⁴ It is gratifying to find that there has been improvement of late years in some important particulars. Wages are better and steadier than they were, in spite of agricultural depression, and the standard of living is higher. It seems, however, that some farmers have blindly insisted on keeping down their expenses by employing fewer men, and it is suggested that the decrease in the acreage under crops in England is partly to be accounted for in this way. Some competent observers think that the present generation of labourers, male and female, are on the whole inferior to their predecessors in morality and usefulness. A comprehensive view of all the facts of the case might prove this opinion erroneous; but there can be no doubt that the emancipation of labour tends to impair its efficiency for a time. To obtain recognition of their rights, the labourers must hold together, and the good workman is thus placed for the moment alongside of the inferior workman—both claiming the same wage, and both restricting themselves to the same amount of work. This has been the experience of other industries; it may now be the turn of agriculturists to perceive that the union system is only a preparation for some better organization which will offer greater encouragement to individual effort. If any change is to be made in the organization of agricultural industry, we may be sure it will be slow. Mr. Heath's

²⁴ "Peasant Life in the West of England." By Francis George Heath. A New Edition. London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington. 1880.

book supplies us with ample proof of the strength of rustic Conservatism, and the difficulty of altering customs which are the growth of centuries.

We are indebted to the Executive Committee of the National Agricultural Labourers' Union for a copy of an interesting pamphlet, containing returns obtained by the committee from labourers in all parts of the country as to the causes of the existing agricultural depression.²⁶ The general opinion among labourers seems to be that farms are too large and rents too high; that game eats up the farmer's profit; and that too little labour is employed. These are, of course, the views of persons deeply interested in the questions at issue, and must therefore be received with caution; but they are well worth the attention of all who wish to study this most important subject in all its aspects.

Mr. J. A. Fox's Reports²⁶ on the condition of the Mayo peasantry contain much valuable information on a painfully interesting subject. Those who wish to have a statement of what we may call the other side of the case in regard to Irish famines cannot do better than turn to these "Pictures" by Mr. Terence McGrath.²⁷ From these entertaining pages we gather that Irish distress is much exaggerated, and that distress, where it exists, is largely due to the sloth, ignorance and superstition of the peasants themselves. Mr. McGrath seems determined to justify Dr. Johnson's famous saying by assuring the English public that all Irishmen are humbugs. There is not one of his seventeen types of character, unless it be the "landlord of the old school"—who, by the way, has been compelled to leave his country—which will stand any ordinary test as regards truthfulness and honesty. David said in his haste that all men are liars; Mr. McGrath says as much of his countrymen in an easy leisurely style which seems to be the fruit of long observation and reflection. We should like to have a fresh series of "Pictures" of honest Irishmen—if there are any—from the same pen. But even if there are none, or if the League banishes them as St. Patrick banished the frogs, we hope Mr. McGrath will not give up writing about Ireland. His descriptions are always amusing, and his knowledge of Irish life, if a little one-sided, is evidently extensive.

We have to acknowledge a copy of the Report²⁸ of a case tried before the Mixed Tribunal of Cairo, which led to a complete exposure of the oppression and fraud perpetrated by the agents of European houses in their dealings with the Fellahs; of a statistical pamphlet,²⁹ giving

²⁶ "Evidence on the Cause of the present Agricultural Depression, obtained from practical and bonâ fide Labourers." Leamington: Curtis & Beamish. 1880.

²⁷ "Reports on the Condition of the Peasantry in the County of Mayo during the Famine Crisis of 1880." By J. A. Fox. Dublin: printed by Browne & Nolan. 1880.

²⁸ "Pictures from Ireland." By Terence McGrath. London: C. Kegan Paul & Co. 1880.

²⁹ "Egypte. Tribunaux Mixtes. Procès Papadopoulo." Rome: Imprimerie Artese et Comp. 1880.

³⁰ "Orazio Focardi. I Partiti Politici alle Elezioni Generali dell' Anno 1880." Roma: Ermanno Loescher. 1880.

a conspectus of the results of the Italian general elections held in April last; and of two Returns issued by the Statistical Department of the Italian Ministry of Commerce,³⁰ giving statistics of the navigation of the kingdom. Mr. Dyer³¹ is to be congratulated on having succeeded in stimulating the Belgian Government to take action against an infamous traffic. From Messrs. Reeves and Turner we have received a cheap and handy reprint of Lord Erskine's speeches, extracted from the edition of 1810.³² M. Albert Gigot has translated into excellent French a selection from Mr. Gladstone's "Gleanings."³³ We should have desired to give a more extended notice of Dr. Corfield's valuable lectures on dwelling-houses;³⁴ but it is perhaps well for the peace of mind of those among our readers who dwell in ordinary London houses that we have not left ourselves space to mention all the essential rules of sanitary construction laid down by the Medical Officer of St. George's.

SCIENCE.

DR. GÜNTHER'S "Introduction to the Study of Fishes"¹ is not only the most important book of its kind which has ever been produced, but successfully expounds, in a delightful way, the subject of which the author is the greatest living master. Never before has an eminent zoologist condescended to give a summary of all that is best worth knowing in the natural history of a great group of animals in a form at once fitted for general reading and for students. We cannot doubt that this work will exercise a profound influence both in popularizing the study of fishes and on the advancement of Natural History generally; for it is scarcely fitting the reputation of English science that other masters in other subjects should be unable or unwilling to follow the example of the eminent German who presides over the Zoological Department of the British Museum. Dr. Günther commences by defining a fish as an animal living in water, breathing air dissolved in water by means of gills; whose heart is formed of two chambers, and in which the limbs, when

³⁰ "Ministero di Agricoltura &c. Movimento della Navigazione nei Porti del Regno." Parte Prima e Appendice. Roma. 1880.

³¹ "The European Slave Trade in English Girls." By Alfred S. Dyer. London: Dyer Brothers. 1880.

³² "Speeches of Thomas Lord Erskine. With a Memoir of his Life." By Edward Walford, M.A. London: Reeves & Turner. 1880.

³³ "Questions Constitutionnelles, 1873-1878. Par W. E. Gladstone. Traduit de l'Anglais et précédé d'une Introduction. Par A. Gigot. Paris: G. Baillière et C^{ie}. 1880.

³⁴ "Dwelling Houses, their Sanitary Construction and Arrangements." By W. H. Corfield, M.A. &c. London: H. K. Lewis. 1880.

¹ "An Introduction to the Study of Fishes." By Albert C. L. G. Günther, M.A., M.D., Ph.D., F.R.S. Keeper of the Zoological Department in the British Museum. Edinburgh: Adam & Charles Black. 1880.

present, take the form of fins. The first chapter gives an excellent history, from the time of Aristotle onward, of the great contributions which have been made by successive naturalists to a knowledge of the fish class. The classifications adopted by Linnæus, Cuvier, and Johannes Miller, are here presented as illustrating the great progress which has been made in knowledge. This chapter concludes with a valuable list of the more important general works upon fishes, classified according to the countries to which they relate. The second chapter, called a topographical description of the external parts of fishes, gives, in a manner altogether masterly, not merely an account of the structures of which it treats, in their immense variety, but some idea of their functions, with sufficient reference to individual fishes to invest a technical subject with interest and precision. The parts of the head, gill-cover, fins, and scales, are especially treated of. The third chapter describes the skeleton; and, as the multitude of discoveries in anatomy made in the last five-and-twenty years have in some cases shaken the old nomenclature of the bones used by Cuvier and Owen, Dr. Günther gives, in four parallel columns, the determinations adopted by previous writers, printing in italics those which he finds himself constrained to adopt. This subject is followed by a discussion of the modifications of the skeleton in the successive groups of fishes. Here, perhaps, it would have been an advantage to have presented the reader with a larger number of figures, for the modifications of skull-structure in this great group of animals can scarcely be realized from figures of the lamprey, ceratodus, polypterus, and the perch. The varieties of fish skull are sufficiently important to have received fuller treatment, and sufficiently interesting to have engaged the reader's attention. The fifth chapter, on the muscles and electric organs, is also too brief, extending to barely three pages. The nerves are discussed at somewhat greater length; but still the figures are too few to give an adequate conception of the extraordinary modifications which the brain presents. The seventh chapter treats of smell, sight, hearing, taste, and touch. In many respects these senses of the fish are distinctive of the group; scarcely any fishes breathe by the organ of smell. In some the eyes are capable of being directed towards the object pursued. Only one fish has shown any trace of an organ which can be compared to a tear gland; and while the eyelid in most animals is free from fat, the eyelids of many fishes are so loaded with fat at the spawning season that the eye is almost hidden. So absolutely may the attention of some sharks be concentrated on the pursuit in which they are engaged, that, perfectly unconscious of touch, they allow themselves to be speared through and through, when feeding on the whale, without manifesting resentment. Next succeeds an account of organs of nutrition and digestion in fishes, followed by an exposition of their respiration. The modifications of the air bladder are fully described, and a short account is given of the lungs of those fishes which approach most nearly to the amphibians. The organs of circulation, kidneys, and reproduction each receive notice in other chapters. Figures are given of the Californian *Ditrema*, which retains the young in the body till they have

reached a large size. It is rare for female fishes to take charge of the young; but in the siluroid fish *Aspredo*, the eggs adhere to the skin of the abdomen in consequence of the fish lying over them, and she then carries the eggs about on her belly just as the Surinam Toad carries her eggs on her back. Another fish, *Solenostoma*, has the ventral fins united with the body, so as to form a large pouch, in which the eggs are carried. Among the pipe-fishes it is the male which takes on itself the office of developing the young. The eggs of the principal modifications of sharks are represented by figures. The chapter on the growth and variation of fishes is extremely interesting. The lamprey is the only fish in which a true metamorphosis is observed, but many fishes undergo remarkable changes. The young of the flat fishes at first have the head symmetrical, with one eye on each side of the head, and swim in a vertical position; but as they come to rest horizontally on the bottom, the eye migrates round to the upper side. The head in many young fishes is immensely large, forming at least half the body. The young of the sword-fish has the eye forming fully half the depth of the body, the jaws of equal length and crowded with teeth; but after a time changes are produced in the proportions of the bones and fins, which completely alter the aspect of the animal. Numerous interesting figures are given, showing the modifications which fishes undergo in their development. Occasionally development appears to be arrested, and fishes grow in size without advancing in organization, as Dr. Günther thinks, because the eggs may have been drifted by currents into positions unsuited for the evolution of the organs which characterize maturity. The fourteenth chapter deals with hibernation, domestication, and the poison glands of fishes (for many apparently have poison glands) on the dorsal spines, while others have an arrangement similar to the fang of a serpent, by which poison is passed through a perforated spine on the operculum. The geological distribution of fishes has not been neglected, and a summary is given of the chief modifications which have presented themselves in the successive periods of the earth's history. The geographical distribution is treated of at considerable length, occupying more than a hundred pages. Many of the facts emphasized are singularly suggestive of modifications which the distribution of life has undergone in comparatively recent times. Thus there are many genera represented by but two species, of which one occurs in the rivers of North or South America and the other in the rivers of China or India. The fresh-water fishes are grouped geographically into three zones, called the northern zone, the equatorial zone, and the southern zone, with sub-divisions, making the arrangement very similar to that adopted by Mr. Allen for the distribution of mammals, but founded essentially on the regions of Dr. Sclater. Each of these regions is described in detail, and no portion of the book is more valuable than this admirable summary. The eighteenth chapter gives an account of the fishes of brackish water; then succeeds the distribution of marine fishes, which fall into the three categories—shore fishes, fishes of the upper part of the open ocean, and deep-sea fishes. The shore

fishes are then sub-divided into zones and provinces. In the north temperate zone there is the British district, the Mediterranean district, and the North American district, succeeded by the districts of Kamtschatka, Japan and California. The equatorial zone includes the tropical Atlantic, tropical Indo-Pacific, and the Pacific coast of tropical America, which latter presents more distinct modifications corresponding to central America, the Galapagos Islands, and Peru. The south temperate zone includes four fish faunas which correspond to the Cape of Good Hope, South Australia, Chile, and Patagonia. Besides these there are the fish faunas of the Arctic and Antarctic oceans. Two orders, the Anacanthini and the Pharyngognathi, are entirely absent from the surface waters of the open ocean. Dr. Günther remarks that the pelagic fauna of the tropics gradually passes into that of the temperate zones, only a few genera being confined to the tropics, but north of latitude 40 many genera disappear. Pelagic fishes are almost unknown in the Arctic seas. The largest marine fishes all belong to the open ocean. The deep-sea fauna commences at a depth of 200 fathoms, below which sunlight is not supposed to penetrate. These fishes generally have remarkably light bones, almost free from calcareous matter. Deep-sea fishes have the mucous system remarkably developed. Many of the fish have large eyes, and several are provided, especially about the head, with phosphorescent glands. They are rapacious, and capable of swallowing prey of large size. Fishes have been dredged from a depth of 2,900 fathoms, but very few families are exclusively limited to great depths. With this survey of the structure and distribution of fishes the first part of the volume ends at page 311. Nearly the whole of the remainder, to page 696, consists of an admirable account of the families and chief representative genera of fishes, which are defined with scientific exactness, and often illustrated with admirable woodcuts. This part of the work is not altogether technical, for information concerning the habits, uses, distribution, or structure of the fishes described is frequently introduced. No distinction is made between the recent and fossil forms, and in their proper places in this great sequence of fish life the extinct genera and families are referred to and sometimes described and figured, so that they help to fill in gaps in the living series. One very excellent feature of the work, which might perhaps be somewhat extended with advantage in the next edition, especially in this portion of the volume, is the references given to authorities, especially such as introduce the reader to the best available figures. In classification, as was to be expected, Dr. Günther follows essentially the scheme elaborated in his "Catalogue of the Fishes in the British Museum," with the modifications subsequently made in his paper on *Ceratodus*. The chief novelty for the general reader in this is the introduction of the sub-class *Palaichthyses*, which it is said stand to the Teleostei, or bony fishes, in the same relation that marsupials stand to ordinary mammals. They precede the Teleostian fishes in time, and are divided into two orders—the *Chondropterygii*, often called the *Elasmobrancha*, comprising sharks, rays, and chimæras; and secondly the *Ganoidei*, which includes

eight divisions, all extinct, with the exception of the mud fishes, sturgeons, the *Polypterus* group, and certain of the allies of *Lepidosteus*. The volume concludes with an appendix giving directions for collecting and preserving fishes. There is a full index. Where there is so much to praise, two points upon which improvements could, be obviously made are—first in giving more attention to the economic importance of fishes and their diseases, by which the sympathies of a large body of educated readers would be assured; and in the less important matter of having the volume read so as to replace the present construction of the sentences by the accepted English forms.

Mr. Swinton is an entomologist who has written a book² which, though published by subscription, may, on account of its title, arrest some amount of attention. In many respects it is a peculiar book: it opens with seven plates in addition to the frontispiece. These are mostly designed to show points of structure, but some of the explanations are curious. Thus, in the first plate, figure 8 shows the way in which the male *Trichoptera* choose their partners when dancing over the surface of the water; figure 6 illustrates the courtship of two flies on a Crowsfoot. On plate iii., figure 5, "*Cicada plebeia* is shown singing on an acacia spray at the foot of the *Superga* hills near Turin. Motion of the abdomen indicated by a blur sketch from nature, with the Alps in the background." The book commences with an introduction, chiefly written to record how the author became an entomologist, and was attracted to study the stridulating organs of insects. The first chapter deals with the senses of insects in a diffuse sort of way, and of the modes in which they are expressed by secretions and contractions. Appended to the chapter is a tabular account of the secretions of various insects and larvæ. The second chapter gives a full account of the dances which various insects perform, and the author believes that this, like the ærial display of the charms of insects, originates in love and rivalry. He observes that the males of some *Neuroptera* dance till joined by the females, when they pair. To this chapter is appended a list of luminous insects. The third and fourth chapters deal with instrumental music considered as a material aid in reproduction and distribution. By instrumental music the author understands stridulation. These organs are common to both sexes in beetles, butterflies and moths, but are generally characteristic of the males in the *Orthoptera*. The musical organ exists in four orders of insects. In most *Orthoptera* it admits of modulation, so that the noise, though varied, is often deafening. A detailed account of stridulation in the various groups of insects, partly from the author's observation, but largely from previous writers, is given, and to these chapters is appended a table of the insects that stridulate, giving an

² "Insect Variety: its Propagation and Distribution. Treating of the Odours, Dances, Colours, and Music in all Grasshoppers, Cicadae, and Moths; Beetles, Leaf-Insects, Bees, and Butterflies; Bugs, Flies, and Ephemerae; and exhibiting the Bearing of the Science of Entomology on Geology." By A. H. Swinton. London and New York: Cassell, Petter, Galpin & Co.

account of the positions of the organs by which the sounds are produced. Then follows a chapter on wing-beating and vocal music, considered as an agent in reproduction and distribution, and here the author deals chiefly with the music of flies, bees, and cicadæ. The sixth chapter gives a detailed account of the organ of hearing in insects, while the volume concludes with a diffuse chapter, professedly treating of migration as inducing variety, but discussing many points in the history of the earth as well as in the lives of insects. An appendix gives the dates of the most remarkable great migrations of insects which have been recorded. This volume is essentially crude, but the author has a habit of observation and a faculty of narration which will probably enable him to turn out better literary work in the future.

A new volume by Mr. Darwin,³ assisted by his son, Francis Darwin, on the power of movement in plants, is an interesting botanical research, such as would probably, in the case of any other writer, have been issued in the Transactions of one of the learned societies. It is well known that many plants exhibit a rotary movement, which Mr. Darwin terms circumnutation, and to this phenomenon and its varieties the volume is devoted. These movements describe generally irregular ovals, which have their longer axes directed successively to different points of the compass. While describing these figures the apex of the plant often travels in a zigzag line. This movement is a consequence of an inflated condition of the cells, which causes a bending of the plant, which is usually accompanied by growth. In many plants there is a sudden jerk forward from a length of a two-thousandth to a thousandth of an inch. The part then slowly retreats to a portion of this distance, because the tissues are elastic; but soon jerks forward again. The turgescence of the cells takes place under the influence of light. The roots of a plant also descend down into the earth in a spiral direction under the influence of gravity. The growing root of a seedling bean can displace a weight of some pounds. The power of movement in the root enables it to penetrate the earth in the direction of least resistance. The roots are deflected towards moisture, and generally bend away from light. After the radicle is developed the stem or epicotyl breaks out. Many of the organs of plants are arched even before they break through the ground, and at the same time the circumnutation aids the organs in bursting through the ground. In many seedlings the upper part of the radicle contracts so as to drag the cotyledons down into the ground, and this burying process is believed to protect the young plants against the frosts of winter. In an acacia tree every leaflet, sub-petiole, and petiole is constantly describing small ellipses. The leaves generally move up and down, the flower peduncles circumnutate, and this movement has continued since the time when the tree first commenced to grow. Climbing plants at first circumnutate like other plants, but after a

³ "The Power of Movement in Plants." By Charles Darwin, LL.D., F.R.S. Assisted by Francis Darwin. London: John Murray. 1880.

time the movement increases in amount and extends more equally in every direction round the plant. The sleep of leaves, which results from the influence of light and darkness, is another illustration of circumnutating movements. In some plants the leaves sleep, but the cotyledons do not. In other plants the reverse condition obtains, and in some others both sleep at night. These movements protect the leaves, since they suffer less from cold at night than when compelled to remain horizontal. The movements of leaves are, however, somewhat dependent on moisture, for Mr. Darwin mentions the case of a porlieria which remained closed all day, as if asleep, when the plant was dry, as though endeavouring to check evaporation. Light coming in a lateral direction causes the plant thus illuminated to bend towards the light, but too much light is capable of injuring the leaves of some plants, and they twist so as to present their edges to the sun. Finally, Mr. Darwin compares these movements of plants to the unconscious movements of the lower animals. A very small stimulus produces an effect. The most sensitive part of the plant is the tip of the radicle, which transmits the influences it experiences to the other parts of the organism. The bulk of the volume is occupied with the description of the movements of numerous plants, and these movements are illustrated by a large number of diagrams. The work is a remarkable contribution to knowledge, but it may be doubted whether the importance of these movements is great in bringing about the evolution of either plant form or organization.

Mr. Messer has written an elementary introduction to Systematic Botany* which differs from its predecessors in mode of arrangement both of the text and illustrations. First, after a short introduction, comes the glossary, in which, however, the derivations of words are not given. Then a Table of symbolical illustrations, giving the explanations of minute figures which are to be used throughout the text, and opposite to this is a list of the natural orders of British plants. Then in a few pages the characters of exogens, endogens and acrogens are contrasted; the left page being given up to figures, while the right-hand page gives in few words the characters of the several orders which the figures are meant to define, and the names of the families of plants by which the Order is represented or familiarly known; the one page showing the student what has to be seen, the opposite page putting these characters into words. The figures are necessarily very small, and have a certain rudeness in consequence; but the analysis appears to be well made, and likely to be of great practical utility to young students who find botanical terms hard, or who fail, in the absence of a teacher, to appreciate the meaning of botanical definitions. At p. 124 is a chart showing the number of species in each of the British Orders; following this is a catalogue of British plants; then an

* "A New and Easy Method of Studying British Wild Flowers by Natural Analysis; being a Complete Series of Illustrations of their Natural Orders and Genera." Analytically arranged by Frederick A. Messer. London; David Bogue. 1880.

index to the Orders and Genera, and finally an Index to the common English names of plants.

Under the title "The Poëtry of Astronomy," Mr. Proctor has gathered up another volume of literary contributions which have been for the most part already printed in the *Cornhill Magazine*, *Belgravia*, and *Contemporary Review*. The titles of the papers are as striking as in earlier volumes, and like former work of a similar kind these essays give a clear as well as interesting summary of many subjects concerning which public interest has been aroused by recent research or discovery. The first article is entitled "The Age of the Earth and Sun." Here, after drawing attention to the immense duration of time, indicated by the succession of geological deposits, it proceeds to follow Mr. Croll in estimating the period for which the earth has experienced the sun's heat. While Mr. Croll assigns to the earth an antiquity of ninety millions of years, Sir W. Thomson maintains that the sun has probably been shining for from twenty to four hundred millions of years. Then follows a chapter entitled "The Sun in his Glory," written to give an account of the results obtained by the Eclipse Expeditions. Next succeeds the title "When the Sea was Young," in which the mode of origin of seas when the earth was in a heated state is considered, and evidence is adduced that Jupiter is probably in process of condensing the vapour in its atmosphere into water. Mr. Proctor estimates that if all the water in the sea on our earth were evaporated, a deposit of salt would be left on its floor having an average depth of three hundred and fifty feet, which would be enough to cover the whole of the existing land to a depth of a thousand feet. An article entitled "Is the Moon Dead?" is chiefly designed to show that there must have been a period in its history when it was suitable for habitation, and that the seas and atmosphere have disappeared into the interior in chemical combinations. Next follows an account of the Moon's Small Craters, and an article on "The New Crater in the Moon," discovered by Dr. Klein. In this a discussion is given of the crater called Linnæus, which in 1866 appears to have been partially filled up; and then the new crater, about nine miles in diameter, situate near Hyginus in the Sea of Vapours, is described. Till the moon is nearly six days old this crater is in darkness, and when it is nine days old hardly any of it can be detected, so that it is visible for those days at the first quarter and for the same time at the third quarter. Mr. Proctor adduces evidence from photographs to show that the crater existed at least as far back as 1865, though it had not been recorded by observers. Articles follow on "A Fiery World," "The Planet of War," "Living in Dread and Terror," which gives an account of the satellites of Mars. An article on "A Ring of Worlds" deals with the asteroids. Under the title "Earth-born Meteorites," it is suggested that every world has its eruptive stage, in which it throws beyond the power of its attraction

"The Poetry of Astronomy. A Series of Familiar Essays on the Heavenly Bodies regarded less in their strictly Scientific Aspect than as Suggesting Thoughts respecting Infinities of Time and Space, of Variety, of Vitality, and of Development." By Richard A. Proctor. London: Smith, Elder & Co. 1881.

the meteors and meteorites which afterwards fall on its surface. The concluding chapter is termed "The Architecture of the Heavens," which gives an account of Herschel's and other researches on the modes in which the masses of stars in the heavens are arranged. This volume has a higher character than most of the collections of essays which the author has already made, and gives a valuable summary, not only of important advances in astronomical knowledge which have been made in recent years, but of the cognate subjects which become invested by those discoveries with new interest and importance.

"A Simple Treatise on Heat"⁶ (Mr. Mattieu Williams) is a small book which explains in a clear way, without touching the higher theoretical questions, the chief facts of the science of heat. It is well suited either for young students or for general reading. The work is divided into twenty-one chapters, which follow the usual treatment of the subject. First, the instruments for measuring heat are explained; then the manifestations of heat by friction, condensation, combustion, conduction, convection, reflection, and radiation; the effects of heat on gases, liquids, and solids; while the last two chapters treat of dissociation and specific heat. The subject is treated in an interesting way, the illustrations given are always intelligible, and the text is considerably helped by the figures and tables which it includes.

In his preface the author of "The Power of Sound"⁷ states that his purpose has been to examine the general elements of musical structure, and the nature, sources, and varieties of musical effect in such a way as may be followed by those without special technical knowledge, and thus to show relations of music to our faculties, feelings, arts, and social fabric. A good deal of the substance of the book has appeared in the current monthly publications. It is a somewhat ponderous performance both in size and style, and were it not illuminated with numerous quotations of passages of music in illustration of the arguments, might be considered somewhat heavy reading. It is divided into twenty-three chapters, and we can scarcely give a better idea of the scope of the work than is conveyed in some of their titles, such as "The Organs and Impressions of the Higher Senses;" "Unformed Sound," which deals chiefly with the qualities of sounds and the impressions they produce; "The Elements of a Work of Art;" "Abstract Form, as Addressed to the Eye and the Ear;" "Association, the Factors of Melodic Form;" "The Relations of Reason and Order to Beauty," "Two Ways of Hearing Music;" "Music as Impressive and Expressive;" "Music as Suggestive of External Objects and Ideas," and in relation to Intellect and Morality, and in relation to the Public. There are also chapters on Song, Opera, Musical Criticism, and three appendices on Pleasure and Pain, on Rhythm, and on Discord. It will thus be seen that the treatise goes far beyond the ordinary treatment of music,

⁶ "A Simple Treatise on Heat." By W. Mattieu Williams, F.R.A.S., F.C.S. With Twenty-six Illustrations. London: Chatto & Windus. 1880.

⁷ "The Power of Sound." By Edmund Gurney, late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. London: Smith, Elder & Co. 1880.

and the author aspires to analyze and explain the processes by which the sense of pleasure is conveyed to us by musical compositions. This psychological treatment necessarily requires for its examination a far more extended notice than is possible in this place, and we can only say that the work is elaborated with great care. But it seems to us that the author has rather written out the processes of thought in his own mind by which such questions may be examined, than striven to attain results of practical utility which would be capable of refining or enhancing the musical taste of the people, and on this account his work will probably appeal to a small audience, and give the impression of extending to too great a length.

A new edition has reached us of Mr. Proctor's "*Myths and Marvels of Astronomy.*"⁸ This work was noticed in *THE WESTMINSTER REVIEW*, No. CV., January, 1878; and as it does not appear to have undergone any important modification, we can only refer to the words of praise which were then used.

The Report of the Department of Mines, New South Wales, for 1879,⁹ shows that the total value of all the minerals raised in the colony during that year was £2,085,456, which is a decrease of £80,556 on the previous year. The falling-off is chiefly in copper and gold, while there is an increase in coal, iron, and silver. The falling-off in the yield of gold is not attributed to exhaustion, since the colony contains 22,000,000 acres of auriferous land, which are worked by from 5,000 to 8,000 gold miners. The richest gold mines at the present day are Adelong, Hill End, and Copeland. Nearly the whole of the gold found passes through the Sydney Mint. Silver is chiefly worked at Boorook, but the yield varies from one ounce to 522 ounces per ton. The Report, as usual, consists largely of detailed reports on the several mines and mining districts. In the report of the Geological Surveyor a few fossils are figured, the most interesting of which is an immense incisor tooth of *Diprotodon Australis*. With the report is a separate atlas of sections and map of the gold mines in the Hill End and Tambaroora districts.

"The Atomic Theory" of Professor Wurtz is now so well known that it is only necessary to draw attention to the fact that it is well translated by Mr. Cleminshaw, and published as a volume of the International Scientific Series.¹⁰ The work is divided into two parts—Book I. on Atoms, and Book II. on Atomicity. It is a work dealing with views which are to chemical compounds what the theory of evolution is to organic structures and organisms, and, as expounded by the author, possesses an irresistible charm, more fascinating than almost any story that could be written; for it is, in the first place, a history

⁸ "*Myths and Marvels of Astronomy.*" By Richard A. Proctor. A New Edition. London: Chatto & Windus. 1880.

⁹ "*Mines and Mineral Statistics. Annual Report of the Department of Mines, New South Wales, for the Year 1879.*" Maps to accompany Annual Report. Sydney: Thomas Richards, Government Printer. 1880.

¹⁰ "*The Atomic Theory.*" By Ad. Wurtz. Translated by E. Cleminshaw, M.A., F.C.S., F.I.C. London: Kegan Paul & Co. 1880.

of the growth of the ideas which gradually became built up with the foundations of chemical science; and, in the second place, it is an exposition of the philosophy of evolution of chemical compounds. Although there is but little in the book which is not now generally taught in this country, it is a work eminently calculated to raise the standard of chemical conceptions in the minds of students who do not usually carry their work far enough to appreciate research, and it will graft on to the general culture of educated persons a noble conception of chemical philosophy and work.

Dr. William Aitkin's "Science and Practice of Medicine"¹¹ has long enjoyed a well-deserved popularity amongst students and practitioners, and the new edition will be hailed with satisfaction. In the interval which has elapsed since the last one appeared an immense amount of scientific work has been done, and it has been necessary to remodel, and even rewrite, many parts of the book. The sections which treat of diseases of the brain and nervous system are indeed almost entirely new, and many alterations are to be found under other headings; but with all these changes the volumes still preserve their individuality, and will rank, as formerly, with the best treatises on the subject in the English language. A distinctive feature about Dr. Aitkin is his management of authorities, which contrasts pleasantly with what is to be found in many other writers. Instead of assimilating to himself all the medical authorities whose writings have been consulted, and giving the general results in his own words, the author intersperses his text with numerous quotations, which are reproduced *verbatim*, and so vary the monotony which would be otherwise inseparable from 2,000 pages of hard science. Another matter of great importance, and which is often neglected entirely in modern text-books, is the question of treatment. Therapeutic scepticism is a great deal too prevalent. There are many physicians who consider that their functions end at diagnosis, and that the proper *treatment* of disease consists in watching its progress; but Dr. Aitkin does not belong to this class. Throughout the two volumes which compose the work, a large space is devoted to the means of *curing*, and the selection of medical and hygienic prescriptions is most judicious. To analyze in detail this treatise of medicine would far exceed the limits of the present notice, and it must therefore suffice to indicate a few of the more attractive sections. Passing over Part I. and II. of the first volume, which deal with general pathology and nosology, we come to the chapters which treat of specific diseases. The classification of these affections necessitates a definition of *specificity*, and this brings us at once to one of the most interesting but unsettled problems in the province of biology. To take enteric or typhoid fever as a type of specific diseases, opinions as to its causation may be arranged under two great theories—that which allows that it may be begotten of any kind of filth (pythogenic), and that which maintains, on the con-

¹¹ "The Science and Practice of Medicine." By William Aitkin, M.D., F.R.S. London: Charles Griffin & Co. 1880.

trary, that it can only follow the introduction into the organism of a particular *contagium vivum* derived from a subject of the same disease. The weight of evidence given is decidedly in favour of the latter hypothesis, and this is also the one accepted by the vast majority of medical practitioners. It is difficult, of course, to explain the different variations in the intensities of epidemics by the *contagium vivum*, but for the matter of that the *de novo* supposition is not more satisfactory. Experiments made by Pasteur, quite recently, on the development of recognizable organisms, show, however, that time and oxidation play an important part in the determination of their virulence; and it is highly probable that the minute and often ultra-microscopic contagious bioplast (described by Beale) is also subject to the same influences. The second volume begins with the diseases of the nervous system, and these occupy very nearly 500 pages, which give a better *resumé* of the present state of neurological science than any monograph we have yet seen. The chapters on pathology are preceded by an account of the most recent discoveries in nervous physiology and anatomy, a knowledge of which is indispensable even for the comprehension of current nomenclature, and a number of new figures and diagrams are inserted to illustrate the letterpress. Much has been written during the last few years on some of the more uncommon manifestations of hysteria and their treatment by a method which is indifferently known as Burgism, or Metallo-therapy. Every human being is supposed by the author of this method to have a certain metallic idiosyncrasy—that is, to be susceptible to the action of some particular metal—and the metal in question is said to be revealed by its action on the skin. Once ascertained, the internal administration of its salts should cure the individual when the subject of disease. These statements were at first received with incredulity, and the more so inasmuch as the method was asserted to cure such diseases as cholera; but they ultimately attracted the attention of a Paris society, and a commission was appointed to ascertain their value. Unfortunately, the members of this commission elected to experiment on a number of hysterical women, and, as constantly happens under such circumstances, they were mystified by their patients. It is one of the lessons of experience that “men of science are often, or even usually, on account of the grand simplicity of the scientific intellect, the worst possible investigators in such cases—their tendency being to overlook tricks worthy of a schoolboy, to assume the authenticity of the phenomena, and to explain them by some scientific hypothesis” (Brudenell Carter). Another fruitful source of fallacy, which never seems to have suggested itself to any one concerned in the inquiry, is the effect of attention on bodily organs; and it is this explanation of the phenomena that Dr. Aitkin adopts.

“This potent source of fallacy (he says) has been quite ignored in the clinical experiments and observations of Professor Charcot and others, on the effect of magnetics, bobbins, buttons, mustard-leaves, and metals, on hystero-epileptic patients. The same phenomena of hystero-epileptics have recurred in successions of epidemics, from the dancing mania of the Middle Ages to the outburst

initiated by Mesmer in Paris before the French Revolution, which has been since that time known as 'Mesmerism.' The varied phenomena of this condition are all traceable to that morbid excitability of the nervous system which is the special characteristic of the hysterical temperament, though by no means limited to the female sex. . . . The influence of 'expectancy' is all-powerful in the production of the hystero-epileptic phenomena. . . . Once a system of experimentation established, the sense of 'expectancy' becomes so keen that every indication afforded by tone or manner, as well as inferences drawn from words or acts, acquire an extraordinary significance, which makes it difficult to exclude the influence. . . . "Practice makes perfect" is an ancient and true adage, and one of Professor Charcot's patients had a residence of over thirty years in hospital."

The theatrical character given to her demonstrations must have been a great temptation for acting an exaggerated part. Such deception may be unconscious, but it undoubtedly exists, and it is needless to seek any further for an explanation of the mechanism of metallic cures. The sections in which Dr. Aitkin describes some of the more recently determined affections of the nervous centres are short, but in the main succinct, and they include a few pages on Athetosis, Spastic Paralysis, and Disseminated Sclerosis. The nature of secondary trophic lesions is also discussed, and a short paragraph is devoted to ascending, descending, and collateral degenerations. These are followed by chapters on diseases of the different thoracic and abdominal viscera, cutaneous affections, and some chronic intoxications; and the work is completed by an excellent essay upon medical geography.

Dr. Robert Saundby has undertaken the task of translating Ewald's "Lectures on Digestion,"¹³ which were originally delivered at the University of Berlin to practitioners and advanced students. As the author says in his preface, "the physiology of digestion in the last few years has presented us with an abundance of new facts which have hitherto received no general description," and the want of some *resumé* of the present state of science in this respect has long been felt. In the first two lectures are discussed, from a general point of view, the rôle of ferments; and here it may be noted that the part they take, not only in digestion, but also in the *combustion processes* of the organism, is fully recognized. At the very entrance of the subject two great questions are raised which it is not possible at present to solve, although the weight of evidence is in favour of certain conclusions. These questions are—the dependence of some fermentations on the presence of organized bodies, and the bearing upon fermentations of the theory of spontaneous generation. As regards spontaneous generation itself, Dr. Ewald looks upon Pasteur's experiments as deciding, once for all, the doctrine of *generatio equivoca*, and with that the question of the spontaneous appearance of organized ferments. The succeeding chapters are devoted to the digestive properties of the different secretions which act upon food in its passage through the

¹³ "Lectures on Digestion, an Introduction to the Clinical Study of Disease of the Digestive Organs." By Dr. C. A. Ewald. Translated by Robert Saundby, M.D. London: Williams & Norgate. 1880.

intestinal canal. Passing over the saliva, and the action of the ptyalin, we come at once to the gastric juice, and here we find that there is no longer any difference of opinion as to the nature of the acid concerned in stomach digestion. Formerly it was a hotly debated point whether this was lactic or hydrochloric; and according to some experiments made last year in Paris it would have appeared that both played their part. But Charles Richet's analyses, made some years before, on a man with a gastric fistula, seem to have been accepted in Germany as final, proving conclusively that the mineral acid only is a necessary constituent of the stomach secretion. It had always been a matter of difficulty for physiologists to explain how an acid liquid could be separated by the gastric glands from an alkaline blood, and the vital hypotheses formerly current were all of them more or less unsatisfactory. A chemical reason discovered by M. Maly is now offered instead, and as the process can be demonstrated, at any rate outside the stomach, there is no doubt that the same may occur within. "There are fluids," says Dr. Ewald, "of alkaline reaction which may contain two acid and alkaline mutually inoffensive salts, but still have an alkaline reaction, because the acid reaction is to a certain extent eclipsed; for instance, a solution of neutral phosphate of soda and acid phosphate of the same base, is alkaline. Such a solution placed in a dialyser after a short time gives up its acid salt to the surrounding distilled water, and one has in the dialyser an alkaline fluid, outside an acid fluid." The other secretions, concerned in digestion, although we have no space to notice them further, are treated at considerable length, and the sections on the pancreas, and its derivatives, trypsin and zymogen, is more especially well worthy of study. The lectures are brought to a close by a chapter on the dietetic value of different kinds of food, with a few considerations on the proper times for taking it.

Passing from the science of digestion to the art of eating, we have now to deal with a little volume by Sir Henry Thompson,¹³ written more especially for the instruction of the general public. As regards the dietetic principles laid down by the author for the guidance of the poorer classes, there is little to be said, for although they are strictly in accordance with the teachings of physiology, it is not likely that they will ever be followed. In spite of their baneful effects, the British workman will probably continue to consume beer and spirits as long as brewers and distillers carry on their iniquitous calling, and notwithstanding the wastefulness of meat as compared with a vegetable diet, the opinion which attributes an Englishman's superiority to his consumption of roast-beef will remain an ineradicable tradition until the end of time. Although much useful information and numerous invaluable recipes are scattered throughout the whole of these pages, the interest is centred in the chapters which treat of the art of dining. Extensive travel, and a large experience of continental cooking, have

¹³ "Food and Feeding." By Sir Henry Thompson, F.R.C.S. London: F. W. & Co.

made Sir Henry Thompson a master in gastronomy; but, like all professors, he imports a personal element into the exposition of his subject, which takes the form of a strong partiality for French dishes. An exception is made in favour of the English management of game and beef and mutton, which were formerly misunderstood by the French *chêf*; but even here the latest idea of perfection has been conceived in Paris. "I have recently seen served there," says Sir Henry Thompson, "a fine wild duck lightly roasted, served without an atom of sauce, only with abundance of hot rich gravy, expressed on the table before us by machine, from all that remained of the bird, when the breast had been fully sliced on the hot plates of the two guests who partook of it. This is precisely our own view of what is best, but admirably realized." And further on the author wishes to be considered as an apostle of true temperance. An important question in the world of *gourmandise* (we have it on high authority that the word is untranslatable) is that of the precedence of "remove" or *entrêe*. The *menus* to be found in this volume place the former first, and they are so constructed that this order shall secure an harmonious dinner; but, as it is shown, a good deal must depend upon the nature of the dishes, which should never succeed one another in the same tone. When such a mistake is made, the "dinner" becomes reduced to a common "meal." "It then offers no change in form or kind or flavour, and no slight interval of rest for the palate. It is a single movement, not the symphony—an 'andante' in common time, without the bright and sparkling 'minuet' to follow, which in its turn leads to the 'grand finale;' while this in its course may present a plaintive minor passage, which gives force and splendour to the resumption of the major key before the close." It is probable that some will be unable to appreciate these artistic flights, but this should not deter any one from reading the book. Besides the æsthetics of eating, which Brillat-Savarin affirms to be within the comprehension only of the predestinate few, the reader will meet with many practical hints that are not to be found in any other volume.

As a Chronology of Medicine the work now before us¹⁴ is more than imperfect; but setting aside the pretensions of a mischosen title, and taking Mr. Richards' production for what it really is—a compilation of medical curiosities—much in it will be found that is both instructive and entertaining. The first two sections, devoted to the consideration of the origin of medicine in Assyria and Phœnicia, are disposed of in two pages, which are more remarkable for the ornamental initial letters at the beginning of each paragraph, and for the *cyls-de-lampe* which are placed above and below the text, than for any information which is to be found in it. The following chapters give a brief account of the state of medicine amongst the Egyptians, Jews, Hindoos, Chinese, Greeks, Romans, and Arabians at successive periods of the world's history, which, condensed as it is into fifty or sixty pages of very large

¹⁴ "A Chronology of Medicine, Ancient, Mediæval and Modern." Edited by John Morgan Richards. London: Baillière, Tindall & Cox.

type, is necessarily little more than an abridged list of names; with a hasty glance at the progress of the art. A short notice of Saxon Leechdom, and of the association in the Dark Ages of medicine with astrology, terminates the first portion of the work. The second part, entitled "Modern Medicine," is chiefly interesting for the extracts referring to Physicians, Surgeons, and Apothecaries, which have been taken from the State Papers published under the direction of the Master of the Rolls. These documents relate to the whole of the sixteenth and to the first half of the seventeenth century, and they contain an account of the efforts, ultimately crowned with success, made by corporations and practitioners of the time to obtain legal recognition and status. Although the author does not appear to have unearthed any facts which had previously escaped the attention of searchers, he has certainly done useful work in bringing together these records for the first time. From an examination of the different entries, James I. would appear to have been a great friend to the doctors. In 1605, two years after his accession to the throne, we find that he grants a new charter and confirmation of their ancient lands and liberties to the Company of Barbers and Surgeons. It is decreed, moreover, that no butcher or tailor shall embalm dead bodies, "but only chirurgeons." In 1611 the King grants a patent for the separation of the grocers from the apothecaries, and, in reply to petitions from the former, he explains to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London that he passed the patent to the Apothecaries' Company from his own judgment, for the health of his people, knowing that grocers are not competent judges of the practice of medicine. In 1822 there is the mention of a letter to the Lord Mayor of London to aid the College of Physicians to reform and suppress unlearned practitioners in the city and within seven miles of it, a service which the college had earned a few years before by giving the author of "A Counterblast to Tobacco" a certificate of the unwholesomeness of the Virginian weed. The most valuable part of this Chronology is perhaps that which refers to the life of Linacre, whose name is frequently to be found in the State Papers, coupled with those of his most eminent contemporaries. Erasmus would seem to have been a great admirer of the English physician. In 1516 he writes to ask Linacre to send him some of the same medicine which he prescribed for him when last in London, and shortly after he urges him not to delay the publication of his works. In 1518 Linacre is mainly instrumental in founding the College of Physicians, and obtaining the exclusive right of practice for its members. Six years later he founds the lectureships which bear his name at Oxford and Cambridge, and dies the following week at the age of sixty-four. Other "men who have advanced medicine" are mentioned more or less briefly, and a short chapter is devoted to Lady Mary Wortley Montague, and her claims to the gratitude of the profession. The author terminates with a few lines on the medicine of the future, which will progress "until the nature and cause of every disease is known and cured found."

As medical officer of a large public school, Mr. Alder Smith has had unrivalled opportunity for studying the Pathology of Ring-

worm.¹⁵ He has observed that the natural method of cure of this troublesome affection, in its inflammatory form, consists in the production of what is technically called a *Kerion*, and when this can be excited artificially, speedy relief follows, even in the most obstinate cases. Mr. Smith's views are deserving of attention, and his book may be consulted with profit by those in charge of children.

This is one of the series of "Health Primers,"¹⁶ published by a committee of eminent physicians for the guidance of the public. It seems well adapted for this purpose.

We have also received the Annual Report of the Supervising Surgeon-General of the Marine Hospital of the United States, which contains a large amount of statistical information about this department. It emanates from the Treasury of Washington.

A new book on Mental Diseases has just appeared,¹⁷ or rather the first instalment of the lectures on Insanity which Professor B. Ball had long promised to give the public. These pages are the almost textual reproduction of the lectures delivered by the celebrated Professor to a numerous and appreciative audience. The fascicule now lying before us contains eight lectures, the most remarkable of which are the opening one upon the history of Psychological Medicine, the sixth upon the Physical Condition of Lunatics, and the seventh upon the Morbid Anatomy of Insanity. The book being especially intended for students, is not an exhaustive one; but the philosophical tone of the whole work, the clearness of style, and the impressive manner in which information is conveyed, will certainly make it a most valuable addition to our medical literature, in a branch which, it must be confessed, does not at present number a great many *chefs d'œuvre*.

Professor Paul Bert, one of the leading French politicians of the day, and one of the most enthusiastic promoters of public instruction, presents us with "Lectures on Zoology,"¹⁸ which he delivered before an audience of young ladies. These lectures, it must be said, savour infinitely more of Anatomy and Physiology than of the science generally known by the name of Zoology. Beyond a very short review of the general principles of classification, scarcely a single line of the book is devoted to the enumeration and description of *genera* and *species*, and the bulk of these lectures is consecrated to the history of the various organs of the living body and their functions, with a few digressions into the domain of Pathology. The discrepancy between the title and the subject-matter of the book is, however, the only point which calls for criticism. In all other respects, the fluency of style, the abundance of illustrations, and the familiar tone in which these lectures are written, render them eminently adapted to convey a large amount of useful and interesting information to the youthful readers for whom they are prepared.

¹⁵ "Ringworm: its Diagnosis and Treatment." By Alder Smith, M.B., F.R.C.S. London: H. K. Lewis.

¹⁶ "The Heart and its Functions." London: David Bogue.

¹⁷ "Leçons sur les Maladies Mentales." Par B. Ball, Professeur à la Faculté de Médecine de Paris. Asselin. 1881.

¹⁸ "Leçons de Zoologie professées à la Sorbonne." Par M. Paul Bert, Député, &c. Paris: G. Masson. 1881.

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

WE are not surprised at the success Mr. McCarthy's work¹ has obtained. There are several fashions of writing history. There is the compiling method, so loved by the German student, which consists in collecting multitudinous facts and heaping them together in one confused mass, useless for all literary purposes until clearly arranged by the constructive mind. There is the philosophical method, which takes little heed of mere events, but confines its attentions to those results which enlighten the condition of nations and advance the progress of civilization. There is the party method, which turns history into a political pamphlet; the constitutional method, which interprets the chronicles of a country solely through the pages of its statute-book; the clerical method, which attributes all national progress to the guidance and interference of the Church; and there is the narrative method, which deals with events and characters as with a story, fond of vivid illustrations, smart conclusions, and anxious chiefly that the style be brilliant and dulness avoided. These volumes of Mr. McCarthy belong unmistakably to the last class. They are written throughout with the clever swing and rhythm of the practised hand; the events recorded are marshalled together in systematic order, then introduced, discussed, and dismissed without the easy flow of the narrative ever being disturbed or interrupted. The different characters, as they appear on the stage, are made, by one who evidently knows human nature well, to represent real living beings inspired by motives and practical ends, and not the empty lay figures to which we are so often introduced; whilst the whole of the work is set off by happy epigrams and apt allusions. In this history there is no attempt at extraordinary research or the discovery of new matter; the author has contented himself with consulting the ordinary works of reference which lie ready to hand; yet, thanks to a brilliant pen, a clear intelligence, and a sound judgment, he has written a book which will be read by all and which will live. The volumes open with the outrage on the schooner *Arrow* by the Chinese, in Canton river, in the year 1856, and conclude with the fall of the Beaconsfield Cabinet. From 1856 to 1880 is an interval of no little importance in our country's history, and one well deserving the attention of the picturesque chronicler. During those twenty-four years we can conjure up before our minds, as in a panorama, visions of a Commissioner Yeh and the Chinese war that followed his arbitrary proceedings; of the opposition to greased cartridges and the awful mutiny of our Indian army; of the rise and fall of the Second Empire; of the progress of toleration in our Parliamentary institutions; of communication with the United States by that great achievement the Atlantic telegraph; of wars and annexations and treaties; of prosperity

¹"A History of Our Own Times." By Justin McCarthy, M.P. Vols. iii. and iv. Chatto & Windus.

and adversity, and of the havoc made by death. Upon all these facts does our author pleasantly discourse. Himself a practical politician and a representative of advanced Liberalism, he views the events he has to describe not only from the literary stand-point but also from that of the statesman and the legislator. He is in the main impartial in the telling of his story. He can see good in a Tory, whilst he is not blind to the faults of a Liberal. He aims at being tolerant, judicial and philosophical. No one will rise from his pages without feeling that the author has discussed the whole of the evidence brought before him, and has dealt with both sides of the question. We may not always agree with his conclusions, but we feel sure that he has treated his opponents with courtesy, and that they have not been wilfully misrepresented. Mr. McCarthy has written a book to be read and to be studied.

We have only to read these able and interesting volumes on Japan² by Sir Edward Reed to see for ourselves that, of all the kingdoms in the East, Japan is amongst the most prosperous. Already it has made immense strides towards the civilization of the West. It has suppressed feudalism, and in its stead has substituted constitutional government; it has established universal education, its interior is well supplied with factories and railways, it has a regular army, a well-organized police, and it is building ironclads. Yet its progress is slow and sure, and not rapid and unstable. "I cannot help thinking," writes Sir Edward Reed, "that by thus cautiously but steadily advancing along the approved path of political progress, the Emperor and the existing Government of Japan are ensuring a better fortune for their country than would be at all likely to result from a less gradual mode of proceeding." It is seldom that we find in a work of travels such an amount of out-of-the-way erudition and keen reflections as is to be met with in these two handsome volumes. The whole history of Japan, its manners and customs, are treated in a very exhaustive fashion. The first volume, manifestly a compilation, is taken up entirely with descriptions of the religion, the language and literature of Japan, and it is not until we come to the second volume that we read the impressions of the author on Japanese life and scenery. Sir Edward is a keen observer of men and things. His pages, though a little heavy, abound in information, and, admitted as he was into the best society of the country, he has much to tell us which cannot be found elsewhere. His volumes, read in conjunction with the pleasant work of Miss Bird upon the same subject, will offer to the inquirer interested in Japan a knowledge of the country and its customs as complete as it is accurate.

The series of "English Men of Letters" would certainly not be perfect if the life and work of our most characteristic philosopher were omitted.³ Locke was the first of modern writers to attempt at once

² "Japan: its History, Traditions and Religion." By Sir Edward J. Reed, M.P. Two volumes. Murray.

³ "English Men of Letters. Locke." By Professor Fowler. Macmillan & Co.

an independent and a complete treatment of the phenomena of the human mind, of their mutual relations, of their causes and limits. His object was, as he says, "to inquire into the origin, certainty and extent of human knowledge; together with the grounds and degrees of belief, opinion and assent." He set about his task with a perfect freedom from prejudice, and sought help and information from all quarters. The central idea which dominates his great work on the Understanding is that all our knowledge is derived from experience. Have we any ideas independent of experience? or, as Locke phrases it, "are there any innate principles in the mind?" This is the opinion which he examines and refutes, and then proceeds to inquire how the mind comes to be furnished with its knowledge. Instead of stating a series of preconceived opinions in a systematic form, Locke sets to work to examine the structure of his own mind, and to analyze into their elements the ideas which he finds there. Many of his individual doctrines could not now be defended against the attacks of hostile criticism, but still the "Essay on the Human Understanding" is a great work, and the analytical and psychological direction it gave to philosophy was followed by most of the philosophical writers of the eighteenth century. The office which Bacon assigns to himself with reference to knowledge generally might well be claimed by Locke with reference to the science of mind; both of them did far more than merely play the part of a herald, but of both alike it was emphatically true that "they rang the bell to call the other wits together." To those who have hitherto found the philosophy of Locke too abstruse or incomprehensible this scholarly little guide-book of Professor Fowler's will be of great benefit. It is lucid, and never slurs over any of the difficulties that cross its path. For undergraduates and sixth-form boys there could be no better text-book upon the subject.

Of the numerous readers of that fascinating book, "Don Quixote," there are few who know anything of the life and work of the author.⁴ Cervantes is the one great representative of Spain; he is the impersonation of the country itself—of its humours and temperament, its wisdom and follies, its genial homely wit and its high-flown sentiment. It is a curious commentary upon many of the opinions formed and expressed about Spain that this genial oracle should be the chief exponent of her life; that a country so grave, so romantic, so worn by revolution, should be represented in the world of literature by one whose most solemn utterances have always a sound of laughter in them, and whose revelations show us a people so easy, so genial, so ready to be amused, and with such a fund of rustic wisdom at the bottom. To all who wish to add to their knowledge touching Miguel de Cervantes de Saavedra—that brave, noble, penniless Castilian gentleman, whose own life is a far sadder epic than that of Don Quixote—this pleasant little work by Mrs. Oliphant will be very welcome. It is written by

⁴ "Foreign Classics for English Readers. Cervantes." By Mrs. Oliphant. Edinburgh: William Blackwood.

one who possesses the requisite scholarship, and who is in perfect sympathy with her subject.

Etienne Dolet⁵ was a child of the pure Italian Renaissance, more truly so than any other of the scholars and students whom France produced. Accused of atheism, and probably condemned and burnt for holding such opinions, his writings afford no ground for the charge. He was, no doubt, a pagan of the school of Bembo and Longolius, and with them thought the religion of Cicero more suited to the man of culture than "a system which held out for the worship or adoration of the faithful the wine of the marriage-feast of Cana, the comb of the Virgin Mary, and the shield of St. Michael the Archangel." Yet his works show us nothing inconsistent with the doctrines of the Church or disrespectful to her authority. He was no believer in the teaching of Luther or Calvin, and wished for nothing better than to be allowed to pursue his literary studies in freedom, content with this world and not troubling himself about the next. Unfortunately, he made his appearance in the world at a time when the Church was strongly of opinion that intellectual progress of every kind was altogether subversive of her authority, and Dolet found himself her victim. Had he been born in the middle of the fifteenth century, instead of at the beginning of the sixteenth, he would, instead of being enrolled as the martyr of the Renaissance, have been hailed as one of the restorers of letters in France, and probably have become an ambassador, and possibly a cardinal. The paganism of the Renaissance was the natural outcome of the condition of the Catholic Church. When religion was wholly dis severed from morality, and, so far from being treated as a rule of life, appeared to have no more connection with it than had the religion of the Romans in the days of the Empire, it is not to be wondered at that the restorers of letters, occupied with the great minds of antiquity, looked back with fondness and regret to those more human and natural, and therefore, as it seemed to them, less injurious, superstitions of paganism. The religion which recommended itself to Dolet was natural religion—a religion of duty in relation to this world only, and troubling itself not at all with the future, as being a matter of which nothing can be certainly known, and concerning which it was useless to reason or to speculate. As a scholar, a man of letters, and one whose sympathies were ever on the side of the party of reform, Etienne Dolet, the martyr of the Renaissance, well deserves that his biography should be written. In this thoughtful volume of Mr. Christie, the labour of eight years of loving study, he shows himself, by his wide reading, his judicial tone, and the temperate manner with which he treats theological questions, in every way a fitting person to perform the task he has undertaken. His book is a valuable addition to the historical literature of the day: it is written in graceful English, and throws a light upon a period which is more talked about than studied. The name of Etienne Dolet is all but unknown in this country; but it will be from no fault of Mr. Christie if this ignorance should still prevail.

⁵ "Etienne Dolet." By R. C. Christie. Macmillan & Co.

In this portly volume we have an account of the Manchus,⁶ the reigning dynasty of China, written by the same author who gave us a few years ago the history of the Corea. Mr. Ross is a missionary in China, and it is only fair to say to those who might be prejudiced against his office that he writes in a most tolerant spirit, and that we know of no other work which offers so full and exhaustive an account of the manners and history of the Chinese as the one now before us. His book is nominally a history of the rise and progress of the Manchus, but it is in reality a vivid picture of the actual condition of the Chinese people. The fashion in which a country like China is governed must command the interest and attention of every thinking man; especially when we consider the extent of its varied territory, the immense masses of its wide-spread population, the peculiar idiosyncrasies of its diverse races, and the striking differences that exist between the people of the north and of the south. No one can doubt that the continued and ever-increasing influence of the Chinese people imply principles of national conservation such as have characterized no other race, the Jews alone, perhaps, excepted. It is to the influence of thought that China owes her continuous history; she is the one nation which has always honoured mental power more than physical force, for with her the sage is more highly esteemed than the warrior. For many centuries the Chinese military officer of the same nominal rank as the civil official has always been, and still is, far below him in social standing; and the Emperor who, two centuries before Christ, endeavoured to establish a military despotism by destroying all the existing literature of China, overturned his own dynasty and left such an example of complete failure that no one has ever since attempted to upset the supreme rule of mind in China, or tried to place the military even on a level with the civil class. We are therefore not surprised to learn that the intellectual character of the Chinese is of a very high order. By birth a commercial people, their bent of mind is keenly practical; mere speculative ideas have never commanded the attention of any note-worthy men in China, for their intellectual life is as practical in its aims and teachings as is their ordinary every-day life. Printing, gunpowder, the compass, and use of coal have all been imported into Europe as discoveries from this ancient and singularly clever people. As the customs of the Chinese are but the evolution of many centuries, so is the government of the country. The government of China is the authoritative embodiment of Chinese ethical philosophy; its moral teaching makes the father absolute master in social life, whilst in politics the Emperor is the father of the people. Justice and mercy are the guides of a father's conduct; justice and mercy are to regulate every imperial act. The Chinese Government is an absolute one, but its absolutism is like that of no other absolute Government, for it is absolutism only for the well-being of the people. In this work Mr. Ross deals with a variety of subjects—the conquests of Liaosi and Mongolia, the eunuchs, the conquest of Formosa, the

rebellion of the three princes, &c.—but it is not till he reaches more modern times that the real interest of his volume is apparent. His chapters upon the Manchu Imperial Family, the Chinese Official System, the Army, Taxation, and Slavery are most valuable contributions to our literature upon foreign States. Mr. Ross gives us a few words of warning, which are deserving of quotation. "To one who knows the past history of China, her present resources, the intelligence of her people and their intense nationalism, the natural bravery of her soldiers when well led, and the mental ability of her rulers; the future of that country cannot but be matter of deep interest and solicitude. The ignorant may laugh at and treat her with contempt; but there is a day not very remote when China, if continuing free from serious internal convulsions, will astonish many. We have long inferred that China must, from her nature, assume an attitude of suspicion and defiance towards Russia; and she has long smarted under the humiliation of taxes levied on opium at the dictation and under the compulsion of the British Government. The Chinese will not always tamely submit to that degradation. If we persist in our opium policy we shall have to pay for it."

James Watson⁷ was one of the booksellers who, with many others, suffered in the first half of the century for his efforts to secure a free press. He was more than once imprisoned, but confinement failed to convince him that he was wrong, and he persevered in his efforts until the repeal of the Stamp Duty. His biography has evidently been written by a very friendly hand, but though eulogistic it is not uninteresting.

Lady Eastlake's little sketch of the life of Mrs. Grote⁸ will afford half an hour's pleasant reading, at the end of which the reader will come to the conclusion that the historian of Greece was very fortunate in finding in his wife so talented and sympathetic a woman. It needed not, however, this monograph to let the world know that Mrs. Grote was a noble-hearted generous lady, and wonderfully free from the usual narrow-minded prejudices of her sex. It strikes us that Lady Eastlake might have treated her subject more skilfully; her sketch is somewhat crude and meagre.

When a man becomes famous or notorious there are always those who wish to know little details about his past history, and we have no doubt that this brief biography of Mr. Bradlaugh⁹ will appeal to a large audience. It contains many curious incidents plainly told.

Mr. Ruskin¹⁰ has been so much talked about and lectured upon that it is difficult for an author to say much that is of novel interest about him. That Mr. Ruskin is the most brilliant writer on art that we possess few will deny. "Modern Painters," the "Seven Lamps of Architecture," and the "Stones of Venice," will last as long as our language for their beauty of style, their elevating criticism, and the

⁷ "James Watson." By W. J. Linton. Manchester: Heywood.

⁸ "Mrs. Grote." By Lady Eastlake. Murray.

⁹ "Charles Bradlaugh." By A. Headingley. Remington.

¹⁰ "John Ruskin." A Lecture by Wm. Smart. Manchester: Heywood.

grasp and extent of their erudition. But when Mr. Smart endeavours to support the theory that Mr. Ruskin as a philosopher and political economist is as sound and trustworthy a guide as he is as an art-critic, we think statements are being advanced which are certainly new but which cannot be maintained.

Mr. Minton's lecture on the Great Pyramid¹¹ is faithful and discriminating. His subject is the only one of "the seven wonders of the world" now left, and the lecturer does his best to give his audience an interesting compilation as to its object and early history.

M. Bosanquet, in his curious brochure,¹² seeks to make out that the Hindu chronology and the Mosaic chronology are synonymous; whether he fails or succeeds we must leave to the criticism of those interested in the question. We do not much believe in "important details of history in the antediluvian world."

We have read these two interesting volumes on the life and times of Dr. Doyle¹³ with great pleasure. It is not often the biography of a religious man is so rich in sound philosophical truths and in valuable political information. James Doyle, the well-known Bishop of Kildare, fully-deserved the high praise passed upon him by a celebrated statesman as "a prelate uniformly distinguished by the most unremitting zeal and activity and by the most incessant charity and disinterested purity in the discharge of all his sacred duties, a prelate whom no dangers have ever terrified and no seduction has ever led astray; who was ever the firm and manly and decided advocate and supporter of the rights of the people and of every measure calculated to ameliorate their condition." This biography appears at an opportune moment, for of all Ireland's liberators none strove harder to remove harsh and intolerant laws and render the Irish people happy and prosperous than Dr. Doyle. He knew the wants of Ireland *au fond*—the evils under which she laboured, and why she had never seemed to make headway against the centuries of oppression that had crushed her. It is not too much to say that Dr. Doyle, by his famous letters and his lucid and cogent answers to committees of both Houses of Parliament, accomplished more effectual service to his country than any one politician of his time, either in the House of Commons or in the domestic arena of Irish agitation. We have only to read his correspondence regarding the Relief Bill of Mr. Plunket, his vindication of the civil and religious principles of the Irish Catholics as a member of the Catholic Association, his essay on Catholic claims, his evidence before Parliament in 1825, and again on the Poor Laws, to see how sound and tolerant he was in all the reforms he advocated, and how thoroughly acquainted he was, down to its minutest details, with his subject. Politicians interested in the condition of our unhappy sister isle would do well to study the Blue-

¹¹ "The Great Pyramid." A Lecture by the Rev. S. Minton. Stock.

¹² "Hindu Chronology and Antediluvian History." By S. R. Bosanquet. Hatchards.

¹³ "Life and Times of the Right Rev. Dr. Doyle, Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin." By W. J. Fitzpatrick, LL.D. Dublin: James Duffy. Two volumes.

Book containing the evidence of this excellent bishop; they would there find suggestions and information such as are not to be met with in all the speeches and correspondence of Irish agitators put together. Mr. Fitzpatrick has written a book which cannot fail to be of the greatest service to every one desiring to familiarize himself with the political history of the present century. It is written in vivid nervous English; the story told never flags in interest, whilst it is free from the usual exaggerations of the biographer so often repellent to readers. Mr. Fitzpatrick's book is one which should be as acceptable to Protestants as to Catholics.

The third volume of Mr. Skene's work¹⁴ completes his object—that, namely, of illustrating the history of Scotland during the Celtic period, when it bore the name of Alban, and of endeavouring to dispel the fables which have hitherto obscured it. Like its predecessors, this third volume forms in itself a substantive work; its title is "Land and People," and its subject the early land tenures and social condition of the Celtic inhabitants of Scotland. The true history of a country only really commences when we come to deal with the social and political organization of its population. Until we know something of the distribution within the country of the various races which form its population, their relative growth and decay, and the extent to which its peculiar features were preserved, we are acquainted with little of its real history. This information Mr. Skene supplies us with. He describes Scotland in the reign of Alexander III.; he discusses its legends and early traditions, and the tribal organization of the Gaelic race; he reviews the thanages and their conversion into baronies; and he gives us the history of the clans and their genealogies. By the antiquary and ethnologist the book will be read with interest, as it conveys much information upon a curious subject, and one upon which information is not easily to be obtained.

When a man writes history either to eulogize or disparage an institution or an individual he can seldom hope to be impartial. The object of Mr. Kinglake's "History of the Crimean War,"¹⁵ which drags its slow length along, is to vindicate Lord Raglan from blame, and cast all the shortcomings in the conduct of the campaign upon others. Lord Raglan is our author's idol, and all who come before the shrine must do homage. The sixth volume deals with the winter troubles in the Crimea—with the collapse of the commissariat service and the needless privations endured by our soldiery upon the Chersonese heights. It gives a terrible picture of incompetence and blundering; yet throughout Lord Raglan is never to blame, whilst the fault is ever with the authorities at home. On this point we have a sketch of Lord Panmure, which, we think, passes beyond the customary limits of historical portraiture. Mr. Kinglake is very wroth with the *Times* of that date for having published the letters of its war correspondent, as he asserts that they were calculated to afford valuable information to the enemy

¹⁴ "Celtic Scotland." By W. F. Skene. Vol. III. Edinburgh: David Douglas.

¹⁵ "History of the Crimean War." By W. Kinglake. Vol. VI. Blackwood.

of the sad state in which was the English army. We can only say that if Mr. Russell's letters were of service to the Russians the foe declined to make any use of them, and that if it had not been for the exposures of the *Times* the Aberdeen Cabinet would have been permitted to continue its feeble and incapable control of affairs. It is needless to state that in this volume we have all the charms of style and of picturesque description which first made the author of "Eotthen" known amongst men.

Though Mr. Jennings' chatty work¹⁶ does not pretend to anything beyond a compilation it is very carefully done, the incidents are well selected, and, under the guise of pleasant anecdote, it conveys a considerable amount of Parliamentary information. It begins with Sir Thomas More and ends with the Marquis of Hartington, giving anecdotes throughout this long interval illustrative of Parliamentary customs and manners. It is a work which will be read with pleasure, for, always amusing, it is yet seldom uninteresting. No inconsiderable amount of constitutional history is to be obtained from a perusal of its pages. The scantiness of available information on the subject of the British Parliament, its history and its leading men, is a surprising fact in days when historical writing is so favourite a study.

In this handsome biography¹⁷ we have the life of the most illustrious general of the Portuguese army—of the man who obtained for Portugal her freedom, who established constitutional monarchy in her dominions, and who firmly united her diverse political parties. Oliviera e Daun Joas Carlos, Duke of Saldanha, served with distinction in the Peninsular War while the Portuguese army was commanded by General Beresford. In 1814 he proceeded to England, whence he repaired to Brazil, where he distinguished himself both as a soldier and a diplomatist. He afterwards became Governor of Oporto and Minister for Foreign Affairs in 1826, but soon resigned these posts, and again visited England. The usurpation of Don Miguel recalled him to his native country, when, after experiencing some varieties of fortune, he became Commander-in-Chief of the Constitutional army, and was made Marshal. In 1835 he was appointed Minister of War and President of the Council; these posts he did not hold long, as he preferred to ally himself with the reactionary party. His political views led to his being exiled; but, after spending ten years in England and France, he returned to Portugal during the Revolt of 1846. He held power under great difficulties until 1856, when the respect entertained by King Pedro for Constitutional government led to his dismissing the old Marshal, who afterwards assumed the leadership of the Opposition. He became successively ambassador to Rome, Paris, and London. Saldanha was extremely popular in society, and his manners were so captivating that few were able to resist their influence. A man of easy and overflowing generosity, he unfortunately allowed himself, on more than one occasion, to be

¹⁶ "Anecdotal History of the British Parliament." By G. H. Jennings. Horace Cox, *Law Times* Office.

¹⁷ "Memoirs of the Duke de Saldanha." By Conde de Carnota. Two volumes. John Murray.

imposed upon by obscure adventurers. Such is the subject of the *Conde da Carnota's* biography. The volumes are well written, and shed a new light upon many of the scenes in modern history.

These two French histories¹⁸ cannot fail to become popular, and when completed will be most profitable reading for the youth of any country. They are written in the narrative style, are replete with incident, and free from those tedious details, more exhaustive of the reader than of the subject, we so often find in books of this kind. We can only regret that they should be disfigured by those execrable engravings which French publishers seem to think it incumbent upon themselves to insert in historical works aiming at popularity.

Dr. Candlish was eminently a representative Scotch divine, and as such his biography¹⁹ will not lack readers in his own country and perhaps in this. A man of undoubted piety, since he gave up the loaves and fishes of the Establishment to follow his own convictions, of considerable eloquence, and of great sympathy with the wants of the lower classes, he was no inconsiderable ecclesiastical power in his day. Living at a time when the Scottish communion to which he belonged was passing through momentous experiences, such a man was sure to be laid hold of. The most interesting part of this work is that which relates to the conduct of Dr. Candlish at the time of the Disruption.

Dr. Blaikie has done good service in making public this biography of a great and good man.²⁰ Whatever view may be entertained as to the value of missionary work, the service performed by Livingstone in the cause of science can never be over-estimated. Astronomer, geographer, ethnologist, mercantile director—if any man deserved the honours of biography it was he who opened out the dark continent of Africa. Though most persons may imagine that they know all about Livingstone, they will find that Dr. Blaikie, basing his labours upon the unpublished journals and correspondence of the great traveller, is able to add considerably to their information. His book is a deeply interesting one.

These despatches of the great Duke relate to Indian matters.²¹ Wellington's career in India was coeval with his elder brother's administration as Governor-General, and it is impossible to estimate that administration fairly without frequent reference to the Duke's contemporary correspondence, selections from which Mr. Owen here gives us. Wellington's connection with our Asiatic peninsula was far from limited to the eight years he spent upon its soil, for throughout his long career he took a deep interest in Indian affairs, and frequently tendered his advice at seasons of crisis. The selections from the

¹⁸ "Histoire Illustrée de Second Empire." Par Taxile Delord. Vol. I. "Histoire Populaire de la France." Paris: Baillière et Cie. Vol. I.

¹⁹ "Memorials of E. S. Candlish, D.D." By W. Wilson, D.D. A. & C. Black.

²⁰ "The Personal Life of David Livingstone." By W. G. Blaikie, D.D. London: John Murray.

²¹ "A Selection from the Wellington Despatches." By S. J. Owen. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

correspondence are judiciously made, and constitute a valuable commentary upon our Anglo-Indian history. To university students who have to acquire a knowledge of the history of British India between the years 1784 and 1806 this volume of Mr. Owen's will be a useful and convenient text-book. The introduction, entitled "Wellington in India," is peculiarly instructive.

Those interested in that peculiar form of religion across the Atlantic which consists in tawdry pulpit rhetoric and social notoriety, may find pleasure in this little volume.²² To us Mr. Bushnell appears as a very conceited, a very sentimental, and a very narrow-minded man. We see no adequate reason why such a person should have had either his biography or his letters inflicted upon a world already weighed down beneath the memoirs of mediocrities.

This work appears at a most opportune moment.²³ Sir Charles Gavan Duffy knows Ireland and her wants thoroughly, and though his case is one-sided he states it with great clearness and precision. With all the vividness of historical romance, he places before us the wrongs Ireland has had to endure, the evils inflicted upon her system of land tenure, the restrictions which have crippled her industry, and the efforts made by the Irish patriotic party to redress their grievances. The volume is full of special pleading, but the author's style is so graphic and flowing, his irony so keen and humorous, the manner in which he marshals his statements so terse and lucid, that he has succeeded in rendering his work one of the most popular of the season. Provided the reader be on his guard, "Young Ireland" will provide him with ample food for reflection and with practical suggestions of no little value. As the Irish question is one of the burning topics of the hour, politicians and pamphleteers cannot do better than carefully study the arguments and conclusions of Sir Charles. Several of them are capable of easy refutation, but the greater proportion of them suggests difficulties which appear almost incapable of solution without gravely compromising the safety and dignity of the Empire. The chapter entitled "A Bird's-eye View of Irish History" is as pithy as it is excellently written.

BELLES LETTRES.

MR. HUNT'S novels¹ are always pleasant reading. They always show culture and refinement. They are æsthetic in the best sense of that much abused word. To these gifts she adds the still rarer one of humour. Mrs. Hunt's laugh has no bitterness in it. She scourges with a silken lash. Her present tale is a great improvement upon its predecessors; the love scenes between the two child-lovers, Olive and Willy, revealing a new power of tenderness and pathos,

²² "Life and Letters of Horace Bushnell." Farringdon Street: Dickinson.

²³ "Young Ireland." By Sir Charles Gavan Duffy. Cassell & Co.

¹ "The Leaden Casket." A Novel. By Mrs. Alfred W. Hunt, Author of "Thornicroft's Model," &c. London: Chatto & Windus. 1880.

which we had not suspected. The characters, too, have all of them more back-bone than is usual with Mrs. Hunt. They are drawn with firmer lines. The picture of Mrs. Brooke the novelist is perfect. Everything in the house goes wrong whilst she is writing in her study. She has already published three novels. For her first she had to pay half the expenses, for the second she received nothing, and for the third fifteen pounds. Now this we believe to be a very fair account of the profits made by the ordinary lady-novelist. As far as our own experience goes they generally have to pay rather than receive. Mrs. Brooke, however, is undaunted. She thinks she does not see enough of the world, and so goes into society. In this portion of the story Mrs. Hunt's humour is seen to the best advantage. The party given by Mr. Willoughby and Mr. Langton, the two rising poets of the day, seems to be drawn from life. Nobody ought, however, to be offended with the satire, which is thoroughly good-natured. Excellent, too, is the account of "The Millennium" Club, which seems also to be drawn from life, where Mrs. Brooke has the gratification of meeting seven men who are all under sentence of death—"ex-Communists you know." Everybody will be delighted with Mrs. Brooke, who is both a creation of the novelist's and a reality of the day, especially when she is first bitten with a mania for blue china and Chippendale chairs, and rushes from shop to shop in Wardour Street "as busy as a swallow, who eats, drinks, bathes, and feeds her young, flying."

"Blues and Buffs"² looks at first sight as if it was bound up with a theatrical poster. Its name declares what the story is about. The interest centres not so much in the characters as in the alleged facts. We are quite sure that the writer has not exaggerated the bribery and corruption which went on at the time the story was written, but what we do not feel sure about is whether precisely the same bribery does not exist at this very minute. We fear that even under the Ballot Act there are many boroughs, like Sharnborough, entirely in the hands of the local lawyers and the publicans. The story is brightly written, the characters sharply drawn, and the incidents natural.

"The Trumpet Major"³ is decidedly the best story which Mr. Hardy has yet written. His great fault used to be in making his rustics too clever. We do not for one moment deny the extreme cleverness and point of the sayings of our rustics. George Eliot only has done justice to them. Mr. Hardy's fault rather consisted in making them utter too formal speeches. No such mistake as this is to be found in "The Trumpet Major." As usual, Mr. Hardy's sketches of the south of England scenery are excellent.

We really cannot pretend to find much interest in the prose of the "Verdendorps,"⁴ nor in the poetry, of which this is a specimen :

² "Blues and Buffs. A Contested Election and its Results." By Arthur Mills. London : Longmans, Green & Co. 1880.

³ "The Trumpet Major." A Tale. By Thomas Hardy. London : Smith, Elder & Co. 1880.

⁴ "The Verdendorps." A Novel. By Basil Verdendorp. London : Trübner & Co. 1880.

"And the Maid of the Mist,
Her own Hood-beating list
Of arrowic exploits was foretelling."

Mr. Jenkins' new novel, "*Lisa Lena*,"⁵ will certainly not have the popularity of "*Ginx's Baby*." Mr. Jenkins' works never made any pretence to artistic excellence. They appealed rather to the readers who relished the coarse stimulants of sensationalism. There is no falling off, however, in power in "*Lisa Lena*." Some of the scenes, such as the description of the Circus and the account of the extraction of the nail from the tiger's claw, are well done. But this power alone will not make a novelist.

The Misses Zimmern⁶ have started an excellent idea, namely, of giving specimens of the best Continental novelists. The only quarrel which we have is that they have not given us sufficient specimens. We will merely say that this is not a book to get from Mudie's, but to buy.

We are excessively glad to see that Mr. Payn's new novel⁷ is accompanied with illustrations. They are not, perhaps, quite of so high an order as we could wish; but it is something to have made the first step in the right direction. As usual, Mr. Payn's style is both light and lively. He never for one moment flags. Such a scene as that between Major Lovell and Captain Langton at the "*Frobisher Club*" is worthy of Thackeray.

Mr. G. Manville Fenn's⁸ strength chiefly lies in depicting country scenes and country people. He is evidently a lover of Nature, and some of his pictures of scenery are remarkable both for their truth and delicacy of drawing.

It is a pity that the author of "*A Life's Atonement*"⁹ should spoil an interesting tale by blunders of style. Two artists are talking: "You look serious," says one; "The Rhadamanthine gloom which veils my brow is but an earnest of the soul within," replies the other. Nor is this by any means an exceptional instance.

In "*Mahalah*"¹⁰ we have a new novelist, whose style is marked by strength and originality of no common order. We regret that we have not space to do him justice. He, however, is not only a poet, able even to discern beauty in the dreary Essex marshes, but knows also

⁵ "*Lisa Lena*." By Edward Jenkins, Author of "*Ginx's Baby*," "*Jobson's Enemies*," &c. London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle, & Rivington. 1880.

⁶ "*Half-Hours with Foreign Novelists*." By Helen and Alice Zimmern. With short Notices of the Lives and Writings of the various Authors. London: Remington & Co. 1880.

⁷ "*A Confidential Agent*." By James Payn, Author of "*By Proxy*," "*Under One Roof*," &c. &c. London: Chatto & Windus. 1880.

⁸ "*The Clerk of Portwick*," A Tale. By George Manville Fenn, Author of "*The Parson of Durnford*," &c. London: Chapman, Hall, & Co. (Limited). 1880.

⁹ "*A Life's Atonement*." By David Christie Murray. London: Griffith & Farran. 1880.

¹⁰ "*Mahalah*." A Story of the Salt Marshes. London: Smith, Elder & Co. 1880.

the ways of men and women. We most strongly recommend "Mahalah" to all novel readers who are tired of the ordinary fiction of the day. We shall look with interest for the writer's next novel.

We can only notice the appearance of Mrs. Linton's remarkable novel, "The Rebel of the Family,"¹¹ in a three-volume form, and the continuation of Mr. Black's "Sunrise,"¹² which promises to be one of his finest works.

M. Denoy¹³ is pleased in his dedication to call his work only a rough sketch. In this definition alone we may at once see the great distinction between French and English novelists. With a Frenchman a novel is a work of art, with an Englishman too often merely a pot-boiler. This rough sketch, as M. Denoy calls "Mademoiselle Clarens," is really a finished work of art. M. Denoy brings many accomplishments to the task. From internal evidence, if he is not a musician, he is passionately fond of music, and if not a painter, a good judge of pictures. He works by repeated strokes. Take, for instance, his description of any of his characters, of Mademoiselle Clarens herself. He first introduces her to us by mere hints and side-strokes, and then, as she begins to take her place in the story, gives us, so to speak, a full view. Such work is essentially the work of an artist. Nor is this all. M. Denoy shows a knowledge not merely of human nature, but of national characteristics, as the seventh chapter shows. He possesses too, a strong vein of sarcasm, which does not degenerate into mere cynicism, as is so often the case with French novelists.

It is indeed a pleasure to take up the new volume of the Laureate's,¹⁴ and to find it strong and buoyant with the spirit of youth. The dedication to that glorious one year and a half old poet is as sparkling a little poem as Tennyson ever wrote. The volume, too, shows a much greater versatility within so small a compass than any of the poet's previous volumes. Every reader will be able to find something to his liking. Some of us will, however, regret the war spirit that pervades some portions. Tyrtæus in his time played a most useful and even necessary part. In these days he is apt to become the Laureate of the Jingoës. The true Tyrtæus now is the man who celebrates what England's great Radical poet called the victories of peace. Some of us, too, will regret that the pieces entitled "De Profundis" should have been published. But with these and one or two more exceptions, there can be but one universal welcome to the volume. Those who delighted in the humour and the dialect of the "Northern Farmer," will find two pieces worthy to be printed side by side with it. Those who admire Tennyson's sonnets, will here meet some of his best.

¹¹ "The Rebel of the Family." By E. Lynn Linton. London: Chatto & Windus. 1880.

¹² "Sunrise." Parts vi. vii. viii. By William Black. London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington. 1880.

¹³ "Mademoiselle Clarens." Par Emmanuel Denoy. Paris: Paul Ollendorf. 1880.

¹⁴ "Ballads and Other Poems." By Alfred Tennyson. London: C. Kegan Paul & Co. 1880.

Those to whom Tennysonian blank verse is a charm, will here find their favourite metre woven with all the old delicacy. The two gems of the book are, however, to our thinking, "Rispa" and "The Voyage of Maeldune." The last may, we trust, do something to abate the Jingo spirit which is raging amongst us. We are, however, far from sanguine. Such a pearl of verse will, we fear, be thrown only away.

"Lyrics and Elegies"¹⁵ are the production of a man of cultivated taste. Refinement and scholarship meet us on every page. The poems which we like best are those which deal with the external aspects of Nature. Such pieces as "In March," "In April," "In May," may be read with real pleasure. But something more than taste is in these days required to lift a man out of that immense crowd who are striving to wear the poet's crown.

Had just about one-tenth of the late Mr. Robert Leighton's poetry¹⁶ been published, the world would have given it an undoubted welcome. Mr. Leighton had real genius. But everything which a man of genius writes is not worth publishing. For instance, here are pages of blank verse, which are to the ear utterly formless. They read like Wordsworth at his worst. Here and there in the volume occur some really original thoughts, and some strikingly beautiful lines, but no ordinary reader could possibly take the trouble to wade through some three hundred and fifty large octavo pages in search of them. The best and kindest way of keeping Mr. Leighton's memory alive would be to publish a selection of the best pieces in the present volume. But the selection must be truly select, and certainly not exceed a hundred small octavo pages.

Mr. Lee-Hamilton¹⁷ certainly possesses great facility, which has probably betrayed him into diffuseness of style. He beats out his gold so thin, that it runs great danger of being mistaken for tinsel. His book, however, is valuable as showing the tendency of the day. If Mr. Lee-Hamilton has not done justice to "The Last Love of Venus," it has principally arisen from the fact that he has allowed himself to be too much led away by the fashion of the moment. Such verses as the following too clearly betray their origin.

"One morn in the days that are olden,
When young were mankind and the world,
The sea, dawn-illumined and golden,
Was sleeping, by ripple uncurled.

* * * * *

"But suddenly over the waters,
A music came floating along,
A music more sweet than the daughters
Of man ever uttered in song.

* * * * *

¹⁵ "Lyrics and Elegies." By Charles Newton Scott, Author of "The Foregleams of Christianity." London: Smith, Elder, & Co. 1880.

¹⁶ "Records and Other Poems." By the late Robert Leighton, Author of "Reuben," "Scotch Words." London: C. Kegan Paul & Co. 1880.

¹⁷ "Gods, Saints, and Men." By Eugene Lee-Hamilton, Author of "Poems and Transcripts." London: W. Satchell & Co. 1880.

“And Venus the snowy and scented
From the watery mirror uprose,
Enthroned on a shell that was tinted
Like the innermost leaf of a rose.”

Mr. Lee-Hamilton has quite enough poetical power to rely upon himself, and in his next volume we shall hope to see that power more fully developed.

Mr. Thomson in his “City of Dreadful Night” showed but few elements of popularity. In his present volume¹⁸ there are still less. Probably Mr. Thomson has eschewed them with a set purpose. In fact Mr. Thomson appears to us to at times hold the ordinary reader in contempt. This frame of mind, however, may be carried to excess. For instance, many persons will be repelled by certain passages in “Vane’s Story,” and will not give themselves the trouble to read further. This would be a grievous mistake. The volume contains one of the finest narrative poems which has been written in modern times; full of beauty, and wrought together with manly powerful verse. Of “Weddah and Om-El-Bonain” it may be truly said, to quote from one of its opening stanzas,—

“Perfect beauty is its sole end.

It is ripe flower and fruit, not bud and leaf.”

Here, in short, we meet Mr. Thomson at his very best. Then, too, there are a quantity of minor poems which all show Mr. Thomson’s rare qualities of quaintness, humour, and melody. Here, for instance, is a little poem, the meaning of which there is no need to explain to most of our readers :

“Waking one morning,
In a pleasant land,
By a river flowing
Over golden sand:—

“Whence flow ye, waters,
O’er your golden sand?
We come flowing
From the Silent Land.

“Whither flow ye, waters,
O’er your golden sand?
We go flowing to the Silent
Land.

“And what is this fair realm?
A grain of golden sand
In the great darkness
Of the Silent Land.”

Such an exquisite little poem, so pregnant with meaning, ought to send many a reader to Mr. Thomson’s new volume.

“Gems of National Poetry”¹⁹ is an attempt by Mrs. Valentine to give us in a small space a select collection of our best poetry. It differs from Mr. Palgrave’s “Golden Treasury” principally in three ways, that it gives specimens of our dramatists, satirists, and also of our living poets. Taking it on its own ground, “The Golden Treasury” might, we think, be improved. It is not quite easy to reconcile Mr. Palgrave’s theory with his practice. For instance, he gives us Marlowe’s “Passionate Shepherd to his Love,” but he does not give us Raleigh’s answer, which is the finer poem of the two. Again, Mr.

¹⁸ “Vane’s Story, Weddah and Om-El-Bonain, and other Poems.” By James Thomson, Author of “The City of Dreadful Night.” London: Reeves & Turner. 1881.

¹⁹ “Gems of National Poetry.” (Chandos Series.) Compiled and Edited by Mrs. Valentine. London: Frederick Warne & Co.

Palgrave inserts Graham's, of Gartmore, "If doughty deeds my lady please," but omits Montrose's "My dear and only love," in which occur the famous lines—

"I'll make thee famous by my pen
And glorious by my sword ;"

and the equally famous stanza —

"He either fears his fate too much,
Or his deserts are small ;
Who dares not put it to the touch
To gain or lose it all."

In fact, the omissions in "The Golden Treasury" are to us utterly unaccountable. For instance, Carew's beautiful song, "Ask me no more," is not to be found. That exquisite lyric in England's *Helicon*, "Come away, come, sweet love!" is omitted. Ayton's (1606) "I loved thee once, I'll love no more;" Southwell's "May never was the month of love;" Raleigh's "Shall I like an hermit dwell;" Herbert's "Sweet day, so cool, so calm, so bright," and many more pieces of the same rare order are all passed over in "The Golden Treasury." Blake and Beddoes are not mentioned. Mrs. Valentine, therefore, had a good opportunity of giving us those pieces which Mr. Palgrave had from some reason or another omitted. She has unfortunately not availed herself of the chance so fully as she might have done. She has supplied some of Mr. Palgrave's omissions, but by no means all. The worst failing, however, of her book is that she has included too many commonplace pieces. What is wanted in a book of this kind is nothing but the very best. We want such a book as this to put in our pocket, to pack in our portmanteau, not so much for the purpose of reading as for refreshing our memories. We, therefore, resent anything commonplace as an intrusion and surplusage. Mrs. Valentine's book is, however, on the whole, fairly done. She should not have followed modern editors in misprinting Ben Jonson's "Blowball" (p. 402). We think her book might be tenfold improved by the simple addition of an appendix. Forty pages would suffice to contain her omissions. Above all let her consult "Lyle's Collection" (1827), in its way the choicest collection which we know. Amongst modern poetry Mrs. Valentine should give some of Mrs. Webster's exquisite lyrics.

There is a most decided opening for a work like Mr. Cheales' "Proverbial Folk-Lore."²⁰ Amongst the best books of this kind we may put Bland's "Adagia of Erasmus," and Mr. Ulick R. Burke's "Spanish Salt." Mr. Cheales' little book has, from a literary point of view, a higher aim than either of these. He does not merely illustrate and comment on single proverbs, but groups whole classes of proverbs together. This is, of course, a far more effective way of handling them. It retains all the advantages of the first method and adds new ones. In fact, instead of being a broken commentary, it becomes a continuous chapter of criticism. Mr. Cheales, however, before he can hope to write a really good critical commentary must improve his

²⁰ "Proverbial Folk-Lore." By Alan B. Cheales, M.A. London: Simpkin, Marshall & Co. 1880.

style. He is far too flippant. He occasionally sinks into what may be called the hail-fellow-well-met style, which consists of giving the most hackneyed quotations and the most stale jokes. He might with advantage borrow something from Bland's classical dignity, and also something from Mr. Burke's modern polish. As a rule, Mr. Cheales' comments are sensible and sound. Sometimes, however, he misses his way, as in his remarks on the familiar south-country rhyme—

“ A cherry year
A merry year ;
A plum year ”
A dumb year.”

This, we are told, on the authority of a writer in *The Journal of Horticulture*, means that “cherries are never plentiful except when their blossoms have a genial spring and summer, and that an abundance of plums carries an increase in the death-rate.” Now “this interesting explanation,” as Mr. Cheales calls it, is like the definition of a crab by the French scientific world, utterly wrong in every particular. The word “merry” has nothing whatever to do with our adjective so spelt, but is connected with the French *merise*, and is a common provincialism throughout the south-west of England for the wild cherry (*Prunus avium*). In Hampshire “Merry Feasts” are still held. The learned authors of “English Plant-Names” further remark that there are various kinds of “merries,” known as red, black, and white, in different parts of England. The word “dumb” has also nothing to do with the adjective so spelt, but is a corruption of damson (*Prunus communis*). The meaning of the rhyme now becomes apparent. It simply says that a good year for cherries is also a good year for “merries,” and that a good year for plums (always spelt “plumb” by the rustic of the west of England, and so making a purer rhyme), is also a good year for damsons,—that, in short, the year which is favourable to cultivated is also favourable to wild fruit. On one or two more of Mr. Cheales' explanations a word might be added. We perceive that on the next page he gives without any warning the two often-quoted proverbs about the oak and the ash. We would beg of Mr. Cheales to carefully watch for the next seven years whether he ever sees whole woods of ashes in leaf before oaks. An individual ash under very favourable circumstances may often be seen in leaf before an oak unfavourably situated. But as far as our own observation goes, which has extended to three times seven years, we never yet saw an ash in leaf before we had seen an oak. We would also beg of Mr. Cheales during the same time to study Darwin's works, more especially “The Origin of Species,” “The Descent of Man,” and “Animals and Plants under Domestication,” and perhaps he would then treat the subject of evolution in a less flippant manner.

Baiting an atheist is the last new amusement for women and curates. Lady Violet Greville,²¹ however, has invented a new sort of atheist, whom she christens “the social atheist.” He is not, it appears, to be confounded with the scientific atheist, who, according to Lady Violet

²¹ “Faiths and Fashions.” Short Essays Republished. By Lady Violet Greville. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1880.

Greville, writes such terrible English that not even his own followers can understand him. As for the new monster, whom Lady Violet Greville portrays in such alarming colours, we can only plead utter ignorance of his existence. We have never seen such a being. If, however, such a personage exists, and is as utterly loathsome as Lady Violet Grevill  describes him, we most heartily concur in every syllable that she utters against him. In the meanwhile, however, we must express a doubt whether Lady Violet Greville is not in the same position as the old woman who thought that Socrates and Bluebeard were the same person.

Mr. A. B. Davison does not aim in his "Thousand Thoughts"²² of giving us such a book as "The Rule of Life," and others of the same class, which were so plentiful in the last century. He appears simply to have sent his commonplace book to the printers. There is no arrangement but an alphabetical one. Confusion is, of course, the result. Thus under Charity we find almsgiving and liberality of mind placed close together without any division between the two. Further, Mr. Davison pitches the sentences at our heads without any but the vaguest reference. Thus at p. 38 we have a quotation from Fuller's "Holy State," and at p. 41 a quotation from Fuller's "Introduction to Prudence" without a word of warning that the last Fuller is Thomas Fuller, M.D. Mr. Davison's reading does not appear to be very wide or very deep. Still his book contains some good things. Here, for instance, is a reflection upon content worthy of Marcus Aurelius. "Banish all imaginary, and you will suffer no real wants. The little stream which is left will suffice to quench the thirst of nature, and that which cannot be quenched by it is not your thirst, but your distemper" (Bolingbroke, "Reflections upon Evils"). Here is a neat variation of Lord Bacon's "The worst revolutions arise from the belly:" "Le peuple est un souverain qui ne demande qu'  manger : sa Majest  est tranquille quand elle degere" (Rivarol). Here, too, is a variation of the saying of one of the Elizabethan dramatists, that "marriage is either all heaven or all hell—there is no middle place:" "He that marries is like the Doge who was wedded to the Adriatic. He knows not what there is in that which he marries: mayhap treasures and pearls, mayhap monsters and tempests await him" (Heine). One extract more, and it shall be from Milton: "Let not England forget her precedence of teaching nations how to live." For some years past her precedence has consisted in teaching how to kill nations.

If Dr. Smiles were only a master of a better style, his book²³ would be far pleasanter reading. His facts are so badly put together that they topple on the top of the reader. He does not so much inform us as overpower us. His scholarship, too, is in every direction of a very old-fashioned kind. But the young are not critical, and it is for the

²² "A Thousand Thoughts." From various Authors. Selected and Arranged by Arthur B. Davison. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1880.

²³ "Duty. With Illustrations of Courage, Patience, and Endurance." By Samuel Smiles, LL.D., Author of "Lives of the Engineers," "Self-Help," &c. London: John Murray. 1880.

young that Dr. Smiles writes. He is always enthusiastic for whatever is good and noble; and on this account we can forgive much—very much. In the present work we rejoice to see that Dr. Smiles has taken up the cause of the animals. Such exhibitions as the pigeon-matches at Hurlingham are a disgrace to the age. Let us call especial attention to Dr. Smiles's remarks on this particular subject at p. 355. Dr. Smiles, however, has not told the worst. We should have imagined that if Dr. Smiles's work had been brought out with illustrations, it would have made a most excellent Christmas book. A better present it would be hardly possible to make to a girl or boy.

The study of Shakespeare has certainly increased of late years, owing in a great measure to the labours of the New Shakespeare Society. The two Harness Prize Essays²⁴ are the latest fruits. Now there are about twenty men in England fit to criticize these Essays, and as we do not count ourselves one of them, we shall merely call attention to the great value of these Essays from a mere literary point of view. Anything which tends to throw light upon the growth of Shakespeare's intellect must always possess the highest interest. Anything, too, which tends to explain his method of working—how he drew his characters, whether by slow patient work or rather by quick sharp strokes, must have the highest value.

From Australia we have received a beautifully printed volume on "The Renaissance Drama."²⁵ We have carefully read it through, but, owing to the author's peculiar style, are by no means quite certain what he means. He appears, however, to wish to prove that Bacon was Shakespeare, or that Shakespeare was Bacon—it does not, however, much matter which, for one theory is just about as probable as the other.

Mr. Allen Park Paton²⁶ continues his labours. His introduction to "Coriolanus" is certainly most interesting. It appears that this play stands highest of "all Shakespeare's plays as regards the number of its emphasis-capitals." Taking this as his guide, Mr. Paton comes to the conclusion which most modern editors have arrived at, that "Coriolanus" was amongst the last written of Shakespeare's plays. Mr. Paton's explanations of some of the most difficult passages are, whether we agree with them or no, strikingly ingenious. The well-known difficulty "beesome conspicuities" is solved in a most original and ingenious manner. The explanation of "crack" too, hitherto generally regarded as a familiar term for a child, is equally novel, whilst that of "fauset seller" is still more so. Of course these explanations will not be accepted without a great deal of discussion. Mr. Paton has thrown down a gauntlet, which will be, not picked up, but snatched up. In

²⁴ "The Essays to which the Harness Prize was awarded, 1880." 1. By C. H. Herford, B.A., Trinity College, Cambridge. 2. By W. H. Wiggery, St. John's College, Cambridge. (The above were declared equal in merit.) London: Smith, Elder & Co. 1880.

²⁵ "The Renaissance Drama; or, History made Visible." By William Thomson, F.R.C.S., F.L.M. Melbourne: Sands & MacDougall. 1880.

²⁶ "The Tragedy of Coriolanus." According to the First Folio. With Introduction (including two Phototypes) and Relative Lists. By Allan Park Paton. London: Longmans & Co. 1880.

conclusion, we will say that this edition of "Coriolanus," like all Mr. Paton's Shakespeare's texts, is beautifully printed on excellent paper, and in a type which in these days is a joy to the eyes.

New editions of Shakespeare keep appearing. The third edition of Singer²⁷ is just finished, and the fourth edition of Dyce²⁸ just begins. We regret to see that both of these editions follow the arrangement of the first folio in the order of the plays. Of course, neither Singer's nor Dyce's notes are now quite up to the scholarship of the day. In no department of literature have such strides been made during the last ten years as in what we may call Shakespearian philology. The last word, however, has by no means yet been spoken, nor will it be till the great Dictionary of the Philological Society is completed and the last leaf of the English Dialect Society printed.

Some years ago there was a fashion for translating Homer. Instead, however, of the "Iliad" and "Odyssey," "Faust" is now the favourite subject for translation. Mr. Birds²⁹ is the last new translator in the field. His work is undoubtedly praiseworthy. We have compared several crucial passages with those of other translators and though we do not find him rivalling Bayard Taylor, whose translation we hold to be by far the best, yet we nowhere find him sinking below a high average of excellence. We can, however, recommend Mr. Bird's work for its excellent notes. They are superior in quality to any which we know, even Bayard Taylor's. They are precisely the sort of notes which we want for "Faust," illustrating and explaining, by the researches and discoveries of modern science, the mere hints and guesses of the poet. We cannot praise these notes too highly. We think that Mr. Birds might write a capital little handbook commentary on "Faust."

Professor Blackie has just published, with large alterations, a second edition of his well-known version.³⁰ We need not say that anything which Professor Blackie does is sure to be vigorous, and this is the general characteristic of his version. We deeply regret to see the tone of his remarks on the second part of "Faust." The best antidote is an admirable article on the subject published by Bayard Taylor in his volume of collected Essays.

At the head of all Christmas books we must place Miss De Morgan's and Mr. Crane's "Princess Fiorimonde."³¹ We advisedly say Miss De Morgan's and Mr. Crane's book, because they have, as should be the case with all art-books, worked together. Generally speaking, a

²⁷ "The Dramatic Works of William Shakespeare." By S. W. Singer, F.S.A. Third Edition, revised. London: George Bell & Sons. 1879, 1880.

²⁸ "The Works of William Shakespeare." By Rev. Alexander Dyce. Fourth Edition. London: Bickers & Son. 1880.

²⁹ "Faust: a Tragedy." By Goethe. Translated, chiefly in blank verse, with Introduction and Notes, by James Adey Birds, B.A., F.G.S. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1880.

³⁰ "Faust: a Tragedy." By Goethe. Translated into English Verse, with Notes and Preliminary Remarks, by John Stuart Blackie, Professor of Greek in the University of Edinburgh. Second Edition. Carefully revised and largely rewritten. London: Macmillan & Co. 1880.

³¹ "The Necklace of Princess Fiorimonde, and other Stories." By Mary De Morgan, author of "On a Pincushion." With Illustrations by Walter Crane. London: Macmillan & Co. 1880.

Christmas book is not a work of art at all. Sometimes the text is made a peg on which to hang the illustrations, sometimes the illustrations a peg on which to hang the text. Often, however, neither text nor illustrations have anything to do with one another. Christmas books, in fact, have for some years past become the refuge of bad writing and bad drawing. At Christmas all the literary dust-holes are emptied on the head of the public. It is therefore pleasant to meet with such a decided exception as the "Princess Fiorimonde." Pen and pencil have both worked together. Again, too, this book is not of that unwieldy size to which Christmas books have grown, and which makes reading a perfect difficulty. The stories are charming, and the illustrations even still more so. Mr. Crane always shows to the greatest advantage when he deals with poetical subjects. Nothing can be happier in its way than the three winged boys in the fresco on the title-page, bearing the load of the necklace. Mr. Crane always excels in drawing children and cupids and elves. We do not, however, feel quite certain whether the wood-cutting process has in this case quite done Mr. Crane justice. Mr. Crane's chief characteristics are fancy, humour and delicacy, and these would be far better brought out by means of the new photo-engraving processes, but the best of these, on account of their expensiveness, are for book-work entirely out of the question. When this difficulty is overcome, art, as far as book illustrations are concerned, will receive a new impulse, and the chief gainers will be men like Mr. Crane, whose poetical qualities will then be more clearly seen. To return, however, to the "Princess Fiorimonde," let us call especial attention to the humour of some of the tail-pieces, to the beauty of the landscapes in some of the headings of the chapters, and, above all, to the poetical feeling which pervades the frontispiece, and the illustrations of Arasmon and Chrysea singing, and the Princess Fernanda by the sea-shore.

Somebody, either the author or the publishers, have in "Yellow-Cap"²² defrauded the fairies of their rights. There are no illustrations. Now, a Christmas fairy tale without illustrations is like a Christmas plum-pudding without plums. Besides, if ever fairies deserved illustrations, these most certainly do. They are lineal descendants of Mab and Puck. Then, too, in "Rumpty Dudgett" there are the most delightful children, who certainly also deserve to be illustrated by the very best artist who could be found—Prince Hector with the black eyes, Prince Harold with the brown, and Princess Hilda with the blue, who lived in the finest of palaces and the loveliest of gardens. Altogether it is a complete mystery why "Yellow-Cap" should be without a single illustration. Perhaps it is meant for Quaker children, who, we believe, are not allowed to look at picture-books.

The author of "Rose Leaves"²³ has shown a much greater know-

²² "Yellow-Cap, and other Fairy Stories for Children." By Julian Hawthorne. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1880.

²³ "Rose Leaves: Tea-time Tales for Young Little Folks and Young Old Folks." From the Swedish of Richard Gustafsson. By Albert Alberg, Editor of "Chit-chat by Puck." With Frontispiece by Mary Sibree, and numerous Original Illustrations by Larsen and others. London: W. Swan Sonnenschein & Allen. 1880.

ledge of ordinary children's hearts. Miss Sibree has given us a most delightful frontispiece, cramful of Fairyland. The Queen of the Fairies comes in seated on a crystal carriage drawn by a team of doves, all going at full flight, driven by as saucy a charioteer as ever was seen in Faëry. Alongside, as fast as their legs and wings will carry them, run a crowd of little Pucks carrying lanterns; whilst in front fly a bevy of the fairest fairies, heralding the Queen's approach. Now, this is the sort of thing which goes direct to children's hearts, and we strongly recommend "Rose Leaves," if only for its frontispiece.

The same publishers send us two more Christmas books, one by the same author,³⁴ and one by the same translator,³⁵ but though they are both good in their way, especially "Woodland Notes;" yet we hardly think they equal "Rose Leaves" in their attractions for the young.

"Pansie's Flour Bin"³⁶ is another fairy tale, which for interest and for its illustrations may take its place by the side of "Rose Leaves."

"Little Britain"³⁷ is most profusely illustrated by Mr. C. O. Murray. We regret that we cannot join in the chorus of praise, which has been bestowed upon these illustrations. They appear to us to belong to that school of book illustrations which flourished about thirty to forty years ago, and which is not yet dead—a school which too much overlooks beauty, is comic rather than humorous, and makes sensation do duty for thought. In their own way, however, these illustrations are not without merit. They at all events show vigour and facility.

"The Birds' and Insects' Post-Office"³⁸ is written by the late Robert Bloomfield the poet, and is printed in large type for little children who are in a transition state from pictures to letters.

"Grandmama's Recollections"³⁹ possess one great recommendation: they are excessively short and to the point, and can be easily understood and remembered by young children. "The Fisherman of Rhava"⁴⁰ is more ambitious, and is suited for somewhat older readers. With these may be joined "The Captain's Dog"⁴¹ and "Stepping

³⁴ "Fabled Stories from the Zoo: Tea-time Tales for Young Little Folks and Young Old Folks." By Albert Alberg. With numerous original illustrations. London: W. Swan Sonnenschein & Allen. 1880.

³⁵ "Woodland Notes: Tea-time Tales for Young Little Folks and Young Old Folks." From the Swedish of Richard Gustafsson. By Albert Alberg. London: W. Swan Sonnenschein & Allen. 1880.

³⁶ "Pansie's Flour Bin." By the Author of "St. Olave's," "When I was a Little Girl," &c. Illustrated by Adrian Stokes. London: Macmillan & Co. 1880.

³⁷ "Little Britain. Together with the Spectre Bridegroom: a Legend of Sleepy Hollow." By Washington Irving. Illustrated by Charles O. Murray. London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington. 1880.

³⁸ "The Birds' and Insects' Post-Office." By Robert Bloomfield, Author of the "Farmer's Boy," "Rural Tales." With Thirty-five Illustrations. London: Griffith & Farran. 1880.

³⁹ "Grandmama's Recollections." By Grandmama Parker. With numerous Original Illustrations. London: W. Swan Sonnenschein & Allen. 1880.

⁴⁰ "The Fisherman of Rhava; or, Djalmah's Voyage to Ethen. By C. E. Bourne, Author of "Fretwork," &c. London: W. Swan Sonnenschein & Allen. 1880.

⁴¹ "The Captain's Dog." By Louis Enault. With numerous Original Illustrations, by K. I. O. U. London: W. Swan Sonnenschein & Allen. 1880.

Stones." ⁴³ In all of them, the illustrations are of a very ordinary character, those in "Stepping Stones" being perhaps the best.

The late Mr. Kingston ⁴⁴ was a true friend of boys at Christmas. He probably cheered as many sailor-boys with his prose as Dibden has sailors with his songs. His two posthumous works show no falling-off in his vigour of style nor in his power of sustaining interest. We have also to acknowledge two works by another favourite of boys, Jules Verne, ⁴⁵ who, however, allows his imagination far greater liberties than Mr. Kingston.

From Mr. Pickering we have a most charming little edition of Warwick's "Spare Minutes." ⁴⁷ The binding is delightful. The only fault we have to find is with the print, which is too small. The type in the 1779 edition is quite small enough, and does not make too big a volume.

MISCELLANEA.

MR. JEANS has rendered a good service to all lovers alike of Latin literature and of famous correspondence in issuing a translation of "Selected Letters from Cicero." ¹ Of the few famous letter-writers of the world Cicero holds, perhaps, the highest place. Pliny, Horace Walpole, Madame De Sevigné, and Lord Chesterfield are all in their way great, and each is dear to those who love human nature expressed in epistles. But both perhaps for style and for historical interest Cicero must stand first. The period covered by his correspondence is not only the most important in the history of Rome, but perhaps one of the most important in the history of the world. Here we see Cicero, not, it may be, exactly as he was, but certainly as he wished to be considered, and the truest idea of the man's character is thus disclosed to us. It has been said that Mr. Froude's picture of Cicero is as unfair as his study of Cæsar is overwrought and inaccurate, but

⁴³ "Stepping Stones: a Story of our Inner Life." By Sarah Doudney, Author of "Strangers Yet," "The Wrong Side of Life," &c. London: William Isbister & Co. (Limited). 1880.

⁴⁴ The Heir of Kilfinnan: a Tale of the Shore and Ocean." By William H. G. Kingston, Author of "Snow-Shoes and Canoes," "With Axe and Rifle," &c. London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington. 1881.

⁴⁵ "Dick Cheveley: His Adventures and Misadventures." By W. H. G. Kingston, Author of "The Heir of Kilfinnan," &c. London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington. 1881.

⁴⁶ "The Tribulations of a Chinaman." By Jules Verne. Translated by Ellen E. Frewer. Illustrated by L. Bennett. London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington. 1880.

⁴⁷ "The Steam House." Part I. The Demon of Cawnpore. By Jules Verne. Translated from the French by A. D. Kingston. London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington. 1880.

⁴⁸ "Spare Minutes; or, Resolved Meditations and Premeditated Resolutions." By Arthur Warwick. London: Pickering & Co. 1881.

¹ "The Life and Letters of Cicero." By the Rev. G. H. Jeans. London: Macmillan. 1880.

it seems to us that the character of the great orator is more happily conceived by Mr. Froude than most of the persons whom he chose to treat have been. Judge Cicero by his letters alone, and he will be seen to be a vain, somewhat selfish, weak-minded, well-meaning, but on the whole an admirable man, unable to appreciate the greatness of the mightier spirit than his own with whom he is brought into close contact. To him Cæsar is not the master of the world and the first of men. He looks on him rather as the valet looks upon the man he serves, and to the valet no man is a hero. The absurd egotism with which Cicero dwells again and again upon the fact that he has saved the Republic by his illegal murder of the Catiline conspirators, shows how consumed he was by the sense of his own importance. He evidently is under the distinct impression that he is the greatest man in Rome, that all he does and says and thinks is of the utmost importance to the welfare of the commonwealth, that his utterances should be listened to as the utterances of an infallible oracle. Cicero cannot be called "a foolish mild man," but he certainly was "a little overparted" in the rôle he attempted to play before the eyes of Rome and of the world. Great as a speaker, great as a writer, he was no more great as a statesman than he was great as a poet. Mr. Jeans has done his work well, but people will of course miss favourite letters. It is this necessary fault of all selections that they cannot satisfy every one. But as a whole it must be admitted that the selections do full justice to Cicero's correspondence. It seems to us that Mr. Jeans makes a great mistake in rendering Cicero's Greek words, with which he is so fond of dotting his letters, by French quotations, and, above all, by translating the quotations from Greek poets by parallel passages from living poets. The first gives a curiously modern and unreal appearance to the letters; the second is a mistake from the point of view of scholarship. It seems absurd to find Cicero gravely quoting poets whose works were not written until after his own death.

Robert Schumann's *Essays*² are most fascinating reading, even to those who are not deeply versed in music. Of the school of writers who were led by the brilliant melancholy of Jean Paul Richter's philosophy, and by the fantastic power of Hoffmann, Schumann early enrolled himself, and the influence of his masters is readily visible in his writings for his own *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, from which the *Essays* in the book called "Music and Musicians" have been selected and translated. He introduces a new element of poetic fancy into criticism by his invention of the mysterious Society of Davidites, who were banded together against the Philistines, and of whom Florestan, Eusebius and Master Raro were the chief members. In his *Essays* these three especially appear, giving their opinions and expressing their ideas from the different points of view adopted by the differing natures of the three imaginary friends. Eusebius is the more thoughtful; Florestan is impassioned and eager; Master Raro is calm, philosophic and judicial. The conversations of these three and of the other

² "Music and Musicians." By Robert Schumann. Translated by F. Anny Raymond Ritter.. First Series. William Reeves.

Davidites upon the various musical subjects on which Schumann wrote, form a kind of series of musical Platonic dialogues, or glorified and poetic "Noctes Ambrosianæ," of the most delightful kind. There is something strangely attractive about criticisms clothed in the form of interchange of ideas among friends who address each other in the poetical style of Jean Paul's Siebenkaes and Leibgeber, and who can follow out a critical idea with all the exquisite fancy of the author of the glorious "Golden Jar." English lovers of music and of beautiful prose owe a debt of gratitude to an American woman for being the first to translate these charming fragments of critical writing, which ought to have founded, and may yet found, a new school of criticism.

The third and fourth parts of Mr. Cutler's admirable work on Japanese Ornament and Design deserve the highest praise.³ The exceeding beauty of the illustrations chosen will render the work of great value to all kinds of art workmen, as well as to the mere student, who will be especially benefited by having such perfect examples of the creative power of Japanese design brought together for him in so convenient a form. In Part III. there is a delightful study of fishes in water, done in a soft blue-green, which suggests the clear effect of river water, or of calm sea near the shore, in a most successful manner. Some delicious designs for ornamentation, enclosed in circles, will be regarded with pleasure for all kinds of decorative work, from designs for curtains or wall papers to the ornaments for the binding of a book. Some coloured plant studies are wonderfully beautiful in their faithful realism; and there are several examples of those studies of flying birds in which the Japanese artists are so exceptionally fortunate. Some glorious designs in dead gold on a dull reddish ground resolve themselves readily to the decorative mind into the most magnificent curtains and wall designs. The fourth part, which concludes this very valuable work, contains a careful and exhaustive Essay on Japanese Art, and a studied investigation and analysis of its principles, which should be read with care by every one to whom the question is of interest. It also contains a splendid example of Japanese genius in a landscape worked in gold and red upon a black ground.

Mr. Jones has succeeded in making rather a tiresome book out of very interesting subjects.⁴ The credulities which have afflicted humanity from time to time ought to afford material for a series of exceedingly interesting chapters, but Mr. Jones has not the art of combining his facts with ease or of re-telling them with lightness. He is perhaps one of the very worst anecdotists existing. Whenever he can make a story incomprehensible he makes a point of doing so, and under such able treatment this bulky volume is as difficult reading as a collection of books on shipping returns would be to an æsthetic poet. Its chief use will be as a work of reference to a certain class of writers who rely

³ "A Grammar of Japanese Ornament and Design." By Thomas W. Cutler. London: B. T. Bastford.

⁴ "Credulities Past and Present." By William Jones. London: Chatto and Windus. 1880.

chiefly on their "padding" for effect. They will find plenty of "padding" in Mr. Jones's book—the marvellous, the odd, and the superstitious, all treated of at great length; and there is certainly enough brought together to furnish themes for a whole series of occasional articles. Otherwise it is not particularly useful, though it might serve for amusement if taken up at odd moments when one wanted some casual reading, for, dipping in here and there, one might find passages that would repay the trouble taken.

"Minor Arts" is a rather silly book.⁵ The idea of attempting to treat in a little volume of 148 pages of the various arts of working in leather, of porcelain painting, of wood-carving, of mosaics, and of repoussé work, is in itself almost absurd; and, not content with this, Mr. Leland gives chapters on stencilling, on transferring patterns, and on modelling in clay and taking casts. This is indeed a large order for one little volume to answer, and its information is necessarily of a somewhat condensed nature; but it may possibly be found attractive by persons who have nothing much to do, and like to play at handicrafts which, when undertaken by the right people in the right spirit, are raised to the dignity of arts.

We have also received the eleventh part of Mr. Grove's admirable "Dictionary of Music,"⁶ which contains the conclusion of Mr. Rockstro's historical article on the Opera, and another long paper, by the same author, on the Oratorio, as well as an elaborate article on the Organ by Mr. E. J. Hopkins, the organist to the Temple. Messrs. Macmillan send several of their valuable and carefully got-up school-books.⁷ A new edition of Tate's "Cambist,"⁸ carefully adapted to the present day, will be of great use to all connected with questions of exchange. Mr. James Simpson has written a curious pamphlet⁹ on the question of John Bunyan's gipsy descent, a fact which Mr. Simpson energetically maintains.

⁵ "Minor Arts." By C. G. Leland. Macmillan & Co.

⁶ "A Dictionary of Music and Musicians." Edited by George Grove. Part XI., "Opera to Palestrina." London: Macmillan.

⁷ Pliny's "Letters," Book III., edited by J. B. Mayor; Zenophon's "Anabasis," Books I-IV., edited by W. W. Goodwin and J. W. White; "Selected Epigrams of Martial," edited by H. M. Stephenson; Livy, "Hannabalian War," edited by G. C. Macaulay; "Progressive French Reader, 1st Year," By G. Eugene Fasnacht; "The Queen's College Calendar, 1880-81." London: Macmillan.

⁸ "Tate's Modern Cambist." Edited by Hermann Schmidt. London: Wilson, Royal Exchange.

⁹ "The English Universities and John Bunyan." By James Simpson. New York: James Miller. London: Baillière, Tyndall & Co.

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ART. I.—KANT'S MORAL PHILOSOPHY.

1. *Immanuel Kant's Grundlegung zur Metaphysik der Sitten und Kritik der Praktischen Vernunft.* Herausgegeben von KARL ROSENKRANZ. Leipzig: Leopold Voss. 1838.
2. *Ueber das Kantische Moralprincip und den Gegensatz formaler und Materialer Moralprincipien.* Von EDUARD ZELLER. Berlin. 1880.

AMONG the first to point out the insecurity of the foundation on which Kant attempted to reconstruct religion, was the celebrated classical scholar Daniel Wytttenbach, born at Berne in 1746. Dr. Max Müller, from a note in whose Hibbert Lectures we borrow this information, quotes a passage from a Latin work of the learned Professor, in which he contends, in opposition to the Philosopher of Königsburg, that the categories or forms of the understanding—the original notions supposed to underlie all our knowledge—possess an authority paramount to experience, and lead directly to fresh intellectual discovery. Kant, he complains, had banished his three regulative ideas, God Immortality, Liberty, from the realm of Metaphysics to that of Ethics; he had precipitated them from the firm bright summit of the intellect into the dark and slippery den of the inner sense. Thus unnaturally deriving theoretical dogma from practical data, instead of practical dogma from theoretical data, Kant is justly open to the reproach of disloyal conduct towards the mistress
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whom he professed to serve—"divine Philosophy." Denying the arrogant pretensions of that "daughter of debate," the inner sense, Wyttenbach sarcastically compares Kant's procedure to the *Deus ex machina* resource of the embarrassed and desperate dramatist. Arrayed in a new imperial robe, announced by an unheard-of name, the CATEGORICAL IMPERATIVE, that pseudo-deity of the metaphysician, the Inner sense, is once more led on the philosophical stage to sue for popular favour, to win the most sweet voices of the groundlings of the theological playhouse, to instruct us how to "believe with the practical reason that which the speculative reason has found incredible."

Though unable to adopt the *affirmative* clauses of Wyttenbach's indictment of Kant's new critical principle, we submit that this early reclamation has from the negative point of view lost none of its original force. Our unfavourable opinion is corroborated by the authoritative verdict of Professor Max Müller. Supporting his theological structure on a very different basis, this eminent scholar affirms that "the one opening left in Kant's system—namely, the absolute certainty of moral truth, and through it the certainty of the existence of God—is now closed up." How, indeed, can it be otherwise? If, as Kant maintains, the human reason is untrustworthy when it ventures into the world Invisible, the moral sense must surely be still less trustworthy. If we cannot know things *per se* through the operations of the Speculative intellect, we cannot know them through the processes of the Practical reason.

In his first great book Kant has satisfactorily demonstrated the existence of principles of certitude valid within the sphere of our sensible experience, but incapable of application to the sphere beyond it. So strongly was he convinced of the impotency of the reason when transcending its natural limits, that he declared that if it were possible to prove that all thinking beings are in themselves simple substances, necessarily carrying a personality with them, and having a consciousness of their existence distinct from matter, the demonstration would constitute a capital objection to the Critical philosophy, since we should thus have made one step out of the world of Sense, should thus have entered the *terra incognita* of *Noumena*, the Soul, the World, God.* Transcendental ideas such as these are, according to Kant, the products of the Pure reason, theorems which have no premisses derived from experience, illusions whose glamour the most vigilant caution cannot escape, any more than the instructed spectator can prevent the sea from appearing more elevated in the middle than near the shore, or than the astronomer can

* See "Kritik der reinen Vernunft," fourth edition (Riga), pp. 353, 408.

help seeing the moon of a greater diameter when she rises, though he does not allow himself to be deceived by the appearance. The truth, then, which is possible to man is real, but limited. Kant circumscribed the mind. Within the ring-fence of experience he pronounced it trustworthy. This circumscription permits the construction of a philosophy which has science for its basis; it disallows the possibility of a philosophy which proposes to investigate the objects of a supersensible world. It repudiates ontology, the science of Transcendental realities—Metaphysic proper.

In thus determining the boundary-line of science Kant rendered a real service to philosophy. He showed that the understanding, when not travelling beyond her province, was no deceptive guide; that truth was attainable, but only relative truth; that human reason has a natural tendency to overstep her constitutional limits. The *ideus* never confront their objects. We can solve problems—mathematical, physical, biological. We cannot solve problems which relate to the universe, to the soul, to God. Contradiction, transcendental illusion, are inseparable from all such attempts.

But Kant did not stop here. Dissatisfied apparently with this negative result—perhaps shrinking, himself, from the loss of all theological belief, or possibly reflecting that an old servant who suffered from an unfortunate inability to discriminate between his own and his master's property stood greatly in need of a moral check—Kant set himself resolutely to discover, if possible, an antidote for his own and his neighbour's scepticism, and a preventive for the misappropriating proclivities of the luckless Lampe, and the domestic banditti of whom he was the unconscious representative. Accordingly, to make amends for his deadly attack on the religion of the Pure reason, he invented a religion of the Practical reason, a religion which, if not wholly satisfactory to the philosopher, was at any rate good enough for Lampe. And thus, as has been wittily said, having turned religion out at the front door, he let her in again at the back.

Was this clandestine readmission justifiable? Was this surreptitious procedure successful?

The rapid and dreaded growth of scepticism, the impossibility of repelling the assaults of Biblical criticism, the gradual retreat of faith before the advance of science, compels the adherents of orthodoxy to have recourse to every available weapon; and German philosophy, once despised or denounced, is now invoked by accomplished clergymen to extend its protecting *ægis* over the collapsing form of theology. At one time we are invited by an imposing metaphysical hierophant to enter the kingdom of heaven through the golden gate of Hegelian ontology. At

another we are condescendingly informed by some superannuated phoenix of philosophy, or by some younger lion of literature, that though Kant's "Critique of Pure Reason" was indeed a negation of the highest knowledge, in his second great work, the "Critique of the Practical Reason," he triumphantly revindicated the fundamental truths of religion. On a third occasion we find a pre-eminent pillar of the Church suffusing his logic with beautiful emotion, and turning the tender eyes of ecclesiastical affection on that spotless virgin, the *Categorical Imperative*, while administering an indignant rebuke to the improper person called Positive Science, who will not leave "the unknowable unknown."

Observant of the "mollia tempora fandi," and influenced by the critical examination of Kant's moral principle in Professor Zeller's severe but appreciative and in part apologetic essay, we propose, with such assistance as we can derive from the perusal of this and other kindred works, to reconsider the arguments by means of which the philosopher of pure reason endeavoured to rear a superstructure of metaphysical belief and theological knowledge on the foundations of transcendental illusion and ontological nullity. Our intended refutation shall commence with a preliminary sketch of the Ethical system of Kant, and as we proceed we shall glance from time to time at some of the characteristic prescriptions of the Critical philosophy.

Turning first to the pages of the "Foundation of the Metaphysics of Morals," we shall see that Kant opens his inquiry by drawing a distinction between the empirical and rational mode of treating ethics. All philosophy which rests on the ground of experience he terms empirical; the philosophy which is independent of experience is called pure or rational philosophy. Moral philosophy, like natural philosophy, has both an empirical and rational part. It is necessary to disengage the rational from the empirical elements, the metaphysic of morals from the practical science of man. This necessity arises from the consideration of the essence of the moral law, from the common idea of duty or obligation. The sense of obligation is entirely independent of all diversities, ethnical, national, tribal, or individual. It is universally binding; it admits no exceptions; it is absolute. The ground of obligation therefore must not be sought in the human constitution or in mundane circumstance.

Again, conformity to moral law is not sufficient to sustain the idea of the morally good. The morally good is the good which exists, or the good which is accomplished for the sake of law, and for the sake of law only. Duty implies the necessity of an action out of respect for the law. This is the highest principle of morality, and to establish this principle is the object of Kant's

Moral Metaphysic. The only real and absolute good is the *perfect will*. Wealth, power, talent, judgment, courage, are good, it is true, in a qualified sense; but if the will be not good, they degenerate and become mischievous. Nor is it through its beneficial effects that the will acquires this character, but through its volitional power. Even if it effected nothing, provided it had done its best, it would still retain its full value. No utility would increase, no lack of utility diminish that value. Utility is the setting of the diamond which *marks* but does not *make* its value. The *good will* is the diamond, and, like the diamond, shines of itself.

In this representation of the absolute worth of the will, without any extrinsic advantage attached to its exercise, Kant admits that there is a certain singularity, and consents to put the idea to the test. If, he allows us to ask, the will has such intrinsic value, why has nature given us *reason* to regulate its action? Reason, he answers, is a deceptive guide. In every organized being we assume the perfection of the different organs which constitute it and adjust it to the purposes of life. Self-preservation, prosperity, happiness, are the proper ends of nature; but these ends are not attained by the exercise of reason. On the contrary, the cultivation of reason occasions trouble and discontent; the arts of luxury, her equivocal creation, corrupt; science, her more genuine offspring, disturbs; and the superiority which is accorded to reason induces envy. Securer and more luminous guidance would have been provided by the unerring intimations of an innate instinct. We conclude, then, that the true distinction of reason as a practical faculty is to produce, inherently and absolutely, Good. For as in all her other arrangements Nature has an end in view, we presume that the formation of such a will, a result which only reason could effect, was the end she proposed to herself in the case of such a being as man.

With this cardinal purpose, the production of a good will, Nature, in her wisdom, has associated a subordinate object, the attainment of happiness. The preoccupation of reason, however, with her primary end necessarily involves the frequent renunciation of pleasure, profit, and felicity, leaving us only the self-content which accompanies the loyal execution of her command, or even the faithful though futile endeavour to execute it. But what, the inquirer will ask, is meant by a good will? How is the true conception of it determined? By the imperial idea of duty, replies the philosopher. No action, he continues, prompted by feeling or inclination, has any moral value. All purpose or intention, all ends associated with purpose or intention, however unexceptionable, must be pronounced incapable of conferring a

moral value on action. Whatever contributes to our happiness, or even to that of others, can be effected by different agencies, and therefore does not require the *will of a rational being* to produce it.

The will, then must be determined by a *formal à priori principle*. The idea of law—law in and for itself—constitutes the morally good; respect for law is the essence of duty. In the absence of all intrinsic incitements, there remains only the universal legality of actions to serve as principle. Conformity to law is the **IMPERATIVE** of morality, the absolute unconditional moral commandment. Our rule of conduct or *maxim of action*, as Kant denominates it, must be such that, while adopting it, we can wish it at the same time to become a universal law—the law, that is, of all *rational beings*. Nature acts according to laws, but only a rational being has the faculty of acting in accordance with the representation of law. The representation of an objective principle is a command of reason, and the formula of the command has the character of an imperative; all imperatives are expressed by **SHALL** or **OUGHT**, and denote an affinity between the objective law of the reason and the will. Imperatives are either hypothetical or categorical. The hypothetical imperative represents the practical necessity of an action as a means to an end; as the study of medicine for the cure of a patient. The attainment of happiness is avowed by the common end which all rational beings have in view. The precept of the hypothetical imperative is declarative, prudential, conditional. But there is an imperative which is unconditional, absolute, categorical. It does not concern the mode or consequence of action, but the form and principle, the mental predisposition. As the categorical imperative includes only the law, and the maxim conformable to the law, and as the maxim can be framed independently of all conditions, all that is requisite to formulate the categorical imperative is the universality of the law to which the maxim of conduct is to conform. Kant's first ethical principle, then, may be thus expressed: *Act according to that maxim only which you can at the same time wish to become a universal law*; or, as in this case, the universality of the law may be considered as the equivalent of the order of nature: *Act as if the maxim of thy action were by thy will to become a universal law of Nature*.

The canon of the moral judgment must not be sought in the distinctive qualities of the constitution of man. All empirical motives, all provocations of pleasure, "the love of love," or the inspiration of enthusiasm, must be discarded. They are, to borrow Kant's own beautiful language, the sweet illusions that, like clouds, surround the reason. The divine Here, whom Ixion should desire to fold in his embrace, is Virtue in her naked purity; Morality divested of the drapery of the sensible world; Goodness without ornament, without reward.

The ground of every hypothetical imperative is a relative end—the satisfaction of a want, or the gratification of a desire, at least the promotion of human happiness—and thus can furnish no universally valid and necessary principle. We will assume, however, that there is Something which has an absolute value in itself; something which is its own end, and as such can be the ground of determinate law. In it, and in it alone, would lie the ground of the categorical imperative or practical law.

Such an end is Man, for man is a rational being, and rational nature is assumed to exist as an end in itself. It is true that as man can only represent his own existence, the principle thus supplied is subjective. But as every other rational being has precisely the same justification for representing his existence, the principle has also an objective character. This, then, is Kant's second principle, and the imperative may be formulated thus: *So act that thou always use Humanity, as well in thy person as in the person of every other, at the same time, as an end, but never as a means only.*

With this moral ideal all action is required to harmonize. There is in human nature a tendency to higher perfection, the neglect of which is inconsistent with devotion to the imperial end proposed by Nature, the development and amelioration of the race. And as the end which all men inevitably contemplate is their own personal happiness, so the happiness of the aggregate called mankind, must be the end of every individual composing that aggregate. Otherwise the idea of humanity fails to attain completeness of effect.

That this principle of humanity, as end in itself, is not borrowed from experience, is proved by its universality; for it refers to all rational beings, even to beings of whom experience makes no report. The ground of all practical legislation lies objectively in the form of universality, according to Kant's first principle; subjectively in the end, according to the second principle; the idea of the will of every rational being as universally legislative, furnishing the third principle. Man is thus subjected to his own legislation, and this legislation is both individual and universal. The imperative of action must be unconditional; the animating principle, that of *autonomy*, obedience to the supreme law of his *own* being, not that of *heteronomy*, compliance with solicitations *other* than those of the self-legislating will.

This idea of universal yet individual legislation introduces us to the magnificent conception of a kingdom of Ends. By a kingdom of ends Kant understands the systematic association of rational beings under the authority of the same common laws. As subordinate to these laws, every rational being is a member of this kingdom; as universally legislative, a sovereign. The

maxim of conduct that he adopts must in all cases be susceptible of universal application, and through this maxim he must learn to regard the will as invested with the prerogative of universal legislation. The reason applies every maxim of every will to every member of this ideal realm, not from any motive of self-interest, but from the idea of the dignity of a rational being who obeys no laws but those which he enacts.

In the kingdom of Ends everything has a price or a dignity. What relates to universal inclinations or desires, as address and diligence, has a market price: what relates to the gratification of the taste, or delight in the aimless play of the mental powers, as wit, imagination, humour, an affectional price: what is indispensable to the existence of an end in itself, has not merely a relative but an intrinsic value. This value is denominated dignity. The ground of basis in human nature is autonomy or self-legislation.

Kant's three modes of representing the principles of morality are in fact but so many different formulæ of the same law. All maxims must have a form; they must be valid as universal laws. They must have an end; the rational being, as the limiting condition of all relative ends, is that end—the end in self. They must harmonize with a possible kingdom of ends, as a kingdom of Nature. It is permissible to determine the *maxims* or rules of conduct by means of the categories of the understanding; of unity for the universality of the will, plurality for the objects proposed, and totality for the entire system or kingdom of ends. But the preferable basis of the moral judgment is the universal formula of the categorical imperative: *Act according to the maxim which can at the same time serve as a universal law.*

Kant began his inquiry with the conception of an unconditionally good will; he terminates it with the discovery that that will is absolutely good, the maxim of which, if made a universal law, can never be incongruous with itself. The absolutely good will embraces only the form of volition. The categorical imperative, including the autonomy of the will, is pronounced by Kant to be a necessary principle *à priori*: The different modes of formulation which he has adopted are denominated *practical synthetic à priori propositions*. They imply a possible synthetic use of the pure Practical reason. Is there such a use?

Kant believes that there is. The conception of freedom is, he affirms, the key to the exposition of the self-legislative or autonomous character of the will; and it is this conception, he insists, which gives reality to duty. The existence, indeed, of this volitional freedom cannot, he admits, be demonstrated; but, on

the other hand, though consciousness does not prove that we are free, it vindicates the sentiment of duty, the sense of moral obligation, the ethical OUGHT, as an ineradicable constituent of our spiritual nature.

To assert freedom and yet advocate subjection to the moral law, is very like describing a circle whose boundary-line allows no egress. Kant admits this, and more than this. He confesses that the freedom of the will is a problem which he is wholly unable to solve. He concedes that man, as a sensible object in a sensible world, is amenable to natural laws, is a link in the chain of causes and effects; while at the same time he insists that man, as a spiritual being in communication with the spiritual world, is exempt from the action of natural law. Reason, we are told, cannot prove our freedom. Consciousness, whether referred to the intellect or the sensitive faculty, carries no authority with it; its freedom is but an illusory phenomenon. This, however, is true only in the *speculative* province; when we come to *practical* considerations, when *action* or *motion* are in question, then consciousness, with the divine right which has been claimed for kings, decides with autocratic voice that we are free, converts the subjective into the objective, and confers on experience an authority which it refused before. Kant indeed does not attempt to demonstrate this paradoxical proposition; but as without it he could not explain the categorical imperative of duty, the freedom of the will is assumed as the first postulate of the practical reason.

But the practical reason not only enacts a law of duty; it indicates an ultimate end of action in the idea of the sovereign good. Accordingly, it contains two other postulates besides the postulate of volitional liberty. As man is not only a rational but a sentient being, he desires happiness. Happiness no less than virtue, then, enters into the conception of a SUMMUM BONUM. A moral order ought to exist, and therefore must exist; and as it certainly does not exist here, as happiness and virtue are not invariably conjoined in this world, we must look for their inseparable conjunction elsewhere; we must seek it in another world. God and immortality are the two postulates which the practical reason associates with that of the freedom of the will. To the attainment of moral perfection, eternal progression, endless personal existence, is indispensable.* For the conjunction of happiness and virtue the only possible agent is the Being who is both the author of Nature, which man cannot control, and of the moral law, which man cannot obey. Liberty, God, and Immortality are watchwords of the ethical theology of Kant.

* "Kritik der Praktischen Vernunft," p. 262.

It is thus that the iconoclastic philosopher claims to have restored religion. He relinquishes the idea of a philosophical demonstration of its cardinal doctrines, and contents himself with their *moral certainty*, as he is pleased to call it. The ethical grandeur of Kant's conception must be allowed; the intellectual power and concentration visible in the execution of his task are undeniable; the truth latent in his system may be admitted. Unfortunately we are compelled to add that his reasoning is illogical, sophistical, inconclusive.

Kant's philosophical starting-point lies in the conception of a pure and virtuous will. We readily agree with him that a will actuated by a consideration of personal profit or personal pleasure is not a *good* will, though it is not necessarily a *bad* will. But when Kant maintains that an action has no moral value unless it be done unprompted by any natural inclination, even though it be the disinterested desire to promote the welfare of others, we are forced to dissent. His second position, that the ethical value of an action lies not in the intention but in the maxim that determines it, is still more open to criticism. The will, we are told, must not be actuated by any *material* motive, but solely by a *formal* principle—an utterly impracticable requirement. From these two positions arises a third. Discarding all inclination for an object, Kant substitutes the idea of law, and law only, as the ground of volition, superadding the sentiment of *respect*—respect for law; an emotion, as he supposes, free from all alloy of inclination or personal liking. The province of reason is to deduce practice from law. Hence the name of Kant's moral principle—the Practical Reason! If the will were uninfluenced by subjective motives, it would obey reason instinctively; but since this is a privilege which it does not enjoy, obedience to objective law is attained only by constraint, or, as Kant terms it, *command*. The categorical imperative is the absolute command of Reason, and Kant depicts our practical reason, our conscience, as an internal legislator, an ideal Moses, thundering from an invisible Sinai, THOU SHALT.

An initial objection to this ethical ordinance has been anticipated by Mr. Alexander Bain:—

“The intrusion by Aristotle and by Kant of phraseology derived from the intellect into the domain of the feelings and the will, may be pronounced an improper identification or an abuse of analogy. Aristotle's *sylogism* of the will and Kant's *categorical* imperative point to no real resemblance: a syllogism expresses an argument conducted by the reasoning faculty; it has no relevance or suitability to express the decisions of the will.”*

* Bain's "Logic," part ii. p. 146.

An objection perhaps even more fatal to his theory is suggested by Kant himself, when he confesses that his moral imperative has no basis on which to rest its certainty. Such indeed is the case. It hangs in the air; it is suspended on nothing. If experience be summoned to sustain it, it becomes a mere prudential precept; it is no longer categorical but hypothetical. There is thus a difficulty in establishing the possibility of this boasted imperative; and the philosopher of pure reason, admitting the difficulty, takes refuge in his legal unconditional formula, the universality of law, as the correspondent of natural order, bidding us construct rules of conduct worthy to become the universal laws of Nature.

This notion of the universality of law we willingly accept, but in the sense only in which Mr. J. S. Mill accepts it. There ought not to be one law for ourselves and another law for others. "To give any meaning to Kant's principle, the sense put upon it must be, that we ought to shape our conduct by a rule which all rational beings might adopt *with benefit to their collective interest.*"* But we must not only move this amendment on Kant's resolution; we must follow him in his application, and see how little his formal principle, his shadowy, ghostly idea, this imperative without substance, without *content*, can effect. We must show how the moment it attempts to work, it collapses, or acquires efficiency only by denying its nature.

It is remarked by Professor Zeller that, opposed though Kant was to ontology or pure metaphysic, he found himself wholly unable to abandon the hope of solving problems that carry us beyond the world of experience. His acute critic accordingly compares him to Socrates; for, like Socrates, the more he repudiates the guidance of the speculative faculty, the more impossible metaphysic appears to him, the more obstinately he endeavours to discover a guide in the practical faculty. With a whimsical partiality he disparages the reason, because it cannot raise us into the transcendent world, and eulogizes the will because it can. The intrusion into philosophy of this authentic relation of thought and will is rightly denounced by Zeller as an unjustifiable violation of what is really homogeneous and indivisible. If thought is powerless to transport us beyond the sphere of the sensible, how can will enable us

"To soar with Plato thro' the empyreal air,
To the First-Good, First-Perfect, and First-Fair?"

If Kant refuses to limit the will to the world of sense, how can he consistently impose an unconditional limit on thought?

* Mill's "Utilitarianism," p. 77.

Does not the volitional act which assumes supersensuous existence necessarily include in it the idea or thought of the supersensuous?

Kant's fundamental conception of the self-determining freedom of the will, though, as we shall see, it contains a grain of truth, is equally open to philosophical objection. If the will is influenced by pleasures and pains not associated with the attainment of an external object, but with the laudable completion or censurable omission of an action—in a word, with the pains and pleasures of the moral sense, of the inward man, of the heart—the will may then be rightly called *autonomous*. But this is not Kant's meaning. In his system all motives derived from experience are discarded. In his system the pure reason alone influences the will—reason, without the alloy of pleasure or pain. If the pure reason really has this power, we concur with Mr. Grote in characterizing it as “a fact inexplicable, anomalous, and without parallel in our mental constitution.” It resembles an animal that can respire without breath.

Again, according to Kant's own showing, the perfect standard of independent self-determination is never attained. “Man never is, but always *to be good*.” An approximation to the moral ideal is all that is claimed for him. Volition in its absolute purity is never realized. Now what does this limitation imply? It implies that, after all, there is no absolutely pure practical reason; that Kant's pure will is only relatively pure—purer, we will say, than the sensory faculty; purer, possibly, than the cognitive faculty; but not unconditionally, not invariably pure, even in worlds, if such there be,

“Of ampler ether, of divinor air,
And fields invested with purpureal gleams.”

The content or substance of our mental representations is furnished by sensation. Then form depends on *à priori* laws, on our own internal activity. It is in the will pre-eminently that this spontaneous activity asserts itself. Speculatively, it creates only the form of our ideas; practically, it relates only to the form of our actions. If by form we understand the general rules which determine actions to ends, by *substance* the ends to be attained by action, it is evident that these ends, like the postulates in the theory of cognition, can only be established on the ground of experience—either external experience, the evidence of our senses, if the ends have to do with the outward world, or through the observation of physical facts if they relate to the internal or mental world. But Kant's grand practical principle can only be really independent of experience when it confines itself to what is subjective. All propositions derived from experience must be

wanting in that absolute universality, in that unconditionalness, which Kant considered indispensable.

Kant's principle, however, as he defines it, is not empirical. It is also not material. It is a purely formal principle, and as such excludes all reference to a determined end. There remains only the idea of an action conformable to law. Kant recognizes no motive but that which the law of duty supplies. Respect for the law is the only sentiment which he allows to influence the will, and the permission, guarded as it is, is assuredly inconsistent with his moral theory. Respect belongs to the emotional nature of man, and Kant has no right to appeal to feeling when he has laid it down that the will is determined by form alone.

The vacuous inefficiency of the practical reason contrasted with the grandiose promise of the moral imperative, recalls the procedure, be it fact or fable, of a bewildered student of the writings of that "old man eloquent" whom a brilliant votary of science has styled our greatest spiritual teacher. Provoked by the mysterious calls to unknown action ringing through the philosopher's fervent declamations, and eager "to follow knowledge like a sinking star beyond the utmost bound of human sight," the baffled aspirant one day presented himself before the astonished eyes of the redoubtable Teufelsdröckh, with the indignant remonstrance, "You are always telling us to march, sir, but you never tell us where we are to march to."

In much the same way as Carlyle is for ever insisting upon action, without specifying what action, Kant is always insisting on obedience to the categorical imperative without telling us what obedience is required. "So act," he reiterates, "that the maxim of your conduct may be such as you could wish to become a universal law." When you ask what conduct, what acts, what ends are prescribed, to *what place you are to march*, the sole answer vouchsafed takes the shape of a formal criterion. They must be such as all rational beings can desire! How are we to ascertain from such an unmeaning formula what conduct, what actions, what ends are suitable to all men, in all times, and in all places? To this question Kant gives no reply, and he can give no reply because his principle is formal only. No end is proposed, no consequence foreseen. If any progress is to be made, we must fall back on experience, and that is rebellion against the autonomy of the will, disregard of the first principle of Kantian morality, insult to that spotless virgin the Categorical imperative.

That all our duties are naturally derivable from the formal command of this imperious faculty is a position of which Kant, in his "Metaphysic of Morals," offers us many illustrations. (1) Kant imagines a perplexed casuist attempting to apply the rule of it according to that maxim which you can wish at the same time to

become a universal law. "Is it right," soliloquizes the practical philosopher, "to make a false promise, to tell a lie?" "I may wish," he responds "to tell this particular lie, but I cannot possibly wish that there should be a universal law requiring men to lie." The reasoning is unimpeachable, but what is the warrant for the conclusion? "*Because* in future my veracity would be questioned, or, if men did happen to believe me, they would take the first opportunity to repay me in my own coin;" in other words, because the *consequences* are such as no one would choose to encounter. (2) Again, suppose a man under the temptation to commit suicide. The principle of self-conservation, argues Kant, is opposed to self-destruction, and a rule of conduct enforcing suicide cannot therefore become a universal law. The prohibition is too inclusive, for even Christians have conceded that there are cases in which the Almighty has *not* "set his canon 'gainst self-slaughter." But not to press this point, we may object that the principle of self-conservation is psychological, and however willing man may be, in extreme emergencies, to "shuffle off this mortal coil," there is a general prepossession that life is worth having, a general recoil from the act of suicide, as from an intolerable calamity, which forbids the tempted man from contemplating the law of universal suicide as a desirable act of legislation for mankind. (3) Suppose, again, that the question arose, "whether borrowing without the intention of repaying were permissible," what would be the consequence of *universalizing* this rule of conduct? The *consequence* would be that nobody would lend. To neglect the cultivation of a valuable talent might conceivably become a universal practice, but it is impossible to wish that what is useful should be neglected by all. To refuse assistance invariably to those who need it, is certainly a conceivable policy, but a policy that could not very well be invested with universal validity, because, as Kant naïvely remarks, we may some day want assistance ourselves, and it is impossible to wish that the practice of "all uncharitableness" should be the practice of the whole human race. From these illustrations we see the inconsistency of Kant's theory. The theory rejects psychology, and rejects the doctrine of consequences; but when we attempt to apply it to actual life, we are obliged to readmit both. Every reasonable being, says Kant, must act as a member of the universal kingdom, and judge for himself what would happen if he were to commit or omit some act affecting the weal or woe of his fellow-citizens in that kingdom. But what is this, we would ask with Professor Zeller, but to judge actions by their consequences to the human race? and how can the consequences be ascertained except by experience, and how can we discover what actions have a tendency to produce social happiness except by observation? But if consequence is to

furnish the criterion, what becomes of the reiterated vaunt that morality is not material but formal, not empirical, but *à priori*; that the consequences of action on the fortunes of mankind are entitled to no consideration in the court of moral judicature? If we are told that the reference to consequences is not the motive of our volition, but only supplies us with a criterion, and are asked to take that for an answer, we rejoin: The categorical imperative has no right to seek in the general interest of the race a *mark* of the moral obligatoriness of an action. Kant's principle is formal only; in this respect differing from the original Chaos, which was without form, but unfortunately resembling it too closely in another respect—it is void.

There is a further count in Dr. Zeller's indictment against the moral imperative. The mere form adapts itself as readily to the principle of self-love as love of mankind. To follow our own interest, regardless of consequences, is an aphorism just as susceptible of unconditional formulation as the opposite axiom. Omitting all consideration of consequences, and looking to the form alone, the animal world, in its selfish struggle for existence, might easily erect self-interest into the basis of a system of conduct, and yet act in accordance with law based on the principle of universal legislation. A Kantist has no right to plead that the act must be considered in its details. Such an analytical investigation is not included in the concept of the maxim. Men do not act to realize a rule, but to attain an object. To consider the particular action as contained in the general command is to presuppose an antecedent moral character. Yet we are told that it is by the elevation of the maxim into the universal, and by this alone, that the moral element is first brought to light.

It is a further requirement of the transcendental morality that the legislation which it desiderates has for its object rational existence only, excluding all beings who are not endowed with reason. The requirement is perfectly admissible, but the requisitionist cannot be allowed to stop here. Given a society of rational beings, he has still to show why he erects into a law the principle of disinterested rather than of interested action. To do this, he must first ascertain the conditions of human life and the nature of the human constitution. He must prove, in fact, that the collective interest is the only end that harmonizes with the nobler attributes of rational existence. The demand for a merely formal principle is nugatory. Empirical science is indispensable to the construction of a moral code.

In sanctioning a personal judgment of the character of actions, Kant did in reality constitute happiness the criterion of actions—the happiness not of the individual, but of the community. But how, agreeably with Kant's purely *formal* principle, which eliminates

all objects of desire as empirical, can the obligation to promote the happiness of others be established? To reply that though the *end* lies in the happiness of others, the *motive* must be sought in respect for the moral law, is, as Zeller intimates, an empty distinction. How can the moral law oblige us to promote the happiness of others, if that happiness is not in itself a good and desirable thing? Rigorous consistency would have led Kant to exclude the happiness of others as well as our own from the sphere of our moral activity. To preserve inviolate the cold virgin purity of his moral motive, all regard for consequence, all consideration for the happiness of others, must be rejected with more than stoical insensibility.

Kant attributes to his moral law a purely *à priori* origin. But intellectual intuitions are avowedly no longer defensible. All our knowledge depends on external or internal experience; on the observation of the facts of consciousness, or those of objective reality. Our *moral* concepts, like all other concepts, have an empirical origin. The only *à priori* element which is possible must relate to the power of the will on the act, not to the *content* or determining end; for the moral law contains nothing, and determines nothing, but the form. To supply motive, to inspire action, we must appeal to experience; a procedure irreconcilable with the first principle of Kantian ethics.

Not only is Kant's moral philosophy psychologically defective; it is also defective in rationality. The moral imperative is supposed to be satisfied with unconditional universality; it never troubles itself with such a commonplace consideration as *capacity* for performance. Yet the practical reason is certainly underserving of its name, if it issues its commands to those who have no power to obey. The man, says Kirchmann, who can swim and save another by his skill, is bound in duty to attempt the rescue of a fellow-creature; but it would be neither practical nor rational to require that a man who cannot swim shall risk his life in an impossible enterprise.

Kant's illusion respecting the influence of his moral principle on the will is another point that provokes hostile criticism. He regards this influence as a deliverance of the pure reason. But in truth we have no evidence of the existence of such an influence. The *universality* of the subject matter, when illicitly borrowed from experience, does not determine the will to realize itself. All the examples which Kant produces are powerless to prove the assertion. It is not the universality of the content, but the material efficiency of the content, the circumstance, the pleasure, the interest, the emotion recognized in the laws which the SOCIAL MEDIUM, SOVEREIGN AUTHORITY, imposes, that is the real basis of the sentiment of duty.*

* See Kirchmann's "Erläuterungen zu Kant's Kritik der praktischen Vernunft."

Practical reason, according to Kant, operates on the determination of the will; but reason is thought, knowledge; and thought or knowledge carry no command with them. The reason may furnish propositions, but the reason cannot compel. Kant affirms that the practical reason is concerned with *à priori* cognitions only, and like the pure reason has its universal and necessary laws, its synthetic judgments. On an imagined *à priori* synthesis he rests the concept of the good and of respect for law. Does not this show that Kant's real point of departure is not a cognition *à priori*, but an *experience*? The determination of the will through the moral imperative, carries no universality with it. Respect for the law is not induced by the ethical deliverance, but by the commanding personality. It is not the cognition of a universal, but the order of a superior assumed to be universal, which attaches to the imperative the attribute of universality. Far from being inherent in the determination of the will, it is, as Kirchmann objects, an arbitrary addition of Kant's own, suggested by an analogy with the "Critique of Pure Reason." Thus, whether we consider the unphilosophical separation between the speculative and practical intellect; or the arbitrary appropriation to the practical reason of a prerogative denied to the speculative; or the artificial, incomplete, and irrelevant table of categories; or the supposititious universality of the maxims; or the inefficacy of knowledge for supplying motive to the will; or the inoperativeness of the formal command; or the unwarrantable intrusion of the psychological element; or the adulterous flirtation of the Practical reason with the doctrine of Consequences;—we are compelled to recognize the many shortcomings, both philosophical and logical, of the ethical elaboration of Kant. Originality of thought, ingenuity of contrivance, dexterity in coping with difficulties, are all discernible in the "Critique of Practical Reason;" but regarded as an exposition of moral science, we do not hesitate to pronounce it a complete failure. A residuum of valuable thought, it is true, may remain after all critical deductions. But that is not the question. The question is, has Kant created a self-consistent science which is demonstrably true, which commands the full assent of our reason, and which has done, once and for ever, the work that it is indispensable, for the conduct of life, should be done? To this question we must emphatically reply in the negative.

ART. II.—LORD CAMPBELL'S MEMOIRS.

Life of John Lord Campbell, Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain; consisting of a Selection from his Autobiography, Diary, and Letters. Edited by his Daughter, The Hon. Mrs. HARDCASTLE. In two vols. London: John Murray, Albemarle Street. 1881.

MRS. HARDCASTLE in her Preface tells us that her "father's words alone have been used in the composition of the following pages," and she adds, "all remarks or comments of my own I have avoided, feeling that it would be unbecoming in me to bestow either praise or blame upon my father, and beyond my power to pass any judgment upon his professional career." The biographer therefore stands aside and lets Lord Campbell tell the story of his life in his own way. The result is a biography which, in the vividness of its portraiture, if not in its literary finish and execution, is not unworthy to rank with Stanley's "Arnold" and Trevelyan's "Macaulay." Whatever may be the faults of Lord Campbell's "Lives of the Chancellors" and of "The Chief Justices," few people have surpassed him in writing what people like to read, and his memoirs of himself, now before us, are in this respect not one whit behind his memoirs of others. Mrs. Hardcastle trusts that these volumes may present something like "an adequate picture of her father's unwearied industry and his faithful devotion to duty." These qualities were known to be his by all who witnessed his career; but his daughter trusts also that these volumes will, "at the same time, show the geniality and tenderness which distinguished his private life, and made him beloved by all who belonged to him." To the world in general he appeared as he did to Charles Sumner, "as able, but dry and uninteresting. I think he is not much liked at the Bar, though all bow down to his powers."* We think that Mrs. Hardcastle's hopes will be realized, and that her readers will agree with her, that in private life her father was what she describes him to have been. Judicial impartiality, however, compels us to add that these memoirs contain many proofs that Bishop Wilberforce was right when he said that Lord Campbell's nature was "singularly coarse."†

In the number and rank of the offices he held Lord Campbell exceeded all other English lawyers. The only one who approaches him in this respect is Lord Hardwicke, who became successively Solicitor-General, Attorney-General, Chief Justice of England,

* Sumner's "Life and Letters," vol. i. 333, ii. 55.

† In the *Quarterly Review*, reprinted in the Bishop's Essays.

and Lord High Chancellor. Lord Campbell became successively Solicitor and Attorney General, and resigned the Attorney-Generalship to become Lord Chancellor of Ireland. From 1846 to 1850 he was Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster; he quitted that office to become Chief Justice of England, and only ceased to be the head of the Common Law to become Lord Chancellor of England. His great success was not due to the brilliancy of his mental powers—he was a laborious, plodding man, and he succeeded by dint of industry “and strong natural powers, unadorned by any of the graces.”*

In our sketch of Lord Brougham,† we remarked on the inconsistency of Lord Campbell, as “a Scot, whose weakness for a long pedigree” is proverbial, treating with ridicule and contempt Brougham’s pretensions to be descended from an ancient family.

We were therefore not a little amused, on opening Lord Campbell’s Memoirs, to find at the very outset this statement: “According to immemorial usage, I must introduce my own life and adventures with some account of my ancestors.” He then proceeds to deduce his descent on his father’s side from “Donald, fourth son of Archibald, the second Earl of Argyle, that distinguished chieftain who commanded the van of the Scottish army in the battle of Flodden, and there fell with his royal master” (Sept. 9, 1531). A difficulty quite as great as any which Brougham met in his attempt to prove his descent from the Broughams of the time of Antoninus met Campbell in his attempt to prove his descent from the distinguished Donald. This apparently insuperable objection was the fact that Donald entered into religion, and, through the intercession of the head of his clan with Cardinal Wolsey, became Abbot of Cupar; but Campbell states, “I have clearly ascertained that before he became a monk, he had been a soldier, and that having been married, he left behind him legitimate issue.” He makes, however, this admission: “I confess I have misgivings about our descent from the Abbot, knowing very well, from my experience in pedigree trials, how easy it is, giving one link, for the claimant to trace himself to Alfred, Charlemagne, and the Greek emperors.” But if a cloud of doubt hangs over his pedigree on the father’s side, on the mother’s side all is clear. “In the maternal line,” he says, “I can really and strictly, and *optima fide*, deduce my descent from the kings of Scotland,”‡ and he shows this at some length. But we have quoted enough to prove how little ground he had for sneering at Brougham’s pretensions,

* Charles Sumner, *ubi supra*.

† WESTMINSTER REVIEW, New Series, No. 112, Oct. 1879, p. 430.

‡ Life, vol. i. pp. 1-5.

probably equally well or ill founded, to ancient and aristocratic descent. Readers of Campbell's Life of Brougham will remember the derision with which he treats Brougham's wish to make out his seat in Westmorland to be "Broacum, or the seat of the ancient Crusaders."* Paying a visit to Brougham, he thus writes to his brother of his host: "Having so much justly to be proud of, there is nothing that he cares to talk about connected with himself except the greatness and antiquity of his race. . . . The hall is hung around with coats of mail and old armour, and here you dine in baronial splendour. The whole house is filled up in the same taste, and externally has the aspect of a baronial castle. But, with these follies, the master of the mansion treated us with cordial hospitality." We may, in passing, give a specimen of Campbell's witticisms, which were of that class which Sir Charles Wetherell called "ponderous levities." Brougham had opened the grave in Brougham Church of "an Edwardus de Broham," a Crusader, and removed the skull from the skeleton, and placed it in his baronial hall under the purse which contained the Great Seal of England. Campbell being called upon to admire "the grinning Crusader," writes to his brother: "I could only say that I was much struck by the family likeness between him and his illustrious descendant, particularly in the *lengthiness of the jaw.*"† This is eminently characteristic of the man, and well illustrates the harshness and coarseness, "without delicacy or refinement," which Sumner attributed to him. Campbell could afford to be sarcastic with the follies of Brougham and his baronial castle, and yet while his new house at Hartrigge—the Scottish seat he purchased and rechristened—was building, he wrote to his brother: "I have a childish hankering after pepper-boxes for the corners of the house. We shall then exclaim, as in the novel of "Marriage," "Hoose, d'ye ca' it?—I ca' it the castell."‡

The pious belief that he could truly say—

"Of gentle blood, part shed in honour's cause,
Each parent sprung,"

led to his assumption of an aristocratic hauteur little in accordance with (as appears from the somewhat flattered likeness prefixed to the first volume) his plebeian appearance. This is apparent in all his writings, and was equally so in his manner, especially to those whom he thought beneath him; while to those whom he considered his superiors his manner was marked with a deference so excessive that it might be called

* "Lives of the Chancellors," vol. viii. p. 218.

† Life, vol. ii. p. 244-5.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 279.

servility. This is one of Campbell's characteristics. Another, not less strongly marked, was that he was very "conceited." This, we know on his own testimony,* was his brother's very old and often recorded opinion. This also shows itself in every volume he wrote; as Bishop Wilberforce† remarked (we give only the spirit of his remark) of his Lives of Lyndhurst and Brougham, "The under-current which runs through the book is how much better Campbell would have acted in all the circumstances of their lives than these two men." It was not less manifest in his manner of speaking, which was fully as affected, though in a different style, as that of Lord Westbury. His conceit led him to aspire to be what, in the slang of his young days, was called "a dandy"—a fact which is striking to those who remember his somewhat slouching and slovenly appearance in his latter days. As a young man, and not a very young man, he was as particular about his dress as Oliver Goldsmith was about his peach-coloured coat, and notes his dress on particular occasions with a minuteness which reminds us of honest Samuel Pepys. In describing to his brother a ride in Regent's Park with the lady then the object of his admiration, and who afterwards became his wife, he particularly mentions that he was dressed in "white duck trousers, a buff waistcoat, and an olive-coloured morning frock coat, cut after the fashion of the Duke of Wellington's," and in announcing to his brother that his wedding day is fixed he is careful to tell him, "I shall be dressed in a blue coat, white waistcoat, and white trousers."‡

Perhaps this characteristic was even more remarkably displayed (but it is only fair to say not more than his persevering industry) in his learning to dance when he was in his thirty-fourth year, a mature age to be found, to use Thackeray's words, "learning to dance amongst the foolish virgins." His dancing experiences are described in a letter to his father with the *naïveté* which is one of the charms of the book. After giving the reasons which drove him to the resolution of applying to one of the dancing-masters who teach grown gentlemen—

"Accordingly," he continues, "on my return from circuit I waited upon a celebrated artist from the Opera House, Chassé! Coupé! Brisé! One! two! three! I may say I devoted the long vacation to this pursuit. I did not engage in special pleading with more eagerness. . . . I have attended so diligently and made such progress that I verily believe I pass for a person intending to teach the art myself in the provinces. *If you were to see me perform, you would call me 'le dieu de la danse.'*"§

* Life, vol. i. p. 149.

† *Ubi supra.*
§ *Ibid.*, p. 297.

‡ Life, vol. i. pp. 372, 304.

Amongst the pictures at Abbotsford was one of Queen Elizabeth dancing "high and disposedly" before the Scottish ambassador. Would that Wilkie, the intimate friend of Campbell, had painted, as he could have painted it, a *pendant*, "Plain John Campbell* at a dancing lesson." It was probably this episode in Campbell's life which led Lord Abinger (his father-in-law) to say that if "Campbell had been an opera-dancer, he would not have danced so well as Taglioni, but he would have made a great deal more money." When Attorney-General he was "strongly urged by the Lord Chamberlain to dance a Scotch reel before the Queen,"† but fortunately he withstood the entreaty. The exhibition might have had upon Her Majesty the same effect which, according to Sydney Smith, the dancing of Mr. Hawkins Brown had upon the Queen of Naples.‡

We have dwelt at the outset on these peculiarities in Campbell's character, that our readers may bear them in mind while we lay before them a brief sketch of the remarkable career narrated in these volumes.

Spite of Campbell's pride of birth, he confesses that "he derived no credit or assistance from ancestry or relatives." "I was," he says, "born in obscurity, and had to struggle against penury and neglect." He was, in Scottish phrase, "born in the manse," and we have heard that after settling in London he became a member of a London dinner club composed of men so born, and bearing the name of "The Born in the Manse." Long after he had attained fame and rank he dined with the club, when, according to our informant, his presence, especially if he was in the chair, effectually and invariably acted as a wet blanket on the joviality of the company. His father in his early life was tutor to "the son of Campbell of Carwhin, the heir presumptive to the earldom of Breadalbane." He accompanied his pupil to London when he went to Westminster School, and for several

* "Plain John Campbell" was his description of himself when he first addressed the electors of Edinburgh. This self-bestowed *soubriquet* stuck to him for years. † Vol. ii. p. 135.

‡ The request from the Lord Chamberlain was in July, 1840. The Princess Royal was born 21st November, 1840. ' In the third year of his present Majesty (Geo. III.), and in the thirtieth year of his own age, Mr. Isaac Hawkins Brown, then upon his travels, danced one evening at the Court of Naples. His dress was a volcano silk, with lava buttons. Whether (as the Neapolitan wits said) he had studied dancing under St. Vitus, or whether David, dancing in a linen vest, was his model, is not known; but Mr. Brown danced with such inconceivable alacrity and vigour, that he threw the Queen of Naples into convulsions of laughter, which terminated in a miscarriage, and changed the dynasty of the Neapolitan throne."—*Peter Plymley's Letters*, Sydney Smith's Works, vol. iii. p. 397, note.

years lived with him in the capital. While in London he paid great attention to the correct pronunciation of the English language. In this respect his son tried hard, but without success, to copy his example. One of his weaknesses was the dislike—the fear, even amounting to horror—of his Scotch accent being detected.

“I trust,” he writes to his brother in India, “you have got pretty well rid of your Scotch accent, a thing of which I know you have a perfect horror. It is not merely the offence to my ear which I dread, but the effect of my own enunciation, which is powerful and inevitable. If I sit a whole evening in a company of Scotsmen I am afraid next morning to open my mouth lest I should hear a compliment upon my Doric dialect.”*

Again—

“I would surrender a considerable portion of my legal acquisitions to have a pure English accent. *There are far higher considerations in life than elocution, and therefore I do not strictly avoid all society where mine must suffer; but I would much sooner visit a house where the wine is bad than where the dialect is bad.*”†

As a contemporary puts it, “In his anxiety to soften down his Scotch accent, he acquired a mincing manner of pronunciation which materially lessened the effect of his delivery.” Spite of his attempts, what he truly says of Brougham might with equal truth be said of himself: “He spoke English with a genuine Caledonian accent and pronunciation all his life.”‡ He was in his fifty-ninth year when Sumner first heard him, and thus described him to Story: “He has a marked Scotch accent still.” Macaulay gives an admirable imitation of his accent, and of his style altogether—while we read it Campbell’s voice seems still sounding in our ears. Writing to his friend Ellis about a threatened application for a criminal information against him for his celebrated review of Montgomery’s poems—which their author considered a libel—he says:—

“Imagine Jack! I have *thee graitest respect* for the very eminent poet who makes this application, and for the very eminent critic against whom it is made. It must be very satisfactory to Mr. Montgomery to have had an opportunity of denying on oath the charge that he writes nonsense. But it is not the practice of this Court to grant criminal informations against libels which have been a quarter of a century before the world.”§

* We agree with the contemporary whom we have before quoted,

Life, vol. i. p. 233.

† Ibid., p. 236.

‡ “Lives of the Chancellors,” vol. viii. p. 222.

§ Trevelyan’s “Macaulay,” vol. ii. p. 357.

that Campbell "might have seen in Brougham how little eloquence is impaired by an occasional touch of the native and natural Doric." *

In 1774 the relation of tutor and pupil between Mr. Campbell (the father) and the heir of the Breadalbanes ceased, and the tutor returned to Scotland, took orders, became "second minister in the collegiate charge of Cupar, in the county of Fife," and soon afterwards married. Cupar was not a lucrative benefice, for the yearly stipend was only £80, without manse or glebe. According to the moderate estimate of wealth which a hundred years since prevailed in Scotland, the lady he married was considered an heiress, having a fortune of £1,500.

Of this marriage there were seven children—two sons. George, the elder, went to India in the medical service of the East India Company, and afterwards became Sir George Campbell of Eदनwood; the second was John—

"England's High Chancellor, the destined heir,
In his soft cradle, to the marble chair." †

Five daughters "added" (we quote their brother's words) "to our pleasures and our poverty." John was born 15th September, 1779. He early showed a taste for reading, and when about seven was sent to the Grammar School of Cupar, and a few weeks after he had completed his eleventh year he went to the University of St. Andrews. His brother and he went to college at the same time, each with a bursary or exhibition, the elder of about £20 a year, the younger of £10. He had finished the curriculum which entitled him to the degree of A.M. before he had completed his fifteenth year. ‡

"Considering," are his own words, "that I had not reached my sixteenth year, § my stock of knowledge was not inconsiderable, and Frenchmen or Germans would have thought I was more advanced in mental cultivation than an English boy in the fifth form at Eton; yet I have ever regarded with envy the foundation laid at great schools in England, of solid and exact learning. I have had to labour under a deficient store, not only of classical, but of scientific acquirements. I have since struggled hard to supply the deficiency, but I entered the lists by no means on equal terms with an Oxford first-class man or a

* *Quarterly Review*, No. 301, January, 1831, p. 15, art. "Lord Campbell's Memoirs."

† Ben Jonson's well-known lines on Lord Bacon, with the substitution of "marble" for "his father's," which are Jonson's words.

‡ *Life*, vol. i. p. 21, and note correcting the statement in the text.

§ According to the Editor, his fifteenth. See reference in last note.

Cambridge Wrangler. I had, however, what was more valuable than mere academical proficiency, an unextinguished desire to excel.*

From one deficiency in his education, he tells us, he suffered from his youth, and should suffer to his dying day. What follows is eminently characteristic of the cautious nature of the man, and must be given in his own words:—

“In England, Latin quantity is considered the test, not only of acquaintance with the Latin language, but of liberal breeding; and for general estimation a man had better be guilty of a bad action than mistake a short syllable for a long, or a long for a short. Wherefore it has always been with fear and trembling that I have ventured on a Latin quotation at the Bar or in Parliament, and I have often suppressed quotations which were very appropriate, from a dread of a mistake in *longs* and *shorts*, well knowing that the chance of *éclat* was nothing to the ridicule I should incur if I tripped.”†

He congratulates himself that by this caution he escaped the ridicule which Burke and Macintosh incurred by their mistakes as to quantity,‡ and to which his more brilliant countryman, Brougham, exposed himself when, in the company of two Cambridge Wranglers, Lords Macaulay and Wensleydale, he maintained that it was doubtful whether the tragic poet was Euripides or Euripides.§ Not until he was Chief Justice, did he venture to correct “an uneducated” barrister in a matter of quantity, “firing off a joke at him very successfully,” for, as he says, “there has always been a great disposition to laugh at the jests of the Chief Justice.”|| Once, indeed, Campbell came under the lash of an Oxford first-class man for an error in Latin. In copying for his “Lives of the Chancellors”¶ the Latin epitaph on Thurlow in the Temple Church, which was composed by Martin Routh, so long president of Magdalen, in the clause “optime de patriâ merendi” he substituted for “*merendi*,” *merendo*. The venerable President delighted to point out the mistake, saying contemptuously, “His Scotch Latin, sir!”**

Campbell was intended for the ministry—such was his father's wish, and in it he entirely acquiesced; and at this time the wildest dreams of his ambition would have been satisfied had he been told that one day he would become a popular preacher and Moderator of the General Assembly of the Kirk. He began the course of four years' study in divinity required of every candi-

* Life, vol. i. p. 22. † Ibid., p. 10. ‡ Ibid., p. 11.

§ Trevelyan's “Macaulay,” vol. ii. p. 256.

|| Life, vol. ii. p. 285. ¶ Vide vol. v. p. 632.

** Quarterly Review, July, 1878, vol. cxlvi. p. 11, note.

date for orders. On the discourses, which, according to the requirements of his college, he as a divinity student was required to prepare, he looks back with characteristic complacency. Indeed, through his whole life it might truly be said of him, as one said in reply to the question, "What do you think of my son, Mr. —?" "Well, I think very well of him, and he thinks very well of himself." But a change was now at hand. Two Scotchmen, born within a year of each other, were each destined to fill the highest office of the English law. After they had crossed the Tweed, like true Scots they made acquaintance, and during the rest of their joint lives lived on terms, sometimes of friendship, sometimes of enmity, frequently of bickering, and still more frequently of mutual backbiting and slandering. These were Henry Brougham and John Campbell.*

Campbell, though a year younger than Brougham, first took the "irrevocabile gradum" of crossing the Tweed. He left Scotland in 1798, when he was in his twenty-fourth year, to become tutor to the son of a Mr. Webster, a partner in a great West India house; "he found his situation from the beginning very irksome, and it became more and more unbearable." He was kindly received by friends of his father at the house of one of them, a Dr. William Thomson; "he saw a good deal of literary society, and his ambition was inflamed to become an author himself." Thomson was editor of the "Annual Register," and Campbell wrote for him some articles in the historical department, which were printed, and of which, half a century after their composition, their author says, with characteristic complacency, "I have since read them without a blush." His father used to boast that he had seen Garrick, and his son eagerly went to the theatre: "It was not so great a boast to have seen John Kemble and Mrs. Siddons, but they exceeded any notion I had formed of histrionic excellence."

This visit to the theatre had important effects on his future career, but a still more important event occurred. "I was wretched," he avows, "until I had been in the House of Commons." Accordingly he obtained an order for the gallery on an evening when Mr. Wilberforce moved for the immediate abolition of the Slave Trade. "This was the most memorable day of my life. . . . Now was the most splendid era in the history of the House of Commons; and this debate was one of the finest ever heard within its walls." He heard Wilberforce, Henry Thornton, Canning, "in one of his earliest and happiest effusions," Pitt, Fox, and Windham.

* Brougham, born 30th September, 1778; died 7th May, 1868. Campbell, born 15th September, 1779; died 22nd June, 1861.

In his autobiography, speaking of Peel's "much applauded speech on the Income Tax" in 1842, Campbell adds to his reminiscences of this debate the opinion "that in the great days he could remember, Peel would have been laughed at or coughed down. Business talents," he adds, "we now have, but real fine speaking is gone for ever."* Here he shows himself, as on the same subject Wilberforce confessed himself to be, too much "laudator temporis acti." In 1842, besides Peel, the House of Commons numbered amongst its members Stanley (Earl Derby), Macaulay, Sheil, Russell, Graham, Palmerston, O'Connell, and Follett—all these stood in the front rank; Gladstone and Disraeli had already given promise of the rare eminence they have since attained; and Cobden had already risen above the parliamentary horizon. Of Macaulay Campbell has thus recorded his opinion: "Macaulay's speeches on the Reform Bill were the most delightful to listen to of any I ever heard in Parliament; he was so full of new and brilliant illustrations, and he got over the ground so rapidly, that there never was a moment of tedium or satiety for his hearers.†

Campbell had also heard "the pure Saxon of the silver style" of Stanley, and the "enamelled rhetoric" of Sheil, in their encounters over the Irish Corporations and the Irish Church. He had heard Russell,

"With an eloquence, not like those rills from a height,
Which sparkle and foam and in vapour are o'er;
But a current that works out its way into light,
Through the filtering recesses of thought and of lore."‡

It could not therefore be truly said in 1842 that "really fine speaking was gone for ever."

The effect on Campbell of this his first visit to the House of Commons was immediate and decisive: "After hearing this debate, I could no longer have been satisfied with being Moderator of the General Assembly."§

Space fails us to narrate in detail the various steps by which Campbell struggled manfully through a youth of obscurity and poverty up to eminence and command. He determined, his father reluctantly consenting, to settle in London to study law, and to gain the means of living during the time which must elapse before he could be called to the bar, he became a reporter on the staff of the *Morning Chronicle*, then—under the

* Life, vol. i. pp. 30-36. According to Earl Russell, the period from 1820 to 1827 was the most brilliant period for oratory in the House of Commons within his recollection ("Recollections and Suggestions," p. 55).

† Life, vol. i. p. 525.

‡ Moore's lines on Lord Russell.

§ Life, vol. i. p. 36.

joint editorship of Robert Spankie* (a St. Andrews acquaintance of Campbell's) and James Perry—the leading Liberal newspaper.

He was not over-sanguine of success at the Bar. He thought “practice at the English Bar depends by no means so much on family interest as at the Scotch, and whoever distinguishes himself is sure of employment;” but his cool calculating mind did not conceal from him the possibility of failure, which he thus recognizes: “For one who can enter into any other advantageous line of life with a probability of success, I think it would be folly ever to think of becoming a lawyer—the chance is four to one that he fails.” Still his native audacity and self-confidence encouraged him to persevere. “My inclination,” he adds, “to enter upon the study of the law is by no means diminished by having attended a term at Westminster Hall. Notwithstanding the severe shocks my vanity has of late sustained, I still think I could make a better figure than many who are reckoned first-rate lawyers.” His mode of living at this time and for years afterwards was penurious. “I have got,” he tells his father, “a couple of rooms, for which I only pay nine shillings a week. Of course the air I breathe is pretty poetical, but it is the purer for that. I generally dine at a house where my dinner and drink cost me two shillings and two pence; yet I find it the cheapest house in London. I never think of supper.”† This manner of living affected the whole course of his long life. His nearness was notorious. Anecdotes, according to Lord Melbourne, are generally false, but one used to be told of Campbell, which if not *veró*, is certainly *ben trovato*; it probably illustrates his reputation for extreme economy rather than records a fact. It was said that, while Attorney-General and in the receipt probably of a larger income than any former Attorney-General, he visited an exhibition to which “children in arms were admitted free,” and carried in, in his arms, his eldest son, a fine boy of ten, in order to save the cost of his admission. On the other hand, it is due to his memory to add that, even in the first year of his career as a reporter, he writes to his father:—

“Perry told me a few days ago that he meant to raise my salary considerably, and that he would give me as soon as I pleased a draft for the difference between the increased salary and my original allowance since the time I entered with him. This is certainly very handsome.

* A Scot by birth—afterwards in succession Advocate-General at Calcutta, Queen's Sergeant, and one of the first two members for Finsbury in the Reformed Parliament of 1832.

† Life, vol. ii. pp. 39, 49.

As soon as I get the money I shall send you down *de quoi* to pay the balance due from George to the paymaster of his regiment.”*

He had a firm and, as the result showed, a well-founded conviction that he should succeed. “I declare to you most seriously,” he writes to his sister, “that I have scarcely a doubt I should rise at the English Bar.” In the same letter, with singular accuracy, he foretells his future career:—

“In about six years after I am called to the Bar I expect to have distinguished myself so much as to be in possession of a silk gown and a seat in Parliament. I shall not have been long in the House of Commons before I interest the Minister in my favour and am made Solicitor-General. The steps then, though high, are easy, and after being a short time Attorney-General and Master of the Rolls, I shall get the Seals, with the title of Earl Auld Kirkyaird. I am sorry that this last sentence has escaped me, as it is the only one that did not come from the bottom of my heart, and as it tends to throw an air of ridicule over everything I have said. At the same time, I do not think that Lord Thurlow, Lord Loughborough, Lord Kenyon, or Lord Eldon had a better chance at my age of filling their high offices than I now have of succeeding them. There is nothing like aiming at something great. Say every day, ‘I will be Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain!’ and you will be made a puisne judge of the Court of Common Pleas.”†

His rise, however, was not so speedy; silk was not given so indiscriminately as it has been since his younger days. Nearly nineteen years elapsed since his call to the Bar before he was made a King’s Counsel, and three years more elapsed before he became a member of the House of Commons. He obtained his Solicitor-Generalship within three years of his entering Parliament.‡ He applied for the Mastership of the Rolls without success, but not without feeling some mortification at his failure. Fortunate it was for him that he was unsuccessful, or he might, like another Whig Attorney-General,§ have remained shelved at the Rolls for twenty years.

In view of his being called to the Bar he took chambers in 2, Old Buildings, Lincoln’s Inn, “the cheapest in the Inn, of course—not the best.” He continued to act on the reporting staff of the *Morning Chronicle*, being at once law, parliamentary, and theatrical reporter. From taste and necessity “he continued to live a regular, frugal, and temperate life.”

* Life, vol. i. p. 50.

† Ibid., pp. 52, 53.

‡ Called at Lincoln’s Inn, 15th November, 1806; K.C. 13th June, 1827; first elected M.P. August, 1830; Solicitor-General, November, 1832.

§ The late Lord Romilly.

If the evidence of his parsimonious disposition sometimes provokes a smile, it should be borne in mind that it was not the innate meanness of Eldon, and that what Campbell said of that one of his predecessors, whose career most closely resembled his own, was equally true of himself: "The censure of his love of money should be softened by the recollection of the penury which he had suffered in his youth."*

His brother in India supplied him with the necessary funds for his legal education. He thus acknowledges his obligations:—

"I am really vexed that you have sent so very large a sum of money. If my luck continues, I shall scarcely want any part of it for my own use. . . . Remember, remit me no more in future than what I am to send home or to lay out as your agent, according to specific directions given me. You have kept my head above water for a great number of years, but now I shall go on *swimmingly*. I believe that you have felt the sincerest pleasure in assisting me, but I believe that you will feel not less in knowing that I shall not for the future want any assistance. It certainly must yield you considerable satisfaction to think that you have enabled me to follow the plan of life which I so enthusiastically projected, and that by your means I have now a fair chance of attaining a respectable station in society. I talk not of my obligations to you on this score, which I scarcely feel after I think of the unexampled kindness of heart you have shown me, the lively interest you have taken in my fortunes, the indulgence you have extended to my weaknesses, and your anxious exertions to support my courage, and to give my mind a tone suitable to the arduous career I had entered upon."†

We remember a member of the Bar, who knew Macaulay in his younger days, saying, "If Tom had had only a shilling a year, he would have had teupence left at the end of it;" and Campbell also possessed this grace of the Scottish character. From the first he must have saved and invested money, for we find him informing his father in 1804 that, to answer extraordinary demands, he intended to sell out £100, and again, later in the year, that he had sold out £50 Three per Cents. for—‡

His engagement with the *Morning Chronicle* lasted five years. We have before remarked that he was at one and the same time theatrical critic and parliamentary and legal reporter. The first of these offices he valued as a means of acquiring the proper pronunciation of the English language. Here also his characteristic perseverance and indefatigable laboriousness showed themselves.

"I took great pains," he records in his autobiography, "with my

* Life of Lord Hardwicke, "Lives of the Chancellors," vol. v. p. 147.

† Life, vol. i. p. 232.

‡ Ibid., pp. 134, 161.

articles on plays and players. I not only read carefully all the pieces usually acted, but I made myself master of the history of our stage from Shakespeare downwards, and became fairly acquainted with French, German, and Italian dramatic literature. I never acknowledged myself as a critic, but it was pretty well known from whom the dramatic articles came, and I sometimes found myself treated with most unaccountable deference by first-rate performers and popular dramatists. The plaudits or hisses of the audience, and overflowing houses or empty benches," he adds, with his habitual complacency, "certainly depended a good deal on the anonymous critic of the *Morning Chronicle*."*

His style and manner of speaking, whether in Parliament or at the Bar, certainly showed no traces of his theatrical studies and experience. The records of his experience as a parliamentary reporter give much valuable information. He says: "I cannot conceive a more improving exercise, better even than translating the orations of Cicero or Demosthenes, than reporting for a young man who aspires to be an orator." Here again he appears to have himself derived little improvement from this exercise: as a speaker, he was powerful, but pompous and tedious. For three sessions he continued to attend the gallery of the House of Commons: "I acquired great facility and considerable skill in reporting, and the best speakers were assigned to me." He reported, amongst others, Fox, Pitt, the most difficult, Tierney, the most easy, to report; Grey and Sheridan.

"I know nothing," he continues, "and did not desire to know anything, of *shorthand*. Shorthand writers are very useful in taking down evidence as given in a Court of Justice, but they are wholly incompetent to report a good speech. They attend to words without entering into the thoughts of the speaker. They cannot by any means take down at full length all that is uttered by a speaker of ordinary rapidity, and if they did, they would convey a very imperfect notion of the spirit and effect of the speech."

He then gives a sketch of the ideal reporter, reading which is enough to make any aspirant to the gallery say with the Apostle Paul, "Who is sufficient for these things?"—

"To have a good report of a speech, the reporter must thoroughly understand the subject discussed, and be qualified to follow the reasoning, to feel the pathos, to relish the wit, and to be warmed by the eloquence of the speaker. He must apprehend the whole scope of the speech, as well as attend to the happy phraseology in which the ideas of the speaker are expressed. He should take down notes in abbreviated longhand as rapidly as he can for aids to his memory. He must then retire to his room, and looking at these, recollect the speech as it was delivered, and give it with all fidelity, point, and

* Life, vol. i. pp. 110, 111.

spirit, as the speaker would write it out if preparing for the press. Fidelity is the first and indispensable requisite, but this does not demand an exposure of inaccuracies and repetitions.”*

These remarks were written forty years ago, and may have been applicable to the state of things existing eighty years ago, when, as he tells us, debates were very rare, and hardly any attention was paid to the ordinary business of Parliament; when one reporter took the whole of a long speech extending to five or six columns of a newspaper, upon which he was necessarily employed a good many hours, and on the day after a long debate the publication of the newspaper was delayed till two or three o'clock in the afternoon. But his depreciatory remarks on shorthand writers have no application to the present day. Shorthand writers, like all other classes, have improved in education and intelligence, and though the Houses may have sat far on in the morning, all the great speakers of the debate are reported with the accuracy of a vocal photograph; and their speeches may be read by nine o'clock at every breakfast table in London, and by the same evening at the Land's End.

Notwithstanding all that has been written on Pitt as a speaker, Campbell's criticisms on him are well worth reading:—

“With the exception of Pitt the younger, there probably never was a parliamentary debater in whose language there was not some inaccuracy, and who did not fall into occasional repetitions. These are hardly perceived in the rapid stream of extemporaneous eloquence, and are corrected and remedied by the voice, the eye, the action of him to whom we listen; but blazoned on a printed page which we are deliberately to peruse, would offend and perplex us. If Pitt could have been taken down *verbatim*, all his sentences, however long and involved, would have been found complete and grammatical, and the whole oration methodized and finished; but it would have been sometimes stiff and cumbrous and vapid, although, animated by his delivery, it electrified the House. Nay, if he himself had written it for publication, it would probably have been much altered. No man knew better the difference between what is permitted in speaking and in writing.† In his letters to the Duke of Grafton, lately published, his style is generally pithy and sententious, and the long balanced periods which distinguished his speeches are never to be found.”‡

As another means of training himself as a forensic speaker, Campbell frequented the debating societies, which then perhaps were more common in London than they are now.§

* Life, vol. i. 105-7.

† This agrees with Fox's well-known dictum—“Does the speech read well? Then it was a bad speech.”

‡ Life, vol. i. p. 106.

§ *Fide* Life, vol. i., *inter alios*, pp. 20, 72, 117, 141-2.

The prevalence of the invasion panic, and its consequence, the volunteer mania, delayed the commencement of his professional career. It also made him an active member of a volunteer corps. It was a singular coincidence that in the last year but one of his life he sat, as Lord Chancellor, to administer the oath of allegiance to the Volunteers of the Inns of Court, and delivered a spirit-stirring speech, which is said to have been one of his happiest efforts, and which excited considerable enthusiasm.*

An additional means of his training for the Bar was his engagement as law reporter for the *Morning Chronicle*—in which capacity he for some time reported the decisions of Lord Kenyon and his brethren in the King's Bench. In Hilary Term, 1804, he entered the chambers of Mr. Tidd, who among the special pleaders of that day ranked *primus inter pares*, and four of whose pupils, Lyndhurst (Copley), Denman, Cottenham, (Pepys), and Campbell, afterwards sat together in the House of Lords, and with Brougham formed the Court which decided one of the *causes célèbres* of modern times—the O'Connell case. It was while in Tidd's chambers that Campbell made the acquaintance of these four men, with whom he was thenceforth intimately and to the close of their lives associated. Denman and he were all along friendly competitors † Denman however, distanced him, preceding him in the offices both of Attorney-General and Chief Justice. Lyndhurst far outstripped them both in the race of success. He had for the fourth and last time resigned the Great Seal before ever Campbell rose to the English Bench.

Campbell relates the following conversation between him, Copley, and Scarlett (Lord Abinger), after Copley had abandoned his Republican opinions, become Solicitor-General, and entered Parliament as a Tory :—

"*Campbell*.—Had you come into the House on the popular side, what a firebrand you would have been!

"*Scarlett*.—He would have retained his name of Jacobin Copley.

"*Solicitor-General*.—That is a calumny lately invented.

"*Scarlett*.—It is the name I well remember your being called by, before you went over." ‡

On the expiration of Campbell's year of pupillage, he remained for some considerable time with Tidd as a sort of managing clerk. The antipathy, and even contempt at that time felt by

* Life, vol. ii. p. 387.

† Ibid., p. 391.

‡ Ibid., p. 396. Cf. "Lives of the Chancellors," vol. viii., *Life of Lyndhurst*, pp. 11, 73.

the Bar for what were called "pressmen," made him anxious, so far as was possible, to conceal from his fellow-students his connection with the *Morning Chronicle*. His contributions to the paper, however, had not yet entirely ceased.

"They consisted almost solely of the theatrical critiques (he writes to his father), and of small, I will not say witty paragraphs, interspersed with italics to inform the reader where the joke is to be found. I sometimes write an article aiming at lumour—such as *Politico Theatriticus*—but this very seldom indeed."*

As has been said, his aims at humour were of the nature of "ponderous levities." One who sat in Parliament with him when Attorney-General records that—

"He was occasionally betrayed into a joke, and on one occasion its pungency was heightened by his protesting that it was quite unintentional. 'But what can the Sheriffs do?' he exclaimed (during one of the debates on the Great Privilege Question); and after a pause, during which the House awaited in perfect silence his solution of the difficulty, he replied, 'Why, they may purge themselves.' Though he seemed annoyed by the general titter which ensued, those that knew him well, had no doubt that he meant his equivoque, and that his impatience was simulated."†

We should rather think this was one of those *etourderies* of which through his life he was often unintentionally guilty. He was called to the Bar in Michaelmas Term, 1806. While still in Tidd's chambers, it began to be bruited abroad that there was a "Scotsman with Tidd of the name of Campbell, a devil of a fellow for fagging, and likely to get on,"‡ and he thought there were two or three attorneys who would make trial of him.§

With this small connection he began his career at the Bar, and toiled on, and by slow degrees rose to the very head of his profession. The various steps of his progress are told in his autobiography, and his letters to his father and brother, with an easy animated flow of interesting narrative—interwoven with much of that curious information as to celebrated lawyers and public matters which characterizes his Lives of his predecessors. He frequently speaks of the mortifications he met with at the Bar, but it does not seem to us that he had much to complain of. Whether from the antipathy which is said to have ever existed between Cumbrians and Scots,|| or whether from the tone of assumption which was always offensively and irritatingly conspicuous in his manner, he seems to have been the object of special dislike to the coarse and brutal Ellenborough, then Chief

* Life, vol. ii., p. 161.

† "Reminiscences of Many Years." By Lord Teignmouth. Vol. ii. p. 218.

‡ Life, vol. i. p. 166. § Ibid., p. 182.

|| *Vide, e.g.*, Sir Walter Scott in "The Heart of Midlothian."

Justice; and the Chief seems to have inspired his puisnes with the same feeling towards Campbell; "our four ruffians in the King's Bench," are the terms in which he describes the "Justices of our Lord the King, assigned to hold pleas before the King himself." Contrasting their conduct with the well-known and habitual patience and courtesy to the Bar of Sir William Grant, he tells his father—

"I am sure I may assert with perfect truth that in our Court I have not, since I was called to the Bar, spoken four consecutive sentences without being stopped by some of the judges with a question, or an objection, or a "Pooh, pooh," and they behave in the same manner to all the other men at the Bar. Instead of saving time in this manner, they *render themselves universally odious.*"*

Like many speakers who maintain outwardly a cool, collected, even an impassive demeanour, Campbell suffered much at this time from nervousness† and from palpitation of the heart, which would be aggravated by the irritating conduct of the judges. Ellenborough used to plague him by pretending (it was probably meant as a sarcasm on his Scotch accent) to mishear the names of cases which he cited. On one occasion an attempt by Ellenborough to convict him of quoting a non-existent authority recoiled on the judge himself, who exposed only his own ignorance or carelessness.‡

In his first days at the Bar, Campbell availed himself of the experience he had gained while law reporter for the *Morning Chronicle*, and earned both fame and money by publishing his four volumes of Campbell's "Nisi Prius Reports," a work which met the approval of so competent a judge as Lord Eldon. In so doing, he heaped coals of fire on the head of his enemy, Ellenborough. He carefully revised all the cases he had collected, and rejected such as were inconsistent with former decisions or recognized principles; when he arrived at the end of his fourth and last volume, he had "a whole drawer full of bad Ellenborough law." He might have hung a threat of publishing its contents *in terrorem* over Ellenborough's head, when he was inclined to be rude, but he abstained, and the great fire in the Temple, originating in an error in judgment on the part of Mr. (afterwards) Justice Maule, secured the Chief Justice's reputation, by destroying these notes, in common with many other and more valuable of Campbell's possessions.§ Towards the close of Ellenborough's career, his bickerings with

* Life, vol. i. p. 329.

† *Vide, e.g.*, *ibid.*, p. 391. ‡ *Ibid.*, p. 310.

§ *Ibid.*, pp. 214, 215, 237.

Campbell ceased. Worsted in mortal conflict with William Hone,* he retired from the Bench to die, and was succeeded by Abbott,† “under whose auspices Campbell passed the far happiest part of his life as an advocate,” and the tyranny of the four ruffians being overpast, “the King’s Bench now became the *beau idéal* of a Court of Justice.”

The various incidents which marked his ever growing prosperity, his “laying down his reports and setting up his horses, thereby announcing that his fortune was made, and there would consequently be a greater disposition to employ him,” his assumption of a coat of arms, his choice as a motto of “*Audacté et aperter*,” the setting up of a cabriolet, “the most fashionable carriage for a single man,” the *menú* of his first dinner party, his first joining a club, are all narrated in his letters to his father and brother, with a frank simplicity and complacency worthy of Pepys. At last he attained so great a degree of prosperity that he thought he might prudently take unto himself a wife, and after some delay and hesitation, and one refusal on the lady’s part, he married, September 8, 1821, Mary, daughter of the then leader of the northern circuit, and greatest *nisi prius* advocate since Erskine, James Scarlett, afterwards Lord Abinger, and Chief Baron of the Exchequer. Their union lasted nearly thirty-nine years, and was evidently a happy one. Sumner records that “he was more pleased with the lady than any lady he met in England;” he describes her as “beautiful, intelligent, and courteous.”‡

Campbell, like most successful lawyers, now turned his attention to a parliamentary career.

Brougham, writing to Napier, said the statement by Mr. Sergeant Talfourd in his *Edinburgh Review* of Campbell’s speeches, that “Campbell was always a Whig, is erroneous. I never,” he adds, “heard of his taking any kind of part in politics, till he stood for Stafford.”§ Campbell himself says (writing in 1842): “I early imbibed, and I have steadily preserved, a predilection for the popular part of our Constitution, and an ardent zeal in the cause of civil and religious liberty.”|| However much this ardour and zeal might have burned in his bosom, it was safely kept there, and no trace of any display of those qualities is to be found in these volumes.

In his fortieth year his political hero was Sir Samuel Romilly. “Upon almost every public question,” he tells his brother, “his

* In the last of the three memorable trials of Hone for publishing blasphemous libels. The report of them will even now repay reading.

† Afterwards Lord Tenterden.

‡ Memoirs of Sumner, vol. i. p. 332.

§ Napier Correspondence, p. 418.

|| Life, vol. i. p. 18.

sentiments are mine. He is the honestest man, and one of the most enlightened in the House of Commons." In later life he considerably modified this enthusiasm for Romilly, and speaks of him as one "who was much esteemed for his pure principles and high sense of honour, but was looked upon as somewhat impracticable, and his Genevese notions on religion and politics were always unpalatable in England."* Campbell adds in the same letter to his brother, "I find it inconvenient to be without a party. . . . I hate neutrality, and though I have not a party, I have an opinion upon men and measures which I like to express."† At length, in 1820, he determined to make the final plunge and join the Whigs, then in the cold shade of Opposition—

"But timorous mortals start, and shrink
To cross the narrow sea,
And linger, shivering on the brink,
And fear to launch away."

"I am a candidate for Brooks's," he writes to his brother. ". . . . You of course know what sort of an establishment Brooks's is. To be a member of this club is listing in the Whig party with a vengeance. But I cannot go on shilly-shallying in politics any longer; while I wait a bit, as you call it, life is gone. To be sure nothing can be more inauspicious than the prospects of the Whigs at this moment."‡ He was elected a member of Brooks's in 1822. "To belong to this club," he writes to his father, "is a feather in my cap. Indeed, since we lost our estates in the county of Angus, I am inclined to think that my election at Brooks's is the greatest distinction our house has met with."§ At the general election of 1826 he unsuccessfully contested Stafford; which he himself called "the dullest and vilest" (he might have added, and one of the most corrupt) of towns in England." His parliamentary prospects were not at this moment bright. "I have no more prospect (he said), of getting into the House of Commons than of being made a prince of the blood."||

The year 1827 he considered as "the crisis of his fortunes." The death of Lord Liverpool seemed to open a prospect of Scarlett having the Great Seal, when said his son-in-law, "everything is open to me." Lord Eldon had now succeeded Lord Ellenborough as his judicial *bête noire*. "I do," he says, "seriously and dispassionately regard him as one of the greatest curses ever

* "Lives of the Chancellors," vol. viii. p. 263.

† *Ibid.*, p. 386.

‡ P. 409.

† *Life*, vol. i. p. 254.

|| P. 436.

inflicted upon this country. How I shall rejoice when he is actually out! Till he has *de facto* given up the seals, I shall always be afraid of some ruse of the Devil to keep him in office.”*

In the changes which ensued, Scarlett became Attorney-General, and it was “upon the cards” that Campbell might have been Solicitor-General; as it was, he only obtained the long-coveted and long withheld rank of King’s Counsel; “and this is all,” he discontentedly told his brother, “the promotion I shall ever have.”†

He enjoyed his new rank, however, much more than he expected. By this time his fame as a well-read lawyer was well known, and under the Wellington Administration he was selected by Peel and Lyndhurst to be head of the Commission on the Law of Real Property in England. To the value of the services he rendered in connexion with that Commission we have the testimony of a hostile witness:—

“I am vexed,” wrote Brougham to Napier, in the same letter from which we have before quoted, “at the omission of the part of Hamlet—namely, his good services in law reform as head of the Real Property Commission. . . . It is positively an act of mere justice, not only in the individual instance, but to the great and almost paramount subject of law amendment, and I can tell you as a fact that Jack insisted on giving up his very valuable time for nothing to that Commission, when we seemed likely to be out of office all our lives.”‡

His work on this Commission first made him acquainted with Sir Robert Peel, whom he describes “as lively and unaffected, and very civil, without being condescending. Setting aside the Catholic question, he is quite *a Liberal*, and is for going in for legal reform quite as far as would be prudent.”§

The death of George IV. was now daily anticipated. In prospect of that event Campbell uttered the following remarkable *dictum*: “George IV. is the model of a constitutional king of England! and when he is missed he may be mourned. He has stood by and let the country govern itself.”|| George IV. was as little missed as mourned.

With the reign of William IV. Campbell’s political career began. His letters at this time are fatal to the claim to that consistent Whiggism which Talfourd set up for him.¶ In politics, his father-in-law (Scarlett) had a great and somewhat sinister influence over him. Scarlett knew little and cared less about politics,** and he induced Campbell to sympathize with

* P. 440.

† P. 442.

‡ Napier Correspondence, 418; *vide* also Campbell’s Life, vol. i. pp. 454-5-7.

§ P. 462.

|| P. 467.

¶ *Ubi supra*.

**See as to this, “Memoir of Lord Abinger,” and the WESTMINSTER REVIEW, N.S., No. 103, July, 1877, p. 178-9.

those who dreamed of a wholly impracticable coalition between Earl Grey and the Duke—"Thereby," notes Campbell in his autobiography, "a world of private grief would have been saved to me." "For God's sake," he writes at this time to his brother, "do not become Radical. Why should you wish the Duke to be forced out? That he should acquire fresh strength is indispensable! But what cause of complaint has he yet given to the public, or to any liberal-minded man?*"

At the general election, consequent on the demise of the Crown, Campbell, "after a tremendous struggle and going through horrors innumerable," was chosen member for Stafford. "Campbell," writes his father-in-law, "is returned for Stafford, I fear at great expense. He is indebted to nobody but himself for it.† "It was something," in Campbell's own opinion, "to be J. Campbell, Esq. M.P., not by the nomination of a peer, or the favour of the Treasury, but by his own individual unassisted efforts."‡ His father-in-law foretold that he would "do the Whigs good service, and said he should not be surprised to see him Chief Justice."§

Campbell, in his Autobiography, after referring to the undisguised defiance of the Liberals in the speech put into the new King's mouth by the Wellington Ministry, and the Duke's ever memorable and rash declaration against parliamentary reform, says, "my part was taken, and I resolved to form a close alliance with those who were to stand up for the liberties of mankind."|| His letters at this time, however, show that this alliance was slowly and reluctantly formed, and little of the ardent zeal for civil and religious liberty to which he laid claim.

"As far as politics are concerned (he says in the first week of the Session) nothing can be more calamitous than my situation, or more melancholy than my prospects. The Duke of Wellington seems disposed to establish an ultra-Tory Government, which I cannot support with honour, and the leaders of the Opposition are hurrying the country to confusion and ruin."¶

Brougham's notice of motion for reform makes him say:—"In the struggle all men will be driven to commit themselves so deeply that moderate and safe measures will become impossible."**

The announcement of the fall of the Ministry only draws from him the remark—"The Liberals are in a terrible scrape. It is utterly impossible for them to satisfy the expectations they have raised."††

* Life, vol. i. p. 473. † "Memoirs of Lord Abinger," p. 123.
 ‡ Ibid. p. 475. § "Memoirs of Lord Abinger," p. 153. || Ibid., p. 481.
 ¶ Ibid., p. 482. ** Ibid., p. 486. †† Ibid., p. 487.

On the 1st March, 1831, Lord John Russell introduced the first Reform Bill. Campbell's comments on the Bill and its prospects are amusing :—

“You (his brother) must be Radical indeed if Ministers have not satisfied you! We are quite appalled! There is not the remotest chance of such a Bill being carried by this or any House of Commons. * . . . I was prepared to support any moderate measure, but this really is a revolution *ipso facto*. It is unquestionably a new Constitution. I am quite in despair, and shall take no part in the discussion. I could not do so advantageously or creditably. Had the measure been practicable, I would have supported it *totis viribus*. Going so far, it does not go far enough. The old Constitution being gone, we might have had something much more perfect.” By the next day his views were modified. “The general belief is that the Bill must be thrown out on the second reading. I expect Ministers will then resign, and anarchy begin. I feel inclined, as a choice of evils, to support, and even to speak in favour of the Bill.”†

In the end he came up from Circuit and voted for the second reading, which was carried by a majority of one. “So,” he says, “I carried the Bill by going up.”‡

Campbell was right in his prediction that he should early attract the attention of Ministers. Fortunately for him, the Grey Ministry were unhappy in the choice of their law officers, and he was early put forward to move the *quasi* Ministerial measures to carry out the recommendations of the Commissioners on the Law of Real Property, and soon afterwards was employed to prepare a measure for the suppression of bribery. With a Scotchman's caution, he besought “Brougham not mention his name publicly as connected with putting down bribery, as it might be his ruin at Stafford, it being almost as dangerous as for the member for Coventry to bring in a Bill to forbid the wearing of cockades.”§ In the preparation of the third Reform Bill he was consulted by Lord Althorp on its details. Even then, as appears from his confidences to his brother, he was very little of a Reformer :—

“God knows what is to happen. No concession. . . . I augur nothing good. It seems to me as if the world were coming to an end, and the destinies of the human race were accomplished.”||

The English Reform Bill being carried, Campbell, *ratione originis* (to use his own words), took a much more lively interest in the Scotch Reform Bill. He was delighted to assist Jeffrey in

* *Ibid.*, n. 504. Campbell, although utterly wrong, was by no means singular in this opinion; *vide* Memoir of Viscount Althorp (E. Spencer), p. 293, *et seq.*

† *Ibid.*, p. 505.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 508.

§ *Ibid.*, pp. 515, 519, 520, and vol. ii. p. 4.

|| *Ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 2.

framing it, and in doing everything in his power to further its progress through the House. His efforts to promote the amendment of the Land Laws met with a like obstruction to that which made Cromwell, when he, without success, attempted to reform the Court of Chancery, exclaim, "The sons of Zeruah are yet too strong." *

"During the Session (1832—we quote from the Autobiography) I again introduced my Bill for a General Register of Deeds. It was referred to a Select Committee, which I attended most laboriously. I made converts of almost all the members of the Committee, but I was defeated by a combination of the country attorneys, who thought, erroneously, that the measure would diminish their business and their profits. They are the most influential class in the country. Lord Grey was against the measure because his attorney in Northumberland told him it was a bad thing. The country attorneys have the borough seats very much at their disposal, and they frighten more members by their threats than they influence by their arguments." †

Nearly fifty years have passed since the time here referred to, and the landed proprietors of England are still, from the same cause and by their own fault, without a General Register of Deeds.

In November, 1832, Lord Tenterden died. Denman succeeded him as Chief Justice of England, and "Campbell," said his father-in-law, "is Solicitor-General. So he may join the Whigs in abusing me as soon as he pleases. That will be a part of the duty demanded of him, if he should be returned to the House of Commons." ‡ There is no proof, we are very glad to say, that Campbell was ever called on by the Whigs to render this kind of suit and service for the office he held. It was the intention of the Government to have placed Sir William Horne, the Solicitor-General, on the Bench, and make Campbell Attorney-General. No judge being willing to resign, this arrangement could not be carried out, and Horne was made Attorney-General, on the understanding that Campbell was to conduct all Government prosecutions, and to be consulted separately when necessary. Indeed, Lord Althorp, the leader of the Commons, who had strenuously insisted on Campbell's appointment, stipulated that he was to communicate directly and exclusively with the Solicitor-General, "without regard to Mr. Attorney." Campbell early

* Memoir of Ludlow, vol. i., p. 275.

† Life, vol. ii., p. 12, and *vide* 19, where it will be seen that on Campbell's appointment as Solicitor-General, Lord Grey stipulated that he should not bring forward his Register Bill, lest it should make the Government unpopular.

‡ "Memoir of Lord Abinger," p. 154.

won the thorough confidence of his leaders, Lord Stanley (then Irish Secretary) declaring "that they might make judges of whom they pleased, so that they left him Campbell."*

The new Solicitor-General became the first member for the newly created borough of Dudley. He thus describes his first visit to his new constituency:—

"I am established as the guest of a great grocer in the town, my principal supporter. I shall have a very disagreeable time of it till the election is over, but I shall soon forget all this if I am returned." He was returned. "What a deliverance from Stafford!" was his thankful exclamation. "There has been more bribery than ever, and the new part of the constituency is worse than the old."

In the first reformed Parliament, owing to Horne's indolence, the labouring oar in conducting the Government legal business fell to Campbell's share, and thoroughly well he acquitted himself.

It will be remembered that one of the first measures which engaged the attention of the Houses was an Irish Coercion Bill. Over this the new Solicitor-General had many contests with O'Connell. Present circumstances give a peculiar interest to the following account of a conversation between them:—

"I told him some time ago, by way of a *reductio ad absurdum*, that he could not have his Parliament in College Green unless he were to agree that it should be subordinate to our Parliament at St. Stephen's, like the House of Assembly at Jamaica. He now says he has been working upon that idea, and he thinks they may agree not to change the succession to the Crown, or meddle with questions of peace or war, &c. But this will not take us in, for no sooner would he have his domestic legislation than he would declare it independent and supreme."†

In the interval between the sessions of 1833 and 1834 arose the celebrated intrigue as to Horne's supercession. "Horne," says Campbell, "had many valuable qualities." It may be so, but he was indolent and negligent both of his official and his private business, and, to borrow Johnson's description of Sir John Hawkins, "he had a degree of brutality and a tendency to savageness that could not easily be defended." It is impossible to reconcile the conflicting versions of this affair given by Campbell and Brougham. Each tells his own story, and each wrote in ignorance of what the other wrote on the subject. Sir Denis Le Marchant, in his memoir of Earl Spencer, says that Horne, "having failed in the House of Commons and forfeited the confidence of the Government by his indolence in official business, was abruptly displaced at the instigation of Sir John Campbell, who, being then Solicitor, was

* Life, vol. ii. pp. 18, 19, 20, 28.

† Life, vol. ii. p. 34.

impatient to be Attorney-General.* Mrs. Hardcastle remarks that Sir Denis Le Marchant "adduces no authority for the statement he makes."† Sir Denis is not only a very accurate historian, but at the time and on the subject in question he had peculiar means of knowledge. He was Brougham's private secretary, and therefore knew all about applications for appointments and other matters connected with patronage, and his statement, even if it were unsupported, is presumably entitled to belief. The presumption is strengthened by the fact that from the time of Brougham becoming Chancellor, Campbell was incessant in his applications to the Chancellor for favours for himself and others. "He was," says Brougham, "profuse in his professions of gratitude," but evidently it was gratitude of that kind which has been described as a lively sense of favours to come.‡ Campbell, in his Autobiography, repeats, though with less detail, the same version of the transaction as he gives in his Life of Brougham, viz., that at the end of 1833, a vacancy occurring on the Exchequer Bench by the resignation of Sir J. Bayley, Brougham induced Horne to agree to become a Baron of the Court of Exchequer, on a solemn promise that he was never to go on circuit or sit as a criminal judge,§ and that a new equity judgeship was to be cut out for him in the Exchequer. Brougham's statement is, that Lords Althorp and John Russell were anxious to get rid of Horne, and that it was settled that Brougham, with the hearty approval of Lord Grey and his other colleagues, should, if Lyndhurst (the Chief Baron) assented, offer the vacant place of Baron to Horne. The offer was made, but Horne refused to go to the Bench. Brougham does not give Horne's reasons for his refusal, but states that Horne "was no party to any kind of understanding whatever." Campbell says that Horne, being told that as he refused to be made Judge, he must resign his Attorney-Generalship, or be superseded, said with great spirit, "that he was ready to resign, but that he would suffer death himself rather than pronounce the sentence of death upon a fellow-creature ;"|| and he resigned accordingly. Sir Denis Le Marchant's statement, that Campbell suggested that Horne should be compelled to resign, is also strengthened by the fact, that Campbell resorted to what Brougham calls "a proceeding never equalled

* "Memoir of Earl Spencer," p. 62. † Life, vol. ii. p. 41.

‡ Vide "Life and Times of Lord Brougham," vol. iii. p. 224.

§ One story told was that Horne objected to attend the Judges' chambers on the ground, to use the words we have heard him utter, that some of the attendants at chambers "did not smell very sweet."

|| "Lives of the Chancellors," vol. viii. pp. 424-5.

for wrongheadedness and absurdity ;" viz., before Horne's decision was come to, he sent a protest to the Premier (Lord Grey), and claimed the office of Attorney-General. This, as Brougham told him, was "a protest against my not making the Attorney-General a Judge, and thereby prevented your being made Attorney-General." When not long after the question of appointing a Master of the Rolls arose, Brougham wrote to the then Premier (Melbourne), in language utterly inconsistent with the idea, that he had ill-treated Horne. "Horne's claim is so great, and one feels his abominable treatment so strongly, and his admirable and truly unexampled behaviour so much, that I never did anything with more pain than passing him over now," and he gives verbatim the memorandum as to the transaction which he laid before the Cabinet, and it certainly shows no ground for even suspecting Brougham of being guilty of the abominable treatment of Horne to which he refers.*

Horne being superseded, Campbell was made Attorney-General in his place, and Pepys succeeded Campbell as Solicitor-General. If Campbell was the originator of Horne's removal, he soon met with his Nemesis, for on offering himself to the electors of Dudley for re-election he was defeated, and remained without a seat for some months. He was then elected for Edinburgh, and remained one of the members for the northern capital until he was raised to the Upper House. On the death of Sir John Leach, Brougham, we are told by Sir Denis Le Marchant, having received private "intelligence of the vacancy; filled it up instantly, to stop applications which he had determined to refuse."† The person he selected was Pepys, who was not only Solicitor-General, but if not the most, one of the most distinguished members of the Equity Bar; and therefore the natural and proper person to fill the vacancy. To Brougham, therefore, is due the merit of having first raised to the Bench one of the most consummate judges that ever sat in judgment. One of the applications Brougham thus forestalled was undoubtedly Campbell's, which he did not fail to make;‡ he sulkily acquiesced in the arrangement with respect to the Rolls, as it was "put upon the grounds of public expediency."§ Brougham acquainted Lyndhurst with Campbell's attempt on the Rolls. We give Lyndhurst's opinion in Brougham's own words:—

"He said that I could not possibly have acted otherwise, but added that, for one reason, he rather regretted what had happened, because

* "Brougham's Life and Times," pp. 342, 343, 351, 426.

† "Memoir of Earl Spencer," p. 62, note.

‡ "Brougham's Life and Times," vol. iii. p. 422.

§ See his Letter to Brougham, *ibid.*, pp. 427-9.

it would to a certainty make Campbell my enemy for life
 'Depend upon it,' said he, 'Campbell will never forgive you. In process of time Pepys may be Chancellor, and vacate the Rolls, and then what has happened will be a reason for passing Campbell over again. He will be furious, and lay the whole blame on you, and he will pay you off.' **

With the rest of the Whigs, Campbell was out of office during the hundred days of Sir Robert Peel's first Ministry. He returned to office with them in 1835, and held the office of Attorney-General for the next six years. The appointment of a Chancellor was avoided for the first year of the second Melbourne Ministry, but at the opening of the session of 1836 it could no longer be postponed. Lyndhurst proved himself to be a true prophet. Pepys was made Chancellor, and the Rolls again became vacant. Campbell again claimed the post, but a portion of the Cabinet believing that Mr. Bickersteth was more than a match for the troublesome Brougham, wished him to be made, if not Lord Chancellor, Master of the Rolls and a peer. This was done, and Campbell, fortunately for himself, again escaped being shelved, but at the time he was furious, and actually tendered his resignation. Melbourne, with admirable tact and many compliments as to his being indispensable to the Government in the Commons, and by the offer of a peerage for his wife, induced him to remain in office. It is impossible to describe—wrote Melbourne to him—"the relief which this gives, and I assure you that I have felt sensibly the good temper and fairness with which you have acted during the whole of these very painful discussions." †

Certainly there were few of Campbell's predecessors in the office of Attorney-General whose presence in the House of Commons was so important to the Government of the day, as was his to the Melbourne Ministry. It is difficult to overestimate the value of his services in carrying the Municipal Reform Act, which, next to the great measure of 1832, is the greatest of Whig triumphs, and of the many services they have rendered to the country.

By Scarlett's removal to the Bench, Campbell had become, not only in rank, but in point of business, the undoubted head of the Common Law Bar. Our legal readers, and all interested in the

* *Ibid.*, 434-5; but see the observations as to the historical character of this narrative in the WESTMINSTER REVIEW, N.S., No. 112, Oct. 1879, p. 482.

† For the particulars of this negotiation, see *Life*, vol. ii. pp. 77 to 80; "Memoirs of Viscount Melbourne," vol. ii. p. 172, *et seq.*; "Lives of the Chancellors," vol. viii. p. 475, *et seq.*

history and privileges of the House of Commons, will read with pleasure his narrative of the great privilege case, *Stockdale v. Hansard*.* It seems that he was originally inclined, in accordance with the best and most ancient authorities, to have settled the matter by committing, *brevi manu*, the parties bringing the action, rather than submit the privileges of the House for discussion before the Queen's Bench. Unfortunately, public opinion appeared to be hostile to the rights of Parliament, and as in the case of *Burdett v. Abbott*, an action in which the privileges of the House were as much involved as in *Stockdale's* case, the House had instructed the Attorney-General to appear and defend the Speaker, Campbell determined to follow that precedent. In so doing, he was swayed, as well he might be, by the belief, unfortunately ill-founded, that the case of the House was so good, "that we must be safe in the hands of any judges." He therefore moved a similar resolution to that adopted in *Abbott's* case. Sir Robert Peel regretted that the House should not at once vindicate its authority by stopping the action, although he would not recommend that course after the speech of the Attorney-General. The result of this proceeding is well known to have been in all respects unfortunate. In the course of the litigation that followed, Campbell delivered his memorable argument, the longest, he calls it, if not the most elaborate, ever delivered in Westminster Hall. In his Autobiography, with perfect truth and with pardonable self-complacency, he expresses the opinion "that in any future dispute about Parliamentary privileges, it will certainly be referred to as a repertory of all the learning on the subject." This argument was much approved by Peel, and even an opponent, Sugden, generously owned that, "after all the debates on the subject were forgotten, this argument would remain to posterity as a monument of Campbell's fame."†

During his tenure of office William IV. died, and in relation to that event occurred a circumstance which he relates in the style of "P. P. Clerk of this Parish:"—

"The demise of the Crown had been foreseen for some time, and *I had settled* that the new Sovereign should be proclaimed by the name of Alexandrina Victoria, the name by which she had been baptized, and by which she was called in the Regency Act, leaving it to her thereafter to determine by what name she should reign. This matter was settled in the lobby of the House of Commons, between Charles

* *Life*, vol. ii. pp. 96 to 99, 112 to 114, 127 to 131.

† *Ibid.*, p. 112. On the case of *Stockdale v. Hansard*, and the privilege question generally, see WESTMINSTER REVIEW, N.S., No. 116, Oct. 1880, Art. "The Parliamentary Oath Question," pp. 348, 352, *et seq.*

Greville, the Clerk of the Council, and myself, and Lyndhurst, *whom I called in*, as one who might be in power when the proclamation was made.*

We suspect others of the Minsters had something to say in settling this proclamation besides the Attorney-General and his irregular allies. Mr. Greville mentions no such meeting, while he does mention

“that Lord Melbourne desired him to get everything ready *quietly* for a Council, and that he (Melbourne) had been busily occupied in examining the precedents, in order to conduct the first ceremonies properly, and that two days later the President of the Council (Lord Lansdowne) sent for him to beg that everything might be ready.†

Campbell was now in his sixtieth year, and had been five years Attorney-General; his parliamentary and professional labours began to tell upon him, and he was pressed by his father-in-law and other friends to take the first puisne judgeship that fell vacant. Had he done so, he might have inscribed over his door, as did Brougham over his chateau at Cannes,

“Portum inveni Spes et Fortuna Valeta.”

In the autumn of 1839 a vacancy occurred on the Bench, and he wrote to Lord Melbourne, begging that the office might not be filled up until he had had time to consider whether he would accept it. Lord Melbourne, in assenting to this request, thus expressed himself:—

“We shall be most sorry to lose your services as Attorney-General, which have been so efficient and authoritative, and which have conferred upon the Administration so much both of character and of strength. With respect to your unwillingness to terminate your career by accepting the offer of a puisne judge, that is a matter for your own consideration. If it should be repugnant to your own feelings or those of your friends, I shall be sorry; at the same time, for my own part, I do not partake of those feelings. I do not think so much of superiority, pre-eminence, title, and position, as others are inclined to do. When the Abbé Siéyès, in the early part of the Revolution, went Ambassador to Berlin, he was, upon some public occasion, either designedly or accidentally, placed in a seat below the dignity of the country which he represented. He sat down in it without remonstrance, observing, “The first place in this apartment is that which the Ambassador of the French Republic occupies.” I know not whether this anecdote be true—*few anecdotes are so*; but I have always admired it; and, depend upon it, wherever you may be placed, you will soon make the seat you fill equal, if not superior, to the first in the Court.‡

* Life, vol. ii. p. 100.

† Journal (for June 13 and 17, 1837), vol. iii. pp. 401-2.

‡ Life, vol. ii. p. 124.

At the request of Lord John Russell, Campbell agreed to run all risks with the Government, notwithstanding its then "staggering state." But from this time the Whig leaders felt the propriety of making some provision for him. His claim to the Rolls had been twice passed over. There seemed no probability of the occurrence of a vacancy in the Chiefship of either of the three Courts, and Lord J. Russell, unlike Lord Melbourne, thought Campbell's reputation required his refusing a pusine judgeship. In this state of things, Lady Holland intimated to Campbell that Lord Holland—from whom Campbell acknowledges that he had received more personal kindness than from any other public man*—wished very much to have him in the House of Lords, and that she thought Plunket (the Chancellor of Ireland) would withdraw. Nothing, however, was done at that time to bring about this result. A year later (18th September, 1810) Campbell saw a paragraph in the newspapers stating that Plunket was to resign immediately, and to be succeeded by the Irish Solicitor-General. Through Lord Holland, Campbell intimated to the Premier that he should consider such an appointment a deliberate insult, and would forthwith resign. Lord Holland said that, "however much Campbell's withdrawal from the House of Commons was to be regretted, that consideration ought not to weigh in the filling up of an office which he was qualified for, and was willing to take. He added that he had long been desirous to have Campbell in the House of Lords to keep Brougham in check."†

According to Mr. McCullagh Torrens, of whose accuracy on this point there can be no question, Campbell strongly urged his claims on the Ministers, and especially on his old friend Pepys, now Lord Cottenham and Chancellor of England. On the 30th of the same month the Chancellor spoke strongly on the subject to Lord John Russell, urging the reasonableness of room being made in Ireland, where Campbell might be appointed Chancellor.‡ Lord John communicated the Chancellor's view to Lord Melbourne, who confidentially wrote to Lord Ebrington, then Irish Viceroy, that the Ministry had heard that Plunket would not be unwilling to retire—that it would be convenient to have the Seal for Campbell, and asking the Viceroy to sound Plunket, if he could do so without giving him uneasiness. This drew from Plunket a statement "that he had no wish to retire, but that, after the communication of Lord Melbourne's wishes, he could not continue in office; but it was merely for that reason he came to

* *Life*, vol. ii. p. 139.

† *Ibid.*, p. 137.

‡ "*Memoirs of Viscount Melbourne*," vol. ii. p. 360.

such a conclusion." Melbourne replied, earnestly entreating "the venerable Chancellor to think of what had passed no more than if it never had taken place."* The matter then slumbered until the spring or early summer of 1841. It was then evident that the last hour of the long languishing Ministry was at hand, and, according to Campbell's account, Lords Melbourne and J. Russell spontaneously informed him that they wished him to hold the Great Seal of Ireland, and to take his place in the Upper House. Campbell accepted the offer, when he unexpectedly received a letter from Melbourne stating that Plunket refused to resign. Campbell was naturally indignant, but was cooled down, and agreed to remain Attorney-General. At this time the Irish Viceroy, so far as we can see, without the instigation of Campbell or of any one else, reappeared on the scene, and frankly told Plunket that he could not without disgrace refuse to give effect to the engagement he had given the year before to retire whenever requested. Plunket refused, on the ground of his apprehension of being "compromised in public opinion if he should be instrumental to Campbell's getting a retiring salary after a few weeks' or months' service." The Viceroy replied that he took upon himself the entire responsibility of the arrangement; and Campbell, to obviate the difficulty, proposed that he should be appointed Chancellor without the usual pension on removal from office. There was now no course open to Plunket but to resign, which he did, at the same time publicly declaring to the Bar that his resignation had been forced upon him to make way for Campbell, that he was no party to the arrangement, and that he highly disapproved of it. The Great Seal of Ireland was then delivered to Campbell, and he was raised to the peerage as John Lord Campbell, Baron Campbell of St. Andrews, in the county of Fife, choosing that title "because he had never done anything to make him ashamed of his name, and that name sounding well and being distinguished." With questionable sincerity he adds: "Time was when I should have considered it a mighty affair to be a Lord, but in reality I rather felt lowered by the elevation."† We have thought it right to dwell somewhat at length on this episode in Campbell's career, because he was at the time condemned for intriguing for Plunket's removal in order to gain a peerage and a pension for himself. On a careful review of the case we can see no ground whatever for this charge.

In his Autobiography he says: "I rejoice that I am poor and

* "Memoirs of Viscount Melbourne," vol. ii. pp. 360, 361.

† Life, vol. ii. pp. 141 to 146; "Memoirs of Viscount Melbourne," vol. ii. pp. 362-3.

penmiless ;" but from several other passages, both in the Autobiography and in his letters, we suspect that he acutely felt the pecuniary sacrifice he had made ; but, as he elsewhere owns, he had "voluntarily waived his claim to the retired allowance of the Irish Chancellor, and he had no right to complain."* For the next five years he most disinterestedly, and, as even Brougham admits, most usefully,† devoted himself to the judicial business of the House of Lords and of the Privy Council. "Voluntary and gratuitous service he felt was not likely to be much appreciated," but he had his reward in the consciousness which he soon felt that his judicial experience had fitted him to "take his seat in the Court of Chancery in Ireland or in England without dismay."‡

He now began his literary career. He revised and published a selection from his speeches at the Bar and in Parliament. Brougham's treacherous disposition and his hatred of Campbell appeared on this occasion in a letter he wrote to the Editor of the *Edinburgh Review* :—

"You are" (he wrote) "indeed in a proper scrape, if you must do such an act—of what shall I call it?—as review Jack Campbell's speeches. Are you aware that they are the standing jest of the whole town, both in and out of the profession? No one has of course read them, but only seen them cited in newspapers. However, it was not necessary to read or even to see that much. The very fact of his publishing his speeches was what raised endless ridicule in all quarters. As for inserting a panegyric written by an old *élève* of his on the Oxford Circuit (the late Mr. Justice Talfourd), surely you cannot be serious. Why, you would never hear the last of it. Then consider the inevitable consequence to the poor man himself. It would bring down on him the most fierce attacks, and really with some justice."

Undeterred by these threats, the Editor published Talfourd's review, on which Brougham coolly observed : "You know I had a strong opinion that Campbell's speeches were better for a kind and even panegyric notice than a long article."§ Campbell then began the first of his two biographical works. As early as the December after his resignation of the Irish Seal he formed the idea of writing the "Lives of the Chancellors." His aim was to make them a vehicle "for sketches of the history and manners

* "Lives of the Chancellors," vol. viii. p. 133.

† Napier Correspondence, p. 404.

‡ Life, vol. ii. pp. 153, 167.

§ Napier's Correspondence, pp. 402-418. The publication of these speeches did not add much to Lord Campbell's reputation. Very soon after their publication copies might be had for one shilling each at any second-hand book-stall ; yet the volume included the much and justly praised argument in Stockdale v. Hansard.

of the times in which they lived." In the outset he found such difficulties in his progress that he threw the work aside, and entirely abandoned it for some months. On its publication a "particularly learned and accurate man" assured a friend of Campbell's "that in the critical parts in which he had compared and verified the original authorities he had found the new historian singularly accurate."*

Jeffrey, however, reports that—

"The general impression among the learned and competent is, I am sorry to say, far less favourable than the estimate of the *Edinburgh* or that of the *Quarterly*, and if the author had seen but half of the contemptuous and contumelious judgments on it which have come to my knowledge, he would go down on his knees and bless his stars (and his Reviewers) for the mercy which has been vouchsafed him. My own poor opinion of the book, however, is still very favourable, and I have no doubt it will continue to be popular with ordinary readers like myself. But it is impossible to listen to the bitter and scornful censures in which all those who have really studied the subject actually seem to join, without being satisfied that it must have great faults."

Jeffrey also announced

"that Knight was about to publish a fierce and formidable attack on the long lists of gross blunders, and still more of shameless plagiarisms—five and six pages transcribed from accessible books, without a word of reference or acknowledgment."†

Looking at the close connection between Knight‡ and Brougham, it is probable that Brougham planned such an attack to be made, either by himself or by some one instigated by him, but no such publication, that we remember, appeared.

At the conclusion of the "Lives of the Chancellors" Campbell felt severely the want of occupation. To remedy this want he at one time thought of writing the lives of his predecessors, "the Irish Chancellors," but wisely abandoned the idea, and chose for the subject of his second work, "The Lives of the Chief Justices." This was begun in 1847, and ended in 1851. On the publication of the third volume, in 1857, Lord John Russell paid the author, to use Gibbon's phrase, "a compliment in the face of the British nation," by quoting in the House of Commons a passage from the Life of Lord Ellen-

* Letter of Lord Monteaigle (Napier Correspondence, p. 522).

† Letter of Lord Jeffrey in the Napier Correspondence, pp. 525-6.

‡ Knight was the publisher of the Useful Knowledge Society, of which Brougham was chairman. They were long and closely connected.

borough, with a parenthesis expressing his high sense of the amusement and instruction to be derived from the writings of its author."*

Campbell was at all times very sensitive to criticism, and although the third volume was "abundantly praised," he confessed to have been annoyed "by flippant criticisms." The "unkindest cut of all"—dictated, in Campbell's judgment, and we agree with him, "by malice or stupidity"—came from the *Edinburgh Review*. He therefore determined to publish no more in his lifetime. "When I am dead and gone," he adds, "envy and ill-will towards me may cease."†

Works of such length and embracing so much detail as these series of lives, a great part of the second being composed while its author was discharging the duties of Chief Justice, could hardly fail to be open to the criticisms of that kind of "accurate men" who now delight in pecking at "Lord Macaulay,"‡ and such as he who incurred the wrath of Dr. Johnson by replying to him when he said, "There is no fruit in this garden," "I beg your pardon, Doctor, there are four apples and three pears." But the substantial accuracy of both works is unimpugned, and with ordinary readers, to quote from Jeffrey's words (though we cannot agree with him that he was an ordinary reader), they will both always and deservedly be popular.

Campbell's judicial and literary labours did not prevent his giving the greatest attention to his duties as a Peer of Parliament. At this time he held no office, but he was most regular in his attendance, and he introduced and carried the measure which, in common parlance, is called Lord Campbell's Libel Bill—a great relief to the respectable press, and a death-blow to the trader in libels. This and the Bail in Error Bill, the measure for the abolition of deodands, and that for giving compensation to the families of those who are killed by the negligence of others, form an enduring monument to his wisdom and energy as a law reformer. When the Whigs returned to power under Lord John Russell, Campbell again took office, not, however, as Chancellor of Ireland, but of the Duchy of Lancaster—a less profitable, "but a more dignified, as well as a more agreeable situation." At the same time it was intimated to him, if a vacancy should occur in the Chief Justiceship of England, and his appointment should be deemed advisable, it might take place.§

Our rapidly contracting space compels us to dwell slightly on the remainder of Campbell's career. His letters and his auto-

* Life, vol. ii. pp. 350-354.

‡ e.g., Dr. Birkbeck Hill.

† Ibid., p. 355.

§ Ibid., p. 202.

biography, for the period beginning with the formation of the Russell Ministry contain much that will be useful to those who write the history of the present reign. His "sketch from nature" of the members of the "Russell Cabinet," and his comparison of the three Premiers—Grey, Melbourne, and Russell—under whom up to that time he had served, are singularly interesting. His description of Lord Russell is life-like :—

"His manners are cold, and he not only takes no pains to please, but, by neglect of the courtesy which good breeding would require, he has sometimes an air of hauteur and superciliousness which, although quite foreign to his nature, gives cause of offence. But in truth he is a very amiable as well as a very great man. His benevolent, and intellectual smile indicates the high qualities of which he is possessed. . . . His talents are of high, although I cannot say of the highest order. . . . Nor can I celebrate him as a first-rate orator. His information is copious, his reasoning is sound, and his sentiments are noble; but he is wanting in rapidity of thought and utterance. . . . Yet he is listened to in the House of Commons with uniform respect, and he often elicits the loud cheers of his party. They feel that there is no one nearly so well qualified to be their leader."

As in the case of Romilly, so also in the cases of Lords Grey and Russell, Campbell vacillated in his judgment.* Lord Cottenham, the Chancellor in the Russell Administration, is next sketched by Campbell. He was not an attractive person. His career was merely that of a successful lawyer, and although a member of both Houses successively, he could with difficulty be induced to attend in Parliament. When he was Solicitor-General he made but one parliamentary speech of importance—on the law of libel. It was written for him by Brougham, and, *teste* Campbell, "called forth cheers and applause from all sides of the House."† As a Cabinet Minister he was silent, unless some point of law was expressly put to him; but his judicial reputation gained credit for and gave satisfaction to the Ministry. "He was," adds Campbell, with an oblique and malicious reference to Brougham, "personally much more acceptable to the Minister than if his accomplishments had been more varied, and his powers more brilliant." When this eminent person was raised to the Bench it was said that he most magnificently "disappointed the profession." To

* *Vide* as to Grey, vol. ii. p. 49, note, and confer with it the passage in the "Lives of the Chancellors," vol. vii. p. 475, where he deprecates "being thought to cast any reflection on the honour or consistency of Lord Grey." As to Lord Russell, see *Life*, vol. ii. p. 216, note. Campbell also vacillated in his opinion of Macaulay, *conf.* vol. i. p. 525, with vol. ii. p. 211.

† "Lives of the Chancellors," vol. viii. p. 428. Campbell adds in a note, "that no one else (but Brougham) would have ventured to cram a law officer of the Crown, or could have done it so felicitously."

so acute and accurate an observer as Sumner he appeared to be the "model of a clear, grave, learned, and conscientious magistrate." On the Bench he listened to counsel with the greatest patience, never interrupting counsel, except to interpose some pertinent searching question, and this was done in the fewest words and most quiet way possible.* His fame was, however, so completely professional, and his life so commonplace, as to render it highly improbable that any memoir of this the greatest judge of his generation will be published, beyond the graphic sketch of him by Sir Denis Le Marchant.†

We must compress our account of Campbell's estimate of his other colleagues. Of the President of the Council (the third Marquis of Lansdowne) he says :—

"He displays considerable energy as well as discretion in managing the peers. . . . He continues a very moderate Whig, but he is not obstinate, and he very sincerely and earnestly tries to carry through measures which he does not entirely relish. He is by far the most experienced among us, having been a Cabinet Minister in four reigns. . . . On questions of precedent and etiquette he is supreme.‡ I take Lord Palmerston, the Foreign Secretary, to be the chief prop of our Administration. I have the highest opinion of his talents and services. Doubts arise as to his principles, and if he were to try* for the Premiership, he would find a great obstacle in the suspicion that he is more able than steady."

The present Earl Grey is thus described :—

"I shall not be surprised if he were yet to turn out a very eminent statesman. . . . He is intrepid, vigorous, disinterested, and sincere. He certainly was very ill-tempered and wrong-headed. His cousin, Sir George Grey, the Home Secretary, is a man of fine intellect. He is a most agreeable colleague, and a very efficient member of the Administration. I believe he does the business of the office very satisfactorily, and in the House of Commons he is not only a lively debater, but generally loved and respected."

Campbell had also a high opinion of and a great regard for "the remaining member of the Grey section of the Cabinet—Charles Wood, our Chancellor of the Exchequer :"—

"His brusquerie of manner, which we do not at all mind in the Cabinet, has unintentionally offended various deputations; but I know no one of our party who could fill the office better."

* "Memoir of Sumner," vol. i. pp. 311, 337; ii. p. 74.

† In his memoir of Earl Spencer, pp. 60-68. See the WESTMINSTER REVIEW, No. 100, October, 1876.

‡ See another passage favourably contrasting Lord Lansdowne with Lord J. Russell, vol. ii. p. 241.

Campbell continued a member of the Russell Cabinet until 1850. His office, although nominally, was not in reality, a sinecure, for he not only, as before, attended to the judicial business of the House, but took an active part in the preparation and carrying of various measures, besides presiding in the frequent absence of the Chancellor, either from his illness or his disinclination to attend. Towards the close of 1849 it was evident that the state of Lord Denman's health must ere long make a vacancy in the Chief Justiceship. Lord John, with the concurrence of the Chancellor, informed Campbell that he should recommend him to the Queen. Campbell had then entered his seventy-first year, but his hearing and other senses were wholly unimpaired, his mental faculties were still in full vigour, and "I feel," he adds, "the same steady desire to do my best (*αἰέν ἀριστεῦναι*) which has been my moving power through life."* For nine years he had been neither at the Bar nor on the Bench, and with his ever youthful energy he recommenced his legal studies to fit himself for the high office destined for him. Two months of tantalizing suspense ensued. Denman, whose mind as well as body was impaired, was unwilling to resign in favour of Campbell, who he thought, not wholly without reason, had insulted him in his Life of Chief Justice Holt,† and who he mistakenly thought would injure the puisne judges.

Campbell was also harassed by attacks on him in the press, as malignant as unfounded, attributing to him intrigues to remove Denman, and gain his office for himself. Much was made of the fact, that of the two men, Campbell was the older. At length, through the intervention of Brougham and Lord J. Russell, Denman resigned, and on March 2, 1850, Campbell took his leave of the Cabinet, and on the 5th became Chief Justice of England.‡

He filled the Chief Justiceship during the next nine years. After the close of his third year of office he thus records his experience:—

"I find the work very irksome. Setting aside the disgrace, I would as soon be beaten well all the time with a cudgel, as preside in the Queen's Bench, with ——— on one side and ——— on the other.

* Life, vol. ii. p. 265.

† The passage in the "Lives of the Chief Justices," vol. ii. p. 134 (quoted in the Life, vol. ii. p. 268, *note*), if not an intentional insult, is one of those oblique satirical references to contemporaries which Campbell delighted to introduce into his works.

‡ The details relating to his appointment are given in vol. ii. p. 269; as to Brougham's part in the transaction, conf. "Lives of the Chancellors," vol. viii. pp. 561-565.

According to Quevedo's mode of fancying future punishments, a sentence to suffer such torture for a thousand years ought to expiate any venial sin."*

So far as was consistent with the non-political character of his office, he continued to take an active and useful part in the House of Lords, especially in all measures relating to the reform of the law.

A visit to Devonshire produces from him this confession :—

"I could not endure to reside permanently in the country, and no rural ramble can please me as much as a walk through Westminster Hall and St. Stephen's Hall to the Great Pavilion in the 'New Palace,' with the House of Lords on the right and the House of Commons on the left, the long corridors swarming with persons interested in an impending debate."†

Amongst the entries in his diary during these years it is curious to find one describing a dinner at Brougham's, attended by an ex-President of the United States and three ex-Chancellors. One subject of conversation was the Reform Act of 1832, as to which Brougham and Campbell, its supporters, and Lyndhurst and Ellenborough, its opponents, agreed "that it had not improved the *matériel* of the House of Commons, and we regretted the loss of the close boroughs, which so conveniently introduced young men of talents to parliamentary life."‡ Campbell's natural Conservatism strongly developed itself towards the close of life. His latest literary performance was composed in the last year of his Chief-Justiceship. It was an attempt to prove that Shakespeare, before he left Stratford, had been an attorney's clerk. His arguments fully convinced Macaulay, who, however, had "always thought that Shakespeare had, when a young man, been in the lower ranks of the legal profession." Another great historian, Dean Milman, pronounced the question "to be really curious, but, at present at least, insoluble."§

The general election of 1859 displaced Lord Derby and restored Lord Palmerston to power. He at once offered the Great Seal to Campbell. Campbell appears neither to have solicited nor expected this offer. No light is thrown upon the question by what intrigue Sir Richard Bethell (Lord Westbury), the most eminent Equity lawyer of his day, was postponed to the Chief Justice. Bethell was, however, induced to withdraw his claims, thinking perhaps, as the event turned out, that in all human probability Campbell, now close upon his eightieth year;

* *Life*, vol. ii. p. 317.

† *Ibid.*, p. 330. The dinner was 15th June, 1855.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 330.

§ *Ibid.*, pp. 362-3.

would not live long to enjoy the dignity of Chancellor. Having previously "been to church and partaken of the Holy Communion, and prayed earnestly to Heaven to enable him to perform the duties of his new office, and afterwards attended a special service in Westminster Abbey," he, on the 20th of June, 1859, received the Great Seal. Since the time of St. Swithin, it had not been delivered to any one who had reached his years. Shortly afterwards the Queen, who seems always to have been friendly to him, "was," he notes, "very gracious to me, and expressed a hope that I might not find the duties of my new office too laborious. I could only say, 'Madam, I shall do my best worthily to serve your Majesty.'"* Lyndhurst took an early opportunity of congratulating him on his having attained everything that he had ever looked forward to. "We may say of him," went on the old man eloquent, "in the words of the poet,

'Thou hast it now, King Cawdor, Glamis, all
As the weird woman promised.'

"Without being a countryman of my noble and learned friend, I may take credit to myself for a species of foresight, having on a former occasion predicted the advancement of my noble and learned friend."† He confesses that on first presiding in Chancery he was very nervous, and almost wished he was at his ease again in the Queen's Bench, but within six months of his receiving the Seal, he felt out of leading-strings, and not thinking that he "should sit alone in the dark,"‡ he was not very nervous at the idea of sitting alone in Lincoln's Inn. He thus describes his *modus operandi*:—

"With the assistance of my chief secretary I get possession of the nature of the case, often from a printed report of the judgment below, and hearing the arguments on both sides, I conscientiously believe I shall be able to come to a right conclusion."§

During the first year of Campbell's Chancellorship we had an opportunity of witnessing a display of the Common Law Chancellor's legal knowledge and acuteness, as well as of his power of rapidly dispatching the business before him. The point was, whether an absolute devise of real property to an

* Life, vol. ii. pp. 371, 372, 373, 377.

† "Lives of the Chancellors," vol. viii. p. 211.

‡ This was the reason imputed by Lord Westbury to Lord Cranworth for always having the Lords Justices to sit with him.

§ P. 385.

unincorporated and voluntary book association or club called the Penzance Public Library, was void, as being contrary to the rule against devises in perpetuity. A Judge (the late Vice-Chancellor Stuart), distinguished more by his impetuosity and ill-temper than by his knowledge either of law or equity, decided in favour of the library. The case came on appeal before the Chancellor. The former chief of the Real Property Law Commission had not "forgotten his cunning." The object of the association was, he said, most laudable; but such a devise as the testator had made the law of England would not permit, and without troubling the appellant's counsel, he at once called on the respondent's counsel to argue, if they could, against his proposition. Within half-an-hour from the opening of the case, the Vice-Chancellor's decree was reversed, and the suit was at an end. This is an example of the manner in which, without any complaint of impatience or haste, he induced the Equity counsel to abbreviate their arguments, and so dispatched more business than any of his predecessors in the same space of time for many years past. It was not only the Bar who were improved during his brief Chancellorship. A very competent authority, and who, neither from his habit of mind or his relation to Campbell, was likely to flatter him, the Attorney-General (Bethell), wrote to him: "The benefit you have done to the Court and to the habits of the Judges by presiding there, has been fully appreciated."*

Hitherto, spite of his not infrequent complaints of mortifications and vexations, Campbell's life had not only been one of steady advancement and of unbroken prosperity, but it had been singularly happy. It was indeed free from calamity and sorrow to an extent unusual in the case of a man of fourscore years. His brother, indeed, whose liberal kindness had in their younger days supplied him with the means of commencing his career, was removed from him by death in 1854, but his family circle, though large, remained unbroken. He was now to share the common lot of mankind. Early in 1860 his wife sickened, and on the 25th of March he was fetched from his place on the woolsack to attend what proved to be her death-bed. This bereavement he felt with exceeding bitterness, but he speedily resumed his public duties, at the risk, as he felt, of being thought by some "unfeeling."† Towards the close of his eighty-first year, his natural force was unabated, and referring to the invasion panic of that time he could say: "In the third generation of men

* Life, vol. ii. pp. 388, 402.

† Ibid., p. 393.

with whom I have mixed, in public life, by the blessing of God, I could still march twenty miles a day with my musket on my shoulder, my bayonet by my side, and my knapsack on my back.*

Soon after his wife's death he was called on to attend the funeral of "the oldest and best friend he ever had in the world," Henry Tancred, who had been his fellow-pupil at Tidd's. The impression made on him he thus records: "I am now not only in the front rank, but a most conspicuous object for the dart of the unconquerable foe."† In September, 1860, he entered his eighty-second year, and on the 12th of June, 1861, within four days of completing the second year of his Chancellorship, made this last entry in his journal:—

"I should not at all mind being honourably released from the labours and anxieties of the Great Seal. *Pergustavi imperium*, and I should be satisfied to have repose during the remaining short space of my earthly career." And he added: "Thank heaven, I have got through my work creditably, if not splendidly, and I am not without hope that some of my judgments may hereafter be quoted and relied upon."

On Saturday, the 22nd of June, he sat at Lincoln's Inn in the morning, and in the afternoon attended the usual Saturday Cabinet. He walked from Downing Street to Stratheden House, and occupied himself until dinner-time in writing a judgment. At dinner-time he received a large party, with whom he conversed with his usual animation, and referring to an old and valued friend who had long been lying on a sick-bed, having lost all his faculties, the venerable Chancellor observed: "I think a clause should be added to the Litany, and after praying against sudden death we should say, From a lingering illness, good Lord deliver us." After the departure of his guests he had a last talk with his children, and bade them "Good-night" at about twelve o'clock. At eight next morning, his servant on entering his room found him seated in an arm-chair, without an appearance of life. He had been suddenly and "honourably released from the labours and anxieties of the Great Seal."

"The voice at midnight came,
He started up to hear:
A mortal arrow pierced his frame;
He fell, but felt no fear."

* Life, vol. ii. p. 397.

† Ibid., p. 408.

“ His spirit, with a bound,
 Left its encumbering clay ;
 His tent, at sunrise, on the ground
 A darkened ruin lay.

“ The pains of death are past,
 Labour and sorrow cease,
 And life’s long warfare closed at last,
 His soul is found in peace.”

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ART. III.—THE ORIGIN OF RELIGION.

IT is frequently urged against the truth of Dr. Darwin’s theory of the origin of species, that it fails to account, on its own principles, for the possession and manifestation of the higher instincts, feelings, and hopes of mankind. It is argued that religion, moral obligation, self-sacrifice, so far from being personal advantages in the struggle of existence, are, in most states of society, and especially in the earlier and more barbarous stages of it, positive disadvantages. In these latter circumstances the struggle lies between a feeble, immature, unappreciated phase of morals and the dominant, unsympathetic, hostile savage life. This alleged theoretic inadequacy is especially conspicuous in the case of religion. For, if we compare the humble, reverent, dependent self-sacrificing spirit and conduct engendered by religious emotion, with the hardness, independence, self-confidence and selfishness, so essential for successful participation in the coarse, yet keen competition of barbarous society, we perceive the survival of those least fitly endowed to contend with such social conditions. Let us see what truth, so far as regards religion, there is in this contention.

The term religion is generally and loosely applied to a wide variety of rival and conflicting feelings, doctrines, creeds, practices, constitutions and duties. But in all acts or states of religion, however otherwise distinguished, two characteristic features are invariably present. The first is an emotion in the mind of the devotee, manifested with more or less intensity in the form of reverence, awe, and dependence; the second is that state of feeling related in some form or other to a supernatural being or power. The former is the product of our emotional, the latter of our intellectual nature. An inquiry, then, into the origin of religion must include an exhibition (1) of the conditions of life promoting the development of the emotion of veneration, and

(2) of the processes of thought and experience leading to the conception of the supernatural.

As to the first part of our inquiry, we wish to point out, at the outset, a very common fallacy which unnecessarily observes the consistent settlement of the question of the origin of religion. We frequently speak of a religious instinct or sentiment in man, as though a distinct mental faculty is exclusively appropriated to the service of man's spiritual life. It is not so. The faculty of reverence or veneration is not functioned solely to religion. Indeed, the religious form of reverence comprises but a very small portion of the varied social activities of that mental faculty. The relation of the emotion of veneration to the supernatural is a purely intellectual relation. The intellect may, and as a matter of fact does, associate that sentiment with a variety of other objects. Sometimes it directs it to the past life of the race, and awakens in the individual that profound respect for history, for the great lives of another age, for the thoughts embodied in an inherited literature, so striking a feature among our learned and leisured classes; at others to the social life of our time, in which case we witness a reverence for State authority such as we see in Spain, and for ecclesiastical authority such as we see in Ireland. It is indeed difficult fully to estimate the large part which the faculty of reverence plays in our everyday social life. The reverence of children for their parents, the respect of servants for their masters, the informal homage of the coterie accorded to its acknowledged head, the voluntary deference of a party to its chosen leader, the reverence of the masses for time-honoured customs, beliefs and institutions, the loyal obedience to, and respect entertained by the subject for law and constituted authority, are all largely, if not exclusively, prompted by the same mental emotion which underlies and animates all true religious feeling. The emotion of veneration, which when directed to a spiritual or supernatural object we term religion, is, when applied to secular life, the principle of reverent loyalty and obedient respect. It follows, then, that though we may be unable to trace circumstances in the early history of the race which favour the development of veneration in its religious form, we may discover conditions promoting its growth as a political and social force. And as in morals we find aims now unselfishly pursued which have outgrown the original, personal advantageousness out of which they sprang, so the faculty of reverence, at first of the earth, earthy, developed because it advantaged its possessors in the struggle of everyday life, has become, at last, associated with aims, feelings, and conduct the very antitheses of its originating conditions.

Beginning with the earliest and simplest state of society, an aggregation of individuals, without formal organization or acknow-

ledged leadership, any development of the emotion of reverence or veneration would be a mental endowment advantaging its fortunate possessors in the struggle of existence. Because reverence in such circumstances would be unconsciously directed to the natural leader—that is, the most capable member of the tribe. When headship, by right of inheritance, or even by formal election, would be impossible, the individual endowed with highest courage, greatest strength and agility, or most acute senses, would naturally come to the front and assume the leadership. It would therefore appear reasonable to suppose that the members of the tribe who paid most respect and obedience to their natural leaders, would receive, in return, most favour and protection, and would thus be at an advantage over the rest of the tribe, and be most likely to survive, and transmit to their successors the quality of mind which had favoured themselves. While on the other hand members of the tribe without this sentiment of reverence and obedience would occasionally place themselves in antagonism to those mentally and physically their superiors, with the result of being destroyed, or driven out of the tribe, or, at all events, of being less favoured in it. But besides the competition among the members of the same tribe, there would also be a struggle for supremacy between tribe and tribe. And certainly those communities superiorly privileged with members possessing any sense of reverence for their leaders, would exhibit a unity, a natural organization, a willing obedience to those best qualified to lead, which would place them at an immense advantage both in peace and war.

With the institution of marriage and the origination of the family tie, the sentiment of veneration would come more prominently into play. For veneration in the family relationship takes the form of filial reverence, trust, and obedience. Parents would naturally expend more care and toil on behalf of offspring who manifested those filial virtues, than for those irreverent, wilful, and disobedient. The favourite children would receive the best education for the chase and war; and in periods of famine, or misfortune in war—events chronic in the early lifetime of the race—which would occasionally result in the near extinction of the tribe, when adults with all the strength and endurance of maturity could scarcely survive, when a selection of the offspring to be saved from death became a necessity, then those children who had entwined their lives most closely around the affections of the parents would be the favoured ones privileged to live. There would thus be a natural selection exercised in favour of the children who manifested most strongly the filial form of the emotion of reverence.

It is hardly necessary to advert to the important part veneration plays in the life of the sept or clan. It is well illustrated

by the moral ideal of that early state of society which has always represented the virtue of reverence, loyalty, devotion, and obedience toward the chief of the clan, as that of the first importance. A union of several families by the bond of a common allegiance to one leader or chief, would possess many advantages over isolated families without such a natural organization. Pastoral pursuits, and even the chase, are most satisfactorily conducted by an association of families, while such a union, in proportion to its efficiency, would secure possession of the best wells, pastures, and hunting-grounds. In the competition between clan and clan, those whose members manifested most reverence, trust, and obedience toward their chief, would, undoubtedly, possess a coherence, singleness of purpose, and executive efficiency of the greatest possible advantage in peace or war. While within the sept, individuals without a sense of reverence, would manifest an impatience of authority, and independence of manner, thought, and speech, which would speedily result either in expulsion from the clan or disadvantageous circumstances within it.

Coming to a later and higher state of civilization, when the clan had expanded into the nation, the emotion of veneration still retains its place as a most important factor in human progress. The larger the community within certain limits, the more prosperous it is likely to be, the less liable to be injured by aggression from without, and the fewer the occasions and the less the strain of offensive war. But at the same time the greater is the difficulty of maintaining national unity. The strength of the tie binding the individual to the head of the State is weakened by distance, while from the increased number and antagonism of individual family and local interests, through the accumulation of wealth and other causes, the disruptive forces are greatly strengthened. In such circumstances only a strong development of reverence, a complete sense of trust and dependence on the part of the subject toward the governing authority in the State, can secure that social subordination, obedience to law and political content which give unity and vitality to the national life. And, when this sense of reverence for authority is strongly marked, the potentiality of national progress is not measured by the average intellectual power of the people, but by the capacity of their rulers. In a nation where a few think and rule, but where the many are willing to trust and obey, the progress in material comfort and prosperity will be conditioned by the knowledge and mental power of those who rule. The emotion of veneration is thus a substitute for general intelligence among the masses. But side by side with this collective development, a natural selection is going on in

favour of reverence within the national limits. For in the ordinary life of society the manifestation of respect for superiors in wealth and station is a considerable element in securing social success. In the relation of parent and child, master and servant, patron and friend, governor and subject, the favoured ones, in general, would be those most trustful, obedient, and reverential. And thus the mental quality of veneration, with its attendant virtues and vices, becomes bound up in the national life with an intensity such as characterized the ancient civilizations of Egypt and Assyria, or as we see manifested by the peoples of India and China in our own day.

From these considerations it will appear that the mental quality of reverence is a most important element in the formation of a coherent and robust social and national life. It is the first decisive influence in the direction of constituted authority and social subordination. Its acquisition marks the point of departure from savagery to civilization. With it all the social progress made is within view, without it the insubordinate and unorganized tribes are left in stereotyped misery, to be gradually left behind in the struggle of existence, and now to be found as curious relics of man's primitive condition, pushed into out-of-the-way and forgotten bye-places of the world by their more fortunately endowed fellows.

Before entering in detail upon the second branch of our subject—the processes of thought and experience leading to the intellectual conception of the supernatural—it is necessary to explain that religion is not the form of spiritual belief first in point of time, but was grafted upon the pre-existing form of fetishism. Religion and fetishism are both forms of spiritual belief, but whereas in the first the emotional element is reverence, trust, and dependence, in the second the animating emotion is fear, distrust, hate. Religion is the spiritual experience of civilized peoples, or peoples gravitating toward civilization; fetishism of peoples still in the insubordinate chaotic condition of barbarism. If the emotion of veneration is a necessary quality of what is described by the term religion among ourselves, then mere superstition, witchcraft, a simple belief in and dread of the unseen and spiritual, conduct inspired entirely by fear or hatred, in which there is no element of homage or respect, has no claim to that title. Fear and reverence are two distinct emotions of mind. In point of fact, those races which have reached the stage of religion have acquired an emotional endowment beyond the experience of savage races still in the stage of fetishism. Religion cannot be the earliest form of spiritual belief, because it is only possible when certain late social conditions have developed the mental emotion from which it draws its life. When men are merely aggregated

together, and independent of all social or political authority, their spiritual beliefs, are purely fetishistic. But as they require organization they develop religion. As authority is the primary need of all society, binding it into a harmonious whole, and furnishing it with a common life purpose and effort, the mental quality of reverence, upon which that principle reposes, becomes the central fact in the national life, permeating the spiritual no less than the secular world, and transforming the fears of fetishism into the awe and dependence of reverent religion. The intellectual phase of religion, then, was inherited from, and developed out of, the pre-existing conceptions of fetishism, and these, as might be expected among peoples just emerging from the common level of animal life, are of the most crude and simple character. Savage man was prejudiced with no opinion as to his nature and origin being different or superior to all animated nature around him. He frankly conceded an existence, intelligence and feeling similar to his own to all the varied life with which he came in contact. Familiar with the habits, cries, and reasoning powers of the animal world, with their birth, growth, disease, and death, in so many respects identical with his own, he recognized his kinship with the beasts of the field rather than claimed any lordship over them. Extending the range of his observation, he endowed the vegetable world with the possession of the same vital privileges, for plants also are born, and manifest growth, decay, and death. Nay, he went even further. For the sharp distinction between animate and inanimate, so natural to us, was impossible to the savage destitute of knowledge. To him life is co-relative with movement; and the running stream, the drifting cloud, the rustling wind, and the sun and moon in their methodical journeys, are all instinct with vital power, animated with the same feelings, passions, and influences as himself. For the same reason he attributes life and intelligence to the canoe of his own manufacture, to his weapons, utensils, and clothing. Even such notions as cold, heat, and such events as drought, pestilence, suggest to the primitive mind personality, as their effects resemble in kind, though not in degree, the discomfort and disaster he is accustomed to receive from hostile personal agency.

The broad fact, then, which the earliest philosophy attempts to explain is an universally animated nature. The explanation supplied is drawn from the primitive consciousness and experience concerning the phenomena of individual life. To the savage there appears life within life. His body manifests the presence within itself of movement, striving influences, and changing conditions, apparently as individual and independent

of his will as that of any other vital objects familiar to his observation. The throbbing pulse, breathing, the consumption of food and drink, the sensation of hunger and thirst, pain, disease, varying and conflicting mental emotions, all suggest to his mind personal agency and activity. His individual existence, so far from being single and homogeneous, appears a union of two or more independent vital powers, upon the simple basis of a common place of abode. Now, though able only to observe indications of the actual presence of these powers in his waking hours, yet, when his body is chained in sleep, his mental vision becomes clearer, and he discovers the true explanation of the various vital phenomena, which before perplexed him. He now perceives that his body is but the home of spiritual beings, and an arena for the display of spiritual activity; that he himself possesses one or more spirits, which can leave his body to visit other beings and places, and which are stirred by the same feelings and desires of which he himself is conscious in his waking hours. He supposes that all other animated beings are similarly possessed, for they also enjoy the privilege of life, and their spirits visit him in his sleep, as his spirit often visits them. And, as in the opinion of primitive man all surrounding nature is instinct with life, and all life is the result of spiritual agency, it follows that the world is filled with a vast crowd of spiritual beings, invisible indeed, excepting under certain favourable conditions, but not the less real on that account. When once in possession of this conception, many circumstances in common experience tend to strengthen and confirm it. The dark mysterious shadow which so persistently accompanies the individual in the sunlight, or flits beside him with consistent irregularity in the night journey through the woods, the likeness of himself which he sees when he gazes into the still clear pool or lake, have suggested, even to persons in a more advanced social condition than primitive man, a ghostly agency. Unconsciousness and trance, and even sleep, in outward view so much resembling death, in which the body seems temporarily deserted by life, which after a while returns, again reanimating the soulless body, is consistently interpreted by the savage as evidence of spiritual possession. Natural death also suggests the same idea. In that event the body is there with all its organs apparently uninjured. It is the absence of something, additional to and independent of the mere corporeal structure, which makes the difference between the warm, responsive, vital being, and the cold repulsive mass of clay. What can that difference be, but the final abandonment by the spirit of the dead person of the abode it has occupied so long.

It is an easy and natural development of these ideas to con-

ceive the spirit surviving the body for some time. It takes the form of the belief that the ghosts of the departed continue to haunt the home and the friends they knew in this life, as well as the grave where their bodies are buried. It is probably suggested by the fact, that the living are still visited in their dreams by those who are recently dead. But as time elapses, the recollection of former friends becomes faint, and finally extinct, so the opinion arises that their spirits, not less than their bodies, have now ceased to live. A recent traveller in Equatorial Africa remarks, that if you ask a negro where is the spirit of his grandfather, he does not know—it is done. But if you ask him about the spirit of his father or brother, who died yesterday, then he is full of fear and terror; he believes it generally to be near the place where the body has been buried. So vividly present is this conception of spiritual survival, that among many tribes the village is removed to a new and distant site immediately after the death of one of the inhabitants.

These opinions, which are universally current among the lowest savage races even now, inevitably lead to some form of propitiation. Man in that early stage of development is the child of fear. His hand is raised in retaliation or defence against every man's outside the limited circle of his own tribe. And the spiritual hosts, with which in imagination he is environed, are hostile spirits, leagued to injure and harass him. Still more deadly than the material enemies with whom he combats, for they are beyond the reach of his ordinary weapons. No precaution he can adopt can ward off the visit of the oppressive nightmare, or the insidious approach of disease and pain, or shelter him from the fury of natural disturbance. If, however, he is unable to combat hostile spiritual agencies, he may be able to appease them. When unable to maintain his footing by force among the people of his own tribe, he sometimes avoids direful personal consequences by judicious bribery and humbled demeanour. The course of conduct, successful with his neighbours and rivals, will not appear at all out of place when applied to his spiritual foes, who, after all, are only invisible men. The belief in spirits thus leads up naturally and insensibly to propitiation and worship.

Fetichism would thus appear to be the root fact of spiritual belief, though not of religious emotion, the form first in point of time, and the most catholic in the number and variety of the objects brought within its pale. It is the first effort of the human mind to furnish a satisfying interpretation of the unknown, and as man is then in a condition of almost total ignorance, universal nature is surrendered to the habitation and control of spiritual powers. In fetichism we are presented with a spiritual belief;

an emotion of mind related to it, and these two elements bearing fruit in the practical form of propitiation and worship. It only needs the superaddition of the sentiment of reverence and homage, generated from those conditions of social subordination under which alone progress towards civilization is possible, to the feeling of fear, the special characteristic and animating emotion of fetishism, to exhibit in embryo every essential feature of modern religion. But the same conditions of social life which stimulate the growth of the sentiment of reverence profoundly modify the intellectual conceptions to which it is related. A new force has sprung into existence, determining the relations in which men stand toward each other. Hitherto the race has stood upon a footing of personal social equality under the pressure of a hostile environment and the uncontrollable power of natural forces. As, however, man's knowledge increases, his victory over his physical surroundings becomes every day more marked. Man's confidence in himself enlarges, nature appears less formidable to him than before; he can now counteract her more unfavourable operations by the exercise of intelligence and foresight. On the other hand, man has established more influence and power over his fellows. He has become more a member of society, and less an independent savage. The struggle of existence is now very much a struggle toward civilization, and civilization can only be secured by social co-operation, subordination and discipline. Society steps in to fill the place in the fears and emotions formerly exclusively occupied by natural and individual phenomena. The powerful chief and ruler is now as much a necessity of social existence and prosperity, or as great a source of evil and anxiety, as the forces of nature formerly were. The spiritual world also now assumes a character and functions somewhat resembling the social organization. There is a spiritual world dominated by one powerful head, who is concerned about the affairs of men, and all whose vigilance and power is spent in securing the happiness and prosperity of those who own allegiance to him. And as the tribal chief dispenses justice, rewards the good, and punishes the bad, as above all he brings his greatest severity to bear upon disloyalty and revolt, so the tribal god showers fortune upon his loyal and good subjects, and sends untold evil and disaster to all who forsake his worship or disobey his commands. As political bonds widen, and the forms of government improve, the national spiritualistic conceptions reflect these altered conditions in ever new and corresponding characteristics. The distance separating the devotee from his god is now as wide as that dividing the humble subject from the majesty of royalty. The divine attributes

are precisely those which the popular imagination most values in an ideal king. Great power, unsleeping vigilance, provident foresight, unerring judgment, inflexible justice, loving interest and concern in all the affairs of his people, are all important and esteemed royal qualities which have become associated, in fact and nearly in terms, with the tutelary national deity. Even the popular appreciation of the advantage and services of great legislators and law-givers have their counterpart in religion under the form of a written or authoritative revelation of the divine will. It is in the religious conceptions and aspirations of ancient peoples are embalmed the national consciousness of their political necessities. And when the domestic circle has come to fill its due place in the social economy, when the domestic virtues have tempered and softened the national life, and when the recollection of the happiness and affection, counsel, and protection enjoyed under the parental roof are memories to which the mind fondly returns amid the cares, struggles, and competing selfishness of secular life, then the weary heart pictures in imagination a father in heaven, who bends to earth a father's loving eye, whose heart beats in sympathy with his children amid all their toils, trials, and disappointments, and whose ear and counsel are ever open to the humblest appeal of even the most wayward and erring, if only repentant, of his sons.

These are, briefly stated, the more important facts bearing upon the genesis of religion. And whatever influence subsequent modifications of the primary emotion and simplest intellectual conception of religion may have had upon the course of human development, we trust we have said sufficient to show that they are, in their first stages, not at all antagonistic to the evolutionary hypothesis suggested in the "Origin of Species."

ART. IV.—THE PERSIAN EMPIRE : ENGLAND AND
RUSSIA IN THE EAST.

1. *Herat: the Granary and Garden of Central Asia, and the Gate of India.* With Maps. By Col. G. B. MALLESON, C.S.I. London: W. H. Allen & Co. 1880.
2. *Correspondence respecting Affairs in Central Asia.* No. I. (1881.) Presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of Her Majesty.
3. *Clouds in the East: Travels and Adventures on the Perso-Turkoman Frontier.* With Political and Strategical Report and Route Map. By VALENTINE BAKER. London: Chatto & Windus. 1876.
4. *Narrative of the Euphrates Expedition, carried on by order of the British Government.* With Map. By Gen. F. R. CHESNEY. Longmans. 1868.
5. *Parliamentary Papers relating to the Occupation of Kandahar, Afghanistan* (1881). No. 2.

THE Persian Empire yawns like a mighty chasm between Eastern and Western civilization, solves the continuity of all communication, presents on every frontier a terminus to the world's approaches, threatens, or might be used to threaten, for hundreds of miles, the flank of Russia's only practicable approach towards the Gates of India, has been for centuries the victim of every encounter with Russia, whether of wits or of arms, and is perhaps the only empire whose acquisition would most completely satisfy the ambition of that Power, whose territory would then be almost conterminous with our own, and who would keep the East in perpetual ferment. It seems opportune just now—whilst parties are considering what may happen when we withdraw from Afghanistan—for us to consider what must happen, if Russia pushes much further her advances into, and her ascendancy over, the Persian Empire. But the supreme import of Persia to England consists in this, that whilst a Russo-Persian alliance would threaten India from a nearer and impregnable basis, an Anglo-Persian alliance would go far to repair any *laches* of ours in Afghanistan; for no Russian army could take the best route, that from the Caspian, Indiawards, with an Anglo-Persian enemy settled on its flank, in such mighty natural fortresses as those which beset the way from Astrabad. There are, however, other advantages of Persian friendship only second to these in importance. The intercontinental railway, which must

come through Persia, would then be constructed in her interests and in our own; would connect her chief town, Ispahan, at various points with rail and river, and with our basis, the sea; would withdraw her Court from Teheran, where Russian influences naturally prevail, to Ispahan, its old, and natural, and independent, and central position; would promote local traffic and national development; and would furnish us with the best, or, rather, the only safe through route from Scutari, that *vid* Bagdad, Ispahan, Yezd, and Bunder Abbas, and along the coast, under protection of our fleets, to Kurrachee. In fine, what now isolates like a chasm, an abyss, between nations, would then become a vast fortress for freedom: armed against Russia, completing our own communications with the East and paralyzing hers, whilst thrusting her up between the sands of the desert and the rocky bastions of the Afghan.

Thus the question of the Persian Empire involves three broad issues, as its fate may be moulded by Muscovite or by Britannic policy, and by the natural inevitable progress of the living active world, which, with its trade, commerce, railways, and civilization, is advancing on all sides towards or against this old and moribund State, as tempests towards a vacuum. And the questions are—Can Persia stand by herself? or will she be Russianized, or Anglicized? and what must result to Russia, to England, to herself, and to the world, from any or either of those eventualities? We propose, especially, to consider the right policy of England, and the necessary position in which Persia must soon definitively find herself, as affected by the three above-named factors. But we must first consider her present position, and remind our readers of certain commonplace facts, whose aggregate weight and value have scarcely yet been adequately discounted, save by the highly educated gentlemen who constitute the Chancellerie Russe.

The most striking, perhaps, of these facts, and certainly that of broadest application in connection with the East, is that intervention which appears to some capricious, and to others either nefarious, or inevitable, or patriotic, or politic, or even glorious, is, in point of fact, in the long run, but part of that reign of law of which we hear so much. Arbitrary as it will always seem to some, that after, for unknown ages, endless horizons in the East have been wasted for the smallest unprogressive good, or the greatest increasing evil, of the smallest diminishing number, somebody else should come in and do better—this will, nevertheless, occur. The world must be replenished and organized. The logic of such counter-assumptions is, that the first or earlier comer can do no wrong; whereas, policy apart, there are but two moral questions—what, namely, is the will and

for the good of the populations, and what the just interests of neighbouring States ?

In considering, however, these twin questions of Persian and Afghan defence, our object is not to destroy but to uphold existing States ; our object is to stay the destroyer. Nor are we of those who would precipitate war now, because later it may be waged with more advantage against ourselves. There is a lofty moral—and, we think, true statesmanship—in the memorable words with which Earl Beaconsfield, in the recent Lords' debate, urged circumspection, and also the use of "local resources," on the country :—

"But, my lords, the key of India is not Herat or Candahar. The key of India is London. The majesty and sovereignty, the spirit and vigour of your Parliament, the inexhaustible resources, the ingenuity and determination of your people—these are the keys of India. But a wise statesman would be chary in drawing on what I may call the arterial sources of his power. He would use selection, and seek to sustain his empire by recourse to local resources only which would meet his purpose."

Nor is there less truth in the satire put by his Lordship into the mouths of lady politicians, when, describing certain "real statesmen" in the pages of his latest novel, whose eyes appear to have been generally "at the ends of the earth" :—

"Only take care not to be doctrinaire, Endymion. You should have been Lord Roehampton's private secretary ; that is real politics. He is a real statesman. They will not consent to any nonsense about touching the Corn Laws. You think too much, Endymion, of trade and finance. Look to Lord Roehampton—he is the man. He does not care a rush whether the revenue increases or declines. He is thinking of real politics ; foreign affairs ; maintaining our power in Europe. Something will happen in the Mediterranean, and then the country will give him any amount of taxes he likes."

And the Honourable James Russell Lowell dealt wittily and well with that weakness of statesmen—that

"Vaulting ambition which o'erleaps itself, and falls on t'other side"—when, years ago, in the poetry that made his reputation, he thus took John Bull to task :—

"We own the ocean tu, John,
You mus'n take it hard,
Ef we can't think with you, John,
It's just your own back-yard.
Ole uncle S., sez he, 'I guess,
Ef that's his claim,' sez he,
'The fencing stuff'll cost enough
To bust up friend J. B.'"

Still, when, without aggression or bravado, we see, as in the Persian alliance, an immutable basis of mutual interests and rights, which can give no just offence to other Powers, we hold that such alliances are the cheap defence of nations, and that if they are not politic and just and statesmanlike, then it is idle to look for policy, or justice, or statesmanship at all. Persia emphatically suggests the use of those local resources and strategy whereby, as Earl Beaconsfield recommends, the arterial sources of power may be economized. Extending, formerly, over more than twenty degrees of latitude, covering 2,000,000 square miles, or more than half the area of modern Europe, and including great portions of the Nile, the Indus, the Euphrates, the Jaxartes, the Oxus, and the Tigris, she has long been so fallen that her lands, roads, mines, forests, waters, and sea, have been left purposely undeveloped, in order neither to tempt nor to facilitate aggression, or have been forcibly claimed by Turk, Russian, or Afghan. Her ancient north-eastern frontier—that vast triangular block of mountains which stands out like a mighty headland in the mightier waste of Kara Kum, and might be made impregnable—finds the Russian, free of Ashourada port, 180 miles in its rear, and with all the inland routes open.

“All along the route,” says Colonel Valentine Baker, “from Kizil Arvat to the Sarakhs, there are numberless watercourses, and at distances of seven or eight miles lie the old Persian forts, built probably in the time of Khosro, which mark the true frontier, but many of which are now occupied by the Turkomans. Massive earthworks standing out of the plains at the foot of the hills, they will remain for many centuries, decaying monuments of the past. They would form admirable dépôts for an army, and if mounted with guns would be almost impregnable, as they stand out of the plains, and command all the surrounding country; they are entered by a sloping road, which usually leads through a large gateway; water is always found near them, and they are often surrounded by a large belt of fertile country, evidently once well cultivated. This great range of mountains runs along the northern frontier of Persia and Afghanistan, until it merges in the Hindoo Koosh; and north of this range, extending right away to the Oxus, lie the great desert steppes of Turkomania, inhabited by three distinct tribes, the Yamouts, the Goklans, and the Tekès, gathered on the banks of the Oxus in the north, the banks of the Attek and Gourgan in the south, and all along the northern slopes of the mountain range, or at Merv, and the banks of the Moorghab. The Tekès, far the most powerful and warlike tribe, inhabit the northern base of the mountains from Kizil Arvat to Tejend, and also Merv, and the banks of the Moorghab. The Tekès have at present (1876) rallied under one chief, Kourschid Khan, who resides at Merv, and during the Khivan campaign commenced fortifying Merv, and obtained thirty-four old field-pieces from Khiva and

Afghanistan. They are the beau ideal of wild irregular horsemen, and when settled on the Persian frontier under the Koordish governors, are soon found very tractable, and loyally resist the inroads of their compatriots. At present, from want of organization, they would fall an easy prey to any European army; but should they ever come under European officers, these 120,000 magnificent horsemen would form a splendid frontier force. If they be conquered and brought under Russian rule and leading, Afghanistan will ever be at their mercy. These brave wild tribes—usually armed with lance, sabre, and double-barrelled gun, and mounted on that splendid and enduring race of Arabs which now equal English thoroughbreds in size—are destined to play a prominent part in that great question which time will unavoidably bring upon us. Scared by Russian advances, and knowing that they must next fall a prey to the great onward wave, they are ready to rally upon any friendly power. They would readily rally on Afghanistan. They have made overtures to Persia."

Persia, however, must herself be under pupilage or alliance, or she will go further down to decay, and become a Russian dependency. The magnificent provinces Ghilan and Mazanderan—perhaps the most fertile belt of country in the world, with forests of teak, oak, walnut, and box on their northern mountain slopes, and mines of coal and iron on their southern plateau—these provinces and mountains, which seemed formed by nature and position to dominate the Caspian and secure it to Persia, are themselves dominated by the Russian power, and may not only come under its rule, but may be the means of riveting the bonds of Persia; and the oasis, Merv, the home and rallying-point of the Tekès, may at this moment be a Russian province, with the 120,000 horsemen soon at Russian orders. This oasis, ninety miles in circumference, and rejoicing in three crops a year, used to support a million inhabitants. Merv and the river Oxus, both once under Persian sway, have alike shared Persian degeneracy. The Oxus—so wide where it nears Merv that its banks can scarcely be seen from shore to shore—might, by scientific irrigation, be made to water a belt of country many miles on either side, instead of a paltry three or four miles; and so with other waters. Afghanistan, formerly a Persian province, is really another example of Persian decrepitude.

"The utmost breadth of the Valley of the Helmund," says Général Chesney, "does not exceed two miles. This great valley therefore presents that remarkable contrast which in the East is the result of the presence or absence of water; for a single step carries the traveller from the uninhabited desert into a garden. The numerous ruins which this province contains sufficiently testify that the country of Rustam must have been once fertile and full of cities which equalled any in Asia in extent and magnificence; but the want of irrigation

has entirely changed its face, and the inhabited parts are now chiefly confined to the valleys of Kash-rúd, Farr-ar-rúd, and the Helmund." (Pp. 167-8, v. 1.)

Again, when describing the plateau of Iran, and the higher table-lands filling the space inside the great chains, we are told that "only a small portion is at present cultivated, and from the number of ruined cities, villages, and Kanáts, it is manifest that desert tracks have increased very much during the two last centuries. The gradual diminution of fixed inhabitants who might irrigate and cultivate the ground, accounts for this change in the appearance of the country, about two-thirds of which are, from the absence of water, reduced to a desert." (Pp. 77-8, v. 1, *ibid.*)

Ruins everywhere testify the want of population and of good government, but the ruins of irrigation works, which produce all other ruins, are the most suggestive of all.

"The whole course of the Euphrates ("Encyclopædia Britannica," 7th ed.) is over fifteen hundred miles. The greatest increase of that river is in January, when it rises twelve perpendicular feet, in consequence principally of the melting of the snows on the Taurian range. Taking advantage of this circumstance, the ancient inhabitants of Asia Minor formed numerous artificial canals and lakes, for the double purpose of protecting the plains from inundation, and of irrigation. The canal of Pallacopus, dug by the Babylonian kings, is one of these; and the sea of Nejiff was also one of those gigantic works. In general, however, the country languishes under the wretched policy of the Turks, and these great works have fallen into neglect and disrepair."

Again, in the matter of railways, Persia is what she must soon cease to be—Cathay blocking Europe; for it is certain that, with whomsoever she may ally herself, military and commercial preponderance in the East is to those who first mature and complete their railway systems. Railways not only get possession of the ground, but they must consolidate, naturalize, and protect their own interests, and they may prevent the intrusion of others. Railways in the East mean everything—trade, supplies, transport, water, power, armies, strategy and empire. Railways, which have been called "the girders of civilization," can exist, indeed, but can hardly pay, without it; yet we of the West altogether fail to realize the rapture of impatience with which the men of the East look for railways. There have been six great schemes of railway enterprise for Persia, differing, as they were meant to serve international interests, or those of Russia, Turkey, Persia, or Great Britain respectively. Four of them have been projected to enter from the west and two from the east. Of the

latter ; one would leave Kurrachee on the Indus, and skirt the coast towards the Persian Gulf, the other, continued from Sibi, would reach Ispahan by the route north of the plateau of Iran, *vid* Candahar, Herat, and Meshud. As the line from Sibi has recently been much discussed (and a route has just been pointed out, avoiding the almost impossible difficulties of the Bolan Pass, whilst answering all objects as well or better), we will first say a few words on these two projected lines from east to west. In the Blue Book for 1880, lately published, extracted in the *Times* newspaper of February 26th, the importance of the first branch of this railway is amply conceded. The Duke of Cambridge there states his opinions as to Candahar : "The railroad, in connecting Candahar with India, would bring the trade down to Kurrachee, whence it would be shipped in perfect security to any part of the world," and, indeed, in but six short weeks, cannon from Woolwich could be placed on the ramparts of Candahar, and in the same time bales from Manchester could be distributed in the bazaars of central Asia.

"When the railway to Candahar is completed," writes Sir H. Rawlinson, Sept. 1880, "and the central Asian trade has fairly taken possession of the line, working, as it certainly would, an entire revolution in the feelings and habits of the population, . . . the railway being in truth the germ of the whole matter, the only factor in the Afghan question worthy of very serious consideration. . . . Of all possible political shortcomings, the most fatal would be the abandonment of this most promising undertaking. The railway was the most efficient arm of defence. Its effect, when completed, would have been to transfer our military base from the Indus to within 350 miles of the threatened point of attack, Herat. If we abandon the work, we virtually deprive ourselves of the power of protecting the Afghan frontier from Russian aggression, and our promises are rendered impossible of performance, for we could not and should not march troops again from the Indus to the Oxus."

"From the Bolan to the Indus is," as stated by Col. Malleon, at St. James's Hall, on the 22d February last, "a plain 150 miles long by 100 broad, and it is the opinion of all military men, ancient and modern, that there is the vulnerable point of India." It appears from a speech by Sir R. Sandeman at Bombay (*Allen's Indian Mail*, February 9th, 1881, quoting *Bombay Gazette*, that when Col. Colley, by order of Lord Lytton, visited this frontier, he was accompanied by an experienced engineer, Mr. Furnival, who was specially deputed to inspect the Bolan Pass, should a railway to Quetta be required. It was just possible to take a railway through the Bolan Pass at an enormous cost, but he recommended Sir R. Sandeman to discover a

better and easier route, which he did by a slight divergence *viâ* Nari. This route is cheaper, as good from a military point of view, better for political reasons, and would pass through a cultivated country, where wood, forage, and water exist. The tract of country, also *viâ* the Nari Gorge, has been practically British territory, administered by our officers and officials for more than two years, and we have had from 15,000 to 20,000 labourers at work there, extended over a large tract of country. Various routes are proposed for the railway from Nari Gorge to the Pishin. But the line is actually opened to Sibi, half-way from the Indus to Candahar, and was to be completed to Pishin in 1881, and to Candahar in 1882. A writer in Allen's *Indian Mail* (February 23rd) states that "a scientific map, compiled from the surveys recently made by our engineer officers, should contain, most carefully delineated, the range of mountains which separate Sewestan from Afghanistan, and ought to show the 'Chupper Rift,' over which Craterus is believed to have led the sick, the elephants, and the heavy baggage of Alexander the Great's army. This Rift is a break in the great mountain range, and it is proposed to bore without delay a tunnel through it, and Sir Garnet Wolseley will doubtless advise the authorities to construct strong forts at either end of it. It would destroy any enemy who might venture to intrude into the Quetta Valley." A railway from the Indus to Candahar and Herat might make, what has scarcely existed yet, an Afghan nation, under the ægis of Great Britain; but, as Sir H. Rawlinson observes, we can make good no guarantee in those regions without the railway. Under present conditions Herat and Candahar simply cannot flourish by reason of endless bad government, or no government. Good government and railways are alike important, and we suspect that the one will hardly come without the power commanded and the confidence inspired by the other. But with regard to the main point for India, it must not even now be forgotten, that railways are the best and cheapest, as well as the only self-supporting propaganda. Lord Lawrence himself, in a minute made by him in 1869, and quoted by Lord Lytton in the recent Lords' debate, writes: "I feel no shadow of doubt that, if a formidable invasion of India from the West were imminent, the Afghans *en masse*, from the Ameer of the day down to the domestic slave of the household, would readily join it." True, Candahar is not a frontier, nor need it be, for no enemy has a frontier in that direction east of the Caspian or south of the Oxus. With the rail, however, it would be what were more to the purpose—namely, a base of operations within 350 miles of the threatened point of attack,

Herat. It would be a *place d'armes*, and, according to Sir W. Merewether, would necessitate no addition to our Indian armies, whilst the revenues of the district of Candahar would render its administration more than self-supporting, and the extra military expense would be trifling.

From Candahar to Herat, and thence to Ispahan, there are no engineering difficulties; nor are there any from Kurrachee along the coast south of the plateau of Iran, to Bunder Abbas, on the Persian Gulf, that being part of the projected international route for swift through passage *vid* Bagdad and Scutari. Both commercial and strategical considerations must render this route increasingly important. Persia's vast central salt plain has the effect of separating eastern and western Persia by a narrow passage both on north and south; but that on the north is fertile and well-watered, that on the south barren and difficult. Thus, without the southern route, any force holding Astrabad and Shahrood might isolate the whole of Eastern Persia; and whether or not it be premature to say, as stated by the Marquis of Salisbury in the Lords' debate on the 4th March, that Persia is devoted to Russia, there can be no block to Russia, except by Persian strategy in the north, nor any other direct, swift, and reliable through route to India from the west, than the one we now indicate along the southern Persian coast. Of course, all the railway schemes we now discuss assume the alliance or friendship of Turkey or Persia, or both, and the inter-continental routes assume that Buda-Pesth and Constantinople will become connected by the rail. A railway congress to discuss two grand trunk lines from Vienna to Salonica and Constantinople has just been held at Vienna (*Times*, 9th March last), and was well represented from Servia, Bulgaria, Constantinople, &c. These things must come, and they may come sooner than we expect. Certain shadowy organizations might go on for a long time, destroying their own populations, but they cannot block the dissemination of the world's ideas, and they will not much longer be allowed to break the continuity of the world's communications and affairs. Nothing can destroy the peerless site of Constantinople, and that city must become the terminus of all the West, and Scutari the caravanserai of all the East.

Of railway schemes in Asia Minor and Western Persia there have been four—the Turkish scheme; the English scheme; the scheme between Reuter and Persia, which we can hardly call a Persian scheme, because it was against Persian interests; and the Russian scheme, which was, we need hardly say, also anti-Persian. Steam communication, which is easier by the Euphrates than by the Tigris, exists both by Turkish and English vessels, from the

mouth of the Tigris to Bagdad, and even to Mosul, except in summer, and the two rivers at Bagdad are only forty miles apart. The strategical advantages so far would lie with England. Both Persian and English interests would tend to make Bagdad (a city still of 100,000 inhabitants) a great railway centre, and Ispahan (150,000) another; and the carriage of Indian mails and passengers would be so profitable as to prove a great inducement to take any route proposed by the British Government. The question of Persian railways is now in such a condition that either Russian or English influence must soon prevail; for the whole land trade of the East is leaving its ancient channels to flow through the territory of the great northern power. Starting, therefore, from Scutari by the line already opened to Ismed, we find that the works are being pushed on to Angora. It is evident that the strategic necessities of Turkey would induce her to concentrate towards Erzeroum and on the Upper Tigris, whilst her commerce, now flowing with such difficult land carriage by Trebizond or Samsoun, would thus be opened to Sinope and Samsoun on the Black Sea, whither lines are contemplated and are being surveyed. Combined Turkish, Persian, and English interests, therefore, would take the line from Scutari by Angora, Sivas, and Diarbekir (40,000 inhabitants), to Mosul (40,000, with large commerce, and on the great caravan route) and Bagdad, and thence to Ispahan, Yezd, and Bunder Abbas, at the mouth of the Persian Gulf, whence it would follow the coast as closely as possible to Kurrachee. When the Euphrates Valley scheme was agitated, and a guarantee asked therefor of the British government, the feasibility of the Suez Canal was not ascertained. That railway scheme would meet no present want of England, for steamers with 2,000 troops, and their material, pass through the canal to India; it offers no strategical advantages to Turkey; and it proposed a double embarkation.

The Russian railway system carries out in masterly fashion all the objects of Russia, strategic or commercial, and whether as against Turkey, Persia, or India. Russia learnt well the lesson of the Crimean war, where not one-third of the troops from the north-west ever arrived, and once a whole brigade disappeared *en route*, owing to fatigue and sickness. It is a lesson that we ourselves seem incapable of learning, even with all our experience in the East. Vladikavkas, in the Caucasus, has for some years been connected with St. Petersburg, and the line is being continued to Tiflis, and is to be continued to Erivan, and further, by concession granted by Persia, to Tabreez, a Persian town of some 20,000 inhabitants. This was a blow aimed at Turkish railway strategy, at Persian trade and English competition for it; at

Reshdt (or Enzelli), Persia's only good harbour on the Caspian, from which Tabreez is only 180 miles distant ; at the magnificent Persian provinces, Ghilan and Mazanderan, hard by ; at Persian independence, and the Persian capital Teheran, about 300 miles removed ; and lastly, at Herat, between which and Teheran and Tabreez there is no engineering difficulty whatever in the way of railroad construction. The blow, however, has not yet been completely delivered, for the proposed concession came to the knowledge of our late Government, and the extension to Tabreez was cancelled, whilst the rest of the project stands good.

We can now understand the gigantic enterprise planned by Baron Reuter, and conceded by Persia, which would have placed that "power" completely at the mercy of Russia, which might have been so moulded by England as to subserve our own and Persia's interests, whilst blocking any possible future Russian advance through Persia against India ; and which fell through because Russia and England both opposed it, and it could get no financial guarantee from England. The proposal made by Baron Reuter was to construct a railway from Tabreez to Reshdt, from Reshdt to Teheran, from Teheran to Ispahan, and south to Bushire ! The southern part of this scheme (which bristled with engineering difficulties) would never have been completed, Russia would have been let in, and England, her way from the sea being blocked, could have rendered no assistance. Surely, with British influence fairly at work in Persia, the better line, from the south and the sea at Bunder Abbas, might have been constructed *vid* Yezd to Ispahan, with extensions west to Bagdad and north to Teheran. Ispahan is the finest town in Persia, well watered by the Zend-núd, spanned by four bridges, one of them 164 yards long. It contained in the time of Chardin 600,000 inhabitants, but has now dwindled to less than 150,000. One word more as to break of gauge, and rolling stock. Armies now depend for transport, supply, and water, on the rail, and the value of the rail depends on having rolling stock to fit it. At every frontier Russia breaks her gauge ; that is, so arranges her gauge that an army arriving at her frontier by the enemy's lines, could not use those of Russia for invasion. Russia has therefore but to withdraw her rolling stock, and she threatens other Powers whilst preventing the hostile use of her own lines.

We now propose to direct our readers to certain considerations of Russian strategy on the shores of the Caspian, and thence Herat-wards, premising that every item of Russian policy is anti-Persian and anti-English, even more than it is anti-Afghan. The Persian flag has long since been swept from that sea, formerly her own lake ; and since 1828, and the treaty of

Turkmantchai, she has no business there for naval or commercial purposes. But besides railways west of the Caspian, Russia possesses in Krasnovodsh, on the eastern shore, by far the finest natural harbour of that sea, perfectly safe, and with a draught of water of from 22 to 26 feet. This is to confer on Russia the strategical and commercial command of Western Central Asia. Just south of this harbour, the ancient bed of the river Oxus touches the Caspian, and may now be used by Russia for one of three purposes. The Oxus may again be turned into it, or it may serve as the line of a railway, or of a canal. Either course opens up communication with the Aral sea and the river Oxus, thus penetrating to Central Asia, and connecting the Caspian with Balkh hard by (270 miles from) Kabul. From this point of view do we well to stop the railway from the Indus to Kandahar?

From the South Eastern corner of the Caspian, now in Russia's possession, there are four routes Herat-wards, by which armies may march. They are clearly described by Colonel Valentine Baker, one of the ablest cavalry officers England ever possessed, and who went out expressly to investigate the Perso-Turkoman frontier; and they are delineated by Lieut. Gill, R.E., his comrade, in the strategical route map prefixed to the volume. The longest of these routes is by the right bank of the Attrek, to Kizil Arvat, 200 miles, and thence along the ancient Persian frontier to the Sarakhs, 380 miles, as already detailed, the Sarakhs being 210 miles from Herat, = 790 miles. The shortest route reaches Meshed by Astrabad, Shahrúd, Subsawar, and Nishapore, 330 miles, and thence to Herat, 220 miles = 550 miles, routes so often traversed by large armies. And there are two other routes to Meshed, meeting at Shirwan, more than half way from Ashourada, which are 340 and 380 miles respectively, and 220 to Herat = 560 and 600 miles. Herat being the Russian objective, the first point was to find a base on the Eastern shores of the Caspian. At Krasnovodsh fresh water is scarce, and the desert intervenes, but Ashourada is right on all the routes for Herat, and the Gourgán river affords immediate fresh water supply on landing. Ashourada was, as we have seen, taken from Persia accordingly; and although the draught of water is only fourteen feet, all the vessels on the Caspian have been built to enter it, and could all lie there in safety together.

We will now consider, First, the position of Herat and India in relation to Russia's nearest base on the Caspian. Second, what Russia would necessarily attempt were Herat her objective? Third, what Russia has attempted and succeeded in? It will be made clear that Russia has advanced with all the regularity, force, and precision of a natural law, for it is the

advance of an enormous force always moving through the centuries, and over all obstacles, in the same direction, and with the same result, and always moving successfully, *i.e.*, to the destruction of Persian and Afghan independence and of English influence.

If a right line be drawn from Ashourada to Herat, it will measure about 540 miles (little shorter than the marching route) ; on the best maps there is such a line approximately drawn, with small dots, and marked "Caravan track only, a few small villages." If we look from Herat to Balkh, on the Oxus (which is Russia's next best basis against Afghanistan) to Kabul, and Kandahar, we find that those four towns form an irregular square of a little over 300 miles, the side formed by Kabul and Balkh being much shorter. But taking Balkh and Herat as the two objectives of Russia, we find them 270 and 300 miles, by the marching routes, from Kabul and Kandahar respectively, and 380 miles from each other. And further, that from Kabul to Peshawar is but 200 miles, and from Kandahar to the Bolan, 170.

We ask, secondly, what, *a priori*, would Russia attempt, supposing Herat to be her objective? and thirdly, which of her attempts have been successful? and we answer, she would have to attempt, specially, seven things, she has attempted them, and she has succeeded in them all. Persian independence is destroyed, and British influence suspended. (A) She has acquired Ashourada harbour, close to the best routes. (B) She has completed her railway to Tiflis. (C) She has destroyed the Persian frontier at Kizil Arvát, 200 miles to the north of Ashourada, which would have sent her 200 miles out of the way to Hérat; and has, if not annexed, acquired the use of a vast wedge of triangular territory, 380 + 340 + 200 miles, the point of the triangle being at the Sarakhs, what we will call its base, set against the Caspian, a mighty weapon of attack and disintegration, driven eastwards by the uttermost force of the Russian Empire. (D) She has assumed a right to the Gourgan river, which would immediately supply a landing force with fresh water, and along whose banks that force would march. (E) From Ashourada is a road of 40 miles to Astrabad, from Astrabad is a road 50 miles to Shahrud. Shahrud seized and held would not only cover Russia's march eastward, by either of the four routes we have indicated, but would prevent any possibility of relieving Eastern Persia from the West, or Western Persia from the East. Russia is the only power that is anywhere near; and England, the only power that could intervene, is 800 miles off at Kandahar, and may soon be 1000. (F) Russia has established herself at Balkh, 270 miles from Kabul, and very likely, before these pages are published, will have advanced to Merv, 240 miles

from Herat. (G) We all know what she has done with the Turkomans at Geok Tepe, and that she has made some progress with the railway there. Who is there to prevent the construction of the Ashourada-Herat line, a line some 560 miles in length, or to prevent the transit of troops along it from end to end,—from the Caspian to Herat, in 48 hours?

But we do not all yet know,—we do not take the trouble to examine; and some who have examined, have missed some most material points involved in or revealed by “the Afghan correspondence,” just presented to Parliament; and we will now shortly analyse that correspondence, and see what it can establish.

The first portions, beginning March 28th, 1870, are between General Kaufmann and the Ameer of Kabul, Shere Ali Khan, and simply endeavour to impress on the Ameer three considerations; that Bokhara had just come under Russia’s protection, and that the Ameer is to remain perfectly neutral,—“not to care for the welfare or misfortune of his neighbours,” considering the good relations between Russia and Afghanistan, and the great friendship that exists between his two great neighbours, the Viceroy of India and Russia. This, the General wishes, “from his customary honesty and sincerity,” to impress upon the Ameer.

Next, October 28th, 1871, the General states that the “irregular proceedings” of another potentate, Aboul Ala, Sultan of Kuldja, had also rendered it necessary to capture his country; that the Ameer was “strictly not to interfere;” that friendship exists between Russia and England.

Khiva is the next question (December 1st, 1873). “The Khan of Khiva had commenced committing unlawful acts. Having obtained a victory over the army of Khiva, I conquered the country. It is not the wish of Russia to add territories. Khiva is independent as before.”

General Kaufmann informs Shere Ali (July 12th, 1875) of the matrimonial alliance between Russia and England, and the Ameer replies that “it will increase the comfort and security of the creatures of God.”

Kholand next comes into view. The General states (October 29th, 1875) that he had quelled the disturbances raised there. “I was obliged to proceed against Kholand with troops.” The General gives this account “through real friendship, and may the chain of friendship daily increase and remain always firm.” The Ameer seems getting nervous (England being Russia’s friend, there seemed no hope of checking her), and replies, “I strongly hope that, if God pleases, nothing will interfere with the progress of friendship between Russia and Afghanistan.”

The General next states that Kholand was annexed ; “ constrained to annex it, not for Russia’s interests, but, to afford the people of Kholand tranquillity.” The Ameer replies (August 27th, 1876) that kindness to neighbours will tend to encourage them, and to comfort the people of God.

On the 18th of June, 1878, occurred the first meeting of the Berlin conference. In that month the General writes to the Ameer, “ Be it known to you that in these days the relations between the British Government and ours with regard to your kingdom require deep consideration. Major General Stolieteff, a near friend of mine, will inform you of all that is hidden in my mind. Pay great attention. Believe him as you would myself. The advantages of a close alliance with the Russian Government will be permanently evident.”

A letter dated 12th of February, 1878, from General Kaufmann to the Ameer, is missing, but the Ameer replies, August 23rd, 1878, describing it as “ inquiring regarding the coolness between the British Government and Afghanistan,” and referring to General Stolieteff’s mission.

The treaty next follows between Russia and the Ameer, as written from memory by Mirza Muhamud Nubbee ; and by article 3, “ the Russian Government engages that if any foreign enemy attacks Afghanistan, and the Ameer is unable to drive him out, and asks the assistance of the Russian Government, the Russian Government will repel the enemy, either by means of advice, or such other means as it may consider proper.”

Mirza Muhammad Hassan’s recollection of the same clause, which he calls article 4, is that “ the Russian Government will, through the Governor (General of Turkestan), assist the Ameer with troops, if ever he is attacked by a foreign power.” And clause 7, “ the ancient country of Afghanistan will be returned to the Ameer when, by the help of God, existing difficulties are overcome by the aid of troops.”

The Berlin treaty was signed 13th July, and ratified 3rd August, 1878. Two or three months after, General Stolieteff writes to Wazir Shah Muhammad Khan (October 8th, 1878) : “ The enemy of your famous religion wants to make peace with you through the Kaiser of Turkey. Therefore you should look to your brothers who live on the other side of the river. If God stirs them up, and gives the sword of fight into their hands, then go on in the name of God ; otherwise you should be as a serpent ; make peace openly, and in secret prepare for war.” We consider this plain advice,—if an Indian insurrection can be stirred up, fight, if not, temporise.

Shere Ali immediately replies to General Kaufmann ; “ Soon after this reaches you, you will hear that the British and Afghan

Governments have got involved in war. I expect you will pay particular attention on the subject, and lend me your friendly aid in any way you think proper." He also encloses a letter to the Emperor, stating that since friendly correspondence had been opened between him and Russia, the British had been severely hurt, especially when the Russian mission arrived at Kabul, "and strung the pearls of friendly sentiments on the thread of statement." The repulse of the British mission is then related, and the Ameer hopes his Majesty "will send me friendly assistance befitting the greatness of your imperial majesty, for the maintenance of the tranquillity of Afghanistan."

Shere Ali informs General Stolieteff (October) that he would have temporized with the British had it been possible, and asks assistance.

General Kaufmann (November 4th, 1878) advises the Ameer to make peace with the British. And on the 26th, informs him that "the British ministers have given a pledge to our ambassador in London, that they will not interfere with the independence of Afghanistan." Also that he sends the Ameer's trusted officials back, "as I do not consider it advisable to keep them here any more."

The General writes in December, to Colonel Rogonoff, the Russian Envoy at Kabul, "the Ameer knows perfectly well that it is impossible for me to assist him with troops in winter. If the English commence war, take leave of the Ameer."

Shere Ali writes (December 8th) "this is the time," &c., "withhold not troops at this time of need," &c., "not to defer the aid till some other time, *but to send to Afghan Turkestan the 32,000 troops of Tashkend which General Stolieteff told me in your presence were ready, and would be dispatched whenever I required them.* I allow you to urge both day and night the Russian Government," &c. This letter of instruction from the Ameer was to his own confidential Envoy sent by him with General Stolieteff on the return of the latter to Tashkend, at the conclusion of his mission to Kabul, whither he had been sent to tell the Ameer "all that was hidden in General Kaufmann's mind," but which it was undesirable to reduce to writing. Very undesirable, we should say, considering the Berlin congress met in the same month that General Stolieteff started for Kabul.

The Ameer writes to General Kaufmann (same date), referring to "the recent alliance concluded through General Stolieteff," "I expect, as a matter of course, aid in men from you."

The Ameer issues a Firman, dated December 22nd, 1878, quoting letters from General Stolieteff (how long after the Berlin Treaty does not appear), who was with the Emperor at Livadia, as follows:—"The Emperor's desire is that you should

not admit the English into your country ; treat them with deceit till the present cold season passes away ; then the Bismillah will come to your assistance ; we will convene a congress at St. Petersburg, and by force of words will cut off all English communication with Afghanistan for ever, or else events will end in a mighty war."

General Kaufmann writes the Ameer, January 2nd, 1879, "The Russian ambassador at London has obtained a promise from the British ministers to the effect that they would not injure the independence of Afghanistan. It is impossible to assist you with troops now."

But under identical date with this Firman, in a letter from the Ameer to General Kaufmann, stating that "all the gentry and chiefs of Afghanistan waited upon me, and represented that the English had no other object but that we should not cultivate friendly relations with the Russian Government ; that we should not let the Envoy of that Government visit our country," &c. It looks as though "the gentry and chiefs" were more intelligent, and better affected towards England than either their Ameer or the populace.

The great central fact, however, which the whole of this Afghan correspondence confirms and enforces, is that Afghanistan was being used, and is liable to be used, as a mighty parallel of approach against India, and as a sap driven into the Indian Empire by means of confraternity of race and religion with Mahomedans on "the other side of the river : " that in time of war when all things are fair, Russia would always advise the Ameers "to look to their brethren there," if haply God should "stir them up ;" and in peace, when so many things are foul, Russian Envoys would always be "stringing the pearls of friendly sentiment on the thread of statement" at Kabul. As to Russia, her railways are not yet enough advanced, but Stolieteff and Kaufmann undoubtedly promised Shere Ali the aid of 32,000 troops ; and large stores of warlike material not otherwise accountable, and large sums of Russian gold, were found at Kabul. As to the Afghans, let us remember Cavagnari's murder, and Lord Lawrence's minute, that they would pour *en masse* upon India at the first favourable chance.

The question remains, therefore, Do we mean to defend India against a Russo-Afghan alliance, and if so, how ? Are not railways the best and cheapest defence, and would they not empower also the commercial instincts, and transform the social force of Afghanistan in our favour ? Would they not by a silent, but swift and certain process, work an all-powerful change (as said Sir H. Rawlinson) in the manners and habits of the race ?

If we leave Kándahar we are bound to protect its

people (who are not of Afghan but of Persian descent) from Afghan vengeance. They swore on the Koran to permit nothing inimical to the English, and Sir Donald Stewart—(see *Times*' report of Sir R. Temple's speech at Mansion House, March 9th last)—in return, promised them they should not be transferred to the rule of Kabul. Why should we not protect Kandahar on the same terms as those on which we hold Quetta from the Khan of Kelat? We propose to end this article with some considerations of the ancient glories and present potentialities of Herat itself; and be it always borne in mind that Russia, unlike England, can always advance to Herat and Kandahar without getting involved in the mountain passes of Afghanistan, and that she can reach Kabul from Herat. The "rocky bastion" may nevertheless remain a rocky bastion for India's defence without our holding it, but only with these two provisoes—that we do not let Russia insinuate herself southwards towards Herat, where she has no neighbourhood or mission, and that we so far secure our own influence, as to leave no opening or excuse for Russia or any Russian nominee.

Herat, its wonderful natural strength, as well as its old-world fame, its unique position, its capacity for feeding armies, and finding much of the material of war; the willingness, nay, the agony of urgency, with which the Herati have sought and would hail our leadership; the ease with which the town may be held; its direct connexion with Kandahar, along a lane, as it were, 300 miles long—a lane, however long, without a turning, being a single valley protected on the east by impassable mountains, and on the west by impassable deserts—all these things and others, should, before it is too late, be understood in England. Colonel Malleon—an acknowledged partisan of our occupation of Herat—gives full and fair details, and ample undoubted facts, from which it is open for anyone who can, to establish the impolicy of keeping Russia at a decent distance from "the Granary and Garden of Central Asia" and "the Gate of India." Many results there are conceivable, but one is certain: if Russia occupy Herat, she will dominate Persia from the east as she already does on the north, and jeopardise our own alliance with that power. Herat will then be constituted an absolute block between ourselves and Persia. The whole of Persia, down even to the Persian Gulf, will be at Russia's mercy. Russia will have unravelled our whole Eastern policy; will have grasped both ends of Persia's mountain ranges; will have struck across our future railway system; will prevent the revival of trade and the resurrection of the East, and increase our dangers and expenses a thousand fold.

Colonel Malleon discourses—although with some repetitions,

and not always in very serried order, yet with a powerful and persuasive array of facts—on the ancient might and majesty of Herat; on her prodigal resources; on her distance from the present Persian frontier, and on Persia's inability either to help, hold, or hinder; on Herat's vast strength as a fortress; on her unique strategical position as the one key to the only valley through which armies can march eastwards to India; on the ferocity and uselessness of the Afghans, who wrecked Herat 160 years ago, and hold it with a withering, loathsome, and perpetual desolation; and on the earnestness with which the Herati seek our aid, the joy with which it would be accepted, the loyalty that awaits our advent, and the glories we should recall and recreate.

It is due, however, in the first place, to the susceptibilities of the British public, and to the rights of the case, and also to Colonel Malleon, to quote his explanation in detail of this cardinal point—"the relation between Afghans and Afghanistan":—

"I have found," he says, "a very general impression prevailing in certain circles, that the Afghans stand towards Afghanistan in the same relation which the English occupy to England. There could not be a greater fallacy. The Afghans are, in fact, the Highlanders of Afghanistan, and nothing more. They have not built a single city, nor occupied one, without impairing its resources, pillaging its people, injuring its trade, damaging its public buildings, and diminishing its importance. The Afghans were rude mountain tribes, living by plunder and by pillage. But the city in which Afghan influence has been most detrimental is Herat. For 300 or 400 years the valley and city were the granary and garden of Central Asia, and the desolating presence of the Afghan was in those days never felt. The inhabitants—of mixed Persian and Turki blood—were industrious, inventive, energetic, and pains-taking, and the streets became adorned with palaces, markets, aqueducts—the remains of which even now excite wonder and admiration; the courts of her ruling princes became centres to which the intellectual aristocracy of Central Asia resorted—all who were famous in poesy, science, astronomy, and architectural acquirements. Her fame was sung by poets and recorded by historians; her prosperity spread into the valleys to the north and west. To this day the valley of the Murgháb, even as far as Merv, is strewn with ruins of castles and villas which attested the prosperity of the parent city. Conquerors came, besieged, and even stormed the city—but they were not Afghans; and after each new conquest she rose from her ashes. She remained the commercial queen of Central Asia till 1717, when came Afghan conquest and Afghan rule. How the Afghan swaggers in the streets, armed to the teeth, disdaining work, but ready to murder and plunder; how the governor lays on imports and exports, duties all but prohibitory, thus stifling the trade which is the life-blood of the place; how the very caravans are plundered, and the

people, ground down by taxes, plunder, and oppression, turn their longing eyes to England—all this is told, in words that burn, by the eye-witness Vambéry. Bulgarian atrocities were nothing to the Afghan; and that which is true now, and was witnessed by Vambéry in 1863, has been true since 1717."

Unless eighteen years have made a vast difference in the Afghans, in the forum of morality, the question is one simply of English policy and expediency, and Herati rights. Can Afghan rulers give the Herati order and peace? Have the Afghans changed enough between 1863 and 1881?

"It needs only some attack," wrote Vambéry in 1863, "no matter by whom, to be made upon Herat, for the Herati to be the first to take up arms against the Afghans. They long most for the intervention of England, whose feelings of humanity and justice have led the inhabitants to forget the great differences in religion and nationality. The city had a most gloomy troubled aspect; the dread of their savage conqueror was painted on the features of its inhabitants. Whoever is acquainted with the covetousness of the filthy grasping Afghan, may picture to himself how he would behave in plundering a city. Their miserable policy seems now to aim at reducing the whole province still further to beggary. The inhabitants would at once again plunge into a hopeless contest rather than ever again acknowledge the supremacy of the Afghans."

In Herat the Afghans are greater foreigners than would be Anglo-Indian administrators and soldiers. The Afghan, a plunderer and murderer by profession, is absolutely alien also in blood to the Herati, between whom and the Mohammedan of Northern India there is some blood connection.

After the moralities, strategical questions claim the place of honour; for the ancient glories of Herat concern us only so far as they rest upon facts of future military and commercial importance to India. And the following points still further emphasise the importance of promoting Afghan civilization and Afghan railways:—

"The hasty reader may object," writes Colonel Malleon, "'What can the possession of one single city signify?' A question of this nature touches the real point of the argument. Herat is called the gate of India, because through it, and through it alone, the valleys can be entered which lead to the only vulnerable part of India. Those valleys, running nearly north and south, are protected to the east by inaccessible ranges, to the west by impracticable deserts. No invading army would dare to attempt to traverse the great Salt desert, and the desert immediately south of it, the Dasht-i-Naubád, whilst a British army held Herat. As long as that army held Herat, so long would an invasion of India be impossible. In his masterly lecture at the Royal United Service Institution in November, 1878, General Hamley laid down the broad principle, that if England were to hold the western

line of communication with India—that by Herat and Kandahar—she need not trouble herself much about the eastern or Kabul line. On the same occasion, Sir Henry Rawlinson declared, in reply to a question put to him by Lord Elcho, that, rather than allow the occupation of Herat by Russia, he would venture the whole might of British India. That high authority saw clearly that the possession of Herat by Russia means the possession of the one line by which India can be invaded; that the possession of Herat by England means the annihilation of all the Russian hopes of an invasion of India. Between Herat and Kandahar is a long lane, so protected on both sides, that the man who may wish to traverse any part of it to Kandahar, must enter by Herat. Is it not obvious that the power which shall hold Herat will completely dominate the lane?"

"Another fact illustrates the enormous value of Herat. Place an army there, and nothing need be brought to it from Europe. Within the limits of the Herati territory, all the great roads leading on India converge. The mines supply lead, iron, sulphur; the surface of many parts of the country is laden with saltpetre; the willow and the poplar, which make the best charcoal, abound; the fields produce in abundance corn, wine, and oil; the conquest would be the first step to the enlistment of that splendid Turkman cavalry which for ages has been the terror of Persia, and which has recently displayed its prowess by repulsing the advance of Russia. To an enemy of England in possession of Herat, it would be an eye to see and an arm to strike—an eye to pry into every native court of Hindustan, and to watch the discontent of rulers. From watching and noting, to fermenting and stirring up, there is but one short step. Every court and bazaar in India would note the presence on the frontier—in a position not only unassailable, but becoming every day more capable of assailing—of a first-class power, the enemy of England. But Herat is also an arm to strike; because a few years of intelligent rule would render the valley of the Herirud capable of supporting and equipping an army strong enough to invade India. In a third sense, the possession of Herat by an enemy would be not less dangerous to England. The roads converging on it are traversed by caravans, to which no other route is available. The city which successfully resisted the rivalry of Meshed, backed by all the influence of the Sháhs of Persia, will take a still higher position when supported by the might either of England or of Russia. The European power whose influence shall be paramount in Herat, will gain the markets of Central Asia. The possession of Herat by Russia means the exclusion of England from the markets of Central Asia (pp. 86, 87, 88, 89, 14). In the train of commerce will follow a prosperity exceeding that which, in the fourteenth century, made Herat the queen of eastern cities. People talk, without knowledge or thought, of the expense. The possession of the valleys of the Herirud and the Murghab, is the possession of a gold-mine. In a few years Herat would prove the milch-cow of northern India."

The markets of Central Asia are those which England is best able to buy in and to supply. There is plenty of raw material: wool is produced, but cotton and cloth are wanted. The Herat valley grows fruit of all sorts, corn, and grapes of seventeen sorts. Horses are exported annually in large numbers; cattle of all kinds, sheep and goats, abound, and wild asses swarm in the plains. Carpets are a staple; silk abounds. The hills yield lead, iron, silver, and the mines are very badly worked.

But there exists a considerable party in England who may argue that, granting the danger of a Russian occupation, a Persian occupation as an ally of England would be far preferable to an English occupation. On this we submit three considerations. First, neither Afghans nor Persians have any rights in the Herat district. The Afghans conquered it, and, as far as possible, destroyed it, and the natives implore our protection. Second, Persia cannot hold Herat unless we sustain her, and it is 210 miles from Sarakhs, her frontier town. Third, there can be no neutral zone of unreal powers between real ones—

“Between the pass and fell incensed points
Of mighty opposites.”

Still the East will now move at a far different pace. Let railways come, with a real Anglo-Persian alliance, and the change will be inconceivable. What is wanted is a suzerainty that shall prepare for independence, protect all natural developments, and give play to natural forces. But the suzerainty must not be Russian, and it should not be Afghan, unless Afghans are changed; nor need it be British if there be a real Anglo-Afghan or Anglo-Persian alliance, or if either of those countries are allowed to become strong or independent.

Merv is to be Russia's stepping-stone to the Persian frontier town Sarakhs, seventy miles distant. An army encamped at Merv would command the highway to Sarakhs, and the two routes to Herat, distant respectively 220 and 240 miles. In Herat, Russia would possess the outlying bulwark from which all the conquerors from the north, save one, have issued to overrun India. A Russian Herat would be fatal to the peace of India; corruption for native soldiers, intrigues with native rulers, would follow. The keys of the doors of our mansion would be held, as it were, by robbers, constantly engaged in corrupting the servants on the basement. The world knows the recent work of the Russian envoy in Kábul; but the world does not seem to know that, for some years previously, a Russian “scientific mission” had had its head-quarters in Herat, and had surveyed a great part of Kharasán and Afghán Turkistán, noting

the capabilities of each locality for the provision of troops, the climate, soil, distance from nearest towns, supplies already stored, and guns and ammunition available on the spot. The natives were also somehow impressed with the fact that Russia was preparing for her spring, which, in fact, but for the Treaty of Berlin, would have been made in 1878. Russia was baffled on the Bosphorus, as on the Herirud, by the consummate high-policy of England, but we knew not then—most of us—how near a thing it was, nor how near we were to a practical illustration of the results of the headlong courage of Afghan highlanders, led and utilized by Russian officers and engineers. This, however, we do know—that in a very short space of time the Russian Embassy in Kábul had become the ruling power in Kábul; and, so truly “scientific” were the members of that embassy, that, had we not entered the land when we did, they would themselves have fortified all the passes leading to the interior of the country, and then a far larger army than ours of 1878 could not have invaded Afghanistan.

“One word,” says Colonel Malleon (pp. 101, 102), “about the revenue. All writers agree that, were the country settled and equitably governed, there would be no bounds to its produce. Judging from this evidence, and calculating on the estimate furnished by Conolly, it is not too much to affirm that a few years of English administration would suffice to place Herát and its districts in the position, with respect to Afghanistan, which the province of Bengal occupies with respect to Northern India. The indirect wealth accruing to England is not to be calculated.”

To which we will add, that no reader who goes with us a little further can entertain the least doubt on the score of the revenue available from Herat.

The mission of England in the East should, however, be steadfastly regarded from the loftiest and broadest standpoint. If forced to protect these cities we shall not alone serve India or England, but we shall be taking South Afghanistan, as we have taken India, into a state of pupilage, and leading it upwards and onwards at a bound into a new world, which, measured by the ratio of our own advance, would represent six centuries of national life and progress. And it is in order to deeply impress on our minds what Herat and the Herati would become under English influence, that it is needful as well as pleasant to still further describe their prodigious past, for that alone can enable us adequately to comprehend and realize what with our help may be her future. But let philanthropists, as well as partisans, sternly and solemnly take this home to their intelligence and to their hearts—that Russia cannot and will not confer the same advantages, whilst she would use the opportunity

to undo a century of English work in India, and that Russia will very soon seize that opportunity if we allow it to remain open.

“Kharásán,” runs the Eastern proverb, “is the oyster-shell of the world, and Herat is its pearl.” This once splendid city is situated 34° 26' N., 62° 8' E., two thousand six hundred and fifty feet above the sea, in the valley of the river Herirud, which runs below it. One hundred and sixty miles to the east of Herat, the Herirud receives the waters of the Sir Tangal-áb, and together they traverse a broad valley. All along this valley channels from the river spread over its broad surface, converting deserts into cornfields, and waste land into fruit gardens, according to Conolly, who wrote in 1831, “The city is situated at four miles distance from hills on the north, and twelve from those south of it.* The space between the hills is one beautiful extent of little fortified villages, gardens, vineyards, and cornfields, and this rich scene is brightened by many small streams of shining water, which cut the plain in all directions—a dam is thrown across the Herirud, and its water, turned into many canals, are so conducted over the vale of Herat that every part of it is watered. Varieties of the most delicious fruits are grown in the valley; the necessaries of life are plentiful and cheap, and the bread and water of Herat are a proverb for their excellence. I never tasted more delicious water—it is ‘as clear as tears,’ and, the natives say, only equalled by those of Kashmir, which make those who drink them beautiful. We ascended by one hundred and forty steps to the top of the highest minaret, and thence looked down upon the city, and the rich gardens and vineyards around and beyond it,—a scene so varied and beautiful, I can imagine nothing like it except, perhaps, in Italy.”

Captain Marsh, who wrote in 1873, similarly describes the valley, and adds that one of the many watercourses enters the city, others water the whole plain, which, if the country were quiet, would be one sheet of cultivation. “The walls of Herat,” says Captain Marsh, “have been so often knocked down and rebuilt, that the present ones are built on the top of a high mound of vast thickness, the accumulated *débris* of a hundred generations. The ditch is very deep and broad, and can be filled with water from the river at a short notice. There are five gates. The ark or citadel stands out very prominently; and on the outer slope of the mound, between the ditch and the walls, are two covered ways, one commanding the other; and lastly, the walls themselves are well flanked by large bastions, a place

* The best maps give so inadequate an idea of the space, that it is difficult for us to realize such a scene as is here described, more than 200 miles long and with an average width much above 17 miles.

of vast strength. The circumference of the city is about a farsak, nearly four miles, the interior nearly a mile square."

Vambéry's description (London, Murray, 1864) may be taken as the counterpart of the above, showing as it does the results of prolonged Afghan rule over this natural paradise. "The houses which we passed, the advanced works, the very gate looked like a heap of rubbish. The citadel lies blasted and half-demolished; the doors and windows have been stripped of their wood-work; entire quarters of the town remain solitary and abandoned; the arched part of the bazaar, where the quadrangle is united by its dome, alone remains. It is only from the Karavansarat, Húljí Resul, to that of No, that a throng exists, and although the distance is small, the eye is bewildered by the diversity of races—Afghans, Indians, Tartars, Turkmans, Persians, Jews. The Afghan encounters around nothing but abject humility; but never was conqueror so detested. The bazaar, about four hundred years old, deserved even in its ruins, the epithet beautiful."

But Colonel Malleon cites witnesses of the splendour of Herat from the remote past. Ibu Haukal, who lived in the tenth century, and spent twenty-eight years in Mahomedan countries, an abridged form of whose work was translated from the Persian, and published by Ouseley, in 1800, gives a glowing description of the citadel, buildings, and gardens of Herat, and speaks even of a church of the Christians. Edrisi, nearly two hundred years later, wrote in terms not less glowing; also Abulféda, who lived there during the fourteenth century. In the year 1219, says Colonel Malleon, the records of the period assert that there were then in the city "twelve thousand retail shops; six thousand public baths, caravansaries, and water mills; three hundred and fifty schools and monastic institutions; and a hundred and forty-four thousand occupied houses; and that the city was yearly visited by caravans from all parts of Asia," (p. 49). From 1251 to 1381, when Tamerlane burst upon the city, it was once more populated, palaces reappeared and markets reopened. In the course of these hundred and thirty years, the palaces became adorned with costly treasures, workers in gold and silver ornaments sent their fame throughout central Asia; the city walls were rebuilt, and the city gates ornamented with splendid carvings, fringed with the polished steel of the country. Herat was proverbially the most splendid city of the East. And after Tamerlane, she speedily vindicated claims of a more important character. His son saw in Herat a city whence he could hold Trans-Oxiana, whilst keeping a firm grip on the countries to the west, east, and south; neglecting, therefore, his many royal residences elsewhere, he kept royal

court at Herat, which became the capital and mistress of the whole of Central Asia.

“To give the reader,” says Colonel Malleon (p. 57), “some idea of the magnificence of the city at this period, I cite from M. Quatremère’s translation of a portion of the work of Abdurazzák the following account of preparations for royal festivities on performing the rites of circumcision on the sons of the emperor Sháh-Rokh, who died A.H. 851, equivalent to A.D. 1447. ‘In the royal garden were erected tents of silk which had from eighty to a hundred poles, and scarlet pavilions. In these tents were thrones of gold and silver, encircled by garlands of rubies and pearls. From the carpets issued vapours of amber, whilst the durbar tent was perfumed with musk. Bazaars and shops, richly ornamented, recalled the beauty of the garden of Irem. Cupolas, fascinating to the eye, elegantly decorated, seemed like caskets filled with precious stones, or constellations of numberless stars. Cup-bearers, on silver pedestals, with hands as white as crystal, smiling lips, and holding golden cups, gave everywhere the signal of pleasure. Singers sang to melodious tunes the songs formerly heard at the Court of Sassanidæ. Skilful musicians, touching deftly the lute and the lyre, ravished the reason of the listeners.’”

The Emperor Bábar (“Leyden’s Memoirs of Bábar”) visited the city in 1506, after it had suffered from the ravages of Chingiz Khán, and of Tamur, and we extract only a part of the wonders he catalogues: “During the twenty days I stayed, I every day rode out to visit some place I had not seen before. I saw the bleaching-ground, the garden of Alí Shír Beg, the paper mills, the royal throne, the bridge of Káb, the public pleasure walks, the Safar Palace, a mausoleum and tomb, the Place of Prayer, the fish-pond, the colleges and tombs of the Mirza, another college, the Raven garden, the new garden, the White Palace, the Warriors’ Seat, the bridge of Malan, the white garden, the pleasure house, the mansion of enjoyment, the Lily Palace, the twelve towers, the great reservoir on the north of Jahánará, the four edifices at its four sides, the five gates of the town walls, the King’s Bazaar, the great public market, two colleges, the grand mosque of the kings, the city garden, Alí Shír Beg’s dwelling-house, which is called Unsiá, or Palace of Ease, his tomb and great mosque, his college and convent, his baths and hospital. All these I saw in the short space I had to spare. In the whole habitable world there was not such another city as Heri.”

One word as to the command of Kabul from Herat, which Colonel Malleon says is quite feasible. The route is beautifully covered with villages, the produce of which can feed a considerable army. It is twenty days’ march without crossing any hill, and has been accomplished by a large body of horsemen in ten or eleven days. The journey presents no real difficulties, and

during the greater part of the year might readily be made practicable for guns.

Are there, then, any contingencies in which we should occupy Herat? If any, what? Shall we occupy when Russia gets as far as Merv, and still more overawes and demoralizes Afghanistan? Shall we wait till Russia reaches the Sarakhs, and is between us and Persia, imperilling any alliance with that power? True philanthropy can neither confound nor be confounded by statesmanship. But will not all these waitings only tempt Russia on? and meanwhile may not Russia have committed herself to the venture, fancying that "meekness is the badge of all our tribe"? Russia knows how to discount the necessary incidents of parliamentary government, which are part of her calculations, and her advance will be thoroughly prepared, well-considered and sudden.

The benefits conferred by England on India are immense and immeasurable, and Kandahar and Herat perfectly appreciate the fact; we administer a country for its own advantage, and trade, freedom, order, and civilization follow wherever we lead. Russia does the exact contrary: she administers for her own advantage only, and it is for the interests of the native population of Afghanistan, and of the world, that there Russia should not enter. Our advance is already the signal for railways, and with assured order, would soon be the signal for capital, and a vast revival or creation of much the natives want besides. It is not a question of frontier, any more than "right lines" are the science of mathematics. The frontier question is but as a drop in the bucket. It is a question for Afghanistan of order, trade, freedom, life, nationality, and a future; of making her cities the *entrepôts* between Persia and India; of using her and elevating her, of giving her the road, the rail, the wire, the printing-press, the school, and bidding her enter a queen into the comity of nations—into that new and grand vicinage of Eastern States, made possible by our advent.

From Herat to Kandahar, and Kandahar to the Indus, and from Suez or Scutari to Kurrachee—all these communications and advances are part and parcel of an international and imperial policy. The East will have railways, just as it will have the English, and our pupilage of native races is part of the progress of man. The cosmopolitan Englishman is and will remain more than a match for the inferior Russ. Our race is higher, our ends better, our means better; our bases are the sea and the rail, the ports and the depôts; but our ultimate justification, as well as our *ultima ratio*, is that we really hold the countries in trust for themselves, and at their urgent instance or extreme necessity.

As to Afghanistan, Russian policy, we find, does not go in and

out with cabinets. Russia still and ever advances, and an Anglo-Persian alliance is politic and necessary; we cannot break up the railways that connect Southern Afghanistan with our military bases, or quench the hopes of trade, progress, order, and liberty, with which we have fired the Asiatic mind. The necessary advance of civilization there is necessarily the advance of Britain or of British influence, and the natural lines of our policy are also the right one. In the South we are farthest from Russia, nearest to Persia, and right upon our communications; whilst the North is threatened by our flank, and fronted by the actual British scientific frontier, and by the not enticing Khiber and Kuram Passes, with their English camps—as they will be—fortified and entrenched. The “neutral zone” is stronger than our hopes, if it can survive the march of Russian missions, so “*pacific and scientific,*” into the very neutral zone.

India is one of the mainweights in those world balances in which our foreign policy must henceforth be weighed. It is India that impels us to the shifting sands and politics of Central Asia, that renders necessary a Persian alliance, that draws the plans of intercontinental railways and interoceanic cables, that presents to us problems, minute and vast, throughout all the reach of statesmanship. The Indian policy of England is in fact the world-policy of England. If we talk of India’s “Gates,” landward and Russian-ward, we see that Ashourada on the Caspian is Russia’s basis on the one side, and that she will seek to make Merv her new point of departure on the other. But Herat once bound to England, by alliance, protection, suzerainty, or otherwise, and Persia has a guarantee of our material and moral support, in the strongest fortress of Central Asia, and we lengthen and strengthen that long and terrible flank line which threatens Russia more the farther she marches east.

What tremendous vistas of opportunities open adown the perspective of our Anglo-Eastern empire! Afghanistan is now laid open once and for ever to the forces and the future,—to the moral and material energies of civilization. The railways of the world are advancing against or through her territory, which will henceforth not be fertile chiefly in “rocks and men.” Her isolation is at an end, and Russia ended it. Of one civilization or the other, the Muscovite or the British, she must be the vassal or pupil, friend or foe. Be she the ally of Britain, she will share in the advantages of the genius of our higher rule. In such a purview, the policies of successive cabinets are the policies of ripples against the ocean, but neither the hysteria of the hustings, nor the prudery of cabinets, can counterwork the forces now moving in the destinies of the East, or stay the march of those cosmic laws whereby the Britannic and Muscovite empires

are rolling up between them the Mahomedan world. Could it be otherwise,—woe be to all the East, and woe to all the West ! No light part of India's debt of gratitude to us is her relief from Afghan marauders and domination, but the natives of Afghanistan will owe us infinitely more for that, nor can they fail to feel the spell of our progress and ideas, or to seek to participate in the universal advance. We alone destroy that we may construct,—we alone, as yet, know how to combine, either for the Indian or the native of Afghanistan, the order and freedom of the new dispensation. The blare of our bugles in the Keiber has been the sun-rise song of the new Afghan world, the evangel of their better life, scaring away chaos and old night, and telling them their reign is passing, and will soon be done. Are we doing anything, let us ask again, to secure that Persian alliance which we have shown to be of such prime advantage to ourselves, to Persia, to Afghanistan, and to India ?

But let us sum up. We referred at the commencement of this article to Persian destinies as affected by Muscovite or Britannic influences, and by those of civilization and progress generally. Let us now ask are there any certainties in Persia's favour, or is the policy of any great power identical with her independence and civilization ? To this it must be answered, there are many certainties ; but the master of most of them is time, and that is uncertain. It is certain that some of Russia's greatest interests and most gigantic schemes are absolutely bound up with the destruction of Persian independence ; and equally certain is it the interest of the Turkish and Britannic empires, and of the world generally, to maintain that independence. It is certain that Russia will pursue her present course to its logical conclusion,—that is, she will seek "full development," both south and east of the Caspian. It is natural enough and inevitable that Russia should seek to brace up her long lines of acquisition in the east by lateral support,—to strengthen them by places of such vast capability as Merv. And when she reaches the Sarakhs in the south, as she has reached Balkh in the north, how can she refuse that mainstay, of old so mighty, which may be mightier yet, and comes just where and as it was wanted ? In all probability, the vast semi-circle from the Aral sea, *via* Balkh, to Merv and the Sarakhs, and thence to Ashourada in the Caspian, will soon be Russia's ; but that will only be the beginning of the end, for the questions will remain and recur,—“What about Herat, and what about Persia ? Whose shall be the key of India, and whose the key of Asia Minor ?” Doubtless, the key of India is Herat,—for those who can get there ; but the key of Herat is Persia, and, fortunately, a Persian alliance—part of that mixed policy of Trade,

Civilization and Empire, for which we have always contended, as our undefiant defence throughout all the East—is yet possible. The following remarks of Sir H. Rawlinson and Captain Gill, R.E., are to this point:—

“ Altogether having considered the subject from these several points of view, I have come to the conclusion that with the cordial co-operation of Persia, the occupation of Merv by Russian troops from the Caspian would be comparatively easy; but if Persia were merely neutral, not supplying food or carriage, the operation would be difficult, but might possibly succeed; but that if Persia were opposed and refused to permit any infringement of her territorial rights, the march from Akhal to Merv would be impossible.” Captain W. Gill, R.E., concurred in “ the great moral Sir H. Rawlinson had so clearly brought out,” and referred to the mountainous nature of the country, which afforded excellent means of attack, and enabled very small bodies of cavalry to harass the long convoys that would be requisite. A great deal of the country near the Attrek was very fertile, and produced large crops of grain. Probably not one-tenth of the passes were known to geographers, and small bodies of cavalry could attack and destroy baggage-trains.

But we need not, as the Duke of Argyll suggested, be nervous or “ mervous” about Merv, whether Russia holds or does not hold it. Power has definite bases,—population, trade, freedom, intelligence, fertility, wealth, &c.—and in all of these, Merv is indefinitely outmatched by Herat, if Herat also is not to go. We should acquire the right, in certain events, to a provisional occupation of Herat, and to garrison it and Candahar. We acquired such a right to Kelat in 1854, and did not use it till 1876. It is true Herat stands out 300 miles from Candahar without lateral support, but it is also 210 miles from the Sarakhs, 240 from Merv, and 380 from Balkh; is far nearer to Candahar than to Cabul, and has for supplies the Indus valley,—“ young Egypt,” the richest valley save one in the world. Herat should stand extended like a sword in the hand of a mighty fencer, foiled indeed,—the button kept scrupulously on until the moment of attack, but always *en garde*. As Sir H. Rawlinson discriminates:—

“ In recent history, the Helmund had been considered the boundary between Persia and India. The Mogul emperors were accustomed to say: ‘ The Helmund is the ditch, and Kandahar is the fort, which guard India from the west.’ Political accidents might, for a time, distort such features, but ultimately the old principle of distribution must be revived, the Helmund to the west, and the Hindu Kosh to the north, being the natural boundaries of India. In one of the earliest

* “ Monthly Record of Royal Geographical Society,” 1879. P. 188.

books of Zoroaster, the Helmund was given as one of the original settlements of the Aryan race."*

Surely Herat can be used for freedom and civilization whilst preserving her independence. The natural settlement, the old and real principle of distribution, as Sir H. Rawlinson most ably and accurately points out, leaves ourselves and Russia alike clear of the line west of the Helmund.

And here we leave this great question. It is the real Eastern Question; for if Persia be the key to Herat, most certainly Armenia, with the Erzeroum-Ararat plateau, is the key to Persia, and Russia's persistent attacks upon the fortresses which approach or command it are amongst the most striking proofs of the gigantic nature of her schemes, and of the utter intelligence with which they are prepared. The *Golos* lately told us—"The Indian question is a simple one: Russia does not think of conquering India, but reserves to herself the power of restraining outbreaks of Russophobia among British statesmen, by possible diversions on the side of India." The spectacle of Herat, neutral but prepared, would certainly tend to spoil such "diversions," but whether the latter are meant, at the set time, to cover Russian attempts on Constantinople, or on the Armenian plateau, matters not. Both alternatives are but parts of that system which relegates the keys of all policies to the capitols of their respective empires. Our hopes are in the contrary system, the natural inevitable progress of the universal interests of man, the third term, in fact, of which we first spoke, and which must take Persia and the Euphrates valley into account, because they are where and what they are, the link between East and West. It is this natural progress which supplies the material of all policies. British statesmanship must watch and wield it as it comes. Armenia and the Erzeroum-Ararat plateau are yet held by Turkish soldiers and by the Berlin Treaty, and Russia can have no assured basis for her advances in the East, until she holds the key of Asia Minor, and that long vast valley of Empire, and "Garden of God," through which men and merchandise from all nations will soon be rushing to and fro the ends of the earth.

And as for England, let us close with the wise warning of our great orator, Burke: "I think I can trace all the calamities of this country to the single source of our not having had steadily before our eyes a general, comprehensive, well-connected, and well-proportioned view of the whole of our dominions, and a just

* Royal Geographical Society. 1879. Paper and Discussion "On the line of the Helmund."

sense of their true bearings and relations. If we make ourselves too little for the sphere of our duty ; if, on the contrary, we do not stretch and expand our minds to the compass of their object, be well assured that everything about us will dwindle by degrees, until at length our concerns are shrunk to the dimensions of our minds."

ART. V.—ELECTORAL REFORM, ELECTORAL BRIBERY :
THE BALLOT.

1. *The Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices) Bill*, 1881.
2. *The Ballot Act Continuance and Amendment Bill*, 1881.
3. *The Parliamentary Elections (Necessary Expenses, &c.) Bill*, 1881.

IT seems not improbable that none of the Bills whose titles are given above will become law this Session. Unless the leaders of the House of Commons can devise some means of preventing obstruction without rendering the pressure of "urgency" intolerable to independent members, it may be found necessary to drop the Corrupt Practices Bill and to continue the Ballot Act provisionally for another year. We may, in any case, safely predict that Mr. Ashton Dilke's proposal to throw the necessary expenses of elections on the rates, and to require a second ballot if no candidate obtains an absolute majority of electors, will not be accepted by Parliament the first time of asking. For the moment, then, these Bills are to be regarded, not as intimations of impending change, but rather as indications that our electoral law stands in need of amendment both in form and in substance. With the opinion thus indicated by high authorities we fully agree ; and we take advantage of this occasion to offer some general criticism as to the objects and methods of Electoral Reform.

It will be convenient to consider first the form of our election law. The Liberal Associations have suggested, in conference with the Attorney-General, that the Corrupt Practices Bill might be recast so as to include all the law relating to that part of the subject. But why not codify the whole law of elections while we are about it ? Such an undertaking is surely not beyond the resources of the present law-officers of the Crown. The statutes

to be dealt with are not too numerous ; they are not excessively intricate ; they are not buried out of sight in case law. A skilled draughtsman should be able to turn the substance of "Rogers on Elections" into a single statute, embodying a clear code of rules, for the guidance of revising barristers, returning officers, and judges. An opportunity would thus be given for correcting and completing the details of our existing machinery, and for removing the intricacy and uncertainty which result from our habit of passing Acts of Parliament only when they are wanted ; without any consistency of plan. It may be objected that the difficulties of carrying a code through committee are almost insurmountable ; but we must learn to overcome such difficulties if our law is not to become a still more hopeless chaos than it is at present. Improvements in the form of the law are, of course, dependent to some extent on the self-denial of unattached members of the House of Commons. An Election Statute would give an opportunity of discussing universal suffrage, female suffrage, plural voting, and many other subjects of great speculative interest ; but if advantage is taken of all such opportunities, the statute will never pass. We must assume, what everybody knows to be practically certain, that the present Parliament will make no alteration of electoral rights beyond the concession of household suffrage in the counties, and the lowering of the franchise in Irish boroughs. If the law is clearly codified on this basis, those who wish to propose further amendments will find their position considerably improved ; for they will be set free from the technicalities which embarrass the general discussion.

But before undertaking a task of this magnitude, the Government must make up their minds on a question which appears to us to be of first-rate political importance. On what principle do they mean to arrange the redistribution of seats which must take place when the county franchise is extended ? It is estimated that the impending change will increase the electoral body by one-third, and if any attempt is made to preserve uniformity of size and importance among the constituencies, members must be taken from boroughs with less than 40,000 inhabitants and given to the new divisions of counties. Such a change involves a transfer of power which may have results as important as those which followed the transfer which took place in 1832. But the methods of 1832 will not suffice for the work of to-day. It is not enough to redress a few glaring anomalies, to give members to a few rising industrial towns, and to take away members from a few decaying country towns. Our system of representation is so full of inequalities that it must be reconsidered as a whole.

It would be sanguine to expect that such reconsideration would

be received with hearty approval by the great party organizations. Party associations can appreciate changes in detail which give an extra chance of returning their own men in certain places; but the changes which would be effected by a thoroughly logical redistribution are not so easily foreseen. It is better, many people think, to correct the grosser defects of the present distribution and endure the rest, because in this way we at least know where we are. Equal electoral divisions, containing in many cases a majority of wholly inexperienced electors, might give us a House of Commons which would break with all our Parliamentary traditions. To this we reply that the character of the English electorate is, in our opinion, a perfectly good security that no method of election will give us a really revolutionary House. The same fears were expressed by very competent observers in 1832. Now, as then, the necessity of change is so obvious that we must go forward in spite of fears. Our system of representation was changed in 1832 because it had become a sham; and when we consider it in the light of the ideas which have inspired our politics since 1866, we find that it is little better than a sham now.

We are not concerned to deny that redistribution, effected on a purely local principle of division, would be attended with peculiar dangers. There would be an opening for the exercise of skill in the arrangement of constituencies; Conservative districts might be cut off and swamped in Liberal boroughs; and Liberal boroughs might be split into fractions of Conservative districts. Such manœuvres would be prevented, and the whole subject immensely simplified, if redistribution were effected on the principle of proportional representation. This principle has made extraordinary progress during the thirty years which have elapsed since Mr. Hare first addressed the public in its favour. It has received the support of Mill, Fawcett, and Lowe in England, of Louis Blanc, Taine, and Prévost-Paradol in France, of Bluntschli and Von Mohl in Germany, and of a host of independent thinkers and politicians in other countries. It has been successfully applied in practice in Denmark and the United States. We have a right to expect that a system, for which there is so much to be said, will be carefully considered at a time like this, when important changes in our representative system are impending, and that the information rejected by the Committee of 1869 will be placed at the disposal of Parliament before the subject of redistribution is discussed. It may be observed that proportional representation is more decidedly within the sphere of practical politics than the schemes of plural and cumulative voting with which it is often classed. Before the mass of English electors would consent to give an individual two votes, or to permit him

to cast two votes for one candidate, a considerable change must be made in our ideal of political equality. But 'proportional representation involves no such change; it secures to each citizen only his single vote, if that is what the Constitution gives him, but it enables him to make his one vote effective, instead of leaving him to be swamped by the majority of his neighbours.

The general nature of Mr. Hare's system is, by this time, so well known that a very brief description may suffice. The number of electors, divided by the number of vacant seats, gives the number of votes which a candidate must obtain to be elected. Each elector has his one vote and may give it to any candidate who presents himself at the election. A candidate may therefore find his quotient of voters anywhere throughout the country. The local magnate can appeal to his neighbours; the man of letters to his readers everywhere. Under the name of the candidate for whom he wishes to vote, the elector may place on his voting-paper the names of other candidates in the order of his preference. If, then, the first-named has received his quotient before the vote comes to be counted, it will still be good as a vote for the second or third name on the list. The persons who count the votes will be able, after the first counting, to put down the names of certain candidates as having received the quotient. Setting aside the votes making up these quotients they proceed to count a second time, and by redistributing superfluous votes given to those already elected, &c., they get a second batch of candidates who have received their full number. This process, repeated as often as may be necessary, results in the return of the men who command the most support in the country generally. The votes thrown away would not be, as at present, nearly half the whole, but would comprise only two classes—votes of persons too ignorant to take advantage of the right to put several names on the paper, and votes scattered wildly on candidates commanding only a fractional amount of support.

The arguments against proportional representation urged by Mr. Bagehot in his admirable *Essay on the English Constitution*, deserve to be carefully studied by all who support the system. No scheme of representation can be made absolutely perfect; and the objections of a keen and unprejudiced critic help us to see where the weak points of our own scheme may lie. Mr. Bagehot rejects Mr. Hare's scheme—first, because it is too complicated. This charge is sufficiently answered by the successful application of the scheme in actual elections. The next objection is that the scheme enables small bodies of extreme opinions to combine their strength, "so that we should have a Member for the Baptist congregation of Tavistock-cum-Totnes-cum-etc." A constituency thus formed would be "a Church with tenets," and

would not tolerate independent thought in its representative. To this we reply that the influences which prompt men to combine *quâ* Baptists are not exclusively prevalent; they are always controlled and counteracted by influences which combine men *quâ* inhabitants of the same place or citizens of the same Empire. Even if communities of Baptists, agreeing in their general politics, should combine to elect a Member, it would surely be better that they should exercise their power in that way than that they should form a discontented and impracticable minority of the Liberal party in many constituencies—better that there should be one avowed agent of Baptist interests in the House than that twelve Liberal members should make twelve rash promises in order to conciliate the Baptist vote. Mr. Bagehot's third objection is that the freedom of combination permitted by Mr. Hare's scheme would leave the electors much in want of guidance in the distribution of their votes, and that this guidance would be supplied by central organizations, which would take a comprehensive survey of the voting strength of their respective parties throughout the country, and supply each elector with a ticket which he would be compelled to vote if he did not wish to be thrown out altogether. In working out this objection it is assumed that the electors of the country would form a single College, and that the individual elector would thus have the opportunity of voting for any of the thousand candidates who present themselves at a general election. But Mr. Hare's scheme, rightly understood, does not, we think, imply that there is to be but one electoral College. It requires only that freedom of combination should be so extended as to prevent the local minority from being swamped, and to enable every considerable section of public opinion to obtain representation. This might well be effected by creating a number of electoral districts, large enough to be beyond vestry control, but not so large as to bewilder the elector with an overwhelming array of candidates. Let us suppose, for the sake of argument, that the Metropolitan district were to return twenty-five Members, and that each elector within the district might vote for one candidate and no more. Such an arrangement would make it possible to carry a candidate of the type of Mr. J. S. Mill, although, in any given part of London, such a man would have no chance against the "vestry candidate." The return of one or two members of the superior type would tend to raise the representation generally; for if the Liberals, say of Marylebone, put forward an inferior man, many of their best friends would go over to the supporters of some man of mark who might be standing for the Metropolis generally. But there would still be nothing to prevent the Marylebone people from having a

Member of their own if they could manage it. If it should appear on the counting that two-thirds of the votes cast for a particular Member came from Marylebone, he would be Member for that division. If, on the other hand, a Member's quota of votes came to him from all divisions equally, he would be one of the Members for London district. Some slight recasting of Parliamentary forms and designations would thus be rendered necessary, but the change need not produce any title so awkward as the "Eastern Division of the West Riding of Yorkshire."

Suppose now that Mr. Bagehot's dream came true, and that the Baptists of the London district proved strong enough to send Mr. Spurgeon to Parliament. Is there any reason to suppose that a Member so elected would be less independent than a Member who owes his election to the City Companies, or the St. Pancras Vestry, or the London Licensed Victuallers? On the great majority of public questions the Baptist representative would speak and vote as any other Liberal; and if he took occasion to speak on behalf of his sect the atmosphere of the House of Commons would effectually prevent his zeal from becoming fanaticism. The spectre of intolerance conjured up by Mr. Bagehot resolves itself, on nearer examination, into a prosperous Englishman of the middle-class, who knows how to keep his eccentricities of belief to himself when there is business on hand.

Among the rules which would have to be prepared if district election on the proportional principle were adopted, we should like to see inserted a clause providing that each elector should vote in one district only. Electors with several qualifications should be compelled to choose where they will vote. This provision would certainly be denounced as an attack on property and education. We hold that the political use of property should lie, not in the power of out-voting your neighbour, but in the power of influencing your neighbour. Influence, in the legitimate sense of the word, implies the conjunction of property and character; voting power attached to property by law need not imply anything of the kind. As for education, it would be difficult to justify, on any ground of principle, the privilege, enjoyed by some thousands of parsons and professional men, of returning a Member because they received their education at a certain University. Recognize, if you will, the Master's degree as a qualification for voting in the Oxford or Cambridge district, but let it serve a useful purpose by enabling the actual University body to return one or more representatives of its opinions, instead of adding needlessly to the electoral power of gentlemen who have already an opportunity of voting in the counties and boroughs where they reside. An important incidental advantage of the single suffrage plan which we advocate would be the sup-

pression of faggoting in every shape. The agents of Scottish Conservatism are accustomed to convey a small body of voters by special trains from county to county voting as they go, and it has proved somewhat difficult to devise any means of stopping this political dacoity. But if plural qualifications were not allowed the system must cease.

Another incidental advantage of single suffrage will appear when we pass to the question of franchises. Under existing rules, a man likes to be on as many registers as possible. He votes for his house, his place of business, his landed property, and his University degree. But if he were restricted to one constituency he would probably choose to be registered where he resides. His non-resident rights would thus become of small importance, and we should have taken the first step towards the abolition of freehold and other rights in favour of a simple occupancy franchise. The danger of fraud being reduced to a minimum by prohibiting double voting under penalties, there could be no objection to making the period of occupancy six months instead of a year. We should thus make household suffrage wide enough to include all who have a right to be represented; and if this be admitted we might proceed to deal freely with a variety of rights which it was found necessary to reserve in framing previous schemes for the extension of the franchise. Free men, small tenants-for-life, burgage tenants with reserved rights, and the like, are easily classed and disposed of. If they occupy within the district they are registered already. If they occupy elsewhere they are registered elsewhere. If they have no occupancy right anywhere they are almost certainly persons who should not be registered at all. In any case, the number of persons actually disfranchised by the arrangements we suggest would be so small that there would be no difficulty in making special provision for them.

The register of a district would include many thousand electors, and would, therefore, require to be divided and subdivided for purposes of revision. It would be very convenient if polling districts, of manageable size, could be marked out, each containing not more than two or three hundred electors, and each possessing some public building or room which could be used, not only as a polling station but as a centre for all electoral business, where claims and objections should be received, and the list of persons voting at the station exposed from time to time for general inspection. The business of registration might be still further facilitated by permitting claims to be made at any time, and by directing the local authority to make up the register at stated intervals throughout the year. In case of dispute, the claim might stand over for the consideration of the Revising

Barrister at his annual revision, or at such other time as he might find it convenient to appoint. By spreading over the year work which is now crowded into a few weeks, we should obtain more correct lists, and each elector would have regular opportunities of correcting any mistake affecting his own vote. This is not merely a question of machinery; principles of some importance are involved in registration reform. Under the existing rules it is almost impossible for an elector to get himself registered without having recourse to the assistance of some party organization. The Revising Barrister, who has to get through a long list of names in a given time, naturally looks to the lawyers who appear for the local associations to help him; and the elector must place himself in the hands of an agent if he wishes to be sure that his claim will be duly considered. The Court is thus converted into a sort of competitive caucus, and lists of the gains scored by each party are published in the newspapers. This discipline is well adapted to aggravate the weaknesses of a democratic electorate; to make men feel that they are powerful only in the mass—only if they submit themselves to the guidance of skilled politicians. For this reason it is that we attach importance to the simplification of forms. In this matter of registration, as in many other matters, we have to apply ourselves to the study of an art in which English legislators have not hitherto excelled—the art of making the law intelligible to those who are to obey it. It may be objected that the political education received by the elector in transacting a few simple forms cannot be of any great value. But it is of some value; and it is exactly the kind of education which many of our voters require. Everybody who has taken part in election work knows that a considerable proportion of persons presumed to be capable of deciding the fate of Candahar or the Transvaal have only the haziest notion of the significance of their votes, and are only restrained from putting the cross in the wrong division of the ballot-paper by careful tutoring. Their confusion of mind is the natural result of the inveterate unwillingness to simplify procedure which is displayed in so many departments of our public business.

If we can attain to the formation of complete and accurate registers, it will remain to consider the methods by which the votes are to be taken at the actual election. And first of the intervals at which elections should take place. The demand for triennial Parliaments was extinguished for a time by the failure of Chartism; it was revived by way of protest against Lord Beaconsfield's refusal to go to the country in 1879; and we observe that it forms part of the programme of the New Party lately founded under the auspices of Mr. Joseph Cowen. We are disposed to think that recent General Elections have proved

the expediency of shortening the Parliamentary term; but we arrive at this conclusion by a somewhat different route from that of Mr. Cowen and his friends. We do not believe in the "popular mandate" theory of politics. Statesmen who profess to consider themselves as the ministers of the popular will, bound to carry out the instructions of the electors, are themselves the authors of the mandate under which they act. We cannot subscribe to a doctrine which assigns to Ministers and Members of Parliament the position of delegates exercising only a limited discretion. But we should desire to shorten the duration of Parliaments, because regular elections at intervals of three or four years would make a political contest more of an every-day matter of business than it is at present. When the prize to be fought for is no less than seven years of power, it is only natural that parties should strain every nerve to win. When a successful elderly man is made to feel that if he does not enter Parliament at this election he will have to wait six years for another chance, he will not be scrupulous in making the most of his present opportunity. It is said that long Parliaments make stable Ministers and experienced administrators. But experience shows that the stress of a septennial election tends rather to unite in a temporary coalition sections of heterogeneous politicians, who begin to fall asunder as soon as the stress is over. Such coalitions result in Ministries which are anything but stable. The contention that Ministers will have no time to gain experience rests on the assumption that frequent elections must produce frequent changes in the balance of parties. But this need not be so. If the electors are led away by exaggerated promises of what certain leaders can do for them, they will wreak their disappointment by dethroning the leaders and trying some other party. But the hope of democracy lies in the ability of the people to see through exaggerated promises, and to support steadily those who do the ordinary work of politics most efficiently. As for the contention that a triennial Parliament would always be thinking about the elections, we ask with some confidence, could matters be worse in this respect than they have been since 1868? Great debates have turned of late years with the utmost persistency on what has been happening "out of doors"—on the mandate to deal with Irish discontent, on Conservative appeals to harassed interests, on Mr. Gladstone's Midlothian campaign. We should lose nothing by turning the campaigning spirit into a channel of practical activity. If Lord Beaconsfield had been compelled to go to the country during or immediately after the difficulties in the East, he would very probably have secured a verdict in his favour. The verdict might be given on questionable grounds; but it would have checked in a wholesome manner the spirit of declamation which possessed the Liberal party in

1879-80. Our success would have been retarded, but it would perhaps have been more solid and enduring when it came.

If the infrequency of elections has a tendency to produce popular excitement, it must be admitted that our methods of polling are admirably adapted to raise the excitement to the highest pitch. The voting must be got through in one day, and the poll closes (except in boroughs within Sir Charles Dilke's Act) at an early hour. There is thus every inducement to make a holiday of the election; men must leave their work to vote, and it seems fair that a candidate should supply conveyance and amusement for those who give up a day to come and vote for him. Nobody expects to hear any serious argument on such an occasion; discussion is over; all minds are made up; the duties of the day are purely formal; and only the personage who provides employment for idle hands is busy. All this waste of time and energy might be saved if we could treat a formality as a formality, and enable the elector to record his vote with the least possible trouble. This might be done by allowing a reasonable number of days between the nomination and the return, during which voting-papers might be deposited at a polling station, or collected by a public officer, or sent through the post. On receipt of the paper the elector's name should be marked off on the list at the polling-station, so that he might verify without difficulty the arrival of his vote. Fraud might be prevented by requiring papers sent by post to be endorsed by one witness, and papers collected by hand to be delivered by the voter himself to the collector. It would be difficult to provide against the danger of isolated electors being induced, by threats or violence, to destroy their papers or to fill them up in a particular way. But we are quite sure that this danger cannot be altogether avoided by the present or any other method of voting. A system of voting-papers, not unlike the system we suggest, has been in use for some time in elections of guardians; and we are not aware that the abuses of such elections have ever attained anything like the proportions of the corruption which has prevailed in the municipal elections of certain boroughs.

But, it will be said, if papers are sent by post it will be impossible to preserve the secrecy of the ballot. We could, without much trouble, devise a mechanical arrangement whereby this objection might be obviated; but we prefer at once to declare our opinion that the ballot is not worth preserving. If an elector is determined not to reveal for whom he has voted, we may perhaps as well permit him to go to the polling station and cast his paper into the box himself. But we are not disposed to force secret voting on the electors generally, as is done by the Act now in force; and we hope that the ballot will not be made a per-

manent institution, as the Government now propose to make it. In 1872 it was still possible to contend that secret voting would put an end to bribery and intimidation; but the experience of two general elections has put an end to all such illusions. Actual purchase and sale of individual votes are, of course, at an end; but corruption has never been confined to this single form. The election agent in a corrupt borough does not say to his principal, "You must pay A. so much and B. so much to vote for you." He says, "You must spend so many thousands in the place, or nobody will vote for you." The sum required for general corruption under the ballot is larger than the sum which would have sufficed before, because you must waste money on the enemy's voters in the hope that some of them will cheat their employers and vote for you. Venal electors will take bribes from both sides (as 127 persons are proved to have done at Sandwich), and will thus be free to vote "according to their convictions."

As for intimidation, we see no escape from the conclusion that the ballot is no protection, unless the voter chooses to tell a lie. If a man can be coerced by his employer or his Union into voting for A. B., he can be coerced into saying first that he will vote for A. B., and afterwards that he has voted for A. B. It may be said that we have here a choice of evils, and that it is better for the State that men should lie than that they should give their votes under duress. But in such cases a single lie will seldom suffice. The man who says that he supports A. B. must regulate his whole public conduct accordingly, from the colour of his tie to his expressions at a public meeting. As one gentleman put it at Oxford, his ribbons must be red, though his heart is blue. If there be in a constituency any considerable number of persons who behave in this way, Sidney Smith's prediction is realized to the letter, and the election becomes "a Pandemonium of men wearing their enemy's colours, drinking their enemy's ale, knocking down people with whom they entirely agree, and roaring out eternal duration to principles they abhor." These words were often present to our minds during the last General Election, and when we review the allusions made at that time to the ballot, we are at a loss to know what the case for the perpetuation of the Act of 1872 is to be. We remember how Sir Richard Cross assured the men of Lancashire that they might vote for him "with perfect safety," in spite of Lord Derby. Mr. Gladstone told the Midlothian electors, who were urged to promise their votes to Lord Dalkeith, to do as Scott did when he was charged with being the author of "Waverley." Such counsels produce their perfect fruit in small boroughs, where everybody knows everybody. In one such borough, known to the writer, the Blue candidate (let us say) was a local employer

of labour. His men were seen at all his meetings, and were publicly reckoned among his supporters; but the Buff Secretary was able to assure his committee that some of these men had waylaid him at quiet corners, and explained to him that their opinions were of the purest Buff. When the polling-day arrived, both parties were confident, for both had a majority of promises. More than half the electors went to the poll in Blue carriages; but the Buff candidate was returned by a considerable majority. Here was a case in which the ballot enabled the true opinion of some hundreds of citizens to manifest itself in spite of the influence of money and position. But this result was obtained by the personal and political degradation of a large body of men. We say advisedly that success is not worth having at such a price. If men have not the courage and the address to assert their independence, and to let the man of superior position know that it will be worse for him in the long run if he attempts to use any but legitimate influence, let them vote as they are bid, till they are fit to vote as they think right.

Our proofs that the ballot is a failure need not be derived from English experience alone. Complaints have recently been made of intimidation on an extensive scale in American elections; and the excessive cost of French parliamentary elections has figured prominently among the arguments in favour of *scrutin de liste*. But it is not necessary to labour the point; the highest authorities admit the significance of the facts disclosed before Royal Commissions in various parts of England. It is on the strength of those facts that the Attorney-General asks the House of Commons to pass the most stringent measure ever directed against electoral corruption. Should this measure become law, bands, torches, flags, ribbons, and posters will be made illegal; no conveyance of electors to the poll will be permitted; the number of clerks and messengers will be strictly limited; committee-rooms will no more be taken at public-houses; the whole expenses of a candidate will not be allowed to exceed a certain sum; and the return of expenses will be vouched by solemn declarations made by the candidate and his agent. It must be admitted that this Bill proves the Government sincere in their determination to put down corruption. Its provisions are thoroughly practical; and if some of them seem to be too detailed, it should be remembered that nothing short of categorical prohibition will do away with our wasteful and foolish election customs. We should be well satisfied to have this Bill as an instalment of reform; but we desire at the same time to point out that it cannot be received as a complete and final settlement. Our reasons for this opinion may be briefly given.

In the first place, Sir Henry James's Bill leaves a candidate

liable to pay, not only his own expenses (which may still amount in the largest boroughs to more than £2,000), but also the returning officer's charges, which are often very large. It would, we think, have been better to throw all such necessary expenses on the local rates, as Mr. Ashton Dilke proposes. We are bound to presume that a candidate in a parliamentary election is seeking an unpaid office that he may serve, not himself, but the country. If he were seeking his own profit, it would be fair to tax him with the expense of his return; as it is, the country insists on having unsalaried members, and then makes them pay for the machinery of the election. The "differential duty of £2,000 a year," by means of which our politics have been made the business of one class of the community, is thus sanctioned and maintained by legislation. Another incident of the present system is, that it retards the introduction of economical methods of polling. If each district had to pay for its elections, the methods of collecting votes which we have advocated would be demanded, in their own interest, by the rate-payers.

Another objection to the Government scheme is, that it applies almost exclusively to candidates and their agents, and may thus leave open ways to the corruption of electors by electors. In many corrupt constituencies there exist all the materials of secret organizations, which might continue the ancient customs of their respective localities, without doing anything to involve either candidate or agent. Where such customs exist, there is generally a good understanding between the bribers on both sides, and it is considered mean to disturb the prevailing harmony by presenting a petition. Sir Henry James proposes to prevent collusion on the trial of a petition by providing that counsel shall attend at such trials to represent the Director of Public Prosecutions. This is a considerable step in advance; but it is worth considering whether some means can be devised by which acts of corruption could be reported to and investigated by some competent tribunal as soon as they are detected. If a special commissioner were appointed to inquire into allegations of corrupt practices, a petition for the avoidance of the election or the alteration of the return might be presented to two judges sitting *in banco* at Westminster, and if the facts reported were sufficient to invalidate the election, the petitioners would succeed. We should thus avoid the necessity of withdrawing more than half the judges from their ordinary business for some weeks after a General Election. It would be for the Attorney-General to determine whether enough had been proved before the commissioner to indicate the necessity of a more searching inquiry, and to move an address praying the appointment of a Royal Com-

mission accordingly. The faults of our present procedure in election cases are—first, that everything is left to the initiative of the parties interested; and next, that petitions and commissions are so cumbrous and expensive that people are easily induced to acquiesce in a corrupt return.

Our third objection applies not so much to this Bill as to the system of election law of which it is intended to form a part. So long as we are content with a purely local arrangement of constituencies, it will be impossible to prevent wealthy men from indulging in the expensive amusement known as “nursing” a borough. There are several towns on the south coast of England where this process is carried on from season to season in the openest manner. Mr. A., the sitting member or the coming candidate, occupies the finest villa in the place, subscribes to all the local charities and amusements, delivers lectures with the aid of a choir and a magic-lantern, if he has a gift that way, and welcomes all and sundry to the hospitalities of his villa and his yacht. His wife is the lady-patroness of the half-employed population, and the cottage of the humble ratepayer is filled with little tokens of her good-will. It may be said that this is a pleasant and harmless way of spending money, and it would certainly be impossible to establish the connection between Mr. A.’s special expenditure and his political ambition to the satisfaction of a court of justice. But we desire to point out that the proportional representation of large districts would infuse an element of wholesome uncertainty into the calculations of such disinterested benefactors of the human race as we have depicted. The people who enjoy being “nursed” are, after all, a minority. They are strong enough to make things unpleasant for a candidate who wishes to displace their *Amphitryon* without spending money in the place; but they are not strong enough to return their man if independent electors have a chance of giving their votes to another candidate for the district.

We have endeavoured in this article to show how the details of our electoral system may be amended throughout by the practical application of a few simple principles. Important issues depend on the solution of the problems which have engaged our attention. We have to lift our newly enfranchised electors out of the apathy and ignorance in which too many of them are content to remain; and this can only be done by making the duties of citizenship as easy and intelligible as circumstances will admit. And if the House of Commons is not to become the prey of pushing mediocrity, we must raise the character of our representation by emancipating the independent elector from the influence of plutocrats and the exigencies of local cliques. Until this is done, mere extension of the suffrage will profit us little.

ART. VI.—THOMAS CARLYLE: HIS LIFE AND WRITINGS.

1. *Thomas Carlyle's Works*. London: Chapman and Hall.
2. *Reminiscences*. By THOMAS CARLYLE. Edited by JAMES ANTHONY FROUDE. 2 vols. Longmans. 1881.

THE French Revolution in its transient form, with the sacred right of insurrection and exclusive predominance of the lower class, was closed by the Royalist reaction of Vendémiaire 13—the anniversary of the famous Mœnad march—with the aid of “the young artillery officer who had distinguished himself at the siege of Toulon,” and who was soon, in the words of an eminent historian, to change France into a regiment, and to rule by his sole will a world hitherto agitated by a great moral commotion—a world in which no sound should be heard save the tread of his army and the voice of his will.*

The whiff of grape-shot, which “blew the thing we specifically call the French Revolution into space,” was given on the 5th October, 1795. In the same year, on 4th December, was born the man who, in his Prose-epic called “The French Revolution,” has, in “thoughts that breathe and words that burn,” interpreted and portrayed that terrific yet beneficent explosion. It is a coincidence worth remarking that the author of “this singular, eventful history,” with his anti-democratic convictions, should have first seen the light just two months after French democracy, in its primitive anarchical form, had ceased to exist, or, to use his own vivid expression, had been “blown away by gunpowder.”

The spot now memorable as the birthplace of Thomas Carlyle lies near Ecclefechan, in the parish of Hoddam, in the district of Annandale, in the county of Dumfries. His father, James, was born 1757, at Brownknowe, a small farm not far from Burnswark Hill, in the same district. There is a vague tradition that the humble forefathers of the family dwelt, for long years, as farmers at Burrens, the old Roman station in Middlebie. His grandfather, Thomas Carlyle, from whom his more celebrated descendants inherited this apostolic name, is described in the “*Reminiscences*,” recently published, as a “slightish, wiry-looking old man,” honest, fiery, adventurous, indomitable, but *not* industrious. Thomas became a joiner, went to work in Lancashire, remained there more than one season, and returned home “in the winter, partly by ice-skating along the Westmoreland and Cumberland lakes.” A tough, irascible man, he won a local renown as the principal in a market brawl, called the “Eccle-

* *Mignet*.

fechan dog-fight." In Dumfriesshire, in 1745, he saw the Highlanders come through Ecclefechan over the Border heights. After working as carpenter at Middlebie, he gave up "that craft except as a side-business," and took the farm of Brownknowe.

James Carlyle, the father of our Thomas, was twice married—in 1791 to Janet Carlyle, a distant kinswoman, and in 1795 to Margaret Aitkin, "a woman of the fairest descent, that of the pious, the just, and wise." Margaret was the best of mothers, the best of wives. Mild and affectionate by nature, she was, in her clear-sighted son's opinion, "too peaceable and pious for this planet." Of the seven (?) children of this happy peasant union, Thomas was the eldest. His brother, John Carlyle, is known to tyro-students of Dante as the translator, in faithful prose, of the "Inferno" of the matchless mediæval poet. The parents were established at Ecclefechan at the epoch of Thomas's birth. His father at that time followed the double trade of builder and stone-mason; towards the closing years of life we find him farming at Scotsbrig, not far from Carlyle's native village. Upright, resolute, assiduous, cheerfully labouring with trowel and hammer till he won a fair competency by the effort of his own right hand, he stands before us, in the word-picture of his son, as his *morally inevitable* progenitor. Free from affectation, of rigid veracity, healthily reticent of the disagreeables of the past, placidly indifferent to public clamour, averse to speculation, and giving prominence to action, with bold, glowing, unconsciously metaphysical speech; not meddling with politics, but struck with Napoleon, and "saying and looking pregnant things about his rise and fall." This honest builder of houses, erected with that durability of work which his son regarded as a model for his own literary structures; this biblical student, whose only poetry was truth, and who looked on all fiction as false and criminal, impressed the gold and guinea-stamp of his native royalty on the descendant who represented so emphatically the stalwart virtues of his race.

While still under his father's roof the young Carlyle acquired the elements of knowledge, it is said, in the parish school of Hoddam, where he also learnt a little Latin from the minister of the place. On Whit Monday morning, 1806, we find him, "trotting at his father's side in the way alluded to in 'Teufelsdröckh,'" to the burgh school of Annan, where old Adam Hope was English master. Here he had, in spite of precept, to defend himself by hand and voice. His doleful and hateful academy life was, perhaps, a little brightened by the occasional novel-reading in which he indulged, for, unlike his father, he appears then to have had a decided taste for works of fiction. He was never so happy, in his own account, as when running off into the

fields to read "Roderick Random." It was his father exclusively that determined on educating him. In April or May, 1808, Carlyle first saw his gifted but erratic and "wholly tragical friend," Edward Irving. Irving had left Annan Academy perhaps two years before Carlyle's entrance there, and now he presented himself before the young aspirant, fresh from Edinburgh with college prizes, high character and promise, and from him he heard of "famed professors of high matter, classical and mathematical, a whole wonderland of knowledge." In the following year, when about fourteen years of age, his father, to secure him the best attainable education, placed him at the University of Edinburgh.

Among the eminent men whose talents then conferred lustre on that university was Playfair, the Professor of Natural Philosophy, and the author of the admirable but unfinished dissertation on the Mathematical and Physical Sciences in the "Encyclopædia Britannica"; Dunbar, well known for his Greek scholarship; Brown, whose lectures on the Human Mind have long since received the praise they deserve; and Sir John Leslie, whose description of Hume's "Treatise on Causation," as a model of clear and accurate reasoning, had some years before Carlyle's entrance at the university, provoked a strong though unsuccessful clerical opposition to his appointment to the then vacant Professorship of Mathematics.

Carlyle's acquaintance with Irving now ripened into a close alliance. The domain in Irving's "Wonderland of Knowledge" to which Carlyle determined to devote himself was that which also absorbed the attention of his friend and senior—Mathematics; a study proficiency in which was recognized, in his Deed of 1867, as "indicative of clear methodic intellect, and offering in all epochs good promise for all manner of acts and pursuits." During the four years he remained at the University he seems to have led a solitary, meditative life, passing his vacations among the hills and by the rivers of Dumfriesshire. The more secular part of his education over, Carlyle, in pursuance of his father's intentions, should have proceeded to the study of the Queen of Sciences, Theology; but mistrusting his allegiance to that ambiguous sovereign, as she sits throned in Scotland, with her Presbyterian paraphernalia about her, he wisely declined to enter her service.

"I was not sure," he says, "that I believed the doctrines of my father's Kirk; and it was needful I should now settle it. And so I entered my chamber and closed the door, and round me there came a trooping throng of phantoms dire from the abysmal depths of nethermost perdition—Doubt, Fear, Unbelief, Mockery, and Scoffing were there, and I wrestled with them in agony of spirit."

This painful conflict terminated in the decided conviction that he did *not* believe the doctrine of his father's Kirk. Abandoning all notion of a ministerial career, Carlyle contrived to support himself for about two years by teaching mathematics in the old school at Annan. Leaving Annan at the end of that period, he was installed as classical and mathematical master in the burgh school of Kirkaldy in Fifeshire (August, 1816).

Another two years elapsed, and Carlyle, quitting Kirkaldy, settled in the Scottish capital, entering at once on his true vocation as a professional man of letters. Sir David Brewster was then editing the "Edinburgh Encyclopædia," and at his request Carlyle contributed sixteen articles on geographical and biographical subjects, showing, it is said, but faint uncertain promise of the author's genius, but indicating patient industry and research, with here and there a stroke of force and felicity.* A significant article on "Faust," and a critique on Joanna Baillie's "Metrical Legends," represent his principal literary achievements in the new *Edinburgh Review*.

In 1823 we find Carlyle occupied with a translation of Legendre's "Geometry and Trigonometry." The translation, which was undertaken at the suggestion of Sir David Brewster, had the honourable passport of that familiar name. The Dissertation on Proportion, with which Carlyle introduced it, has been pronounced by Professor de Morgan to be a thoughtful and ingenious essay. An honorarium of fifty pounds was the welcome reward of these mathematical labours.

Meanwhile, Edward Irving, who, like Carlyle, had been a teacher at Kirkaldy, though not in the same school with himself, had gone to reside in London. In London he had made the acquaintance of Mr. and Mrs. Buller, then in search of a tutor for their son Charles. Carlyle was invited to undertake the office (1822). A friendship grew up between the stern, wise Teufelsdröckh and his amiable, mercurial pupil, which lasted till the death of the latter. In an obituary notice which appeared in the *Examiner* of December 2, 1848, Carlyle does justice to the luminous, sincere, penetrating intellect and aerial activities of his former pupil; dwelling on his beautiful natural gaiety of character, the soft brilliancy of his speech, and his glittering play of soul, and above all the strength, veracity, simplicity, and gallantry which were the support of all these conspicuous surface-graces, the steady light which burnt under this many-coloured radiancy and coruscation.

During his brief sojourn in London Carlyle became a contributor to the *London Magazine*, then under the editorial manage-

ment of Mr. John Scott. In this magazine "The Life of Schiller" appeared in instalments, during the interval October, 1823—September, 1824. In after years Carlyle spoke disparagingly of this production, and on one occasion said of it, "If the poor rag of a book could get itself well annihilated, it should never be reprinted by me." It is, however, a vigorous and informing sketch of the German poet's life and work, written in very intelligible English, and not without decided indications of the brilliant rhetorical power which he afterwards exhibited. In 1824 Carlyle interpreted to Englishmen the "Lehrjahre" of Wilhelm Meister, that wise and lovely offspring of the many-blossomed genius of Germany's greatest poet. The sharp invective and hostile criticism directed against both the translation and the original did not discourage Carlyle. In 1827 he published his "German Romance," consisting of tales translated from Hoffmann, Musæus, Tieck, Richter, &c. Contributions to the *Edinburgh*, *Westminster*, and *Foreign Reviews* followed in rapid succession. They bore the stamp of the writer's singular genius on them, though free from those extravagant idiosyncrasies of thought and language which he afterwards adopted. Jeffrey, the "Jupiter Tonans" of the *Edinburgh*, declared that Carlyle "wouldn't do;" John Mill for a long time saw nothing in these earlier articles but insane rhapsody; James Mill, his father, never could find anything else in them. The great reading public was probably of the same opinion.

Mr. Carlyle's first visit to London lasted, with interruptions, from June, 1824, till March, 1825. He suffered frightfully from dyspepsia, and was sore tried by the caprice of the bright but changeful lady, Mrs. Buller. For his pupil and himself she was ever inventing new schemes, "all of which proved successively inexecutable." At length Carlyle counselled that Charles should go direct to Cambridge, and without regret took leave of the enterprise. In 1824, while Louis XVIII. was lying in state, we find Carlyle in Paris, studying aspects and localities which reappear all the clearer for the study in his picture of the French Revolution. In the autumn of 1826 he married Jane, the daughter of Dr. John Welsh, of Haddington, a lineal descendant of the great Scottish Reformer. While yet in her girlhood this paragon of womanhood was advised and loved by Carlyle, to whom her look of lovely innocency, graceful suppressed timidity, and radiancy of nature, cleverness, intelligence, and dignity were so inexpressibly beautiful and dear, then, as in all time to come. At first they lived in a small but pretty house in Edinburgh, called Comely Bank. Mrs. Carlyle was the prospective possessor of a farm in Nithsdale, in the parish of Dunscore. Early in May, 1828, they went to reside at Craigenputtock, for so it was called.

Craigputtock, which may be translated the Forest Hill of the Hawk, lies fifteen miles north-west of the town of Dumfries, among the granite hills and black morasses which stretch westward through Galloway almost to the Irish sea. Here, wrote Carlyle one day to Goethe, "we have built and furnished a neat, substantial mansion; here we cultivate literature, and wish a joyful growth to the roses and flowers of our garden."

For the six years closing in 1834 they lived not unhappily in this flowery islet in the wilderness. Wandering on foot or mounted on their ponies, they traversed hill and moor together, finding the exercise and mountain air the best medium for weak nerves. Here Carlyle read and meditated, here he composed his masterly Essays on Burns, Voltaire, Goethe, Johnson, and Diderot; and here, in practical illustration of his theory of Hero-worship, he addressed to Goethe, his literary liege, a grateful letter of recognition, accompanied with a token of admiring homage from fifteen fellow-worshippers. The token was a seal: the design was due to the ingenuity of Mrs. Carlyle. On the golden belt of the seal, was the device, "To the German master, from friends in England. 28th August, 1831." The design itself was the Serpent of Eternity encircling a star, with the words, "Ohne Hast, ohne Rast."*

It was in this retreat of Health and the Muses that the dainty-languaged American essayist, not very long after this date, first visited the author, who introduced his writings to the English public. Borrowing from the personal portrait presented us by Emerson, we may describe Carlyle as at this time "tall and gaunt, with a cliff-like brow, self-possessed, and holding his extraordinary powers of conversation in easy command, clinging to the northern accent with evident relish; full of lively anecdote, and with a streaming humour which floated over everything he looked upon. His talk, playfully exalting familiar objects, put the companion at once into acquaintance with his Lars and Lemurs, and it was very pleasant to learn what was predestined to be a pretty mythology."

In this northern solitude, between January and August, 1830, his first important work, "Sartor Resartus," was composed. Mr. John Mill, in the beginning of 1831, had, under the name of the "Spirit of the Age," embodied in a series of articles some of his new opinions, describing the anomalies and evils of a transition period. These articles were read by Mr. Carlyle in the seclusion of his Scottish hills. Fancying that he descried in the writer a genius akin to his own, he exclaimed, "Here is a new Mystic," and on coming to London he sought the acquaintance of his supposed

* Lewes's "Life of Goethe," vol. ii. p. 470. 1856.

fellow-dreamer. When Carlyle first put the manuscript of "Sartor Resartus" into his hand, Mill confessed that he could make little of it. Two years afterwards, it was published in *Fraser's Magazine*, and then he read it with enthusiastic admiration and delight. Finally, in his "Autobiography," he pronounces it Carlyle's best and greatest work.

"Sartor Resartus" is a psychological romance, a devotional rhapsody; a humorous philosophy. It abounds in strokes of grave satire, in touches of smiling wisdom. It moves us with its pathos; agitates us with its grim sardonic laughter; crushes us with despair; or raises us on the wings of the morning, or of hope, beautiful as the morning. Reading it in early life, we felt that here was one who had suffered, doubted, believed, as we had suffered, doubted, and believed. Here was the glorious love-dream, and the extinction of the glorious love-dream of rainbow youth; here was the sense of the infinite sorrow of the world, the misery of afflicted, helpless, bewildered humanity, of slaughtered starving men, of broken-hearted women, of wailing infants; here was the speculative and practical mystery of life; here was the black-night of unbelief; the twilight of all the gods; the picture of man's littleness in the presence of an overpowering inexplicable Infinity—the Everlasting No. Then, again, a light seemed to break in; a far-off music to be heard; the darkness of doubt to disperse. The great lesson which Goethe had taught in "Faust" was repeated here in wild vigorous accents. With Carlyle we accepted the doctrine of Renunciation; and the strong utterance of his own conviction, of the necessity of accepting Reprobation itself, if need were, of summoning up all the resources of our spiritual manhood, in defiance of the Principle of Evil, seemed to give us new hope, new life, to carry us out of the wilderness of negations into the promised land—the Everlasting Yea!

Some such impressions were produced in youthful minds on a first reading of the "Sartor." It is with different feelings that we turn over the pages now. We may still smile at the philosophy of clothes; still sigh at the loss of the rose maiden; still feel the truth and beauty of many of the sayings about life, and nature, and action, and duty; still admire the splendid cloud-pictures which this painter in words hangs before our dazzled vision. The fervid oratory may still fire us with hope, still awaken aspiration, still animate us to action. It may do everything, in short, but *instruct*. The enigma of life, from the transcendental point of view remains unsolved. We desire to act, but what the action is to be is not discoverable in Carlyle's gorgeous pages. We demand a solution of the Eternal Problems. We ask for the origin of the Universe, for its purpose, for an explanation of its mysteries; and

no voice comes to us from the oracle. There is no reply to our obstinate questions. The prophet's lips are dumb.

In the month of May, 1834, Mr. Carlyle quitted the lonely nook where he had passed six long years in pious meditation and laborious literary efforts. His sister Margaret died while he was writing the "Sartor." His father, in whom he had a "sacred pride," soon followed her. A few months before his death, Carlyle had seen him for the last time. On hearing some words of his son which he admired, the proud affectionate old father had said, "Man ! it's surely a pity that thou shouldst sit yonder, with nothing but the eye of Omniscience to see thee, and thou with such a gift to speak !" As if the father's voice were still sounding in his ear, the son prepared to leave his mountain solitude, and make trial of that gift of speech in the million-peopled city. Selecting London for permanent residence, Carlyle now settled in Cheyne Row, a part of Chelsea interesting to him from its historical associations, and doubtless not without attraction as the neighbourhood where the kindly essayist and pleasant poet, Leigh Hunt, had also found a dwelling. During the years 1834-1838, our hero of the pen was indefatigable in his vocation, writing the historical and biographical articles which are contained in the fifth volume of his "Miscellanies," namely the papers on the "Parliamentary History of the French Revolution," "Sir Walter Scott," "Mirabeau," "Varnhagen von Ense," in the *London and Westminster Review*, and "The Diamond Necklace" and "Death of Edward Irving," in *Fraser's Magazine*. His work on the French Revolution was naturally his preoccupying study.

At this epoch of his London life Mr. Carlyle repeatedly lectured on subjects which had a peculiar attraction for his genius. A series of Discourses on German Literature, delivered at Willis's Rooms in 1837, was followed in 1838 and 1839 by a course at the Literary Institution, Edward Street, on "The History of Literature," in the successive periods of European culture. "Lectures on the Revolution of Modern Europe," and on "Heroes and Hero Worship" succeeded. Aided at first by notes, Carlyle soon flung aside these literary crutches, and was rewarded for this determination to "go alone" by his own oratorical success and the evident delight of his audience. Sometimes the rough rude original thought, uttered with all the impressive rusticity of the Scottish accent, startled and perplexed his hearers, who numbered in their ranks many of "the accomplished, distinguished, beautiful, and wise." Sometimes the eloquent and inspiring declamation thrilled and enchanted congenial listeners. Among those who listened might be seen Mill, Hallam, Browning, Bunsen, Crabbe Robinson, Harriet

Martineau, and Henry Taylor. Leigh Hunt, who was one of this "fit audience," found no reason to complain of "a lack of the depth and fluency which characterized Carlyle's private talk." Though, according to the same authority, "he strode away like Ulysses-himself;" at the end of the fourth series he announced his intention of never again lecturing in public.

It was not without a struggle indeed that Carlyle succeeded in conquering his native reluctance to this oratorical display. On the first occasion, 1837, the native hue of resolution was so sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought, "that the lecturer long hesitated to come forward. After keeping the audience waiting for some time, the "classic Hallam" drew him from his lurking-place, and led him—the reluctant, much-suffering Ulysses—with gentle compulsion to the dreaded platform. Another reminiscence is worth reciting here. Carlyle, who was in the habit of repeating his emphatic verdicts, was one day reiterating his anathema against "the beggarly Benthamite philosophy," when Mr. John Stuart Mill, who was very far from sharing the unfavourable opinion of his friend, rose from his seat, stood erect in the middle of the crowded assembly, and delivered an indignant protest with all the triple emphasis of No! No! No! The orator, nothing daunted, reaffirmed his obnoxious proposition, and afterwards left the lecture-room in the companionship of Mill and Sterling, walking amicably between the two. Another unpopular verdict of the pugnacious Teufelsdröckh deserves record. Glancing, on one of these lecture-days, at the different systems of German metaphysicians, he observed, with exasperative cynicism, "I have looked into them all: there is nothing in them." Carlyle's rejection of these beautiful ontological card-castles may surprise those who are not very well versed in his writings. But, in truth, though even Mill girds at Carlyle's German *Metaphysics*, and though, in "Sartor Resartus," and here and there in his earlier works, the author breaks into expressions of measureless admiration over the Kantian Forms of Time and Space as of things wholly inconceivable and miraculous, Carlyle nevertheless had no real affinity with the German system-makers, who confuse themselves and confound their readers with their pretended discoveries in the vacuous realms of Abstraction.

Before quitting the lecture-room, we have yet to chronicle an act which attests the gracious courtesy and considerate sympathy of Mr. Carlyle. The course of lectures given in 1839 was about to commence. A young lady, on a brief visit to London, was desirous of once more listening to the eloquence which had entranced her on some previous occasion; but at the same time was unwilling to incur the expense for a series of lectures of

which she could only hear half. A happy thought struck her. With that exquisite effrontery which is so charming a characteristic of the young and inexperienced female mind, she actually wrote to the formidable Teufelsdröckh himself, requesting to be informed if any arrangement had been made by his friends, in virtue of which it would be possible to procure half a ticket to enable her to attend half the course. Mr. Carlyle luckily took the felicitous request in good part, returning the satisfactory reply which we here subjoin, postscript and all :—

5, Cheyne Row, Chelsea, 10th May.

DEAR MADAM,—I rather think my friends have not made any arrangement of the kind you refer to, and that no half-tickets are procurable. At the same time it is unreasonable to pay for what one cannot get the good of. Will you allow me the pleasure of presenting you with this ticket, to be used while your convenience allows? That so friendly an auditrress will give me her attention is a great honour, which I only wish the thing were worthy of.

Believe me, yours with respect and goodwill,

T. CARLYLE.

A Syllabus is to be had, I believe, at the lecture-room.

We need hardly say that the half-ticket thus generously proffered was gratefully accepted and honourably returned by the "friendly auditrress." It is more important to note that the gratification of hearing Mr. Carlyle had on two preceding occasions been secured by the purchase of the *whole* ticket.

Mr. Carlyle's really "best and greatest" work, "The French Revolution," appeared in 1837. A deplorable misadventure delayed its appearance. The manuscript of the first volume had been handed for perusal to Mr. John Stuart Mill, who abandoning the project of himself writing a history of that tragic event, had placed at the disposal of Mr. Carlyle the valuable material which he had collected for the purpose. Mr. Mill, in his turn, lent the precious manuscript, it is said, to Mrs. Taylor, the lady who was one day to become his wife. The sibylline leaves were *possibly* blown away by envious winds, *conjecturally* used by the servant to light the fire. In any case, they disappeared. Carlyle tells us how Mill came one night, "pale as Hector's ghost," with the woeful tidings that his Troy was burnt; how, like "a second nobler self," his true-hearted wife strove to comfort and encourage him, when their visitor's lengthened visit was over; how in a day or two, Mill, penitently liberal, sent him £200, half only of which he retained. To Carlyle the loss was well nigh irreparable. From the first he resolved to re-write the volume. For a fortnight no progress was made. Over and over again, after writing a page, he exclaimed in despair, "No, it won't do, it won't do;" and immediately tore it

up. At last he took to reading novels, selecting out of the "rubbishy" heap brought him from the familiar circulating library, the healthy honest tales of Captain Marryat. For three entire weeks he sat turning over their pages. Then, looking one day out of the window, he cast his eye on a mason laying bricks in the wall opposite, the busy trowel moving to and fro and flashing in the light like a swallow.* While thus looking—not without some thought, we will suppose, of his grand old father's "noble craft"—he was struck with the fact that the man, working with unceasing diligence, gave himself but little trouble to make his lines rigorously straight, but seemed mainly intent to get his house built. "I came then to the conclusion," were his words to a friend, "that striving after perfection beyond a certain degree was simply foolish, and I was thus encouraged to re-write the volume again as best I could." It was a heart-breaking business; but the task was done. The lost volume was re-produced; in some respects not so good, in others better, he thought; but in any case not the same.

On its first appearance "The French Revolution" perplexed and exasperated the critics. One of them pronounced it the worst-written book in the English language. The general public knew not what to make of it. To men of real discernment, however, its value was evident. Landor thought it the best book written in his time; Arnold discovered in it an understanding of the true nature of history. Mr. Mill, in a remarkable critique in this REVIEW, accepted it at once as an epic poem and the truest of histories. We agree with him. Reality is here transmuted into romance. The real facts, the actual interests, the tragedy and comedy of human life, are all represented in the pages of this book with that vivid imagination, that intense feeling, which are the characteristics of the poet, yet with that minute circumstance, that industrious investigation which distinguish "the historical day drudge." With the graver and sadder aspects of the subject Mr. Carlyle has blended an irony and humour which give biting force or playful tone to his descriptions. The artist genius, which creates rather than reflects, is present in nearly all his conceptions. He thinks, but he thinks in *pictures*. His history is not a philosophical exposition: it is a succession of tableaux, a series of magic-lantern slides, of illuminations, transparencies, electric lights, which give a distinct particularity to all the objects which he wishes us to see, but which do not sufficiently connect, much less unite or explain them. The spectator is pleased, but his pleasure is mingled with pain; the excess of light dazzles and at last bewilders. The intellectual and moral tension is almost intolerable.

* Carlyle's own expressions.

The treatment of the French Revolution by Carlyle is marked by the peculiarity of his genius : it is that of a man, in whom keen insight, powerful imagination, and contracting prepossessions predominate. Carlyle sees clearly the errors, the crimes, the imbecilities of the revolutionary party. For all that was transient in the movement he has a microscopic eye ; he distinguishes exactly the elements of greatness, of force, of intelligence in individual actors, in a Mirabeau, in a Danton, in a Roland, in a Charlotte Corday, and he has painted their portraits with a vivacity and splendour of colour that make them live before us. The essential character, the perennial spirit that was *under* what he would call the *Time-vesture* of the Revolution, he has *not* discerned. The Revolution for him was composed in three acts—the Bastille, the Constitution, the Guillotine. His history, as he says of the Epos of Homer, does not conclude ; it merely ceases. Do we ask, “What has France gained by the Revolution?” Mr. Carlyle answers, “Imposture is burnt up ; the black portent of an Agrarian law is realized, and all Frenchmen have the right of duel.” Surely the French Revolution was something more than this ; surely, beside the transient form there was the Eternal Spirit ; through all its extravagances and unutterable horrors, there was the presence of a higher life. In the great July Celebration, which Carlyle, with his blighting sarcasm, degrades into a “Feast of Pikes,” was there not the awakening of the consciousness of millions ? was there not the realization of a national unity and independence ? the recognition of a free and indivisible Fatherland ? Nay, was not the very abolition of the old and obsolete, the “waving of the Empire of Imposture,” the first step towards a new political existence ? Was the Convention, in truth, but a synonym for the Guillotine ? Were there no legal reforms ? Was there no civil code, no political reconstruction ? Even the German historian, Von Sybel, confesses that, in spite of all its faults and imperfections, the Declaration of Rights will ever remain a mighty landmark between two ages of the world—will for ever indicate the source and direction of a new current in the political life of Europe. The application was mischievous, but the theory was not false, though wrongly enunciated. Are we to count for nothing the abolition of the tortures, of *lettres de cachet*, of unequal imports and privileges, feudal services, oppressive game laws, vexatious restraints upon industry, and other barbarities ? and are the four million landed properties, at which Mr. Carlyle scoffs, to be treated with an abrupt and final contempt ? The French Revolution was no isolated event ; it was the crowning phase of the great European movement which had commenced three centuries before ; it was the con-

summation of mediæval injustice ; the recognition of the fact that old beliefs, old opinions, old institutions, were discredited ; the struggle for a constitution in which human liberty would be respected, for a higher civilization, for a nobler faith.

In his semi-poetic presentation Mr. Carlyle a little reminds us of Dante. He has the same wonderful realizing power, the same punctual precision of touch, the same force in individualizing person and circumstance. He takes us into the prison where the poor dethroned king is ; he shows us the proud fair queen, the sister, the two children in the Temple garden ; Mirabeau watching his last sunrise ; he points to Danton in the death-cart, with his high look and sad words of loving regret ; to Camille Desmoulins, who gave his age as that of the *bon sans culotte Jesus* ; to Goethe experimenting on " canon fever ;" to the wife of Roland, clad in white, with her long black hair hanging down to her girdle ; and even a casual Dr. Moore is shown us, as, sick with sights of horror, he *hurried into another street*. Passages of great beauty, of eloquent passion, of moving pathos, of harmonious contrast, of splendid picturing, abound in these volumes. The past lives again with all its glory, with all its sorrow, with all its smiles and tears. Carlyle, we repeat, reminds us of Dante. He is as stern as Dante and as tender. His " History of the French Revolution " is a monument to Pity.

About two years after the publication of this startling picture-history, Mr. Carlyle entered on a new phase of his literary existence. In " Chartism," which appeared in a disloyal and turbulent year, Mr. Carlyle assumed the attitude, as far as was possible, of an old Hebrew prophet—his invective, that is, was inspired in part by religious, in part by political, conviction. Not content with preaching on the eternal verities, like the Jewish seers, he denounced specifically the various social abuses, wrongs, oppressions, forms of violence and perversity, which marked so disastrously the character of the times. The year 1839 was a year of strange and painful complications. It was the year of the famous Bed-Chamber incident ; the year of the suspension of the Constitution of Jamaica ; the year when Toryism itself was so disloyal that the colonel and officers of a regiment came under the censure of the Commander-in-Chief for having at a Conservative dinner listened to expression most insulting and disrespectful towards the Queen. In the previous year the People's Charter had been embodied in the form of a Bill. Of the six points which it demanded, two have become law—vote by ballot and the abolition of property qualification for Members of Parliament. The Chartist petition of 1839 is said to have been signed by a million and a quarter of persons. The Reform Bill of 1832 had, in spite of the protest of Lord John Russell and Sir Robert Peel

barred the claim of the artisan to civic right. The ten-pound clause disfranchised the working classes. The sentiment of the middle and higher ranks of society, from jealousy on the one hand and contempt on the other, was hostile to their inclusion in the pale of citizenship. The numerous Chartist party soon divided into two sections, the Physical Force Chartists and the Moral Force Chartists. The riot at Birmingham, the outbreak at Newport, were indications of the spirit which animated the violent form of Chartism. Torch-light meetings had been held, and attended by persons armed with guns and pikes. Tory agitators denounced the Poor Laws as a system of wholesale murder; declared that children were tortured in factories for the amusement of the mill-owners; and that the Corn Laws were the only restraint on the oppressive powers of the manufacturers. The state of the labouring classes, the low wages, the rise in the price of wheat, the miserable cottage accommodation, and the general neglect of the poor by the wealthier classes, awakened in thoughtful minds profound solicitude. "Men do not think," cried Dr. Arnold, "of the painful state in which we are living." The problem awaiting solution he characterized as the most difficult ever yet proposed to man's wisdom, and the greatest triumph over selfishness ever yet required of his virtue. In "Chartism" Mr. Carlyle "fulminated" over England, as Demosthenes over Greece. He appears here as a reformer, but on remarkably independent principles. In democratic, philanthropic, and popular reforms in general he has no belief. For an elective franchise, a ballot-box, a representative assembly, he has only words of contempt. The controversies on the population principle are stigmatized by him as dreary, stolid, dismal, and hopeless. Charity balls, and soup kitchens, and benevolent institutions in general, are all regarded by the new prophet with distrust and even disdain. Chartism itself he defines as the bitter discontent of the people grown fierce and mad, the wrong condition or the wrong disposition of the working classes in England. The New Poor Law is for him no solution of the problem; but, though only a half-result, yet welcome as a "protection of the thrifty labourer against the thriftless and dissolute;" still more welcome as "the probable preliminary of some general charge to be taken of the lowest classes by the higher." There is no doubt of Mr. Carlyle's recognition of the claims of labour. In the burning and sometimes luminous pages of this little work, he expresses unmistakably his natural sympathy with the potatoless Irish peasants, with the English farm labourers at nine and seven shillings a week; with Scotch farm labourers, whose husbandry is that of cows, but who can procure no milk; with half a million hand-loom weavers working fifteen hours a day in perpetual inability to procure thereby enough

of the coarsest food. For all this ignorance and imbecility Carlyle has his remedies. Universal education is the first great thing ; general emigration the second. A schoolmaster and hornbook are to be sent into every parish and hamlet in England, and the over-population of this small western rim of Europe is despatched elsewhere on a whole vacant earth, fertile and full of promise for the future. Religion, too, is to be taught, but not by plying articles, catechisms, and credos, or by turning a rotatory calabash, like the Calmucks, with written prayers on it. The reforms thus indicated Mr. Carlyle believes practicable, but they are to be brought about, not by Radical Parliaments, but by wise, faithful, valiant men—a real aristocracy, a corporation of the best and bravest.

In "Past and Present," which did not appear till 1848, we have the same doctrine taught, with more emphasis, with more detail, with more vivid colouring of words. In the Proem to that book, half-history, half-prophecy, Carlyle confesses that his aristocracy of talent is still far distant, but predicts that we are yet to reach our "port and happy haven," are yet to find his real aristocracy, his captains of industry, and, above all, his hero-king. In this volume he contrasts the reality of the old religion and old social life with the unreality of our modern piety and practice, in an historical retrospect entitled "The Ancient Monk," in which he embodies the striking and appropriate incidents jotted down in Jocelyn's "Chronicle." Abbot Samson, Henry of Essex, the landlord Edmuud, are all reanimated by the touch of his magical wand. All this heroic life, according to Mr. Carlyle, existed in the twelfth century. England was then no chimerical vacuity or dreamland, we are authoritatively told. We, however, have no wish to change our place in Time for that which our author considers so superior to our own. It was an age of cruel suffering to the mass of the people, an age of trade-restriction, of tyrannous law, and of forest-brigandage, the natural result of intolerable social oppression. A few years after the close of this century, an English king was dethroned and deposed by a Pope, and England laid under an interdict which suspended all the offices of religion, even to the reading of the Burial Service. Carlyle always saw the golden age in the past ; an age of iron or brass in the present. In 1843, he had only too good reason to be dissatisfied with the times. The "delirious" Chartist movement still continued. The condition of the labouring classes excited more and more attention. The iniquitous Corn Law still raised the price of bread, and the eloquence of Cobden and Bright had infused into the popular mind a strong sense of its injustice. The dual logic that maintained the necessity of such a law,

in order to enable the unworking aristocracy to support itself from rents artificially enhanced, served only to inflame the sense of wrong. Mr. Carlyle, like a true prophet, spoke out his whole mind on the subject. His "Past and Present" was what Mr. Mill has called it—an indignant remonstrance with the higher classes on their sins of omission against the lower, as well as an avowal of the superior efficiency, as he supposed, of the rulers of older times in that relation. He told the higher classes plainly that by the possession of the land they demonstrated their obligation to furnish guidance and governance to England. He denied that their right over that land was absolute. Unconditional sale and purchase of land he declared to be a "ridiculous impossibility." "We buy," he says, "what is saleable of it; nothing more was ever buyable. Properly speaking, the land belongs to these two: to the Almighty God, and to all his children of men that have ever worked well on it, or that shall ever work well on it." "It is not," he adds, the "property of any generation, but that of all the past generations that have worked on it, and of all the future ones that shall work on it." As to Corn Laws, to "extend the rent of an idle aristocracy," he warned them that it was at their own damage and peril that they maintained them. In his view their immorality was too flagrant to justify speech of them. Their approaching abolition he predicted as a certain event. "Would," he exclaimed, "we were all as sure of the Millennium as they are of going. The Game Laws were as little favoured by Carlyle as the Corn Laws. He acknowledged and deplored our game-preserving legislation, insisting that his grand old hero-king, William the Conqueror, would not have tolerated "an hour's jargon on the propriety of killing cotton manufacturers by partridge corn laws." On other questions he is equally outspoken. While teaching that "all the earth should be a mystic temple," he denounces "dilettantisms and galvanized dilettantisms." *Puseyism* in particular was in his eyes no revival of the sincere twelfth-century Catholicism; but a matter to strike one dumb. For once, prose seems inadequate to express his feeling on this subject, and he breaks unexpectedly into verse—

"The builder of this universe was wise,
He planned all souls, all systems, planets, particles;
The plan He shaped his worlds and æons by,
Was—Heavens! was thy small Nine-and-Thirty Articles."

The same objugatory strain was heard once more in the "Latter-Day Pamphlets," ten years later. In them his utterances were clearer, more practical, more fearless and unsparing. He proclaimed himself a reformer,—but was more anti-Constitutional, more anti-Parliamentary than ever. His wrath flamed out

against all that seemed to him unreal, insincere, and futile. The idea of negro emancipation enraged him: the considerate treatment of prisoners, the attempt of Howard to render less the sum of human wretchedness, irritated him to frenzy. The Pope, Ignatius Loyola, Hudson the railway king, Lord Palmerston, whom he nicknamed Hercules-Harlequin (himself being Hercules-Rousseau), the Stump Orator, America, and a shadowy fantastic dramatis personæ, with the whimsical appellations of Hesperus Fiddlestring, Felix Parvulus, Mr. Sparrowbill, and Felicissimus Zero, were all summoned into the presence of the prophet, who, with lips touched perhaps not always with hallowed fire, upbraided, exposed, and sentenced them. That no *deserving* unit might escape the censure of the exasperated seer, he summarily denounced the great majority of English people as twenty-seven millions, mostly fools. That there is a residual reasonableness in these reclamations, when the proper deductions have been made, must be admitted. The compensatory illumination of Mr. Carlyle's eloquence, however, scarcely reconciles us to the volcanic eruption of his rabid eloquence.

The sovereign specific for all social maladies which Mr. Carlyle had proposed in "Chartism," "Past and Present," and indeed in his earliest important publication, "Sartor Resartus," the government of nations by men supremely wise, was recommended with characteristic impressiveness in the six lectures on "Hero-Worship," delivered in 1840, and reported, with emendations and additions, in the printed collection of the following year. There is no doubt that, in this conception of hero-worship and the heroic in history, Carlyle touched on a vital truth. Admitting that the social development depends on general causes, admitting the necessity of a prepared intellectual and moral environment, we must admit no less the independent agency of men exceptionally great, and the indispensableness of that agency to the improvement of the human race. If there is a *constant* in the historical evolution, referable to the general activities of our nature, there is also a *variable*, which we owe to the pre-eminent intellect, the affectional endowment, the commanding volition of the splendid succession of imposing personalities who have thought for us, felt for us, worked for us, fought for us. "Our religion," says Carlyle's American friend, is the "love and cherishing of these patrons. The gods of fable are the shining moments of great men. We run all our vessels into one mould—our colossal theologies of Judaism, Christianity, Buddhism, Mahometanism, are the necessary and structural action of the human mind." So evident a truth is this that it is discernible without the aid of a prophetic Carlyle. Towards the end of the summer of 1838, Dr. Strauss, in an article on the

"Transient and the Permanent in Christianity," asserted that to our age of religious disorganization, nothing was left but a worship of Genius ; a reverence, that is, for those great spirits who form epochs in the progress of the human race, and in whom collectively the Divine Idea is manifested.

The acknowledgment of the services of great men is a distinctive characteristic of the religious system of Auguste Comte, who, in his truly catholic list of representative persons, has canonized, if we may be allowed the expression, the heroes and benefactors of the Christian and Pagan ages alike. Thus, if Carlyle appropriated and gave prominence to a true and fruit-bearing idea, he had by no means an exclusive monopoly of that idea, even among his contemporaries. There is, however, an important difference between Carlyle's application of the idea and the use to which Comte and Strauss would have it applied. With them, hero-worship is essentially homage to the memory of great men ; with Carlyle, it means pre-eminently, though by no means exclusively, the discovery of an actual ideal sovereign, whose will is to be higher than our will, and in obedience to whom lies the only freedom he will accord us. This is a more than questionable doctrine ; but Carlyle has no monopoly of it. It is reflected in the teaching of Comte, who would place a sovereign Pontiff over a united Europe, perhaps over a united world. The doctrine, too, was taught long ago by Aristotle. Aristotle exalts above all rule and above all law his ideal sovereign—the man of unparalleled intellectual and moral superiority, who moves as a god among men, and whose sway is as little to be disputed as that of Zeus himself. The only admissible relation of his countryman to this heaven-born king is that of voluntary subjection. The only true and unconditionally justifiable form of kingly power is the exclusive personal rule of this divine man. It is a sufficient answer to this theory that such a prodigy has never yet appeared among men ; that such a demi-god is not discoverable, and therefore not available ; that if he were discoverable he would, unless he were impeccable, surely and rapidly degenerate under the corrupting influences of uncontrolled power : and, lastly and principally, that the prepotent personality of such a ruler would annihilate all minor individualities, obstruct all free self-development, and convert human nature, with all its rich variety and multifarious energy, into a well-regulated monotonous machine. The literary merits of this book are great. Carlyle's heroes, indeed, are not selected with the nice discrimination we could desiderate. Still, they are all interesting, and all, in their degree, representative men. His words on Scandinavian mythology are bracing and sanative. In two metaphors he

distinguishes between the supreme poets of Italy and England. "Dante, deep, fierce as the central fire of the world : Shakespeare, wide, placid, far-seeing as the sun, the upper light of the world." His panegyric on Cromwell is exaggerated, but the vindication of the great Protector was an act of justice, a rectification of error, which shows penetration, originality, and courage. The lectures are marked by the earnestness, the enthusiasm, the strong conviction of the speaker. They owe, we fancy, their superior simplicity and intelligibility, their freedom from rhetorical inflation, their genial sociability of utterance, to the fact that they were originally spoken discourses, and not artistically constructed compositions. Truth, beauty, poetry, and common-sense characterize this admirable work. The ring of the "Peasant Father's" natural eloquence echoes through it.

The ideal hero of Aristotle—suggested, perhaps, by the glorified image of his princely pupil Alexander—was too purely imaginary to attract the sympathy of the English hero-worshipper. His heroes are in general robust, athletic, practical men. His realized ideal was a Knox, a Napoleon, a Cromwell. In 1805-6 the energetic Fichte published his lectures on the "Nature of the Scholar." Fichte conceived that a Divine Idea, a Divine Life, was the secret but absolute foundation of all appearance. He taught that it disclosed itself as existence in time, as the whole united life of mankind. He attributed to it various modes of activity—that of legislation, science, religion, art. In relation to the progressive movement of the world, the Divine Idea reveals itself in actual life and conduct. The men who direct and organize human society are called rulers; the ruler is dominated by the Divine Life which, through him, moulds the condition of his age and nation. He sees a Divine purpose in his vocation, and stands immovable, convinced that the result of his policy, however disastrous for the individual, is in harmony with the Divine Will. Such a ruler as Fichte describes, Carlyle discovered in "The greatest of English Princes," Oliver Cromwell. The armed soldier of Puritanism had undoubtedly the unshaken conviction that he was acting by the inspiration and under the sanction of the Most High. He discerns the "Divine Presence" in all his successes, in the incidents of his own life, in his brilliant series of victories. The felicitous results of action were regarded by him, in all sincerity, as Providences. He was what Spinoza has often been termed, a God-intoxicated man. His great qualities are undeniable. His massive character, his practical intellect, his moral concentration, his adamant resolution, his business talent, his genius for war and government, are clear as sunlight. He was, as even Hume admits, magnanimous in his enterprises,

and defective in no talent except that of elocution. He was, as Carlyle portrays him, noble and liberal in his public life, and he died "possessed of peace abroad and triumph at home." All this power and splendour, all this sterling worth and intense religiousness of Cromwell, living ever as in the Great Taskmaster's eye, recommended him, as an appropriate illustration of his theory, to the ablest vindicator of his name.

In two hundred and twenty-five letters and eighteen speeches, edited with scrupulous care and admirable patience, Mr. Carlyle has elucidated for us the character and career of Cromwell; has shown us the man breathing, moving, praying, governing, and fighting—the King of Puritanism, the Commander of the English Faithful in the seventeenth century, the temporarily victorious Captain of the Soldier-Saints. Carlyle allows no deductions from the surpassing merit of this heroic man. The enthusiasm which led Cromwell to regard the convictions of his own mind as dictates of the Eternal Power that made the world, the unsparing "ardour of his military vengeance," are hardly noticed, or, if noticed, hardly allowed by him. The greatness of the noble men who conducted this struggle for freedom in the arbitrary Stuart period is scarcely recognized by the panegyrist of Cromwell. Great as his hero was, he could not give permanence to Puritanism. His "sacred Vates" is obliged to confess, in words that have our cordial approval, "Puritanism was not the complete theory of this immense universe. . . . The Destinies meant something grander with England than even Oliver Protector did." These letters and speeches, however, with the elucidations interspersed, will serve as a perennial monument to the noble man whose memory they embalm. The keen, bright-eyed observation and illuminating art of the writer, which flash out in descriptive passages—as in the grand Homeric battle-piece of the engagement at Dunbar—bear witness to the continued exercise of Mr. Carlyle's peculiar genius, in which humour combines with sublimity to produce an effect perhaps to be found only in his writings and those of his model, Jean Paul Richter.

The literary talent of Carlyle qualified him in a very high degree for biographical composition. After the fiery and furious menaces of the "Latter-Day Pamphlets," which followed the act of homage to the Puritan King, the fair humanities of the "Life of Sterling" (1851) came upon many of us as a pleasant surprise. The unsatisfactory and apologetic character of the previous biographical sketch by Archdeacon Hare demanded a truer and more finished portrait of their common friend. A disciple of Coleridge, Sterling—like other misguided men, persuading himself that the Church of England was not an "extinct shadow, but a substance"—had taken orders, and served for a

brief period in her sanctuary. His growing estrangement from the creed of the Church eventually resulted in the abandonment of his profession. Carlyle depicts, with his usual glowing colours, quiet satire, and sympathetic touch, the career and character of his ardent, aspiring, struggling, and impetuous friend; with his poetic talent, "not of the highest order," his reforming zeal, his joyous activity, his witty, earnest, coruscating eloquence. The interest of the biography, however, is not sustained throughout. Sterling was not a man of heroic proportions. It is the fault of the subject, not of the artist, that we do not always admire this sample of his art. Carlyle has done his best for us. His description of Sterling's early years, his account of the tragical enterprise of Torrijos and the Spanish patriots, and the inimitable portrait of Coleridge—"Singing and snuffing the Kantian Object and Subject into sum-m-mject and om-m-ject, as he rolled meandering along the garden-walk"—forcibly impress the mind. Estimating the work, some thirty years ago, a woman of the finest genius wrote, in our REVIEW: "This 'Life of Sterling' is a touching monument of the capability human nature possesses of the highest love—the love of the good and beautiful in character, which is, after all, the essence of piety. The style of the work, too, is for the most part at once pure and rich; there are passages of deep pathos which come upon the reader like a strain of solemn music, and others which show that aptness of epithet, that masterly power of close delineation, in which, perhaps, no writer has excelled Carlyle."

The story of Carlyle's life from year to year, during this period of literary effort, offers but few incidents to record. Dipping into the thrice-welcome volume of his recently published "Reminiscences," we glean some picturesque particulars of his social existence, or some interesting details of his sad or prosperous fortunes. About 1838 the author of the "Sartor" began to be known. A little later we find him, with his noble-hearted wife, visiting at Addiscombe, Alverstokey, and Bath House, and meeting from time to time the choicest specimens of the British aristocracy, a class which, with "its perfection of human politeness, its continual grace of bearing and of acting, steadfast honour, light address and cheery stoicism," Carlyle deliberately affirmed to be "actually yet the best of English classes!"

In the spring of 1842, by the death of his mother-in-law Mrs. Welsh, the estate of Craigenputtoch lapsed to his wife. The modest rental of £200 a year was an acceptable addition to the slender income earned by the pen, which "in those decades" never exceeded the annual revenue of the estate.

About the year 1840 Carlyle first became acquainted with the late Charles Dickens: "the good, the gentle, highly-gifted, ever-

friendly, noble Dickens." Not long before this old Mr. Marshall, a Croesus of Leeds, gave him, with a fine simplicity of unaffected politeness, the first horse he ever had in London. John Mill, too, one of his wife's most interesting visitors, "so modest, ardent, ingenuous, and so very fond of him at that time," lent him all his books on the French Revolution, and "gave him frankly, clearly, and with zeal, all his better knowledge," being full of eagerness for such an advocate in that cause as he felt Carlyle would be. Other notabilities were among his friends or acquaintances: Wordsworth, Southey, Proctor, Henry Taylor, and Miss H. Martineau. Radical politicians, eminent literary men, celebrated aristocrats, foreign refugees, all passed before him, and are cunningly photographed or unconsciously caricatured in these "Reminiscences." Among the first to appreciate the wisdom, singular eloquence, and poetry of the "History of the French Revolution," was Dr. Arnold, of Rugby. In company with the historian of Rome, his wife and two of his boys, Carlyle, in May, 1842, explored the scene of the great battle of Naseby, and on leaving the house expressed the hope that it might "long continue to be what was to him one of the rarest sights in the world, a temple of industrious peace."

Perhaps his most constant and congenial visitor during the earlier years of his London residence was Leigh Hunt, "a man of aerial politeness, fine chivalrous, gentlemanly carriage, free, cheery, idly melodious, with good insight and a kind of humour too." The gentle Leigh, unlike the Apostle of Force, thought "nothing finally potential but persuasion," and regarded the world as a "free, strenuous, lovely, and desirable thing," not as a "boundless phantasmagoria," wherein to shudder before the Infinite, or as "much of a Bedlam," to be coerced into order by heroic men or "beneficent" whips. The inherent antagonism of the friends was on one occasion characteristically illustrated. One evening, Leigh Hunt, who was taking the rose-coloured view of the world, was, as usual, opposed by Carlyle, who dipping his colloquial pencil "in the lines of earthquake and eclipse," expounded his sterner philosophy of life. After a while the party broke up. The night was lovely. Leigh Hunt, gazing on the starry heavens, which spoke to him only of peace and happiness and love, burst into the rapturous exclamation: "God, the Beautiful!" At the same moment, Carlyle, looking up and seeing only the *dread* magnificence of heaven, responded with the counter-cry: "God the Terrible."*

Among the foreign refugees who visited Carlyle was the great

* The authentic expressions of Carlyle and Hunt, communicated by the late Mr. Thornton Hunt, in correction of a version also current.

pioneer of Italian Unity, Mazzini. In June, 1844, it transpired that the letters of the Genoese exile, as well as of some other gentlemen, had been opened at the Post-office by warrant from the Secretary of State. The country, ignorant that the practice of "shutting our mouths and opening our letters" had even then a long prescriptive sanction, was indignant at the "discovery." Carlyle, sharing the general indignation, wrote in hot haste to the Editor of *The Times*, characterizing Mazzini as "a man of genius and virtue, a man of sterling veracity, humanity, and nobleness of nature; one of those rare men, numerable, unfortunately, but as units in this world, who are worthy to be called martyr souls," and denouncing the opening of men's letters as a practice near of kin to picking men's pockets, and far faller forms of scoundrelism—a practice not to be resorted to in England except in cases of the very last extremity."

The accomplished Margaret Fuller, afterwards the Countess Ossoli, brings Carlyle still nearer to us. After admiring the rich full flow of his discourse, his great full sentences, his light witty sketches, and sweet homely stories, she continues:—

"For a couple of hours he was talking about poetry, and the whole harangue was one eloquent proclamation of the defects of his own mind. Tennyson wrote in verse because the schoolmaster had taught him that it was great to do so. Burns had in like manner been turned from his true vocation. Shakespeare had not the good sense to see that it would have been better to write straight in prose."

Again,—

"Mr. Carlyle's talk that evening was a defence of mere force, success the test of right; if people would not behave well, put collars round their necks; find a hero, and let them be his slaves. Mazzini was present on this occasion; the conversation turned on progress and ideal subjects, and Carlyle was fluent to bitterness on all our rose-water imbecilities."

His auditors

"found the conversation very Titanic and anti-celestial, but bade Carlyle farewell with feelings of the warmest friendship and admiration, recognizing in him a great and noble nature, though it did not harmonize with 'her' own."

The impossibility of interrupting the Niagara torrent of Carlyle's eloquence, to which Miss Margaret Fuller makes more than one pathetic allusion, reminds us that Carlyle, like Coleridge, was "great at the monologue." Mr. Allingham, as was his frequent practice, was walking one day with Carlyle. During the whole of their ramble Carlyle indulged in one uninterrupted tirade against Republican institutions, entirely disregarding the golden rule of forensic justice, *audi, alteram, partem*. On their return, Mr. Allingham, putting his hand on the door-handle in order to re-enter the house, said to Carlyle,

“Will you allow me one word?” “Yes, three if you like,” was the reply. His companion then mildly suggested that we ought to bear in mind that Republican institutions have not yet had a fair trial. “Ah! that’s just like you,” cried Carlyle, “when the discussion is quite closed you want to reopen it and ‘begin again.’”

We may be pardoned for obtruding here two other anecdotes illustrative of Mr. Carlyle’s muscular frankness of expression and robust originality of invective. The Bookselling World, as he terms the honourable trade, was a favourite object of assault with him. His own publisher, Chapman, he calls “hard-fisted, cautious bibliographer;” while of Bentley, Irving’s publisher, he says “he was evidently loth to lie, but evidently obliged by the laws of trade to do it.” One publisher, however, whom we knew he graciously exempted from this sweeping accusation, once fairly astonishing that gentleman by apostrophizing him in this style:—

“I see you’re a raal mon; but taking the publishers a’togedher, they’re a damned and damnable race, they want to ’vest their money to-night and get it back in the morning. But, sir, if you’d publish good books you must just consent to wait; you may grow cresses on a dish-clout in a night, but it takes many years to rear the oaks. Besides, sir, what’s the use of making pelf when you’re stepping fast to hell at the same time?”

Thundering against the “Universal Sluggard-and-Scoundrel Protection Society,” Carlyle’s benevolence for all such as he deemed to be members of that rather indefinite Benefit Club, was, we may take his word for it, “comparatively trifling.” Our closing anecdote will serve as a sample of the kind of eloquence which he considered appropriate when addressing real or supposed recruits in the “Devil’s Regiments of the Line.” Mr. Carlyle and the late Mr. G. H. Lewes were walking together in Richmond Park, when they suddenly encountered a beggar. “For God’s sake, sir,” said the beggar, first accosting Mr. Lewes, “give me something; I’m starving.” Repeating his application, and finding it without effect, he then addressed Mr. Carlyle: “I’m starving, I say, sir. For Christ’s sake give me something.” Thus adjured, Carlyle turned on him, shouting, “You dirty, lazy scoundrel! *you* dare to ask alms for Christ’s sake! Christ has no transactions with the like of you!”

To return from this anecdotal excursion.

In 1843, Carlyle, for want of a better hero, had taken up with Dr. Francia, the Martinet Dictator of Paraguay, whom Charles Darwin, wandering “in those latitudes” ten years before, had pronounced a bloodthirsty tyrant. The true hero had now been discovered in Frederick the Second of Prussia. In the early autumn of 1852, Mr. Carlyle first visited Germany, with the object of getting such information as would assist him in his new historical enter-

prise. The journey gave him outwardly no pleasure, but the Chelsea establishment was then under carpenters and painters, and there was no work possible till they had disappeared. The death of his mother at this time—"the most beautifully religious soul he ever knew"—was a heavy sorrow to him. Some years after a fresh trouble fell upon him. In 1856 Mrs. Carlyle's health began to decline. Her patient heroism under the torture of neuralgic rheumatism, aggravated by the additional sufferings resulting from an accident, is touchingly appreciated by her sympathizing husband.

In 1858 we find Carlyle again travelling in Germany, in furtherance of the prodigious literary work in which he has recorded the acts of that last of the kings, Frederick the Great. Among other places on which the wars of Frederick have conferred a lasting renown, Carlyle visited Zarnsdorff, Leuthen, Sohr, Mollwitz, Prague, and Dettingen. His diligence in amassing material, his comprehensive and minute research, his conscientious inquisition of facts, astonish us; but with all this magnanimous expenditure of labour the result disappoints us. It is not effective as a whole, because it is without that proportion, that harmony of parts essential to artistic effectiveness. It has no perspective. On the other hand, it abounds in passages full of picturesque power. Grandeur of thought and grotesque humour contrast and intermingle in its descriptions. A whole portrait-gallery is opened in this history of Frederick the Second of Prussia; around the central figure—a master in war, an encourager of commerce, agriculture, art; a financier, an author, a legislator; the protector of science, of genius, and thought—are grouped men and women of more or less importance to the century in which they figured; the drunken Frederick Wilhelm, Leopold of Dessau, the Martial Boy, our Second George, the great Earl Chatham, Catherine of Russia, "grandiose if not great," Quintus Icilius, Voltaire, Madame du Châtelet, Maupertuis. This rich variety of character is depicted in Carlyle's usual masterly way, with bright flashes of wit or sudden outbursts of grotesque humour, with fine descriptive detail and brilliant high-coloured rhetoric. Frederick's Seven Campaigns, with the battles, sieges, and marches of which they are made up, are delineated with an exhaustive completeness. Towns, fields, hills, marshes, windmills, and even Frederick's *straw bed*, are painted with all Carlyle's fidelity of observation. Throughout all this historical delineation, the personal interest, the military element, the human character of the age are clearly discerned and vigorously represented. The war-drama, indeed, is depicted for us with laborious minuteness, and the portrait of the last of the kings as victorious Commander and practical Ruler is, on the whole, faith-

ful and satisfying. It is the domain of Law which is inadequately surveyed. Germans in our hearing, while commending this voluminous biography as a military history, have regretted its too perfunctory exposition of the legislative labours of the royal hero. Of its occasional questionable morality, its palliation of high-handed acts or sympathetic acquiescences in wrong, we shall say nothing.

The "History of Frederick" occupied Carlyle thirteen years, causing him infinite weariness and vexation. During its composition he rode some thirty thousand miles; usually mounting his horse at sunset and journeying drearily "under cloud of night." In January, 1865, the incubus ceased to oppress him. Frederick was finished, and he went with Mrs. Carlyle into Devonshire, peaceable and comparatively happy. On March 29, 1866, full of gloom and sadness, he proceeded to Scotland, having in the previous autumn, in accordance with his wife's advice, consented to be nominated as a candidate for the Rectorship of the University of Edinburgh, Professor Tyndall, "kind, cheery, inventive, and helpful, accompanying him." On his arrival, friends old and new, among them Mr. Huxley, gathered round him. On April 2 he was installed Rector. His inaugural address, with its panegyric of Cromwell, Knox, Goethe, and Shakspeare, with its homely counsel and academic advice, is a mere reproduction of his old teaching in its better aspects. At his installation he was welcomed with an enthusiasm which he acknowledged to be very beautiful, enduring, however, rather than enjoying the occasion. Professor Tyndall's telegram—"A perfect triumph"—gladdened the heart of the sleepless sore-suffering wife in the house at Chelsea. Alas! "her fine spirits and victorious frame of mind," the happy consequence of the good news from Edinburgh, were to be but fairy gifts that speedily fade. She lived but nineteen days after this "triumph" of her husband, dying April 21, 1866—"suddenly snatched away from him, and the light of his life as if gone out."

Carlyle's literary career was now as good as closed. An address to the Edinburgh students on the "Choice of Books;" the scolding, ranting diatribe entitled "Shooting Niagara, and After;" the letter to the editor of *The Times* on the French-German War, advising the annexation of Alsace and Lorraine, and exulting in the predicted "Supremacy of noble patient Germany, at length welded into a nation;" the rough notes on the "Early Norway Kings," and the "Portraits of John Knox," too hastily thrown together; with the greater part of the pathetic "Reminiscences," and a letter or two on the Eastern Question, pretty well exhaust the list of Carlyle's later writings.

The "Reminiscences," which have come all too late to hand,

will be eagerly welcomed by the admirers of Carlyle's literary productions or stoical personality. The monograph on his father, James Carlyle, written soon after his death in 1832, is a filial tribute to the memory of one who was "perhaps among Scottish peasants what Samuel Johnson was among English authors." It overflows with tenderness and mingled pity and reverence, and abounds in graphic sketches and emphatic allusions to old-world ways and legends. A second monograph on the career of his "lost hero," Edward Irving, is also rich in its delineation of curious individualities, impressive in the moral which it points, candidly condemnatory of the error of misdirected genius, yet noble, tolerant, and touchingly pitiful of the failings of his self-wrecked, "wholly tragical" friend. The pages devoted to Lord Jeffrey, though the portrait of the Scottish Anotarchus is drawn with the nicest care and in the liveliest colours, are less interesting. The publication of the elegiac memoir of "Jane Welsh Carlyle," in its present form, is an indiscretion if we consider the editor answerable; a mistake if we assume the author's responsibility. There is no doubt of the pathos and beauty of the writing, but the pathos is spoilt by fatiguing iteration, and the beauty marred by the glorifying exaggerations of despairing love; surely, too, a veil should be thrown over the figure of a strong man broken by the blows of an intolerable grief! Yet with all deductions, this rhapsody of tender yearnings and penitent regrets, this litany of smiles and tears and loving worship of sorrow, reminds us again of the great poem of Dante. It recalls it even in its triple significance. Carlyle sees his "angel, his queen, the radiance of his life," serene and happy in the eternities. He places his Beatrice in Paradise. The forms which circled round her in her earthly home are mostly beheld as in an Inferno, Purgatorio, or modern Limbo. For Coleridge, the author of the "Reminiscences" has no esteem. The poet is introduced as "The Father of Puseyism and much phantasmal moonshine," and with some utterance about sensuality and dissolution of features, is dismissed to his place in the Carlylean Inferno. His friend Wordsworth fares better, and is simply put in Limbo (the Appendix). Though of veracious and luminous power of insight, he is labelled as an unproductive, wearisome kind of man, playing limpidly on an honest rustic fiddle, but wanting strings, and not adorable by any means as a great poetic genius. Shelley—also in Limbo—is "a kind of ghastly object, colourless, pallid, without health, or warmth, or vigour—the sound of him shrieky, frosty, as if a ghost were trying to sing to us." The two great female writers that have thrown a splendour on the recent literature of England and France, are scornfully relegated to their purgatorial cells with

the kindred spirits to whom they lend their name, as "the Sands and Eliots and babbling cohue of celebrated scribbling women." Charles Darwin—our highest scientific theorist—is placed below Erasmus, his elder brother, for intellect. Of his book Carlyle says he could never read a page, or waste the least thought on it. The magnificent generalization of "Development by Natural Selection" is "wonderful to him only as indicating the capricious stupidity of mankind." The old friend in whom he once thought to find a brother mystic, is discredited as "the much macerated, changed, and fanaticized John Stuart Mill." Charles Lamb and his sister are a "sorry pair of phenomena." Harriet Martineau appears as a possible "shining matron of some big female establishment, or mistress of some immense dress-shop!" Wilberforce is degraded into the famous nigger-philanthropist and drawing-room Christian; and Comte is consigned to some mathematical Tartarus, as "the miserablest algebraic ghost I have yet met with among the ranks of the living." In all this wrong-headed, unrighteous judgment, there is, no doubt, an occasional scintillation of veracious humour. The persons he describes have sat for their portraits; but the portraits are not likenesses—they are caricatures. Carlyle is as sincere, as bitter, as prejudiced in his judgments, as Dante. Yet with all his scorn and hate, intellectual arrogance and ignorant intolerance, are mingled tenderness and sweet-hearted charity.

The memoir of his wife was finished May 29, 1866; that of Edward Irving before the close of the year. Early in December, Carlyle became the victim of a friendly conspiracy, in which Professor Tyndall and Lady Ashburton took part. One day he found himself journeying to the Riviera, catching glimpses, as he approached his destination, of a bright sun, blue murmuring sea, glowing orange groves; of Mentone hidden, and Ventimiglia Cape in view, and all earth a kind of Paradise. At Mentone he stayed only a few months.

On his return to London Mr. Carlyle's life resumed its wonted course. The companion of forty years gone from him, his niece, Mrs. Alexander Carlyle, acted as his ministering spirit. His house was ever open to old friends or stranger-visitors. He still walked, rode, or drove, wandering solitarily in London streets we have heard, even after the midnight hour. We have heard too that once, in the closing years of life, he laughed heartily at the reported answer of Emerson to a friend inquiring how he was, "I am very well, thank you, only I have lost my mental faculties." So irresistibly ludicrous to one who looked on the intellect as "the highest heavenly gift," was the idea of perfect health in association with that sovereign loss, which the American essayist bore with such cheerful indifference.

The final shadows closed round the old, much-suffering man at last. His death took place in London, on Saturday morning, February 5. The body was taken to his native place in Scotland. It was met by the relatives at Ecclefechan station. The peasantry and children assembled at the gates. While flowers lay on his coffin, amid the silence customary in Scotland at the last rites, all that remained of Thomas Carlyle was laid in the village churchyard, there to rest in "Eternity's stillness."

Simple, unworldly, unostentatious, Carlyle declined all literary honours, refusing even the proffered degree of LL.D. He declined also the Grand Cross of the Bath. His acceptance, on the death of Manzoni, of the Prussian Order of Merit, was a solitary exception. Defiant in his isolation, heroic in his industry, of spotless purity of life, pitying while he censured, generous in his poverty, Carlyle, who lived through nearly three generations, became a central figure, attracting or repelling, largely influencing the thought and language of his age. For those who had drifted away from the old creeds his teaching had a singular fascination. For those who wearied of the insincerities and unrealities around them it had also an appropriate attraction. Though anti-democratic, he had, he tells us, "plenty of Radicalism." Ardent young reformers welcomed in him a champion of their cause. The friends of order, of potent individualities, of active enterprise and imposing action—all those who dreaded democratic turbulence or personal lawlessness from the loss of discipline, fortified their arguments with the authority of his name. Others had said the same things as Carlyle, but their writings were not known, or, if known, they lacked the moral earnestness, the religious enthusiasm, the rhetorical splendour, the impressive manner, the punctuality and preciseness of aim and impact, which awakened kindred emotions in the student of Carlyle.

Carlyle is sometimes regarded as a philosopher. He was a philosopher only in a very qualified sense. He saw some truths, not very remote or difficult to discern clearly, and gave them appropriate expression. He apprehended some few great generalizations, and traced them in detail, with a penetrating sagacity. He philosophized, *without* being a philosopher. His true interest lay not in analysis, but synthesis. He saw life as a whole; sympathized with all varieties of human action and human character and penetrated into the depths of human nature, revealing the secret motives which influence men, and interpreting the outward expression of complicated thought and intricate emotion. He was not a poet; but he had poetry in him in abundance. His art was rough-hewn, but it *was* art. He makes men and places present to our eyes, coloured and shaped, as in reality,

and, remembering the words of his great German friend, "the spirit of the Real is the true Ideal," he pierces to the very heart of an object, and shows us its essential form, bringing that object, be it place or person, not from "some vanished world, some oriental clime or period of chivalry, but from the real world as it lies about us and within us." It was principally through this vision and faculty divine, through this power of "concrete representation," that Carlyle's genius made itself felt.

Yet it would be unfair to say that he had not a philosophy in some sort, some incomplete theory of life and thought, if not a finished system. Professor Tyndall calls him our greatest spiritual teacher. In what does his teaching consist ?

Carlyle, supreme as may have been his *capacity* for science, was, as a matter of fact, anti-scientific. Everything like analysis was repugnant to him. Every truth that militated against his original prejudices was rejected. He speaks disparagingly of physiology, of astronomy, and with abhorrence of political economy. He actually sneers at the Zodiac, and, like Sydney Smith's friend, would speak disrespectfully of the Equator. His method was certainly not scientific. As little was it metaphysical. "Metaphysics," he says (and we gladly take his word for it), "is the attempt of the mind to rise above the mind. . . . What strength of sinew or athletic skill will enable the stoutest athlete to fold his own body in his arms, and, by lifting, lift up *himself*? The Irish saint swam the Channel, carrying his head in his teeth, but the feat has never been imitated."

Carlyle called himself a Mystic. Mysticism, as we understand it, borrows a conception from popular theology or philosophy, and deals with it in an entirely subjective fashion. Emotions of wonder, love, adoration, curiosity, are converted into arguments. A current idea is accepted because the mystic is *possessed* with a transcendent admiration for a fancied corresponding object. As Carlyle superadded to the power and form of eloquent expression inherited from his peasant father, tones and colours borrowed from the spirit and manner of Jean Paul Richter ; so he found an oracular utterance or two in Emanuel Kant appropriate to his purpose. "This world," says the philosopher of the Pure Reason, "is the world of appearances." With its two grand fundamental appearances, Space and Time, echoes his pupil, the world is a mere phantasmal existence; it is the manifestation of spirit—of spirit which, though unimaginable and formless, is the only true reality. This spirit is the Divine Idea. It is the God of Carlyle.

Questioned if his faith was Pantheistic, Carlyle answered, "No! nor Pot-theistic either." Glancing at Sterling's comment on a Personal God, he calls it an abstruse and unspeakable matter. Of final causes, he admits, we can prove nothing. Marks of Design are

valuable for him who believes, "useless for the poor atheist whom they have not convinced and should not convince." Thus, according to Carlyle, there is no adequate evidence of the operation of a Creative Intelligence in Nature. The sole argument for his existence is furnished from Within; it is to be found in the fact that the Mind seeks after such a Being. This is all Carlyle has to tell us. His theology is futile; his method barren. "About the grand course of Providence and His final purposes with us, we can, he allows, know nothing; man begins in darkness; ends in darkness; mystery is everywhere around and in us, under our feet, among our hands." Here we touch on firmer ground. Religion, as Kant intimates, has affinities with Poetry. A natural piety lies in the sense of the infinite mystery of existence, of the unspeakable power, beauty, and majesty of all this unintelligible world, in resignation to an external order which we recognize but cannot comprehend.

We surmise that Carlyle was essentially of too noble a nature to mortify himself with meditations among the tombstones, or to sicken of metaphysical measles, while speculating on the Immortality of the Soul. He realized, we would hope, the truth of that beautiful saying of Schleiermacher: "In the midst of the Finite to become one with the Infinite, and in every moment to be eternal, is the immortality of Religion." "Die Ewigkeit," says the giant Jean Paul, "ist auf der Erde;" and Carlyle doubtless made himself immortal by proximately leading the life of the immortals. The hope, however, of a personal existence after death appears never to have left him. In lucid moments, he writes in "Sartor Resartus," "glimpses of an upper azure heaven are revealed to us." In the touching memoir of his father he whispers, "If it so please God, we shall in some higher state of being meet with one another, recognize one another." "The possibility, nay, in some way, the certainty, of perennial existence daily grows plainer to me." Three or four years ago, we are told by a well-known liberal Churchman, Carlyle spoke with plaintive tenderness of the great loss death would bring with it—"the exclusion from God Almighty's Theatre of Immensity," qualifying it with a second feeling—"What if Omnipotence, that has developed in me those pieties, those reverences, and infinite affections, should actually have said, 'Yes, poor mortals! Such of you as have gone so far shall be permitted to go farther.' Hope. Despair not."

Carlyle's creed was plainly not dogmatic. It was the result of traditional belief, unverified interpretation of Nature, mystical idealizing emotion. But if of no Church and no definite creed, it is not to be doubted that he was intensely religious, oscillating it may be between theistic and pantheistic conceptions of the

universe, but with an indestructible belief in an imminent deity, a conscious divine life, a creative intelligence, with an unquenchable hope of the immortality of the soul.

The mythus of the Christian religion, he admits, referring to Voltaire, "looks not in the eighteenth century as it did in the eighth," and demands the embodiment of the divine spirit of that religion in a new mythus. He regarded, and rightly, we think, the life and death of Jesus of Nazareth as didactic and demonstrative. To the question, Does it *teach* us, does it *show* us nothing? He replies, "Through this, as through a miraculous window, the heaven of martyr-heroism, 'the divine depth of sorrow,' of noble labour, and the unspeakable silent expanses of eternity, first in man's history disclose themselves."

Carlyle's Moral Philosophy was moulded on his cardinal principle of the supremacy of the heroic elements in human nature. The doctrine of Rights was to be superseded by the doctrine of Might. Obedience, industry, veracity, order, permanence in all human relations; faithful discharge of duty, not liberty, not self-development, not benevolent enterprise, were the qualities and practices he recommended as of paramount, almost exclusive importance. He had no recognizable criterion of the value of actions. The doctrine of Consequences, the beneficent principle which makes the welfare of humanity rightly understood, the final test and issue of all ethical conduct, he repudiated with contemptuous eloquence. The *inborn* sense of right and wrong, the *innate* perception of the radical difference between the just and unjust, was the basis of his moral philosophy. The fragility of this ethical card-castle is obvious. Always resting on the principle of Force, Carlyle was only too often on the side of the strongest battalion; his innate perception of the just was always distorted by his predilection for the strong. In the case of the deplorable Jamaica disturbance, with all the attendant atrocities, the flogging of women as well as men, the brutal recklessness, the rage of fire and sword, the violation of law which marked the suppression of the negro insurrection,* Mr. Carlyle, when the question was raised whether the British dependencies, perhaps Great Britain itself, were to be under the government of laws or of military license, peremptorily reversed the judgment of the Lord Chief Justice, deciding that there "must have been, and is and will be, coeval with human society, from its first beginnings to its ultimate end, an actual *martial law* of more validity than any other law whatever!" On the question of the American War, too, Carlyle's spiritual insight induced him to side with the aristocratic South—to favour, in short, the uncontrolled despotism of a slave power, the triumph of which

* See Mill's Autobiography, pp. 296-297.

would have menaced civilization itself. His discourse on the Nigger Question, first published in 1819, while it has some scintillations of a higher morality, and occasionally deviates into sense, is mainly a wild rant, a ludicrous invective against the noble work of noble men, and of a nation in the hour of its purest disinterested action—the hour in which England agreed to give twenty millions sterling for the abolition of slavery. In all these instances Carlyle was on the side of the “God of Forces.” The point, however, which concerns us at the present moment is the proved inefficiency of the Intuition principle. For of what practical worth can it be, if in all such cases, cases of the utmost urgency, it is powerless to indicate the right and the just? Or what confidence can we have in the decisions of this ambiguous arbiter, when in the case of Mr. Spencer and Mr. Mill it decides a question in the affirmative, and in that of Mr. Carlyle and Professor Tyndall it decides it in the negative.

The same error, the same worship of Power, which we have noted in the morality, reappears in the politics of Mr. Carlyle. We have recognized a truth in his “hero worship.” We regret that he misconceives and misapplies it. Absolute prostration before our “greatest man,” if we could find him, would be an act of idolatry that we should stoutly refuse. Besides, the “infinite hero” of Carlyle is as chimerical as the quasi-divine king of Aristotle. Mr. Carlyle is severe on the imbecilities of democratic theorists. He enumerates the vices of democratic government. His opposition is not unreasonable. It is well that we should be warned of the dangers which await that form of government, as well as of those inseparable from imperial, regal, and every other form of government. There is a true democracy, and there is a false democracy. We are as little inclined as Mr. Carlyle to “set the mob above the throne;” but we are not aware that philosophical Radicals require elementary lessons in politics, even from such a potent teacher as Mr. Carlyle.

Bailey, the author of the “Rationale of Political Representation,” De Tocqueville, John Stuart Mill, even the reforming enthusiast, Shelley, have all noted the disadvantages and dangers of an unqualified Democracy.

Carlyle, who never omits an opportunity of inveighing against Bentham, was perhaps not aware that his adversary, in his “Examination of the French Declaration of Rights,” had objected long before him to this metaphysical doctrine, nor that another Radical writer denounces the word “as the most dangerous weapon of anarchy.”

Admitting the principle that the government of a people can only be satisfactorily conducted by the intelligent and capable few, we equally contend for the principle of a reasonable popular cou-

trol. We could never consent, with Mr. Carlyle, to degrade the British Parliament into a mere INFORMATION OFFICE, where the "Governing Man" may inquire within, for Mr. Carlyle is graciously pleased to concede it a permanent existence; not indeed to represent the collective wisdom, but, as he sarcastically suggests, "the condensed folly of the nation." Happily there is little danger that the admirers of personal government, whether ultra-imperialists, anti-parliamentary Positivists, palavering patriots, with Irish howls for Irish melodies, or hero-worshipping disciples of Mr. Carlyle, will ever demolish our Representative Government. Whatever revisions or limitations may be needed for its improvement, the system itself will never be destroyed. "The House of Commons, the archetype of all the representative assemblies which now meet in the Old or New World," may doubtless be modified for the better; but to substitute for it a hero, a dictator, or commercial triumvirate, as Carlyle or Comte would have us do, would be to sell the birth-right of English and European liberty, and betray the cause of human advancement.

As a politician, Mr. Carlyle was unable to side with either of the two great parties into which England has so long been divided. If he had no faith in modern Liberalism, or Democratic Reform, he had still less in the "old hidebound Toryism," anathematizing it as "overgrown imposture, supported, not by human Reason, but by blustering and brazen lying, superadded to mere brute force." To the Reform Movement and the Household Suffrage Measure of 1867 he was boisterously hostile. Among the anonymous, traitorous politicians who brought it about, the jugglers of an unconscious and deeper dye, he implicitly includes Gladstone, Mill, and Bright. A distinguished statesman on the other side he satirizes as "a clever, conscious juggler, as a superlative Hebrew conjuror, spell-binding all the great lords, great parties, great interests of England to his hand in this manner, and leading them by the nose, like helpless, mesmerized, somnambulant cattle, to such issue."

Although Mr. Carlyle was no believer in revolutions, or even pacific popular reforms, we will not assert that he was no friend to the people; although he was for ever inveighing against the progress of the species, he appears to us to admit the probability of the slow but sure ascension of mankind on the heights of material and spiritual well-being. "The progress of man," he declares, in his "Characteristics," "towards higher and nobler developments of whatever is highest and noblest in him, lies not only prophesied to Faith, but now written to the eye of observation." While scornfully rejecting the very notion of liberty, fraternity, equality, Carlyle willingly allowed that "the

better mixt of all countries begin to understand each other, to love each other, and to help each other." Long ago he foresaw that "the tendency of our Western civilization is to a universal European common-weal; that the wisest in all nations will communicate and co-operate; that Europe will again have its true sacred college and council of Amphictyons; wars will become rarer, less inhuman; and, in the course of centuries, such delirious ferocity in nations, as in individuals it already is, may be proscribed and become obsolete for ever." Carlyle, moreover, had a profound sense of the continuity of human life. The present, he declares, is the living sum-total of the past; society he defines as the vital articulation of many individuals, into a new collective individual: the standing wonder of our existence, a true region of the supernatural; a second all-embracing life, wherein our first individual life becomes doubly and trebly alive, and whatever of infinitude is in us, bodies itself forth and becomes visible and active.

These cosmopolitan speculations, which approximate to corresponding conclusions of the founders of Positivism, did not in any degree prejudice the patriotic devotion of Carlyle. His loyalty to the land of his birth, his attachment to the university where he was educated, his affection towards persons and places wherein he had been interested, his disposition to recognize even the claims of an unborn humanity, are touchingly attested in the Deed of 1867, whereby, out of the love, favour, and affection which he bore to the University of Edinburgh, and from his interest in the advancement of education in his native Scotland as elsewhere, he founded and endowed out of the revenues of Craigenputtoch, left him by his wife, the ten equal John Welsh Scholarships. "Heroic young souls, struggling for what is highest," will surely hold in grateful remembrance the name of this generous benefactor.

The prodigious impression which the genius of Carlyle made on a contemporary generation is not difficult to explain. The epoch at which he appeared was marked by great intellectual restlessness, by eager curiosity, by a bewildering, involuntary scepticism. The teaching of Coleridge helped to generate this mental fermentation; Oxonian theology inflamed it; Latitudinarianism aggravated the symptoms. Everywhere political, social, religious questions were forced on the attention of the young. German literature, of which little was then known in England, awakened an intense curiosity. Carlyle was one of its most zealous interpreters; and in the essays on the great German poets, as on those of Voltaire and Diderot, ideas were expressed, thoughts suggested, opinions avowed, which awakened interest, gratified curiosity, or aroused a sympathetic enthusiasm.

Ardent minds, thirsting for knowledge, and indignant at the insincerities, the non-beliefs and half-beliefs of social life, discussions on "prevenient grace and the colour of the bishop's nightmare."—The youth of that day sought a solution of the problems of life and mind in the writings or the conversations of a man whose power and earnestness were as indubitable as his vigorous diction, his picturesque presentation, and his humorous originality of utterance were arresting and stimulating. It was in vain for older and soberer minds to protest against the gnarled, eccentric, Gothic architecture of his sentences. The form, the structure, it might be allowed, was lawless enough; but in all this anarchy of language there was a Titanic grandeur, a primæval simplicity, a rugged sublimity, and a human sympathy, worth cartloads of elegant commonplace. The very phrases in Carlyle's prophetic outpourings were pregnant and apophthegmatic. The mantle of the old Scottish Reformer seemed to have fallen on him. As the Knox of the nineteenth century, he preached, he prophesied, he inspired, he revived hope, he encouraged effort, he aided aspiration. In his wide range of thought there was scarcely a subject on which he did not touch. Religion, poetry, literature, history, biography, society, were the topics which his genius illustrated. He was as the angel in the Christian legend who troubled the motionless waters. The circles proceeding from that central force multiplied and expanded. The influence, indeed, was hardly creative—it was alterative, it made the heart beat, it made the eyes open; it seemed to explode archaic, insincere, fashionable beliefs, and to give the promise of a higher creed and a nobler practice.

It is not as a philosopher that Carlyle will live. It is as a poet—though his poetry has no form as an artist, though eccentric in his art—that he impresses us; his literary reputation will rest on his achievements in biography and history. He was not original in his teaching. His metaphysic, such as it is, he fished out of the "wild, whirling vortex" of Kant; his hero-worship he distilled from the theosophic wine of Fichte; from Fichte, too, he borrowed his favourite doctrine of unconscious genius; from Swift he took his "Philosophy of Clothes;"* and his general inspiration he drew from one of the Unquestionable Immortals, his friend and correspondent, Goethe. But if he proclaimed no doctrine, if he founded no school, if he was inferior to some of his contemporaries in reflective faculty or generalizing reach, logical acuteness and consecutiveness, he has bequeathed us breathing pictures of the historic past; has shown us the acts, told us the words, chronicled the loves and hatreds, triumphs and

* See "A Tale of a Tub," section ii.

sufferings delineated the very trick and manner of ancestral and contemporary men and women. As a spiritual teacher, as an inspiring orator, as a brilliant Opposition speaker his influence will wane with the waning years. But as an historical painter, as a philosophical humourist, as a literary artist, Thomas Carlyle will have a share in the perennial existence which is the assured inheritance of "the splendours in the firmament of Time, that may be eclipsed, but are extinguished not."

ART. VII.—SHOULD UNIVERSITY DEGREES BE GIVEN TO WOMEN?

A MEMORIAL was last year presented to the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, praying the Senate to admit properly qualified women to examinations and degrees in the University. This memorial was widely and influentially supported throughout the kingdom; and in regard to it, and to similar representations made at the same time by the authorities of Girton College, by the Local Committee for the Higher Education of Women connected with Newnham Hall, and by many resident members of the Senate, a special Syndicate was appointed to consider the whole question. The Report of this Syndicate recommended the Senate to grant the prayer of the memorialists to the extent of admission to honour examinations, while admission to degrees is left open for future decision. This Report has just been accepted in the Senate by an overwhelming majority. That the outside public were justified in urging such a demand on the authorities of the University, must be evident when we reflect that the issue raised by this memorial is one of national hygiene, of national intellect, and of national morality. That the decision of such a question should be left to the chance medley of conflicting educational cliques in Cambridge would be a grave misfortune. All experience proves that in broad questions of principle the opinion of local authorities is so much biassed by considerations of temporary expediency, and by difficulties of detail, as seriously to diminish its value as a guide to true action.

Apart from any general considerations of the social or moral importance of the admission of women to our historic universities, it seems demonstrable that the public have a right to demand this admission for the whole body of women who are engaged in the work of teaching, whether publicly in schools or

as governesses in private families. Until some duly qualified and responsible body corporate has undertaken to educate and to certify the attainments of such women, the public can have no guarantee of honesty and efficiency in schools for girls. Such schools used to be the creations and the creatures of advertisements, their existence and their success depended on the tradesmanlike tact of the lady principal and the good-will of the parents with whom she had to deal. Such a system is most unfavourable to healthy morality and to true education. Here and there a woman of unusual ability may have had strength enough to swim against the Maelstrom, and to create a deserved reputation that has stood her in the place of a University degree. But, generally speaking, girls' schools used to be, and in the nature of things were compelled to be, in truth and worth, very nearly on a level with pictorially advertised patent medicines.

For governesses a University degree is even more necessary than for the teachers in girls' schools. The first condition for the possibility of true training is that the teacher should be loved and respected. Children naturally take their cue from parents and friends; and if their governess be not held in the respect to which her profession entitles her, they can get no good from her, but are sure to get harm, intellectually and morally, no matter how conscientiously she may strive to do her duty. The welfare of the nation demands that an inflexible outside power should interpose to protect this most important class of educational workers from the supercilious neglect which otherwise is almost inevitable. An authority, against which there can be no appeal, must weed the ranks of this branch of the teaching profession of innumerable incapables, and thus, by giving a guarantee of efficiency on the one side, gradually create the instinctive habit of courtesy on the other. Here, perhaps even more than in public schools, the value of a formal degree will be felt; for the more vulgar, the more worldly-minded parents are, the more will they be impressed by the outward insignia of educational rank.

The essential principle here contended for has already been practically acknowledged by the general acceptance of the local examinations of Oxford and Cambridge as a test for girls' schools. These have at least given the death-blow to the old orthodox ideal of female education. But the principle is thus acknowledged only imperfectly and in an undesirable direction. These examinations are practically equivalent to an official test of the relative value of the teaching given in the different schools of the land. They substitute a genuine for an unverifiable advertisement; but they necessarily foster the advertising

spirit, which so far is a bad thing. The plain duty of the University is to go to the fountain-head at once, and to bring the teachers themselves under their direct influence. And if women who have adopted teaching as their profession must, in the interests of public morality and of sound education, be admitted to University examinations and degrees, then it is both useless and mischievous to attempt to debar other women from the same privilege. The most valuable element in a University education is, that it is a liberal, not a technical education; one that brings its recipient into living contact with people of all classes and occupations. Professionalism is pernicious everywhere, but most pernicious in the case of those who educate the young.

Two objections must be considered at this point of the discussion. The first is important in theory, but is of no concern in practice; the second is of small theoretical consequence, but of considerable practical weight.

It may be said that our arguments prove a necessity for an efficient University and for proper educational tests for women; but, it may be asked, why should not women have a University and examinations of their own? Practically this objection is irrelevant. No such measure is advocated: women themselves do not desire it. Those men who affect a desire for such a scheme were accurately described, during the recent discussion in the Arts School of the Report of the Syndicate, as being "wolves in sheep's clothing." Underlying such proposals is the tacit assumption that women must be gauged by a standard of intellectual attainment different from that suitable for men; and this is precisely the assumption which all who take a sincere interest in women's education most strenuously oppose, and none more steadfastly and emphatically than women themselves. It is this assumption which has been both intellectually and morally the bane of female education in past ages. "Anything is good enough for a woman," is the practical outcome of all these polite pretences. A separate standard for women must inevitably be a second-rate standard. The plea, moreover, implies a radical misconception of the nature of a University. A University for one sex is a contradiction in terms. A University is a corporation that represents and embodies the highest possible development of the mind and *morale* of humanity; all class exclusiveness, therefore, of whatever kind, is fatal to its fundamental idea. Every form and phase of human thought should be adequately represented in a University, and in all departments the highest imaginable standard alone is to be tolerated. A University composed exclusively of military men, a University composed exclusively of Nonconformists, a University composed exclusively

of clergymen—each of these is less anomalous than a University founded exclusively for the benefit of women. That the existing Universities are now appropriated exclusively for the benefit of men is an unintentional accident of history; it is so far a defect, and nothing could be more absurd than, without compelling cause and with open eyes, to copy and perpetuate, in a still more pernicious form, the blunders of the past.

The other objection takes a practical form, and has been recognized and accepted by the recent decision of the Senate. "Let women by all means have access to the best teaching and the strictest examinations on terms of perfect equality with men, and, for the benefit of those whose professional status needs it, let their success in study be authoritatively certified; but why give them degrees—above all, why give them those degrees which are little more than credentials given to ordinary men for ordinary diligence in the prescribed routine of the University?"

This objection has at least so much weight that a competent and well-selected Syndicate has shaped its Report with the express object of avoiding it.

Logically it is untenable. That women should be admitted to share on equal terms with men in the hard work and the severe stress of competitive examinations, and then should be denied those concessions to the pardonable weaknesses of human nature for which an Alma Mater has wisely provided, is plainly irrational, not to say unjust. If there should be any difference between the sexes, it is men, not women, who might fairly be called upon to forego the luxuries of flaunting hoods and streaming ribbons, and the mere outward titles of distinction. These things have, however, a value; to a schoolmaster, to a medical man, they are equivalent to a guarantee of some fifty or hundred per cent. increase in solid income and social power; and to all men they at least mean increased social weight and influence. But they must mean exactly the same things to a schoolmistress or a woman who practises medicine. There can be no doubt, if practical experience proves hereafter that there is a steady demand among women for the higher education of the Universities, that this irrational distinction between the sexes will be sooner or later abolished, and that the full prayer of the memorial will hereafter be unconditionally granted.

But at present there is a strong prejudice against degrees for women. Even the most advanced male advocate of the claims of women can probably remember the time when he himself shared this prejudice. They are considered unwomanly and American. Time alone can remove this traditional feeling. But it is worth while to examine the basis upon which it rests.

Partly, no doubt, because a degree is a symbol of publicity and self-assertion. The instinct of seclusion, the instinct of the harem and the zenana, is an instinct which is really a social modification of the essential instinct of the male; an instinct the perpetual strength of which is therefore secured by the law of natural selection. In so far as men are animal in feeling and selfish in thought, so far will they regard women as their personal property; and every assertion of individuality, of personal rights on the part of women, grates against their most deeply-rooted egoistical sensitiveness. But what we should wish to see is the gradual subjection of this feeling to instincts of a higher and purer kind. Time, however, is essential to this process. In questions touching on the fundamental feelings of sex, time and custom are almost omnipotent.

Probably this phase of the feeling, which we must remember has among ourselves been exaggerated and stereotyped by currently accepted interpretations of canonical Scripture that accord with it, is the main root, if not the sole root, of the prejudice against degrees for women. There may be an undercurrent of true feeling also in the prejudice; but so far as the feeling is true, it holds good for men as much as for women. It is unwomanly to court distinction, to aim at applause, to seek for some mark by which one may be separated off from the *ignobile vulgus*. But it is unmanly too. The only true patent of nobility lies in the confessed *ich dien*; and wherever titles and degrees are used by man or woman for any other end than for service sake, they thereby become vulgar and contemptible. The admission of women to University degrees may be of service to men hereafter by forcing them to realize this truth. We sometimes meet with men who have obtained some exceptional degree, perhaps from an inferior source, whose every inflection of voice and trick of manner shows their perpetual consciousness of the distinction. The sight of such men is the best proof that the vulgarity of academic titles is not restricted to one sex alone. Assuming that the admission of women to University examinations and degrees is a thing inevitable in the future, we have to consider the moral effect of such a system on the women subjected to it.

Two points must here be considered—one common to all systems of competitive education, the other peculiar to our historic Universities, where residence and academic supervision are enforced as necessary qualifications for the right to compete.

What, then, is the moral and hygienic effect of competitive examinations in their natural working on men and women subjected to them?

One objection to them is easily disposed of. It is commonly

said that there are many cases of injured health resulting from the stress of such examinations. But such statements involve a charitable yet a mischievous illusion. All that such examinations can do is to detect latent ill-health, to make a man aware of some weakness before unsuspected. If after such warning the man is foolish enough to force himself to go on, he must take the consequences. He is to blame, not the examinations. Broken health after an examination means in all cases a wilful disregard of Nature's voice; it means in all cases forcing oneself to work by some kind of unnatural stimulant, physical or emotional. Thus examinations weed out the weak, and deservedly punish those among them who seek to gain undeserved success by futile attempts to conceal that weakness. People who sneer at competitive examinations should remember that, so far as outward influences are concerned, it is by an Aeonian process of competitive examination that the monad has been developed into the man. The whole upward progress of civilization equally involves the unrestricted operation of the law of competition. To destroy competition is to destroy the possibility of healthy evolution.

We must, moreover, remember that, on the broad average, physical weakness is correlated to moral weakness. Tendencies to disease and tendencies to vice are closely associated. Thus the law of competition secures the moral as well as the physical progress of the race. And these general considerations are obviously unrestricted by distinctions of sex—they apply to men and women alike.

But there is a positive and individual as well as a negative and general application of this principle. The fact that competitive examinations weed out the weak is so well known and of such paramount importance, that there is thus created a sense of moral obligation about matters of hygiene which could not otherwise exist. In one exceptional instance indeed, that of the Jewish race, a code of hygiene, embodied and disguised in a code of religious ceremonial, became part and parcel of a nation's life. But elsewhere the disregard of hygiene is world-wide and hopeless. Medical men denounce stays, tight lacing, and many other follies: educated and intelligent women hear their remonstrances, and pay no manner of attention to them. Nothing short of the pressure of stern necessity will ever induce men or women to take care of their own health. Men are bad enough, but women are simply beyond cure in their recklessness about their own bodily welfare. But when a man is training for a prize-fight or a walking-match, or when he is preparing for the Tripos at Cambridge or the Schools at Oxford, he takes good care of himself; and not only that, he becomes a "preacher of righteousness" to his friends and kinsfolk.

The moral effects of competitive examinations on women will be even more beneficial than the hygienic effects, for these examinations will develop and strengthen precisely those habits in which women are naturally most deficient, and for which their ordinary course of after-life gives the least scope. Order, method, and exactitude, the careful adjustment of means to ends, systematic self-repression and self-control, steadfast perseverance in whatever is undertaken, constant avoidance of all that would tend to hinder the attainment of a proposed end—these are all moral qualities that are essential to the highest goodness, and they are qualities that are pre-eminently fostered by the system of rigid and accurate competitive examinations. It is a fact attested by experienced University tutors, that in the majority of instances men who take high degrees are also men of high moral character.

There is, moreover, one virtue in which women, as a rule, are defective, which competitive examinations will tend to develop—the virtue of truthfulness. The old orthodox system of girls' education in many ways fostered untruthfulness. Those who have been in the East are well aware that the habit of regarding oneself as living for the will and pleasure of another creates an instinctive tendency to lie. They also know that this tendency is equally fostered by the habit of looking at all events through the colouring medium of individual emotions, and by the want of training in the accurate observation and exact description of facts. All these elements co-exist in the orthodox ideal of female education, and are aggravated by the fact that the chief end of that education is outward appearance and graceful accomplishment. We cannot therefore be surprised that women too often resemble the typical Hindu; and clearly the system of competitive examinations lays the axe to the root of all these tendencies by compelling the habit of exactitude of thought and exactitude of expression, and by giving to life and thought a definite aim that is incapable of favouritism, and one that takes no account of anything beyond actual and proved attainment.

What has hitherto been said is applicable to all competitive examinations that are honestly and efficiently conducted. But there are considerations that apply with special force to women which add very greatly to the weight of all that has thus been urged, when these examinations (as at Oxford and Cambridge) are the ultimate consummation of the training given by the corporate life of a College.

For one thing, in examinations thus conducted those evils so universally and justly reprobated, which by many are supposed to be inseparable from public intellectual competition, are at

least reduced to a minimum. When, as in the case of the Indian Civil Service, the examiners constitute a separate class, who have no other connection with the examinees; when the tutors are men whose livelihood depends solely on their success in passing their pupils, who therefore make the chances of examination and the crotchets of examiners the serious study of a lifetime; above all things, when the examination in itself has no value, but when the heaviest pecuniary and professional rewards hang upon its results, then plainly there is every inducement to foster "cram" both with tutor and pupil. Yet practical experience has proved that, even under these conditions, as disadvantageous as they can possibly be, the good, both intellectual and moral, far outweighs the evil. And it is obvious that at Oxford and Cambridge the conditions that exist are exactly the opposite of these.

Those who have known by personal experience what honour examinations at our historic Universities are, know well how deeply those examinations are connected with the spiritual aspects of our being. Lifelong friendships, sacred resolves, self-denying inspirations, find their roots far down in the outward conditions and the inevitable associations of contests for scholarships and degrees. Men who might otherwise never have met become marked out as close competitors for a high position in the honour list, and thereby realize what David and Jonathan realized as the result of a predestined rivalry. The Tripos would need no other justification than the extent to which it develops in University men the habit and the capacity for that generous self-forgetfulness which is the groundwork of the highest phases of human life. But the Tripos lists have other associations besides those connected with the active present. They carry us back to an abiding past. They remind us of the intellectual work of the dead, of the sacred fire so reverently cherished by them, and by them with clearer flame handed on to us. A still small voice ever speaks to us from behind the veil, and tells us that our highest gifts are not our own—are but a talent entrusted to us for others' good and for service sake. Until women are admitted on equal terms into membership with the Universities, the full educational value of these historic influences will never be properly appreciated.

This view of the general effects of the higher education of women in our Universities would be incomplete without some reference to its influence on the development of their special functions and characteristics as women. That a University education will tend to unfit women for domestic life, and will make them less attractive to men, is a proposition which may seem plausible, and is firmly believed by many of the opponents

of the movement; but it is demonstrably a fallacy. So far even as attractiveness goes, it is a historic fact that brain often counts for far more than beauty. "Jane Eyre" is a typical and profoundly true embodiment of one of the best established laws of human nature—viz., that a woman of highly developed intellect, who is ever so plain and unattractive in person, can command the passionate and lifelong devotion of men who are far enough from being either saints or heroes. The social history of Greece presents some striking illustrations of this law. A perfect realization in Athenian life of the trite maxim, that "a woman's sphere is her home," led to some singular and significant results. It created the institution of the "Hetærae," and was one main factor in the development of some ugly features of ancient morals, which hardly admit of public discussion. On the other hand, wherever the sexes have been allowed a nearly equal share of public freedom and educational advantages, wherever the maxim has been to any extent realized between men and women "*ubi tu Caius ego Caia*," there has been in the same proportion a development of the highest ideal of wedded life and conjugal fidelity. Indeed, it is only in a country where women have enjoyed, in spite of all drawbacks, a large share both of political freedom and educational advantages that it could be possible for a poet to grasp such a thought as that which the Laureate has embodied in one line—

"I have led her home, my love, *my only friend*."

It is just because men of the educated classes in our country find in their wives their dearest and most intimate friends that our national character and national physique are what they are.

Again, the higher education of women will tend to develop domestic excellence. Thorough, honest, and well tested intellectual work is so far a guarantee of thoroughness in everything. It is sometimes said that the mathematical Tripos at Cambridge produces few able mathematicians. Be it so: Newtons are born, not made. The object of the Tripos is not to make mathematicians, but to train men (and hereafter women) who are capable of doing anything thoroughly and well. To have been a high wrangler ought to be, and, speaking generally, is, a proof that a man will succeed as a lawyer, a doctor, a clergyman, a schoolmaster, or a settler in the backwoods, if needs be. It means that the man's whole nature is thoroughly drilled and in sound working order; that he is accustomed to foresight and the adjustment of means to ends; and that he habitually economizes to the utmost his time and his labour. In all this there is nothing that is not as applicable to women as to men.

There is indeed something to be said on the other side of this

question; but the point we contend for is this, that whatever practical defects there may be in a University education for women, these same defects exist in a more marked degree in the relation of that education to men. For one example of these defects, there can be no doubt that intellectual work ought always to be balanced by practical work and emotional exercise. But the best and most successful men in our Universities always do secure this, though they may do so unconsciously and without speculating on the reasons which should make such a course compulsory. Little as they may think about it, the success of such men in the Tripos is largely due to this judicious balance in the drilling of the brain. And this admixture of the practical and the emotional with the intellectual is more necessary for men than it is for women, just in proportion as the brain of man is presumably more highly developed, and therefore more delicate, than the brain of women. Those who object to a University education for women on the ground that it is too absorbingly intellectual; and so injurious to a woman's nature, ought *à fortiori*, for the same reason, to object to a University education for men. The only practical force of this objection lies, not against a University education for women, but against any foolish restrictions that would tend to keep the students of Newnham and Girton from free access to such means of practical work and indirect moral culture as are open to men.

Lastly, the higher education of women will obviously fit them for what, after all, is their great function, that of maternity. On the one hand, none but highly educated women are qualified to train their children intellectually and morally. Even if we had the best imaginable schools and governesses; even if as a nation we renounced that pernicious proverb, "a woman's sphere is her home," and learned to recognize the complementary doctrine that alone makes it true, "a man's sphere is his home;" even if men who think women fools should cease to leave them to bear the undivided burden of the education of their children; even if such a miracle were to happen as that English fathers should awake to the fact that the moral responsibility of fatherhood cannot be shifted on to the shoulders of the clergyman and the house-master of a public school; still, to the end of time the intellectual, the moral, and the spiritual influence of the mother must in some respects remain unique and paramount. It is impossible for a woman to have such influence in full perfection if her intellect be undeveloped. There is no lie more bottomless than the lie that associates saintliness with stupidity, devotion with dulness, and makes an obedient ignorance the mother and the nurse of Christian faith. On the other hand, we must not forget the law

of heredity. "Science has not yet determined the manner in which the inheritance of moral and physical qualities is divided between the parents. Possibly the exact law is not discoverable: possibly all moral and physical qualities may be inherited from either parent. But it is at least certain that so long as the brains of women are not fully cultured, their offspring cannot have half the chances they would otherwise have. The dulness, the incapacity of the common run of men are no doubt chiefly due to the fact that their mothers are but half developed, that while no expense is spared in educating the future fathers of the race, the future mothers are put off with anything that may come to hand, and are taught to look upon idleness, elegance, and marriage as the end of their existence.

There is one other aspect of the Memorial which has a special and technical bearing; but even here we shall find that the gain to the community at large altogether outweighs the gain to the few individuals concerned. If degrees in the University of Cambridge are thrown open to women, degrees in medicine will be included, as there is in Cambridge an efficient, if comparatively a small, medical school. Of the fitness of medicine as a profession for women we need not speak: of the justice of throwing open that profession to women we need also say nothing. But of the advantage to male medical students of doing so we shall say a few words.

If there be any one quality that, above all others, is essential to genuine success in a medical career, it is perfect purity of thought and feeling. No doubt there is such a thing as professional purity; no doubt there are men who are faultless when in the sick chamber or the drawing-room, whose private lives will not bear scrutiny. No doubt, too, this half-purity is much more easily attained than the whole-hearted consecration of the entire life to honour and to truth. Yet the success attainable by such men is of an essentially inferior kind, and the sooner medical students are forced to feel this the better for them. No simpler plan for securing this end could be adopted than the admission of women as medical students on terms of perfect equality; and though such admission may be distasteful to some men—though it may produce a more or less painful sense of constraint and shame, at least at first—yet to all men who honestly accept the discipline thus laid upon them, the gain will far outweigh the pain. For a medical man must learn to be positively as well as negatively pure; he must acquire that enthusiastic passion for service which will consume all the dross of his lower nature, and to be compelled to associate with women students from the very outset of his course will go a long way towards bracing up his moral nature to the tension requisite for true success.

We have, so far, spoken only of the advantages to be derived by women themselves, and by society through their education and influence. But the gain to the women admitted as students at Cambridge will be small as compared with the gain to the University itself. When philanthropists denounced and deprecated the slave traffic of the Southern States, how seldom did they dwell upon what, after all, was a main element in the question. The miseries and the wrongs of the slaves were great but not less great than was the moral harm done to their masters. If we look at things in a true light, we shall see that it was the oppressors, not the oppressed, who were really to be pitied. To the wretch who had spent his life in stripping and whipping women in the calaboose, what a message of mercy was brought by the trump of doom that bade him rise from his slimy hell, and called him, after long endurance of suffering and starvation, to march to death under Stonewall Jackson. So, too, with ourselves at home, in lesser issues the law is still the same. The present movement for the admission of women to the Universities is clearly analogous to, indeed is in one sense only an extension of, the conflict that resulted in the abolition of religious tests in the Universities. The same spirit of privilege and exclusiveness, the same dulness of a perverse orthodoxy that strove to bar the gates then, bars them now. Then, as now, the issues were of national importance: then, as now, the question was brought home to the national conscience by individual instances of hardship and privation. Yet then, as now, it was the Universities themselves that suffered most from the evil spirit that possessed them. These tests admirably secured within the privileged pale the survival of the least moral and the least spiritual. Happily, this insane parody of evolution is no longer a possibility, but the moral miasma it has generated still remains; and many weary decades must pass before the paralysis, the torpor, the spiritual death it has spread around can be finally dissipated before the life-giving breath of Liberty and Truth. Just so is it in the present conflict. Who does not remember that, when women were wholly excluded from the University, the fruits of such exclusion were manifest enough? In the most cultured sets of undergraduate society one might hear the sentiment openly expressed as an accepted axiom, that, after all, women were only meant to look pretty and to have children. And the inevitable correlatives of this doctrine were abundant, if not universal. The kind of songs that used to be sung after suppers, the things that were pictured and pencilled on every back wall, the talk that was freely bandied about in the lecture-room, the corner of the college chapel, and sometimes even in the dining-hall—these things seem more like the remembrance of

some hideous nightmare than possibilities of sober fact. But a great change appears to have gradually taken place of late years. A belief in the equal rights and equal responsibilities of women seems to have leavened at least the intelligent part of the undergraduate world; and to the same extent, and by virtue of the same causes, purity of thought and purity of speech have become the accepted rule. How much more will this be the case when women shall have a recognized place in the University; how much more when there are, as hereafter there will be, Hostels for women in Trinity and St. John's, and the last remnants of monastic disease and mediæval impurity shall have been purged from the statutes of the Senate.

INDEPENDENT SECTION.

[Under the above title a limited portion of the "Westminster Review" is occasionally set apart for the reception of able Articles, which, though harmonizing with the general spirit and aims of the Review, may contain opinions at variance with the particular ideas or measures it advocates. The object of the Editors, in introducing this department, is to facilitate the expression of opinion by men of high mental power and culture, who, while they are zealous friends of freedom and progress, yet differ widely on special points of great practical concern, both from the Editors and from each other.]

EAST INDIAN CURRENCY AND EXCHANGE.

By COLONEL I. T. SMITH, R.E.

1. IN the two Essays published in the last October and January Numbers of this REVIEW,* Mr. J. Barr Robertson has made an interesting addition to the literature of this important question; and although there are some points on which it may be necessary to record a dissent from his conclusions, there is also truth in some of the principles he contends for; and his views are set forth with a decision and clearness which cannot fail to be appreciated by the public.

2. Mr. Robertson is a strong advocate for bimetallism; and, as such, has made it his duty to brush aside every other proposal, amongst them, one made by me to the Secretary of State for India, some years ago, which he condemns with such a variety of objections as to incline a reader to the belief that it must be an impracticable delusion. Not that he exactly says this; but, by assuming that certain principles are essential to it, and then showing these to be impracticable and delusive, he unavoidably conveys that impression to the mind.

3. The following is the proposal, scheme, or plan, as it may be variously styled hereafter:—

Proposal for the Improvement of the Indian Exchange. †—

I. "That the coinage of silver bullion tendered to the Indian mints by private individuals should be suspended, so as to cause all rupee remittances hereafter to be made by 'Council bills;' the Secretary of State for India sending out precious metal for coinage to meet the bills when necessary. By this means, as trade could afford it, a gradual rise of the rate of exchange

* The Essays will be distinguished by the Numbers I. and II., together with the page in which any passage referred to occurs.

† Extracted from "Silver and the Indian Exchanges discussed in Question and Answer." London: Eflingham Wilson. 1880.

would take place, and when it had reached 2s. the rupee, gold would be taken to the mints, which would be open from the first for its purchase or coinage, at 38rs. 14as. per standard ounce."

II. "At the rate of 2s. the rupee, the Secretary of State would grant bills *ad libitum* to all comers, and the public would afterwards have the choice of gold or silver coins at precisely the same expense. Provision would be made for a depot of gold bullion or coins, by making them the basis of currency notes, or by other means, so that the gold should be available for export if required; and in time, as the accumulation of gold in the country might warrant it, the rupees would be gradually limited in legal tender to such an extent as might be thought necessary."

4. In his comments on the above proposal, Mr. Robertson has been misled, as will appear hereafter, owing to having met, in some unpublished Papers of mine, certain expressions of which the meaning was not sufficiently explained; but the basis of his objections is his decisive condemnation of the view which has been till very lately taken by almost every authority; attributing the dislocation of the Indian Exchange mainly, if not exclusively, to the "depreciation of silver." This view was in the beginning taken by the *Economist*, the *Times*, and all the principal writers on the subject, and was universally adopted in the discussion in Parliament on the 12th of July, 1879. Few, if any, took up the position which Mr. Robertson, justified by later information, now adopts—namely, the denial that there is any depreciation of silver, but only an "appreciation" of gold.

5. The Government of India alone, at the first, expressed doubts whether it were not as likely that the latter, as the former, was the cause of the altered exchange; but this opinion was not adopted by any writer that I am aware of, until the facts demonstrating the very remarkable appreciation of gold were submitted to the Statistical Society, in an elaborate Paper, by Mr. Robert Giffen, on the 21st of January, 1879. About the same time, also, a short article in the *Statist* showed that silver had only fallen in value in relation to gold to the same extent that other commodities had; and an able article by the late Mr. W. T. Thornton, C.B., appeared in the last July Number of this REVIEW, showing that the fall of the exchange was not occasioned by any depreciation of silver, although "in the consternation produced by a fall in the value of silver from 60*d.* to 56½*d.*" . . . "the entire discredit of having lowered the exchange" was transferred to it.* The facts lately brought to light encourage the view now

* Mr. Thornton erroneously came to the conclusion that the low state of the Indian exchange was produced by the annual payments made in England "of the nature of tribute;" whence he deduced the unfortunate result that the investment of British capital in India was a grievous injury to her. Instead

adopted by Mr. Robertson ; and, making allowance for the effects of panic, and temporary causes first operating, it is probable it may be more correctly applied in explanation of the present state of things ; a strong argument in its favour being the refusal of India to take the very large amounts of silver which, on the theory of its general depreciation, it ought to have absorbed.

6. This denial of the assumed facts destroys the foundation of most of the theories founded upon them, and disturbs the explanation of others not so dependent. For instance, the late Mr. Bagehot's remedy for the disturbance of the exchange and the losses of the Indian Government—namely,* “not to impede silver's going to India, but to permit the laws of trade to diffuse silver through India, and through the world,” which would cause “an immense demand for it”—of course fails of effect, if there be no depreciation of silver ; because, in so far as the fall of the exchange and of the price of silver is due only to the appreciation of gold, it leads to no demand for silver by foreign countries ; and this is the more important, because it was under the persuasion that, the depreciation of silver being the cause, the true remedy was that recommended by Mr. Bagehot, Parliament sanctioned and applauded the resolution of the Indian Government to do nothing to rectify the exchange ; and the Authorities at the India Office, smarting under the losses occasioned by every draft on India, and taking the same view of their causes as that suggested in Mr. Thornton's Paper above referred to, have never ceased their endeavours to reduce the amount of their drafts, without caring to investigate the cause of all the disasters ; which may be stated in a word to be the difference of the standards of value in England and India.

7. The two supposed errors in my proposal which led Mr. Robertson to declare, in effect, that it is an impracticable delusion, are : No. 1, that “to have any validity it is necessary that the Indian rupee should be a token circulating at 16 per cent. more than its intrinsic value” (I. 474) ; No. 2, that “he proposes to raise the rupee from 1s. 8*d.* to 2s., an advance of 20 per cent., without changing prices, and without making any monopoly or scarcity of rupees” (I. 476).

8. Before replying to these criticisms, I must first notice, and answer, an objection made to my definition of a “standard,” regarding which I think Mr. Robertson's views require modifi-

of this, had it not been that India was unable to remit specie to England without loss, the “tribute” bills, which have the same economic effect as all other bills, could not permanently dislocate the exchange ; and it is needless to say that to shut out British capital from India would be to do her the greatest possible injury.

* Articles on the depreciation of silver, p. 64.

cation. He says (I. 481) : "A standard of value is not the value of a precisely defined quantity of a certain commodity used to regulate the value of a currency. Colonel Smith would call a sovereign a standard of value, whereas it is only a standard of weight and fineness, and he would say that the sovereign regulates the value of the British currency, whereas the total volume of the currency regulates the value of the sovereign."

9. Here I am obliged to join issue with Mr. Robertson, by declaring my belief that the pound sterling, represented by the sovereign, does regulate the value of the British currency, and is by Act of Parliament* the measure of value of all commodities. The 113 grains of pure gold which it contains constitute the national unit of value, in terms of which the values—not the weights and finenesses—of all other things are estimated. In declaring that the whole volume of the currency regulates the value of the sovereign, Mr. Robertson forgets to tell us what regulates the whole volume of the currency. As there is an indefinite and incessant demand for money at all times, what prevents its inordinate increase, like the French assignats? The answer is, the difficulty of procuring the necessary quantity of pure gold to obtain the sovereign.

10. Gold from the mines is poured into all countries, and distributed with marvellous accuracy, in such sort that the goods given in exchange for it are practically of equal value in all parts of the world. Pounds sterling of gold will continue to be poured into Great Britain so long as they command a return in goods equal to that offered by other countries : the moment that ceases to be the case, they will be forthwith transported elsewhere.

11. It is the precise quantity of gold necessary to procure the sovereign which limits the supply, and through it the total volume of the currency, so as to make its equivalent in goods the same as that given for an equal quantity of gold in other countries ; and the prices of articles represent their values in gold expressed by the number of units and parts of the national system.

12. Mr. Robertson adopts this view himself ; when, in commenting upon Mr. Lowe's (now Lord Sherbrooke's) scheme for a paper currency for India, he says (I. 472) : "His scheme would require that a weight of gold should be fixed on, of which the paper rupee would be the representative." Here he would employ a weight of gold to limit the issue of the paper notes. In the same way, the weight of gold given for the pound sterling limits the issue of money in England, and this "pound sterling" is "a precisely defined quantity of a certain commodity"—gold.

* 56 Georgii III., cap. 68, section xi.

13. Upon this principle it is hardly correct to say that "the total volume of the currency regulates the value of the sovereign." On the contrary, it is the sovereign which regulates the total volume of the currency. The level of the water in a lake and the depths of its various parts might be truly said to depend upon the whole bulk of water contained in it; but it would be more correct to say that it was *regulated* by the waste weir, which prevents its rising higher than a fixed point, by letting off the surplus. So, also, the number and consequent value of pounds sterling in our currency are *regulated* by the value of each coin—*i.e.*, of 123,274 grains of standard gold which it contains—which value is prevented from falling below the cosmopolitan level by the coins, when in excess, overflowing to other parts of the world. To allow the creation of money without limiting it by a definite standard, would be certain confusion and ruin.

14. I now come to the first of the two objections above mentioned—that of calling rupees "tokens" circulating at 16 per cent. above their metallic value. Mr. Robertson is quite correct in saying that the real "token" difference between rupees and silver is the 2 per cent. paid by the merchants for coinage; but in the matter of exchange, when it becomes necessary to remit the rupees to Europe to correct an adverse balance against India, it is found that they are subject to a loss of 16 per cent.; and in that sense they are called "tokens." This term, however, which is appropriate under the supposition that the fall of the Indian exchange is occasioned by the depreciation of silver, becomes inapplicable under the contrary supposition—that it is mainly due to the "appreciation" of gold. It then becomes an error of description; but it is of no importance as regards the proposal. Mr. Robertson considered the proposition that the rupees were tokens circulating at 16 per cent. more than their metallic value, to be "the fundamental basis of it" (I. 473); but in this he is altogether mistaken. It is not alluded to in the proposal, which is in no way dependent upon it; and whether the rupees be tokens at 2 per cent. or 16 per cent. makes not the least difference, and would not call for the slightest alteration.

15. The fact that the present Indian prices of commodities were established on the ratio of 2s. the rupee is somewhat important, though even that is not essential. That they are so now cannot be denied, because it is in evidence,* besides other proofs, that, during the two years 1864 and 1865, gold bullion

* See Mr. Hamilton's evidence before the Currency Commissioners, October, 1866.

was bought and sold in the Calcutta bazaar at fully 2s. the rupee; and the prices of commodities in India have not risen since then. Hence it follows that whenever the exchange with Europe may be restored to the rate of 2s. the rupee, no alteration of Indian prices will be necessary. Mr. Robertson thinks the restoration of the exchange without change of prices impossible, because he has treated it as caused exclusively by raising the value of the rupee; which certainly does mean nothing else than a reduction of Indian prices. But he had not adverted to another method of effecting an improvement of the exchange, upon which point I will now proceed to offer explanation.

16. As I have before observed, the question whether the term "token" of 16 per cent. artificial value be now applicable or not is perfectly immaterial to the worth of the proposal. But this is far from being the case with Mr. Robertson's other objection—viz., as to the possibility of raising the exchange from 1s. 8d. to 2s.; for he does not hesitate to call it a delusive expectation (I. 476), and an "utter impossibility" (I. 477). These crushing remarks are based upon the assertion, at p. 479, that the gold value of the rupee is based "solely" on the quantity of rupees in circulation, and "no power on earth" (I. 479) can raise it from 1s. 8d. to 2s., except on the "single" condition of reducing the number—so long, that is, as the business to be done remains practically unchanged. This would be quite true, but for an unfortunate oversight, which mars this and all other objections on the same basis. It is, that the single condition so emphatically insisted upon is not the *single* condition. Taking the gold value of the rupee to be the same as the London rate of exchange, this latter may be raised, not only by contracting the Indian currency and enhancing the value of the rupee; but also, and equally well, by enlarging the British currency and lowering the value of the pound sterling. This is too apparent to need explanation; but it will not fail to strike the reader as very remarkable that Mr. Robertson should have overlooked this obvious solution of the difficulty; because he himself, at I. p. 487, speaks of the present contraction of the British currency, and suggests an issue of uncovered notes to counteract it.

17. Mr. Robertson seems to have concluded that it was proposed to force up the exchange arbitrarily; having been somewhat misled, in the passages he quotes at I. p. 477 as showing the *modus operandi*, by not observing the significance of the words "competition in the ordinary way," and the "proper allotment" of the bills. These passages should have been read in connexion with numerous others contained throughout the Essays, amongst which are the following:—In Essay VII.,

paragraph 29: "A simple self-acting measure, quietly effecting the desired change by slow degrees, through the ordinary operations of commerce:" in Essay X., 46: "The Government will sell the bills only at such prices as the merchants voluntarily give for them:" in Essay XI., paragraph 68: "If, while prices in India remain unaltered, the rate of exchange be allowed to rise gradually, and by competition *pari passu* with the improvement of trade in England, the effect will be arrived at," &c.: and again, Essay XII., paragraph 2, "By this means, as trade could afford it, a gradual rise of the exchange would take place."

18. Had Mr. Robertson had in view the above and the many other passages alluded to, he would not have written, at I. p. 479: 'Colonel Smith looks to the Secretary for India to raise the rate of exchange; whereas that functionary can have only the slightest momentary effect upon it.' He would have seen that the *modus operandi* practically intended is—not the forcing up the rate of exchange arbitrarily, as he has supposed—but allowing it to rise as trade could afford it, and as settled by competition. His apparent *reductio ad absurdum*, by contrasting (at p. 480) the supposed power of the Secretary of State for India with the helplessness of a combination of London bankers, fails of application doubly—firstly, because, as just explained, the rise was not to be forced, but to be spontaneous; and, secondly, because, if it were to be forced, the Secretary of State, having the power to suspend the coinage, and a monopoly of bills to the extent of £15,000,000 or £16,000,000 per annum, after all the trade bills were exhausted, would succeed where the bankers would fail; as Mr. Robertson allows, at I. p. 479.

19. The question now arises, What reason is there to believe that, left to itself, trade with India will improve, and, with it, the rate of exchange? To answer this we must first determine what is the cause of the low rate of exchange and the depression of trade. Mr. Robertson's view is (I. 484), "that the increased purchasing power of gold is the source of the evils for which a remedy is sought," and that the cause of the increase is the limitation of the supply; for he says, at I. p. 466: "I contend, on the contrary, that gold having become appreciated through the extraordinary demands of countries recently adopting the single gold tender, the supreme object should be to lower the purchasing power of gold to its former level, to the level of silver, and nearly to the level of the former gold prices of commodities."

20. In the former part of this statement, as I have before remarked, I am inclined to agree: as the balance of evidence is in favour of the conclusion that it is the increased purchasing power of gold, rather than the depreciation of silver, which has

been the chief cause of the evils from which India has suffered ; but, as regards the second part, I think it is a mistake to infer that the appreciation of gold in England was produced by a contraction of the supply. The great fall of prices here—in other words, the increased purchasing power of gold—was, I believe, first brought to notice by Mr. Giffen, in his Paper before mentioned. In accounting for the fall, he noticed the extraordinary demands of the countries referred to by Mr. Robertson, but he did not base the increased purchasing power of gold exclusively on a contraction of the supply. Other causes were mentioned of more importance—namely, the collapse of mercantile credit, bad harvests, and depression of trade; which existed at that time and have prevailed ever since. Not only are these causes sufficient to account for the phenomenon, but it will be found impossible, on strict investigation, to bring home to a contraction of the gold currency in England any part of the increased purchasing power which actually took place. Mr. Giffen reckoned the fall in prices to have been on the average 2½ per cent.; and to bring about so much increase in the purchasing power of the currency, according to Mr. Robertson's views, a corresponding reduction in the bulk of the circulating medium must have taken place. Let us see what were the facts.

21. In July, 1876, when the Indian exchange and the price of silver were at the very lowest, the gold coins circulating in the United Kingdom amounted to £120,000,000 sterling, the silver coins £15,000,000, and the note circulation to £46,000,000—total, £181,000,000; 24 per cent. reduction of this total would be £43,500,000. Even 16 per cent. would be nearly £29,000,000. To account for an increased value of the gold circulation of Great Britain by 21 per cent., due to a contraction of its quantity, it is necessary to show that its bulk had been diminished by the withdrawal of £43,000,000. But, instead of any diminution of the quantity of current money at the time specified, it seems to be certain that, if anything, there was a considerable enlargement of it. In regard to the circulation of sovereigns, the £120,000,000 just mentioned cannot have been a reduced amount, as compared with former times; for England had, during the ten previous years, imported, in excess of exports—that is, absorbed—more than £50,000,000 sterling of gold bullion, of which more than £47,000,000 had been coined. If we assume that of these £47,000,000 only one-half remained in 1876 as an addition to the currency, that would imply an increase of £23,500,000. Besides this, the bank-note circulation of the United Kingdom had, during the same ten years, been gradually augmented from £39,000,000 to £46,000,000, and in July, 1876, stood at £46,057,992, making

up a total increase of the circulation of more than £30,000,000. It is impossible, therefore, to account for the undoubted improvement in the purchasing power of gold on Mr. Robertson's theory of a contracted supply;* we must, of necessity, look for some other explanation. And there seems to be no good reason to doubt that this is to be found in the collapse of mercantile credit, bad harvests, and depression of trade; to which, as I have before said, it was attributed by Mr. Giffen, and which have, more or less, continued to the present time.

22. As regards the influence of the facts above stated on the improvement of the trade with India, it may be observed that, assuming them to be true, it appears to be only a reasonable conclusion that, when the memory of the disastrous bank failures and commercial scandals shall have passed away, credit cannot fail, though it may be slowly, to resume its former proportions; and when the purchasing power of the millions has been re-established by a few abundant harvests, the prices of Indian as well as all other products will revive, and with them the rate of the Indian Exchange, so far as the limit imposed by the varying price of silver may allow. What that limit may eventually be it is impossible to foretell.

23. I assume, then, that sooner or later, under the combined operation of improved credit and fair harvests, the former average prices of all commodities and Indian produce, which obtained in the English markets during the 20 years previous to 1875, will be restored; and that the rate of Indian exchange, but for the limiting influence of the price of silver, will be restored to 2s. the rupee telegraphic transfer; which was the rate which actually prevailed, allowing for the usance of bills, during that time. Moreover, if this limiting influence of silver be put a stop to, by suspending the coinage of rupees for private persons, the exchange will certainly and steadily regain that point. The English prices will then be what they were on the average during the 20 years referred to. The Indian prices will be the same, for they have not risen, and the Indian exchange will also be the same as it was during the 20 years. What the price of silver may then be, will be of no consequence.

24. The rise in the rate of exchange above referred to would take place in the ordinary course of trade; and, up to a certain point, the price of silver would rise also; but under my proposal there would be no connection between them. As the home prices of Indian produce increased, the price of rupees to pay for it would increase equally; a result secured by the slight pressure of competition for bills, and by the fact that the ability

* In 1879 the average total circulation was £181,426,560.

of the trade to pay the advanced rates of exchange would not be frustrated by the interference of cheap silver. If we allow that the European prices which prevailed during the twenty years from 1855 to 1875 will be ultimately restored, then the existing prices in India will not necessarily undergo any change; but if we assume that there will be a sensible *permanent* reduction of the former, then those of India would, by degrees, be reduced to meet them. They would do so in time, because, as the commerce of India is rapidly expanding, and to such an extent as to require at least £5,000,000 sterling to be added to her currency annually, the want of this addition would occasion an attenuated currency and lower prices, and these would give rise to an increased balance of trade and a higher exchange. In other words, if, after English prices had risen to the utmost, there should remain a *permanent* depression as compared with those of India, the small difference would have to be made up by the contraction brought about through the unsatisfied expansion of the trade of the Indian Empire.

25. In the process here described there is no difficulty, and not even the shadow of impossibility; although it must be added, in justice to Mr. Robertson, that had he not omitted to take into account what appears to be the true cause of the enhanced purchasing power of gold, and to allow for the consequences of its removal, his statement as to the "utter impossibility" of a rise in the exchange would have been justified; because a reduction of prices in India would have been necessary to improve the exchange, if no rise of prices took place in England. He asks at I. p. 477, What is the necessity for suspending the coinage of silver, if the plan is to be carried out without limiting the number of rupees in circulation? The answer is, that it is not to be carried out without limiting the number of rupees; for the quantity which would otherwise be added by the use of cheap silver will be cut off; but there could never be any *scarcity* of them, as the rupees would be procurable *ad libitum* for English money, at the exchange of the day. If the coinage for private persons were not suspended; then, as prices rose in England, and a higher rate of exchange could be afforded, its rise would be constantly frustrated by the competition of silver at the lower rate; and the rupees, though bought by gold, could never exceed in value the specie rate of the inferior metal.

26. In addition to the objections which have now been discussed, there are one or two other points in respect to which some explanation seems to be necessary. The most important of these is to be found at I. pp. 482 and 483, where, in defending an unwise recommendation of the *Times*, and opposing

Colonel Chesney in regard to my scheme, Mr. Robertson says it (the scheme) could "only produce injustice, confusion, and ruin, without alleviating the burden one iota." This opinion is based upon the supposition that the rupee is to be "screwed up" and prices lowered $16\frac{2}{3}$ per cent. ; and, although it is admitted that the nation will be saved 30 millions of rupees annually when the exchange has risen to 2s. the rupee, yet it is argued that the burden will, nevertheless, be the same ; because the rupees will be worth 20 per cent. more in commodities. This argument falls to the ground when it is proved that the rate of 2s. would be arrived at without any alteration of prices. The same result of raising the rate of exchange to 1s. $10\frac{1}{2}d.$ or any other price is, at I. p. 485, proposed by Mr. Robertson to be brought about in a more summary manner, and the change caused by it in India is designated as a "perfectly silent one." It is only by the supposition of a strong bias that we can reconcile these opinions, and account for the extraordinary preference Mr. Robertson appears to give to a measure involving the notoriously *impracticable* alternative of raising thirty millions of rupees annually in India by new taxation, which he speaks of (I. 483) as "the simplest and most intelligible method of paying it" (the extra three millions sterling) under "present circumstances."

27. Another objection, at I. p. 480, refers to my view of the unfitness of silver to be the standard of value for India. Mr. Robertson finds fault with this opinion, but his arguments apply to a different one—namely, as to the comparative fitness, in the abstract, of gold and silver as standards of value, irrespective of countries. My opinion is that silver is very unsuited for India ; and although it is true that, for an isolated country, or a group of nations employing the same standard, silver might be as good as gold ; yet, for an Empire which has a vast and increasing international trade with Europe, it is of the greatest consequence that the same standard should prevail in both ; and as it is not likely that Europe will resume a silver standard India ought to adopt a gold one. If India had had a gold standard for the last 25 years, it cannot be denied that all the misery and loss experienced lately would have been avoided ; and as Mr. Robertson, most fortunately, agrees with me as to the compatibility of a gold standard with a silver currency, it seems to be the most obviously desirable arrangement to leave the natives of India in possession of the coins they have been so long accustomed to, and so highly prize ; and secure the steadiness of the exchange, the fixity of the European value of all property in the Empire, and the safety of all investments, by adopting the easy measure I propose.

28. Mr. Robertson, at I. p. 483, quotes part of a paragraph from one of my Essays, which he thinks "shows clearly the difficulty in which he (Colonel Smith) has placed himself;" the difficulty being that I had "negligently assumed" (184) an import into India of £20,500,000 sterling of silver in excess of the usual supply, to account for the reduced value of the rupee; when, in fact, there was not only no such excess, but a deficiency of the usual import of £10,000,000. The difficulty, however, does not exist; its semblance is occasioned by its not being observed that the passage quoted is the *sequel* of an hypothetical postulate, which from the beginning—referring to an apprehended flooding of the currency—runs as follows:—

If, on the contrary, the measure be left till the ultimate economic cure is effected, it (the currency) will have fallen in value, by the rise of prices, from 2s. to 1s. 8½*d.*, or whatever the rate might then be. The author of the "Hand-Book" thinks it would be lower; but supposing it were even 1s. 9*d.* the rupee, it would then be impossible at once to restore its value, indeed, not until time sufficient elapsed to allow the absorption of the flood excess; and as this absorption would go on at the rate of £5,000,000 sterling per annum; and as it would have required a surcharge of about £20,500,000 to dilute the currency down to 1s. 9*d.*, it would take some four or five years to effect the recovery; besides involving a double disturbance of prices throughout India.

On carefully perusing the whole passage again, Mr. Robertson will see, I feel sure, that there was no negligent assumption at all, only an hypothesis as to the future; and no difficulty of any kind.

29. An opinion is expressed (I. 479) that "this balance of trade is an utter fallacy, assumed to account for the fact that there are considerable shipments of silver to India". . . . "With open mints in India, silver is imported because it is needed to keep up the volume of the currency and to supply other forms of consumption." In this I am sorry that I cannot agree with Mr. Robertson, as it appears to me that a balance of trade is an essential cause of additions to the coinage. No one ever imports silver into India, "because it is needed to keep up the volume of the currency." Merchants in general do not know much, and care less, about the volume of the currency. They import silver to pay debts, or make purchases, or sell bills; and if there were not more debts due to India than by her—that is, a balance of trade in her favour—she would not receive large supplies of silver, for additions to her currency, as she has hitherto done.

30. My acknowledgments are due to Mr. Robertson for his valuable admission (I. 478) and illustration (I. 486, &c.) of the fact

that a gold currency is not essential to a gold standard. It is this which is the true "keystone" of my proposal, and Mr. Robertson is the first economic writer who has given it his hearty support. It has been opposed by others, but the opposition has been latterly relaxed in favour of a token circulation "managed" by the Government. Mr. Robertson adopts this latter view in the method he proposes for establishing a gold standard for India, upon which I have now to remark; but I may in the meantime observe that "management" is no part of my plan, the principle of which may be shown to be correct and self-acting by simple means, independent of management.

31. I consider it a flattering recommendation of my scheme, for which I am indebted to Mr. Robertson, that he has himself adopted it. In his description, at I. p. 485, of the process by which he would, if required, establish a gold standard for India, although he does not recommend it, he specifies almost all of the main principles I advocate. First, he would make the token currency legal tender, as I do—at first. Secondly, he would base it on gold. Thirdly, he would suspend the coinage of silver for private individuals; and, fourthly, the rate of exchange would be allowed to rise till it reached $1s. 10\frac{1}{2}d.$ "or whatever rate might more closely conform to the former gold price of the rupee." In all these particulars he agrees with my scheme; but he deviates from it by one important alteration; which, with sincere deference to his great commercial experience, I believe to be of a highly objectionable, if not fatal, character. The alteration here referred to is the necessity for the currency being at all times "managed" by the Government. In my opinion, no system of currency is admissible which will not work automatically by the spontaneous action of trade. Mr. Robertson would force up the value of the rupee to $1s. 10\frac{1}{2}d.$, or any other higher price, by suspending the coinage of silver, or withdrawing coins from circulation, or by both these methods.

Under my proposal, he says (I. 485), all that would have to be done would be to watch the rate of exchange in India. When it tended to rise above $1s. 10\frac{1}{2}d.$, the fixed gold price of the silver rupee, more rupees would have to be put into circulation; when the rate tended to fall below $1s. 10\frac{1}{2}d.$, silver rupees would have to be withdrawn from circulation; and thus the Indian exchange would oscillate with moderate variation around the fixed gold price of $1s. 10\frac{1}{2}d.$, or whatever rate might more closely conform to the former gold price of the rupee.

32. This method of managing the currency must have forced itself upon Mr. Robertson's notice in the absence of an alternative which, if it had occurred to him, could not have failed to secure his preference. If, after the exchange had been established at

2*s.* the rupee, the Indian Government, having stopped private coinage, undertook to buy all the gold offered to it at 38*rs.* 14*as.* per standard ounce, that single regulation would securely base the Indian currency on gold as the standard, at the rate of 2*s.* the rupee,* without any watching or interference of any kind; and the gold so purchased, being sent to England on behalf of the Secretary of State for India, would diminish the number of Council bills drawn, to the same amount.

33. If a gold *currency* were not allowed, the number of rupees coined by the Government from silver sent to India by the Secretary of State, to meet bills required by merchants, would continue to maintain the proper bulk of the currency, as at present, by the spontaneous operations of commerce. If gold coins were issued, the two together would do so; but the cost of the rupees and the rate of exchange would never vary more than a fraction from 2*s.* the rupee, because the rupees would be procurable in two ways *ad libitum* at that price—namely, by the delivery of gold bullion, or the purchase of bills; and could not be had cheaper except as to costs of transport.

34. Sufficient has now been said to prove that the proposal objected to by Mr. Robertson is not scientifically wrong, or impracticable. It has been shown to be consistent with the “depreciation of silver,” and now also with the “appreciation of gold.” Besides this, as a matter of fact, the system has been in successful operation, on the large scale, in Netherlands India, for some years past, and the report of its working, laid before Parliament on the 12th of August, 1879, speaks of it as “leaving little or nothing to be desired.” It may therefore be said to have passed beyond the region of doubt or controversy. Except for the purpose of answering objections, it might have been unnecessary to enter into the detailed explanations which have now been given; but they seemed to be called for by the unhesitating severity of the condemnation passed upon it.

35. A few remarks may now be offered upon what Mr. Robertson, at I. p. 488, designates as “by far the most complete solution of the present monetary difficulties”—namely, the revival of the bimetallic system of France, in co-operation with other nations. This subject is dealt with in the January number of this REVIEW, and in spite of the elaborate discussion which the question has received, and the very decisive opinions by which it has been condemned, I think Mr. Robertson has advanced some arguments which deserve consideration, in answer to the

* If the rate of exchange were fixed at *ls.* 10½*d.* per rupee, the price given for gold would be 41*rs.* 7*as.* 5½*pies* per oz.; but the true rate, corresponding with the “former gold price of the rupee,” is 2*s.*

chief and most important objection against it—namely, that of its violating the principles of free trade, and being, in consequence, impracticable. He has not been equally successful in his endeavour to prove the error of the theory, propounded by the late Mr. Bagehot, that the purchasing power of gold is determined by its cost of production in the mines that just pay expenses. His statement on this point, that “there would be a purchasing power of gold if there were no new production for the next ten years,” is no doubt true; and so also is his additional plea that “legislation may throw on the gold markets of the world, or withdraw from them, an amount of gold equal to what the mines now supply in five or ten years.” The same may be said of other commodities. If we had no harvests for the next five years, corn would certainly retain and increase its purchasing power. If, on the other hand, legislation and commerce brought us an overwhelming supply, its price would fall; but in both these extreme cases, the cost of production on the poorest land *which it would pay to cultivate* would indicate the value of the produce.

36. As for the argument that gold mining is carried on frequently with total loss (II. p. 224), it need not be elaborately discussed; because, unless it could be proved that capitalists knowingly worked mines otherwise than with a fair expectation of profit, the facts would only be analogous to unsuccessful farming. Mr. Robertson’s view is, that there is such a vast accumulation of gold in the world, that the cost, whether more or less, of producing a fiftieth part of it in any one year could not tell upon its value; whereas legislation may throw on the markets of the world, or withdraw from them, an amount of gold equal to five or ten years’ produce, which would much more affect the purchasing power of the metal. All this is true, but it does not invalidate Mr. Bagehot’s theory, which was coupled with the condition of “taking great intervals of time into the reckoning.”

37. The expression that the purchasing power is *determined* by the cost of the poorest mine, is somewhat unfortunate, as it suggests the idea that this cost of production always regulates the value; whereas the opposite is sometimes the case, when it only indicates it. In the case here alluded to, the demand regulates the value of the gold, and the value determines which mine will pay. If, in accordance with Mr. Robertson’s theory, the markets were suddenly flooded with an unusual supply of gold, so as to reduce its purchasing power considerably, those mines which only just pay to work, at the present value of their produce, must be given up. On the other hand, if the quantity of gold in the world were suddenly reduced, so as to add considerably to its worth in exchange, mines which could

not now be profitably worked would be reopened. Although it is true, as Mr. Robertson asserts, that the value of the world's stock of precious metal is liable to change, owing to legislation influencing the demand, yet it necessarily settles down, in time, to correspond with the cost of production. When legislation disturbs the demand and consequent value of the metal, this affects the cost which can be afforded for production. When the influence of the disturbance has ceased, the cost of production by degrees resumes its control of the value. On the whole, therefore, whether we say that the cost of producing the metal is the cause and measure of its purchasing power, or that the purchasing power causes the production and pays for its cost, we cannot assent to Mr. Robertson's view (II. p. 224), that "the value of gold has no direct relation with the cost of producing it."

38. To return now to Mr. Robertson's views on bimetallism: I have elsewhere remarked that, if it could be *safely* established, it would be an incalculable advantage to English commerce with all silver standard countries; and, as bearing upon this point, I consider his argument, to the effect that a "new element" (II. p. 225) in the problem is introduced when a sufficiently wealthy nation, or group of nations, decrees a perpetual and unlimited demand and legal tender for both gold and silver at the fixed ratio of $15\frac{1}{2}$ to 1, to be deserving the consideration of economists. It is not quite correct to say that "there can be no cheaper metal" (II. p. 227); because, whatever ratio be fixed, and the production of the two metals adjusted thereto, there may occur at any time an unusually abundant "find" of either of them, and for the moment that would be actually the cheaper metal, and the supply of it would be increased; but there would be no difference in its price in the bimetallic countries; nor, however low the cost of production, would the price be less elsewhere than that in the bimetallic States, plus or minus the costs of transport; so that the only evil to be apprehended from its undue abundance would be the risk of its usurping the place and driving the other metal out of circulation, and thus putting an end to the bimetallic arrangement. This Mr. Robertson considers would be in the highest degree improbable, even if France were the only bimetallic state; still more so were the system adopted by a combination of leading commercial nations.

39. The following extracts (II. p. 226) will clearly explain Mr. Robertson's views on this point:—

But though there are clearly theoretical limits to the successful working of bimetallism as a question of practical financial statesmanship, France might have gone on single-handed for another hundred years without meeting with any combination of unfavourable circumstances that would have endangered, not its money system, but its

bimetallism, because it would have been the appreciated metal leaving the country, and the metal of stationary value remaining there, just as often as it would have been the stationary metal driven out by the depreciated one . . . and it is safe to say that with the bimetallic system in England, France, the United States, and Germany, gold and silver would not diverge from the fixed ratio by one per cent. in a thousand years.

These views, supported by the practical illustrations given at II. pp. 216 and 226, constitute the evidence that the bimetallic system might be safely established by agreement of the leading commercial nations, and that the relation between the two metals thus fixed would be steadily maintained.

40. If, now, the difficulty as to the violation of economic principle, and the impossibility of maintaining an arbitrary ratio in the value of two commodities, be admitted as disposed of by Mr. Robertson's "new element;" and the contracting nations be satisfied that there is no danger of a breakdown of the system, then it may be worthy of notice that the objection arising from the constant liability to changes of their currency—from silver to gold, or the reverse—in the bimetallic States, would be overcome by the expedient of limiting the bimetallic agreement to international trade, and leaving the arrangements of domestic currency in each separate community absolutely free.

41. This condition seems to be necessary, because the convenience and wishes of the inhabitants must be consulted in regard to their circulating medium. No highly civilized nation would tolerate an unduly large circulation of bulky inferior coins. England would not make use of an indefinite addition to her silver currency; France prefers gold and notes to silver; so does America; but, as a basis for the circulation of a suitable proportion of standard and "token" coins and notes, there might be no objection to silver as well as gold bullion, at a fixed unalterable relative value, being stored in the vaults of a bank in England, France, Germany, or America. If each of the contracting nations merely undertook to *buy*—not coin—gold and silver, without limit, at prices in the ratio of 1 to 15½, the bimetallic principle would be carried out, and have its desired effect, without any alteration of their existing domestic currencies; it being provided that notes and "token" coins should be redeemable by precious metal, in the shape of standard coins or bullion. England would buy gold at £3 17s. 9d., and silver at 60·74d. per standard ounce; France, gold at 3,100, and silver at 200 francs per kilogramme 9-10ths fine; America, gold at 18·6, and silver at 1·20 dollars per ounce 9-10ths fine; India, gold at 38rs. 14as. and silver at 2rs. 8as. 1½pies per ounce 11-12ths fine—the Indian standard.

42. This suggestion is founded upon a principle strongly advocated by Mr. Robertson, though he does not make this use of it—namely, that the value of a currency in exchange for commodities depends upon its quantity compared with the demand for it, with little or no reference to the intrinsic value of the individual pieces; that they are all “counters” (II. pp. 219-20) which, if properly limited, might be made to circulate at any value (I. p. 485). Mr. Robertson proposes artificial limitation, the duty being entrusted to the Government; but it would be far better that the limiting power should be automatic, set in motion only by the operations of trade; and this object is effectually secured by the law requiring the bank or department issuing standard coins, notes, or tokens, to give a fixed price for gold or silver bullion, and to redeem its notes or token coins with bullion on the same terms on which they were issued.

43. As far as regards the bimetallic principle, it would be utterly immaterial what coins or notes any one of the contracting States issued; whether containing more or less gold, or silver, or only paper. Prices cannot rise above the natural level of gold bullion, when the currency is freely exchangeable for it. In these matters the nations would please themselves; and Great Britain, if she were to join, would undoubtedly adhere to her present arrangements.

44. But the question may be asked as to the *possibility* of Great Britain taking any part in any such international convention. At first sight the obstacles seem to be quite insuperable, but on closer examination they disappear. No doubt, any measure supposed to involve a disturbance of our present monetary system would encounter vehement opposition, before securing the consent and approval of the House of Commons and the country; but if it could be clearly proved that not the slightest change in our home circulation need take place, it would be only reasonable that the opposition should succumb to the demonstration. Now, in regard to any disturbance of our domestic currency, the suggestion which has been explained in the last few paragraphs points to the way in which Great Britain or any other nation might join the convention without suffering the smallest change in her present arrangements; and therefore, so far as the public convenience is concerned, there would be absolutely nothing to create dissatisfaction.

45. But it may be answered, admitting this, how about the alteration in the standard of value? How would it be possible to agree to a measure which would alter the value of the pound sterling, and injuriously affect all titles, leases, reversions, debits and credits throughout the Empire, even if the variation were of the most trifling character? It must, in answer, be admitted

that it could not be done—that if the British Parliament were called upon to pass a measure producing any such a result, the attempt must inevitably fail; the legal objections against any action of that kind being insurmountable. But if, by the uncontrollable policy of foreign nations, all the apprehended changes and evil effects had already been brought about, and the disturbance of the value of our present standard was already accomplished, and in full operation, even to the utmost degree; no good reason seems to exist why Great Britain, having taken no part in any unwise interference—the effects having been fully established without her concurrence—should not afterwards, if it suited her convenience, join in a treaty arrangement which, costing her nothing, and not causing the least further change, would be of the utmost advantage to her commerce; and which it would look somewhat like selfish indifference to refuse to take a part in.

46. It is somewhat remarkable that, although there would be comparatively little difficulty in adopting bimetallism in England, there might be some embarrassment if the same law were unwittingly extended to India; and this arises from the fact that, as before mentioned, owing to the cost of transport, it is possible to have a “cheaper metal.” This will be readily seen when the consequences of the establishment of bimetallism in England and India are followed out. In doing this it is necessary to premise that, if the agreement be confined to international trade, as I have suggested, it would apply only to bullion; and no charges for coinage or seignorage need be considered. The English price for gold bullion, therefore, would be £3 17s. 9d., or 933d. per ounce standard $\frac{1}{12}$ ths fine, and for silver 60·74d. per English standard ounce $\frac{11}{16}$ ths fine, or 60·193548d. per ounce, Indian standard $\frac{1}{12}$ ths fine.

47. On the admission of gold to the privilege of legal tender in India, and the adoption of the bimetallic system, it would follow that a merchant having to place funds there, would have the choice of either silver or gold. Assuming the rate of exchange, for the moment, to be 2s. the rupee—and, as regards the difficulty now being considered, the rate is immaterial—he would, if he chose silver, having paid 60·19d. per *Indian* standard ounce, and 1 per cent. in expenses of transport, land it in Calcutta at a cost of 60·79548d., for which he would receive 2rs. 8as. 1·548pies. Each rupee, therefore, would cost him 24·24d. On the other hand, if he selected gold—inasmuch as the supplies of that metal from the mines in Australia and New Zealand, not to mention her own, pass the door of India, so to speak, on the way to the British Mint, where it is sold for 933d. per ounce, it could be delivered in Calcutta for something less, representing the twenty-one days' freight, insurance, and interest saved. If we put these at 4d. per ounce,

it would bring the price in Calcutta to 929*d.*, for which he would receive 38*rs.* 14*as.*, or at the rate of 23·897*d.* for each rupee, which would be nearly $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. cheaper than the silver rupee. The consequence would be that, so long as supplies of gold could be procured from Australia, New Zealand, or India's own mines, silver would be very rarely sent there for coinage; and this stop to coinage, and the gradual waste of the rupees, which Colonel Hyde, the Mint Master in Calcutta, estimated at one per cent. per annum, would, in time, attenuate the silver currency, and lead to contraction of the circulation and inconvenience, unless prevented by the action of the Government; which, however, would spontaneously ensue from their sending to England the gold bought in India; and, with the money paid in London for bills purchased by merchants in excess of the home requirements, sending out silver for coinage on account of the State. There would be a profit on this transaction more than sufficient to cover all expenses.

48. Gold, if coined in India, would be issued in sovereigns, or 10-rupee pieces, identical with the British sovereign, 38*rs.* 15*as.* to the standard ounce. The silver rupees would continue to be coined exactly as at present, and would circulate, as before, without any change of value or prices; the rate of exchange having risen to 2*s.* the rupee. But the Indian ounce of silver—costing the Government, as before shown, 60·795*d.* in Calcutta—equivalent to 2*rs.* 8*as.* 6*pies.*, at 2*s.* the rupee—would be coined into $2\frac{2}{3}$ rupees or 2*rs.*, 10*as.* 8*pies.*, so that there would be a profit to the Government of $5\frac{1}{4}$ in lieu of the present 2·1 per cent. “seignorage,” and the rupees would be to that extent “tokens,” but capable of realizing their full current value, in the purchase of bullion at the bimetallic price, not including the expenses of transport.

49. The establishment of bimetallism in Europe would raise the price of silver in London to $60\frac{3}{4}$ per ounce, and the Indian exchange, eventually, to between 1*s.* 10 $\frac{1}{4}$ *d.* and 1*s.* 11 $\frac{1}{4}$ *d.* the rupee. But, as before shown, and elsewhere abundantly proved, the gold value on which the rupee was established in 1835, and which prevailed till 1875, is 2*s.* the rupee. Bimetallism, if adopted in India, ought therefore to be on the basis of the Indian sovereign, or 10-rupee piece, being made identical with that of Great Britain and her colonies; and the current rupee should be restored to its true value in exchange, and protected from export by a seignorage of 5 or 6 per cent. This is accomplished by fixing the Mint prices of silver and gold as before stated (paragraph 41), and continuing to issue the rupees as at present.

50. It must be left to our skilled economists to decide to what extent Mr. Robertson has succeeded in removing the many strong objections so ably advanced against the bimetallic system. For my own part, I will only venture to express the opinion that,

although some of his doctrines may at first sight appear to be novel and revolutionary, they are not without a basis of truth; and are well deserving the attentive consideration of all who are interested in the subject.

LONDON, *March 8, 1881.*

P.S.—Since the foregoing Essay was printed, the draft resolution for the Paris Conference has been published in the *Times* of the 23rd instant. In the Second Article it is proposed that coins of gold and silver shall be struck in the ratio of fifteen and a half to one; and by Article Five that the mints of the several States shall be bound to coin the metal brought by the public as speedily as possible, &c.

Upon this I would respectfully observe, that the fusion of the metals would be more complete, and the unity of the currencies of the several States more fully established, if, by only *buying* instead of necessarily minting gold and silver, the whole currency of each State were capable of enlargement and diminution equally by either metal; and the distinction between the separate "units" of the two metals avoided, by making both gold and silver, indifferently, the basis of the local domestic currency, issued by the Government in accordance with the wishes and convenience of the people. Great Britain would not submit to the risk of being flooded with silver coins at one time, and drained of them at another, at the option of irresponsible persons; and many States would wish to issue notes as a substantive part of their currency, which it would be most desirable they should do, if they were required to redeem them with bullion—without which they might soon thrust themselves out of the Convention.

It may require some faith to realize the fact that token coins and notes may have the same value in exchange as full-weight standard pieces; but with our constant daily experience of the vast amount of business transacted by bills, we ought not to doubt that, when based upon and redeemable by bullion, they have, like "dock warrants," the full value they represent; and that in the present day it is not necessary to resort to the conditions of an artificial convenient *barter*, which the actual transfer of bulky coins in reality is.

If India joined the Convention on the terms I propose, she would circulate much of her vast store of gold, now comparatively useless; gold remittances would be made, costing 1 instead of 5 per cent., as by silver. Her silver currency would be protected; Council bills and future losses by remittance would be saved; and her revenues would be worth more in European values by about three millions sterling per annum.

I. T. S.

24th March, 1881.

INDIA AND OUR COLONIAL EMPIRE.

INDIA—*Afghanistan*.—In Afghanistan itself there has been, since January, a happy absence of events. But, as regards the development of British policy, the three months have been perhaps the most eventful in the history of British India. A ponderous series of official papers has been published to tell us at last what Government has done, and what it intends to do. The “papers found at Cabul” have appeared opportunely, to remind us of one form, at any rate, in which the danger we have to provide against has already appeared. There has been full discussion of the subject of Afghan policy in Parliament and the Press. The matter has been transferred from the region of speculation to that of actuality: and the full knowledge our temporary occupation has given us of the condition of Afghanistan has enabled the advocates on both sides to illustrate the old arguments by applying them to facts as they are.

It was inevitable, in any case, that in a matter which has so deeply stirred political feeling a good deal of irrelevant recrimination should impede the course of reasonable discussion. But, as we shall see, some reference to the past is relevant and necessary. For, briefly stated, the case of Lord Lytton and his friends is this:—

“The attempt to maintain Afghanistan as a strong and friendly Power was long tried—and failed signally. For just at the critical moment the Amir we had patronized declared for Russia against us. His successor, either by weakness or bad faith, permitted the treacherous massacre of our Envoy and his party. It is useless to renew the experiment. Let us keep the position we have gained at Candahar—a position which, if once abandoned, it might cost us a great effort to recover; we shall then have self-acting guarantees against the possibility of a Russian advance through Afghanistan, and against the bad faith of the ruler of Herat or Cabul.”

To this defenders of the Ministerial scheme give various replies, according to their individual views. Some say, for instance, that even assuming a Russo-Afghan combination to be at some time possible, it would be safer and cheaper to postpone our advance on Candahar till

the danger appears. But, for the most part, the Ministerialists say, with the Duke of Argyll, something to the following effect:—

“It is true that, after 1873, the Amir had grievances against us. But if he was not disposed to be our friend very warmly, he was certainly not disposed to entertain at all the advances of Russia. He would, in fact, have welcomed our aid against that Power. It was you, Lord Lytton, with your insane project of sending British agents into Afghanistan—with your threats that if the Amir did not receive them you would crush him, or come to an arrangement with Russia at his expense—with your occupation of Quetta and military preparations in India—that converted his sulks into suspicion and hatred. It was you, and the Ministry whose agent you were, that gave Russia her opportunity. You brought Sepoys to Europe, you prepared for an invasion of Central Asia from India, and by doing so you provoked Russia into legitimate retaliation. The Russian Mission at Cabul could have done you no harm. The Amir received it reluctantly enough, and only because he had been threatened and abandoned by you. His people would, probably, have treated it as they did the Cavagnari Mission a year after. But you fell into the trap prepared for you. You destroyed the strong Afghanistan which would have been an effectual barrier, you violated treaties, you squandered twenty millions of the revenues of India. You ask us now to repeat the insane experiment. We shall do nothing of the kind. We revert to the good old policy you disturbed. We leave Afghanistan to its own rulers or its own anarchy, confident that, if Russia tries to interfere, we shall have the Afghans for us, not against us.”

It thus becomes in the highest degree pertinent to inquire, in the first place, whether Shir Ali gravitated towards Russia by force of circumstances which—whatever be the policy of the Viceroy of India—may arise again, or was thrown into the arms of Russia by the exceptional folly of Lord Lytton; and next, whether Russia would experience the same difficulty in establishing her influence in Afghanistan, and utilizing the resources of that country, in furtherance of her purposes, as we have experienced. We need not review the course of our relations with Afghanistan before the last war. That we have already done at length (*W. R.*, January, 1879, Art. “Afghanistan”); and here we need only state, as briefly as we can, the facts now for the first time laid before the public in connected form, and with official authority, regarding Russian relations with the late Amir. These, it seems to us, are conclusive on both points of our inquiry.

It appears, then, that from 1872 onwards the Russian Governor-General of Turkestan sent a series of long letters to the Amir, recounting the successes of his troops against the various peoples who

had incurred the displeasure of Russia—giving the Amir suggestive hints about the attention paid by the Russian Government to Abdurrahman, and the control it exercised over his movements; assuring the Amir, too, that the Governor-General had no ill-will to him, because as yet he had given no cause for displeasure—repeating again and again the hope that relations would remain intimate and satisfactory. The Russian account of these letters is, that they were “complimentary;” but any one who knows what the matter of a complimentary letter in the East is, must conclude that General Kaufmann had a very clumsy secretary. It is certain that had the Viceroy of India sent such letters to the Amir of Bukhara, there would have been protests from St. Petersburg. There was, in fact, not the slightest reason why the Russian Governor should have communicated with the Amir at all; and when, after our recognition of Yakub Khan, General Kaufmann commenced to send letters of the same character, the St. Petersburg Government, which was at last alive to what international decency required, peremptorily ordered him to send any letters he thought necessary, not directly, but through the English Government. The essential matter is the effect of Kaufmann’s letters on the Amir. And as to this there is no dispute. They were regarded as letters of menace, and as indicating that Russia claimed the same influence in Afghanistan that England, under the understanding arrived at by the two countries, was exclusively to enjoy. During the years of coolness between the Amir and the Indian Government which preceded the war of 1878, there were not only letters but a constant series of native messengers or envoys sent from Tashkend, and honourably received at Cabul. It is not disputed by any candid person that, whatever the Amir’s feeling to England was, his feeling to Russia was one of fear and respect—a respect inspired by what he called their impudence, and the spectacle of their unimpeded advance to his borders. The true issue is, not whether the Amir became the friend of Russia, but whether he thought it to his interest not to disobey or thwart that Power. What passed between him and the Russian agents we do not know; probably General Kaufmann’s object was simply to arrive at a generally friendly understanding. Of his success we can judge from the fact that the Amir, who had declined to receive a temporary English Mission, received with marked honours a Mission of Russian officers. “Ah,” says the Duke of Argyll, “that was because he feared attack from the English, and the Russians came to defend him.” The case was not so. We have the protest lately wrung from Sir Lewis Pelly, that in the conference of 1877 everything was done to remove from the Amir’s mind the sense of grievance. It is true that as he refused to receive English officers to “observe” on

the frontier threatened by Russia, he was told he must expect no help from us. But nothing was done that could alarm him. The Duke of Argyll and some anonymous slanderers in the Press have indeed started a wild story of preparations made by Lord Lytton in 1876 to invade Afghanistan. But the story resolves itself into this, that a bridge of boats was *re-established* over the Indus to connect for ordinary purposes two stations between which the regular road had been blocked by an Afridi rising, and that, in view of the possibility of war with Russia and Afghanistan, official inquiries had been made, and arrangements proposed (confidentially) as to the disposition of troops. There was nothing, then, on our part, to alarm the Amir when he welcomed our Russian foes. On the other hand, there was a good deal to alarm him on the side of Russia, which had assembled in Turkestan a large army destined to operate against "the tribes of the Indian frontier."

If in the mind of any person of common sense there still lingered a belief that we can bind Russian officers in Asia by obtaining assurances from St. Petersburg, it has been dispelled by the publication of the correspondence found at Cabul. Let us admit that there was a virtual state of war between the two countries in the beginning of 1878, and that Russia was justified in doing all she could to injure us, even in violation of unrepudiated understandings. Still the awkward fact remains, that the Mission was despatched from Tashkend the very day that the Congress of Berlin assembled—peace having previously been practically secured by the secret agreement between England and Russia. No satisfactory explanation has been given by the Russian Government of the fact that, though Tashkend is connected by telegraph with St. Petersburg, and though there seems no reason why a message of recall should not have been sent to General Stolieteff—the officer despatched by General Kaufmann as envoy to Cabul—he was not recalled till his work at Cabul was done. What that work was appears from the correspondence discovered by General Roberts in the Cabul archives. It was to crown the edifice of which the earlier letters and messages had laid the foundation. In view of the relations between the British and Russian Governments with regard to Afghanistan—so ran the letter of introduction which Stolieteff brought—the advantages of a close alliance between Russia and Afghanistan would be apparent. We have not the text of the treaty which was framed; but the Blue Book gives two versions, written from memory by Afghan officials. Both these memoranda agree that Russia promised to recognize any one the Amir might appoint to be his heir—to help him to drive out any foreign enemy—to fulfil all the wishes of the Amir when reported by him—to receive and protect Afghan merchants, and to treat as men of rank any of the Amir's servants whom he might send to Russia to

learn arts and trades. The Amir, on his part, undertook not to wage war without the permission of Russia, and to report to the Russian Government all that went on in his kingdom. And, according to one of the versions, the Russian Government undertook to call to account any members of the Amir's family, or any other person, who might intrigue against him; and promised that the ancient country of Afghanistan—i.e., the Peshawar country—should be restored to the Amir when existing difficulties were overcome by the aid of troops; while the Amir promised to allow Russian merchants free access to Afghanistan. Compare these liberal concessions on both sides with the halting assurances and trifling demands of British diplomacy of the old school! Possibly Russia did not mean to carry out its vague promises. It is enough that they were made, and that beyond all question they allured and deceived the Amir, whose character, we venture to say, was not an exception to that of Afghan princes generally. The Russian ambassador has lately explained that the treaty was taken by General Stolieteff to Tashkend *ad referendum*. But Yakub Khan, we know from other sources, has stated positively that it was duly signed by General Stolieteff, and that he himself tore up the copy left with the Amir. We know, on the authority of Afghan Sirdars who were present in durbar when the Viceroy's letter was opened, that Shir Ali's refusal to receive the Chamberlain Mission was due to the suggestion of the Russian officers who remained with him. The papers do more than confirm this. General Kaufmann, we are willing to believe, was really ordered by his Government to withdraw the Mission and to abstain from interference in Afghan affairs. But poor Shir Ali reposed faith in the Russian assurances. He sent a series of piteous letters, telling his friend the Governor-General of Tashkend how the English, provoked by his friendship to Russia, were advancing into the heart of Afghanistan, and begging him to send the great army he had promised. The situation was a distressing one for so disingenuous a diplomatist as Kaufmann. He tried to get out of the difficulty by assuring the Amir that the Russian Government had exacted from the English Government a promise to respect the independence of Afghanistan; he told him to make peace; and when the Amir expressed a wish to come to St. Petersburg, earnestly tried to persuade him not to do so. But General Stolieteff was less careful. First from Tashkend he writes—several months after the Treaty of Berlin had been signed—to Shir Ali:—"I am trying night and day to gain our objects. I hope that those who want to enter Cabul from the East will find the door is closed."

Again (in October) he tells the Amir that the Emperor is ready to do whatever he may think necessary. "You should look," he says,

“to your brothers who live on the other side of the river.”^h (by which, it seems to us, is meant the Mussulman people under Russian rule). “If God gives the sword of fight into their hands, then go on; otherwise, make peace openly, and in secret prepare for war.” “Send an able emissary to the enemy’s country, so that he may with sweet words perplex the enemy’s mind.” Again, in December, Stolieteff being then with the Emperor at Livadia, writes in much the same strain, assuring him the Russians will either by diplomatic means cut off all English interference with Afghanistan, or come with a great army to the Amir’s relief. The Russian ambassador has explained these breaches of international amenity by saying that the officers concerned were simply trying to extricate themselves from the disagreeable consequences of their too successful activity at Cabul. Perhaps so. To us, however, it seems possible that they really hoped to maintain their influence and to fulfil their pledges. Thus Kaufmann in December writes to Rosgonoff at Cabul that he cannot help the Amir “in winter.” We have little doubt that had our Government at that time refrained from the active measures which the reckless fervour of Liberals condemned with such success in the election campaign, Russian influence would still be paramount at Cabul. No responsible statesman in the recent debates has maintained that the continued presence of Russia in Cabul would not endanger our rule in India. We may take it, then, as proved that the old policy did not secure us. Lord Lytton may have terrified Shir Ali into a Russian alliance. We grant this for argument’s sake only. But it is possible, that from mere caprice or infatuation, or owing to some less “wicked” blundering on the part of our Viceroy, some other ruler of Cabul might bring on us the Russian danger. Let us grant too (still for argument’s sake) that our strained relations with Russia were due to Lord Beaconsfield’s Eastern policy. But no Liberal believes that Russia always cherishes just designs. She may wish to strike at us again, to gain Constantinople or Persia, or from the mere instinct of progress towards India. General Roberts has told us that the armaments which the Amir had prepared were such as would have rendered him—if he had a small staff of Russian officers and a nucleus of Russian troops—a very formidable foe.

Lord Lytton, believing that the old policy had failed, and seeing that the sacrifices we had made in the war, however grievous they were, had at least placed Afghanistan at our disposal, had to consider what new plan was best for keeping Russia out of Afghanistan. The solution he ultimately recommended was briefly this: to leave Northern Afghanistan to Abdurrahman, in the belief that his Russian proclivities would be restrained by the pressure our arrangements elsewhere would

enable us to bring to bear on him ; to make Candahar a dependent kingdom, with a strong British garrison, and to put it in easy communication with India by the completion of the railway. As to Herat, the negotiations with Persia having fallen through, nothing was settled. It is possible that, though the British rights secured by the Treaty of Gandamak would not have been abandoned, the troops might have been withdrawn from the Kuram valley and the Khaibar. The essential point was the virtual occupation of Candahar as a British fortress. Candahar, it was agreed, commanded all the routes by which an invading force could advance on India, and enabled us further to control, by menace, the policy of Afghan powers elsewhere. The people of the town and neighbourhood were industrious, and (compared with those of Northern Afghanistan) not averse to the presence of English authority. Against the expense of occupation was to be set the revenue of the place, and the profits to our subjects which would result from the constitution of Candahar as a great emporium of trade between India and Central Asia. With settled rule, cultivation too would extend, and a civilizing influence would be established in the heart of Afghanistan. When the Liberal Government acceded to office, it had to decide as to the extent to which the policy it had declaimed against in Opposition was to be maintained. In May, Lord Hartington wrote to the Government of India, expressing the unwillingness of the Ministry to keep permanently a large British force at Candahar ; but ample discretion as to the time and manner of withdrawal was allowed to the Viceroy. As regards other points, he was to decide on the best advice he could get ; and it was most distinctly said that it would be dangerous to withdraw from any place till we had arranged for the prospect of some stable native Government to succeed us. The disaster at Maiwand—which, by demonstrating the ease with which a formidable force could be raised at Herat and marched to Candahar, seemed to add to the arguments for retaining that strong position—only made friends of withdrawal insist more strongly on the risks of delay. In November, the Government of India, which had not communicated its own conclusions to the Home Government, was told peremptorily that Candahar must be evacuated as soon as possible. The prospect of a stable Government was no longer a condition, but one was to be created, if it could be created within a reasonable time. Even the Pishin Valley—which some critics believed would be as useful an outpost as Candahar, and free from the risks of Candahar—is to be abandoned, though the time of withdrawing is for the present left to the discretion of the Government of India. The justification of this complete policy of reversal is not easy to summarize, for different apologists take different and often mutually destructive grounds. But this may be said : though the old

inactivity claptrap has done duty, no responsible person has ventured to carry the "old frontier is good enough" argument to its logical conclusion: no one, that is to say, proposes that we should really await Russia on the eastern side of the passes of the Suleiman Mountains. The Ministry which has abandoned so much has decided to keep Quetta, and to maintain the railway to the foot of the Bolan; there is even a prospect of its being extended when the question of British posts is finally settled. Speaking generally, the case of Government, in its most reasonable form, is this: The dangers we have to recognise are remote and indefinite. It is true, Russia seems disposed to remain in the Tekke country, which she has just conquered, and may be forced to occupy Merv. It is true that Persia, at present, seems inclined to assist her in every way. But the chances are, that if we do not worry the Afghans with disagreeable proposals, and show a willingness to help them to maintain their independence, they will of themselves keep Russia out. And if Russia comes as an enemy of the Afghans, every tribesman will be our ally. This will be a better defence than Candahar, which, if at all necessary, we can then occupy with the good-will of the Afghans. To occupy it now would make them welcome the Russians as deliverers. But we doubt whether Russia has any power to hurt us. Her advance, continuous as it has been, has not given her a strong base, or increased her resources. It has only increased her responsibilities and difficulties. We hope and believe she will respect in time of peace her engagements regarding Afghanistan; and in time of war, should war come, we do not think, as we have said, she will have much chance of disturbing us through Afghanistan. While the perils which suggest the occupation of Candahar are thus remote, the evils of occupying it would be immediate. No doubt the trading classes favour us; but the evidence of every one who has recent experience of the Afghans—whether they recommend annexation or not—is that the people generally detest our presence. We must hold, not the city only, but the province; and the same arguments that take us to Candahar will take us to Herat. We shall certainly incur the enmity of the ruler of Cabul, whoever he may be, who will never consider himself truly Amir till he has recovered Candahar. The national spirit will show itself in constant efforts to expel us. The rulers of Herat and Cabul will then indeed have a motive for joining Russia, at the first opportunity, against us. The mere expense of holding it will amount, according to an estimate framed by Sir H. Norman (an opponent of the annexation policy, it is true), to £1,400,000 a year; and it will not be possible to reduce the Indian garrisons by a single man. Then the war already has taxed heavily the loyalty of the native Sepoy, who detests prolonged service beyond

the frontier. It will be all but impossible, therefore, to furnish a permanent garrison for Candahar. If we are right in saying that our occupation will not give the country peace, it follows that the talk about expansion of trade, &c., is a mere dream. The traffic, indeed, in Central Asia would, in any case, be very small. The much-talked-of railway has never paid commercially, and is economical only in a military sense. As to the effect of our "retreat" on the temper of the Afghans, they have learned that we can always enter their country and do what we like there. And as to its effect on the princes and people of India, they will be reassured by seeing we resist the temptation to annex. The people certainly would be driven into disaffection if taxed for the cost of the schemes you propose. Lastly, it would be "immoral" to take territory which is not ours. It would be a violation, too, of our proclamation at the beginning of the war, declaring that we fought, not against the people, but their ruler.

Such is the case for the Ministry. The answer is simple. It ignores the lessons the Cabul papers teach. Nearly every one agrees that the result of our withdrawal will be a struggle—first for Candahar, and next for the whole of Afghanistan. The rival princes will be only too glad to get aid from any source. The Russian officers in Central Asia will have their *protégés*, and, whether these win or lose, Russia will thus have a party in Afghanistan. In a few years her conquests will bring her to the northern border of Afghanistan. She will have, as she always has, troubles with unruly tribes beyond her frontiers; and in her measures to control these, she must have relations and must have influence with the ruler or rulers of that part of Afghanistan. She can menace and she can promise; and by that time probably she will have made the Oxus navigable from the Sea of Aral, or possibly (restoring the river to its ancient bed) from the Caspian to the Afghan border, and she will have extended her railway through the Tekke country. She will command the services of the Tekkes she has just conquered, and will have in them the best material for further advance. As to promises, she can offer the Afghans, when she sees fit, the spoils of India and the restoration of the "Peshawar country." Were England at Candahar, she could interfere at once, without great effort; but if the Russian plans had at all developed themselves, she might find Afghanistan far more difficult to conquer than she luckily found it in 1878. But would those who abandon Candahar from moral scruples ever admit it to be "moral" to attempt by force to prevent Russia and the Afghans from having any relations they pleased? Every one admits the material value of prestige in such crises. Russian officers, we know, believe that only fear of our power restrains large sections of our Indian subjects from revolt, and no doubt they are to some

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extent right. Now, it is absolutely certain that most natives (who take any interest in these things) will attribute our retreat to mere consciousness of weakness. The Afghans certainly will do so—with good cause. With reference to the specific objections to holding Candahar, it is by no means admitted that we shall be subject to attack. On the contrary, if we maintain a show of strength we shall have no need to exercise it. We should not be stealing the province, but saving it from falling again under the alien rule of Cabul or into the worst anarchy. The number of those who favoured us would be constantly increasing; and it is possible that the ruler of Cabul might be really thankful to have a power at hand to save him from attack from Herat. The difficulty of the native troops is admitted; but it may be met by a system of frequent reliefs, or special corps, or even local levies. Once Candahar became a regular cantonment, with the usual bazaar comforts, it would be popular enough. As to expense, Sir Henry Norman's estimate is declared, by authorities entitled to more respect than he, to be ludicrously excessive. It is contended, too, that the sense of security and the strategic advantages gained by occupying Candahar, would permit of great reductions elsewhere—notably at Peshawar, an unhealthy and very unpopular station. But whatever the cost might be, it would be a cheap assurance against the loss which a Russian scare would cause.

The weight of authority is wholly against the Government. For the best possible reasons, it did not await the opinion of the Government of India. It is known, however, that the Viceroy's Council is almost unanimous against abandonment. Confining ourselves to the evidence in the Blue Books, we find that Sir F. Roberts, Sir D. Stewart, the Commander-in-Chief in India, the legal member of Council, and the Lieutenant-General of the Panjab—a representative body of opinion surely—assented to the evacuation of the Kuram and the Khaibar only on the assumption that Candahar was to be kept. Even in the special collection of opinions presented to Parliament by Government, while Lord Napier, the Duke of Cambridge, and the present Commander-in-Chief in India condemn the abandonment of Candahar; nearly all the military authorities who recommend abandonment, recommend also the retention of other points (Pishin or Kushi, beyond the Shuturgardan), which they assume will give us the same advantages.

However, the word has been said, and neither the censure of the House of Lords nor the all but unanimous expressions of opinion in India will move the "solid mind" of Government. It defends its action in neglecting the opinion it is constitutionally bound to respect, by saying that general considerations of policy have influenced it,

which presumably are hidden from such persons as Viceroys and Anglo-Indian soldiers and statesmen. In March the withdrawal of troops from Candahar commenced. When first the tidings of the decision of Government was announced there was a perfect panic among the traders. The governors we had sent to the outlying districts lost all their authority, and one was even made prisoner by the tribesmen. Robber bands—supposed to be sympathisers of Ayub—blocked the roads beyond the Helmand. To restore order and ease the difficulty of supplies, a brigade was sent to Maiwand, and the mere demonstration produced the desired effect. In March Government announced that arrangements were progressing satisfactorily for the constitution of a Government to replace ours. Nothing was definitely known as to who our legatee should be, but it was assumed that the choice would lie between Ayub and Abdurrahman. The former—though still strong in the sympathy of the people of the Candahar province—had grown weaker and weaker at Herat. Hashim Khan and Hasan Khan indeed, as his lieutenants, or rather as representatives of the Yakub (that is to say, the anti-Abdurrahman) faction, had a fairly firm hold on the provinces west of the Helmand. But Ayub himself had become unpopular by his exactions. A combination of chiefs was formed, but failed owing to the defection of one of them—Ayub's father-in-law. Subsequently Ayub murdered this old man and a number of other chiefs, and disgraced several others (among them some of the leaders in his expedition against Candahar. By this he incurred the lasting ill-will of the Alikzais, and lost much of the confidence of his Barukzai supporters. Nevertheless, his lieutenant in Afghan-Turkestan had some successes, and even took Maimonah. But Abdurrahman's governor succeeded, with the aid of the tribes hostile to Ayub, in retaking the place, and in March it was reported that he was in a position to expel Ayub from Herat.

Turning to Abdurrahman, we may note that the official papers lately published show more clearly than the reports current at the time did how ambiguous his early relations with us were; how distinctly his enterprise was sanctioned, and indeed suggested, by the Russian authorities; and how very like an escape our evacuation of Cabul was, in fact as well as in seeming. The assurances we gave him were these:—That there should be no interference in the internal government of his territories, and that no English Resident should be stationed there; but, by agreement, a Mussulman agent might reside at Cabul. The British Government admitted no right of interference by foreign powers within Afghanistan; and since both Russia and Persia were pledged not to interfere, it was plain that the Amir could have no relations with any foreign Power save England. If the interference of

any foreign Power should lead to unprovoked aggression on the Amir's dominions, the British Government would aid to such extent and in such manner as might *to it* appear to be necessary in repelling it, provided the Amir followed unreservedly its advice in regard to his external relations. There is no reason to believe that there has been any more detailed understanding since. Abdurrahman has shown little of the energy with which he was credited. We have heard from time to time of this chief or that acknowledging him; of his success in raising a few additional regiments; of a tribe here and there promising to pay tribute. But we hear, too, of other chiefs being openly contumacious; of the Amir having to pay court to Muhammed Jan; of tribes about Ghazni and the passes of the Hindu Kush being in revolt; of disorders all along the Khaibar line. The fact would seem to be, that his authority is hardly effective any distance beyond Cabul, and that the defection of the great chief Asmatulla would probably be fatal to his cause. In March an envoy from the Amir came to Calcutta; but it seems he came to solicit only some additional ammunition, which was readily granted. Ayub meanwhile had sent two highly-respected Afghans to Candahar, where they were courteously received. He has, it seems, "repudiated" the murder of Lieutenant Maclaine, and solicits the good-will of the English—*i.e.*, the reversion of Candahar. It is generally believed that Abdurrahman will be allowed to try his luck there; but the chances seem to be that Ayub will oust him from that place, and probably, as a corollary, from Cabul also.

The evacuation of the Kuram and the Khaibar has been completed. The former was made over to the Turis, the local tribe, a pledge of protection against aggression from Cabul being given to them. As to the Khaibar from Jamrud to Lundi Kotal, it was made over to the custody of the local Afridi tribes, represented by a Jirgah or Council. They were to provide a force (under British superintendence) to maintain order and prevent outrage, and were to levy no tolls. In consideration of this their independence was recognized and a subsidy assured. The experiment, if it succeeds, may have important consequences; but those who know the Afridis well predict that it will not succeed.

The total cost of the war has been ascertained to be over twenty millions, but of this nearly £5,000,000 was spent on the railways. The Imperial contribution is to be £5,000,000.

A court-martial on the officer who commanded the light cavalry at Maiwand ended in his honourable acquittal. General Burrows and General Nuttall (who commanded the cavalry brigade) were the only material witnesses, and even their evidence hardly raised a presumption that the officer had failed to do all he could. The incident

suggested renewed complaints that no formal and public inquiry into the circumstances of the disaster had been made.

In February a general census of India was taken. The preliminary operations caused much disquietude in the Sonthal country—the simple aborigines believing that they portended a poll-tax or some vast human sacrifice. Their minds had been much disturbed by the preachings of an ascetic, the leader of a new seditious sect. Abusive language was used to one of the magistrates, and at night his bungalow was burnt down. A large force of military and police was at once sent into the disturbed tracts, and constant patrols had an excellent effect in cowing the people. The old ascetic was arrested and sent to Lucknow; the strictness of the census operations was relaxed, and after several weeks of anxiety, the danger of a renewal of the sanguinary excesses of the outbreak of 1855 was said to have passed.

The oppression of the money-lenders and the recent enhancement of rents were admittedly important factors in the discontent. In some districts of the Madras Presidency, among a people similar to the Sonthals, there were also symptoms of unrest, due apparently to the punishment of some head-men who had executed summary and extra-legal justice on some malefactors.

A trial in the native State of Kolapur excited much interest and controversy. Last year some men were arrested there as dacoits. In the course of the inquiry some of them declared that the object of the dacoity was to obtain funds for the purposes of a conspiracy to depose the Raja, in favour of the leader of the movement, who pretended to be the Raja's brother, a prince deported in 1857. One item in the programme of the conspirators was to murder the English residents. The Bombay Government believed that the political plot was simply meant to give colour to a plundering enterprise of the most vulgar kind. It permitted, however, a regular criminal trial to be conducted by the Assistant-Resident. The result was to show that the conspiracy was real, though fantastic and childish in its details. About twenty men were found guilty.

The circulation of a draft bill by which the Bengal Rent Commissioners proposed to extend enormously the principles of fixity of tenure, and to restrict the landlord's right of enhancing, led the Bengal landholders, in a series of meetings at most of the large towns, to protest against confiscation and the violation of the Permanent Settlement.

Despite the protests of nearly all the Indian newspapers, Government, it is believed, persists in its design of abolishing the Press Commissionership.

The Government of India has decided to retain the districts annexed,

as the result of the Naga war, and Kohima has been selected as the head-quarters of the political agency.

The inquiry into charges preferred against a native official in the Punjab Commission, who had been employed as political officer at Cabul excited much feeling of a painful kind. He was charged with extortion and subornation of evidence in connection with the investigation at Cabul regarding the massacre of the Mission. The inquiry was strictly private—a fact which suggested much protest against Star Chamber procedure. Apart from this, the fact that a gentleman so much trusted and so highly honoured by Government was even suspected of the worst vices of native officials, was peculiarly painful at a time when the experiment of nominating natives freely to the Covenanted Civil Service is still new.

THE COLONIES.

We spoke last quarter of the palpable influence on the English Iron Trade of the widespread railway extensions contemplated throughout the British Empire. To these influences must be added all the results proceeding from the rapid increase of steam communication over the same area. Lines of steamers are everywhere supplanting sailing vessels; and these steamers and their machinery represent enormous quantities of ironwork. The Australasian Steam Navigation Company is sending home for five new steamers. Two new *lines* of steamers are announced to trade from London to Australia; the Cunards are running a new line from Halifax, and Forwood Brothers one from New York to the West Indies. Steam communication to these islands of the tropics is indeed increasing fast. The Direct Line, Messrs. Anderson, Anderson, and others, are new competitors in the field. Already this has assisted sugar-growers in the matter of freight, and of surety and speed of transit. Passengers in the end will benefit; and there is room for improvement on their behalf, when we find that the Royal Mail Company charge no less than £40 for the twelve days' passage to Barbados. Mr. D. Currie has just added two large new steamers to his Cape line. Four or five monster new steamers are now being added to the Transatlantic lines. This spurt in shipbuilding is a serious challenge to the recent move of the French Government to support shipping industries on the hard-earned gains of the manufacturing and agricultural classes. It augurs a sad absence of education and enlightenment on the part of these latter classes to submit quietly to such treatment.

The Board of Trade has just issued its report on the emigration from England for the year 1880. This is of special interest to all

Englishmen, and shows distinctly the value the Colonies are to the inhabitants of the mother country. The year was one of exceptionally large emigration. Nor is this matter for surprise after the many years of depression we have recently encountered. The first revival occurred in the United States this time last year, and the consequent rush thither in the early part of the year of Irish and other emigrants, accounts largely for the total increase for the whole year. It is also to be noticed that the emigration to Australia fell off largely. This is due in great measure to the prominence given during the year to Canadian and American prospects. Our agricultural classes, who had felt so painfully several years of bad seasons, naturally were attracted by the agricultural prospects across the Atlantic. Prairie wheat-growing and the fresh meat business, once their bugbears, now became their ambition, and proved talismanic in their powers of attraction.

In the last 30 years we have, in round numbers, supplied one million people to Australia, three millions to the United States, and half-a-million, to Canada. So the figures say. But we must bear in mind that the figures of the United States are often misleading. No one goes to Canada or Australia *in order* to go on elsewhere. Large numbers proceed to the United States for the express purpose of going on up to Canada—and this is specially true of winter emigrants—after the ice has stopped for the season all direct communication with Canada. Moreover, the direct route, and the only railway routes, at present open to Manitoba and the north-west lies through the United States.

The *Canadian Dominion* is just now priding itself, and with much justice, on its present prosperity. The usual popular fallacy, however, rears its head at once; the popular voice declares the present commercial condition must be the result of the present commercial policy. But the present high tariff was only instituted after the turn had come in the tide, and when commercial depressions were ceasing to burden the whole world. The natural reaction that has followed universally on this, has most naturally affected Canada in a marked degree. But those interests that benefit by the present tariff have not failed duly to take advantage of the coincidence, and to connect the two simultaneous phenomena as cause and effect. Sir S. L. Tilley, however, in his Budget speech on February 18, took a more statesmanlike view of the question. He pointed out that the tariff was producing revenue, and increasingly so; therefore the reductions he would propose should commence in the taking all duty off certain raw materials. There were, however, present reasons for at the same time increasing some duties on certain manufactured articles; but he specially contended that all this was mere matter of reciprocity or retaliation with the

United States ; on which basis, indeed, stands the whole tariff question in Canada.

Protection in Canada is exhibiting the usual consequences. Each and every interest is on the alert to possess protection for itself. Those manufacturing beet-root sugar have won for themselves remission of all excise duties for a period of eight years. It will be interesting to see whether by that time these sugar-makers will be able to produce sugar at less than West Indian costs. These are likely to range below £10 a ton. If they cannot produce so cheaply, they will make an effort, and very probably with success, to make their fellow-countrymen make up the difference in an import duty.

The farmers of some districts have now found voice, and are claiming equal treatment in the tariff with all the other Canadian industries ; in the furtherance of this claim they demand a duty on wool, an increase in the duty on corn, an import duty on tobacco, and the removal of the excise duty on tobacco. In other words, the farmers object to contribute to keep manufacturers going, unless manufacturers contribute to keep the farmers going ; and this is the very sum and result of protection. Each class contributes to keep other classes going. The resulting gain savours strangely of the logic popularly attributed to the Chinese nation.

If Canadians look to the records of their trade, they will see that it has increased with Great Britain this last year by no less than £2,100,000 ; while, in the same period, it has decreased with the United States nearly £1,500,000. Their best customer has been the free-trade country. This state of things is, however, precisely that desired by the political promoters of the present tariff, who, disdaining all economical thoughts, declare that the present tariff is simply a means of coercing the United States, and is only incidentally connected with the development of Canada.

We are again brought face to face with a fault in English Colonial policy. When we conceded the liberty to Colonies of managing their own affairs, we reserved the right, necessary to a Crown having international relations, of disallowing any duties that were discriminating. Had we also stipulated that no Colony should impose import duties for any save strictly revenue purposes, we should have preserved the Colonies from one another, and given a very great stimulus to fertilizing free-trade. It is possible Canada might have had at this moment a factory or so less ; but, on the other hand, she might have had more ; living would most certainly be cheaper, and it is certain her farming and mining resources would have been more rapidly developed by the means of energies released from toiling at bolstered-up undertakings.

Canadians have been rather boasting that this year, for the first time

in the history of their Dominion, their exports have exceeded their imports. But we can find in the records, for instance, of Newfoundland, that when the exports annually exceeded the imports, something like one quarter of the revenue was expended on poor relief. Canadians herein forget that one great item in international trade is capital. England can hardly be described as having been, say for the last forty years, a poor or unprosperous country, and yet during those forty years her exports have never approached her imports in value.

The more legitimate aspirations of Canada are those which result in the opening up of her natural resources, and the showing to the world what wealth she possesses in which the labour of men may find its sure reward. The great agricultural North-west is, of course, the chief scene of these developments; and when we hear of the building of a Parliament House and a Lieutenant-Governor's residence at Winnipeg, to cost no less than £25,000, we see in the names and in the sum a political and a material growth that mark a big community now where a few years ago there were but a hundred scattered and uncertain inhabitants.

Professor Shelldon, of Cirencester College, has just put forward the result of his visit to the Dominion. He calls attention to the desirability of English farmers taking up farms in the more settled districts of Canada, where both professional and social conditions more nearly resemble those to which they are accustomed. This advice specially fits with farmers who are no longer young, or who have wives or daughters or young children who need civilization and society and education. The very ideas of cropping scientifically and of manuring, which are the ingrained all-in-all of English farming, are exactly the ideas altogether strange and unknown to the Canadian farmer, and from which he would fain escape by "trekking" to the new North-west. There would seem to be great logical cogency in the course here pointed out. The English farmer succeeds the Canadian farmer in the congenial surroundings of high-class cultivation. It is for want of experience of this that the conviction gains on the Canadian farmer to seek in the Far West once again the congenial surroundings of prairie cropping.

Sugar planters in the *West Indies* are naturally echoing the call of the sugar refiners in England, with a view to the abolition of bounties. There has come home from the West Indies a petition to be presented to the Imperial Parliament, praying that effectual measures may be promptly taken to put an end to bounties on sugar in foreign countries. But in echoing the call, the West Indian planters have proposed the wrong suit; the trump card they propose is the hackneyed "counter-

vailing duty" once again. The West Indian planters have herein been distinctly misled by their partners in England. The petition is in literal union with the expressed ideas of the London West India Committee; and, as being such, it quietly ignores the very point and substance of the cause it would support. The petition is intended to back up the Report of Mr. Ritchie's Select Committee. The petition urges Government to endeavour to assemble another European Conference. So does the Report. But the petition asks Government to adopt, as the means for abolishing bounties, the imposition of a countervailing duty; the Report, on the other hand, declares distinctly against a countervailing duty, and specifically recommends manufacturing and refining in bond as the one effectual remedy for the bounty evil. But in spite of this error as to means, the petition is authoritative as to the evil wrought; and it will doubtlessly receive due consideration from a Government that cannot but be ready to advocate another Conference—so sure is this to do good, and to secure a great and general advance in the direction of securing freedom of exchange of products. The Government will see that harm is caused, not so much by the influence, present and immediate, of bounties on prices, as by the uncertainty and doom of future changes, with which the very existence of the system burdens the whole of the trades and industries concerned. To banish this burden is a prime duty of Government.

The actual facts of sugar-planting in the British West Indies, taken in their relation to other times and other places, are most encouraging. Each of the leading Colonies continues to produce more and more sugar. This steady increase has been proceeding ever since the collapse which followed on the abolition of slavery, and the years of subsequent trial and trouble. Meanwhile, numerous and continuous improvements are being introduced in the cultivation of the cane and the manufacture of the sugar; the labour question has at last been more or less satisfactorily solved; the West India colonists are discovering many other outlets for their energies. Sugar-planting is thus becoming an important industry, *among others*, worked by thriving communities, and is no longer the sole industry of these Colonies. Sugar-planting itself is becoming a rational agricultural undertaking, which is looked to to pay the ordinary profits of such undertakings, and which is no longer regarded simply as a means to making rapid fortunes, as in the "good old days."

Political life is happily running in quiet grooves for the most part. In Barbados, however, since the arrival of Governor Robinson, one after another of the Administrative Departments have been examined,

with the awkward discovery in most cases of serious faults and deficiencies. The latest department that has been thus scrutinized is that of the Police; and the Report just issued by the Commission of Inquiry reveals a state of affairs highly discreditable to those who have managed the details of the force. These revelations involve or imply actual fraud on the part of some subordinate officials; inefficiency and culpable carelessness on the part of others; and a generally poor morale, which it is to be hoped the heads of the Department may be able to justify or to explain.

The present Governor has also carried through a constitutional reform which comes none too soon. Previously the various administrative duties of Government had been assigned to various "Boards" or Committees of the local Parliament. But a system of management that has survived for 200 years must necessarily have outlived the conditions in which it took its rise. For many years past there has been a slackness about the performance of these superintending duties which has had its evil effect on the various departments. The Governor has brought into the light of day ample evidence of this; and the Barbadians, with a traditional wisdom popularly associated with long parliamentary life, have at once agreed to reform themselves. Administration now falls to the care of a new Executive Committee, formed of Government officials and members of the two Houses of the Legislature. We have here a valuable constitutional precedent, a cross, as it were, between a regular Parliamentary Ministry and that Crown Council which has substituted itself in most West Indian Colonies for the old and notoriously cumbrous machinery of Governor, Executive Council, Legislative Council, and Legislative Assembly.

The telegraphic service between Europe and the West Indies has not worked satisfactorily; and negotiations are now in active progress towards a bettering of this state of things. The Panama Telegraph Company has a delegate going the round of the islands; and proposing a conference, at some one of them, of delegates from each island Government, to arrange affairs on a mutually satisfactory basis. The Telegraph Company are proposing higher subsidies and smaller facilities; the colonists not unnaturally hesitate till they can see, not only that such increased cost is absolutely necessary, but that there is no other course open to them of obtaining the requisite communication by other means at less cost. Their chief reason of complaint is the frequency of cable interruptions. This is fatal to business patronage. The percentage of breaks is said to be far higher than elsewhere; and it matters little whether the cable be originally faulty and poor, or the conditions of bottom and currents, and so forth, intrinsically.

more hurtful, than those surrounding other cables. The West Indies, for their own sakes, as well as for that of the Telegraph Company that is eventually to supply their wants, should take a leaf from the business experience on all other lines in tropical seas, and insist, first and foremost, on a duplicate line. Moreover, in reference to certainty of transit and of price there is much to be said in favour of an independent cable which shall connect the West Indies with Bermuda, to which place there will soon be a cable laid from Halifax.

Jamaica, more than perhaps any other West India Island, is alive to the fact that the United States, with a rapidly increasing population of 50,000,000, and with no sugar territories where frost is unknown, offer for the future a most excellent market for sugar. Cuba has hitherto sent to the United States nearly all her large crop; but Cuba keeps out return goods from the United States by her prohibitory high tariff. Our West Indian Islands, on the contrary, by the means of their low tariffs, are large customers of United States goods, especially in the matter of breadstuffs. If the West Indians are alive to their true interests, they will cultivate this natural tendency of trade. The Cubans see it themselves, and increased facilities for trade with the United States will form one of the principal claims which the Cuban Deputies and Senators in Spain have upon the indulgence of the present Spanish Ministry.

British Guiana has specially felt the need for such a trade in the recent controversy concerning the colouring of certain sugars sent thence to the United States. American refiners are vigorously "protected" by import duties; these being very low on raw sugars and very high on refined. But these duties are levied on a sliding scale, regulated according to the Dutch standard, which judges sugar by its colour, on the theory that the darker the sugar the more raw it is, and the less the bulk it contains of pure sugar. This system encouraged the importation of "black" sugar from Demerara. This was simply "white" or "yellow" not so much clarified—the colouring matter being simply due to the leaving in the sugar certain vegetable impurities; but this sugar is very saccharine, very sweet; and the United States Treasury determined they had discovered a sugar that must be fraudulently coloured to evade the higher duties. Having made this determination, inquiries had to be instituted in the face of the stout denials of the Demerara growers. These inquiries were chiefly in the hands of the Treasury official who originally made the determination; consequently the conclusions arrived at are somewhat contradictory. As a matter of fact, the case has come to be

a battle royal between the refiners and the Treasury; and that the former are getting the best of it, to their great and manifest advantage, is seen in the fact that this dark sugar is penetrating into the United States in increasing quantities. The suggestive consequence is, that most of the sugar made last autumn in British Guiana was of this type, and there was consequently a serious and marked falling-off in the production of Demerara's great speciality, "crystals." This will cause a rise in price of this latter article during the next two or three months. It is needless to add that Demerara growers know of this, and are again devoting their attention to "crystals."

The West Indies have been considerably excited by news from the *Gold Coast* of a reported determination of the King of Ashantee to ignore the rights which the British had finally set up after burning Coomassie. This alarm spread to the English newspapers, which proceeded eagerly to discuss the money value of these settlements to England, and to compare this with the cost of a new Ashantee war on a yet larger scale than the last. Meanwhile telegraphic instructions to the West Indies caused the 2nd West India Regiment at once to prepare for active service, and the hired transport to call round at their different stations to pick them all up, and convey them with certain staff officers across the Atlantic. The latest news is, that the Ashantee King has explained matters satisfactorily, and disclaimed all idea of ever interfering with English arrangements.

South Australia reflects, in a marked degree, the revival of prosperity now proceeding throughout the world. Her revenue for 1880 amounted to £2,100,000, while that for 1879 only reached a total of £1,665,000; and the returns continue to exhibit the same satisfactory elasticity. Meanwhile local politics are happily quiescent. Beyond the election of a new Speaker for the Assembly, in which all sections exhibited quiet concurrence, not even the retirement by rotation of several members of the Legislative Council, nor the proximate dissolution of the Legislative Assembly, seem to excite any new-born interest in politics.

Much activity is, however, being displayed in the more profitable field of public works. Three hundred miles of railways are in course of construction. The sewerage and the water supply of the capital have been largely improved during the last year. Government is causing numerous jetties for the convenience of trade to be erected; one of these, at Kingston, is to be no less than 1,400 yards in length. There is also much renewed discussion of an outer harbour, and considerable enthusiasm is being evinced for so necessary a work, and one that

will do so much for South Australian communications with the rest of the world. It is only stayed pending the agreement of the different authorities and interests as to the exact locale and scheme of the work.

It will interest English farmers to know, *apropos* of our remarks last quarter, that the harvest in South Australia will probably be below the average; it is now in full swing. Also that wheat on the spot is firm at 4s. 2d. to 4s. 6d. the bushel, which is equivalent to something like 7s. in the English market.

We alluded last quarter to sundry evil effects of selling land by deferred payments. Both in the province of South Australia and in New South Wales there is a tendency just now yet further to liberalize the land laws, or, in other words, to make payment easier both in regard to time and in regard to abolishing interest on the deferred portion of the money. This is simply setting a premium on a man's taking up land thoughtlessly, fraudulently, or for speculative purposes. It encourages a man to take up land which he has neither the skill nor the capital to make proper use of. It encourages a man to take up land, reap one or two seasons' crops, and then levant; or, if he can, pass on his claim for a consideration to others. It encourages a man to take up land, trusting that upon the full payment becoming due its value will have risen. It is needless to remark that it is the special aim of all land-legislation to avoid these very three results. In New Zealand a similar system is being adopted. It would look as if experience was now banished from practical politics. The Governments apparently seek to get rid of their land as fast as may be, heedless of consequences to buyer or seller; and consequences "writ large" in the experiences of other communities.

The most important news from Australia is of the meeting of a Conference in *New South Wales* to discuss various questions affecting the Australian Colonies in common; and it is matter for sincere congratulation that this Conference, unlike its many predecessors, has borne actual and definite fruit. Many have talked despairingly or with wild confidence of confederation for Australia in the present. Australia is not ripe for any such perfect thing. But this Conference is a legitimate and natural development, in the direction, it is true, of confederation, but a mere development urged forward by the weight of its own necessity. The Conference was composed of delegates from each colony. They met, discussed various proposals and recommendations, and parted on the understanding that each of the various Legislatures could take action on those points on which there was agreement.

The desirability of mutual legal facilities met with unanimous

acceptance. An Australian Court of Appeal was recommended, which would have the double effect of saving legal expenses in many cases, and of relieving the Privy Council of much extra work. It will allow an alternative between the serious expense and delay of an appeal home, and the giving up appealing altogether in many cases where an appeal ought to be made, but where the interests involved do not justify the large outlay. The question of executing certain warrants in other Colonies, and the minor point of allowing barristers equal *entrée* into all Colonial Courts, was also mooted, and received general acquiescence.

Chinese immigration occupied a prominent position in the discussions, and a resolution was passed that the introduction of Chinese coolies into any one Colony was injurious to the Colonies as a whole. This resolution is not of so much importance *per se* or intrinsically, as of value as a sign of community of feeling and community of effort among these Colonies. In this respect it is most welcome evidence.

The question of additional naval protection was also brought forward and declared to be necessary; but when it came to a discussion of means, many delegates objected to their Colonies doing more than defend their own shores, and their own ports and harbours. This is a political determination somewhat behind the times, and one which ignores the chief point of the case. Victoria has just disbanded her permanent artillery. Is Great Britain likely to trust her fleet to bases that are thus, at the whim of the moment, left in reality defenceless? Even if the imperial fleet is to protect Australian commerce, it can only be on some system of guaranteed and efficient protection of the ports and bases. A fleet now-a-days is absolutely helpless without its bases; and the coal, stores, and repairing machinery so absolutely essential to the efficiency of a modern man-of-war, may all be destroyed if a well-equipped hostile cruiser can "get at" them even for an hour or two. And it is just these sudden attacks on short notice that can only be fended off by the actual presence of a well-trained armed force, ready *always* for the purpose. But no doubt, beyond all this, Australians will come to see at no distant date that they exist in prosperity by the means of commercial intercourse, and that if they decline to take their share of the task of keeping the roads open, it is logically possible for the taxpayer at home to decline to pay more than his share. No doubt the wealth and the national vigour of the British Isles will continue for long to do more than its share in such matters, just as the mother will enjoy pinching herself that her children may "get on" in the world. But when the children grow up, one of the first feelings they become conscious of is their duty to assist and even to repay their mother. The Australian Colonies in

this very discussion showed signs that this consciousness was being developed in their midst.

Another important proposal that failed to win unanimous acquiescence was that of a Customs Union. The step proposed was the introduction of one common or uniform tariff for all the Australian Colonies. The Victorian delegate proposed the Victorian tariff as a basis. This tariff is strictly Protectionist in character and severity. It was a strange, an exceedingly strange, act to propose as a common tariff, to be held by several contiguous communities for the furtherance of trade facilities, a tariff specially devised in order to cut off one community from all others. It is no wonder that the common-sense of the other delegates at once put forward the free-trade tariff of New South Wales as a more proper basis for such action.

In *Victoria*, so far as there has been political movement at all, it is in the path of cutting down expenses. The local Parliament has sanctioned, among the latest reductions, the doing away with the permanent artillery force. It is difficult to see the reasons for this move. The force was part and parcel of a scheme of defence definitely adopted some years ago; and there is, according to all authority, and indeed according to all common sense, no possibility of manufacturing good gunners on the spur of the moment. Riflemen may be fairly trained on the volunteer principle; but even so, they will make but a poor show against regulars, unless they are sustained and inspired by the additional presence of seasoned and thoroughly trained soldiers. But the handling of guns and torpedoes, which must be the main reliance of the people of Melbourne against hostile attack, is a branch of military science of much technical intricacy, and one which can only be successfully followed after years of training and work. The authorities must have a care lest the pruning-knife be used with such vigour as to prevent the tree bearing fruit at all.

The present Ministry have, however, won just laurels for the somewhat unexpected moderation of their acts, and even of their words. And there is good room to hope that, if "burning" questions can but be avoided, an era of moderation may set in that will weed Victorian politics of their great bane—extreme acerbity and exaggeration. More material good will follow such a change in *Victoria*, than will ever be achieved by crude commercial policies or heedless financial reforms.

New Zealand appears now thoroughly to have turned the corner of her struggle with bad times. This year's wool clip is heavy and of excellent quality, and the harvests promise exceedingly well. Meanwhile the policy of retrenchment is bearing fruit in relieving workers

of burdens that were hard to be borne, while all the world around was stagnant under the influence of commercial depression.

Industrial activity is again to the fore. The local Royal Commission on the encouragement of native industries has reported in favour of a bonus system, and suggested this means to promote the production of beet sugar, linseed oil, and sulphuric acid, among many other products. Private enterprise is finding increased profits from gold and manganese mining; new oil-wells are being opened up, and the manufacture of cement is assuming larger proportions. The community is also increasing fast in numbers.

The treatment of the Maories still continues a difficulty. The native Minister, Mr. Bryce, who is in favour of strong measures, even to the arrest of Le Whiti, has resigned on the score of difference of opinion in these matters with his colleagues. It is to be regretted that on the arrival of Sir Arthur Gordon as Governor public opinion at once credited him with a warm personal friendship for Sir George Grey. The very suspicion of this, however unfounded so far as political results are concerned, is of itself sufficient greatly to impair his influence, and it is a suspicion which will dog his every act at first. His proposal of a conference with the Maories to "settle native hardships"—a proposal somewhat contemptuously refused—is, with much show of reason, taken as proof that this suspicion is well founded. The resignation of Mr. Bryce is taken as further proof. There are not lacking straws to tell in which way the wind sets. Sir Arthur Gordon will himself know well enough that he is now in a Colony enjoying self-government. We may well be confident he will also recognize the fact that he has come to the country where the native races have always been treated well, and where the policy is and has been to leave the Maori to himself, and where this policy has been a complete and signal success.

Far different in regard to native affairs is the news from *South Africa*. It was our duty last quarter to mention that the breaking out of the Basuto rebellion had its use as a warning to the English nation to reorganize affairs in South Africa on a comprehensive and lasting footing. It is our more painful duty this quarter to point the same moral as attaching to the melancholy tale of the Boer rebellion in the Transvaal.

The story of the progress of that rebellion is, of course, fresh in everybody's mind: how the Boers armed and spread themselves over the country, vowing destruction to the English—accomplishing their fell purpose in the shooting down of a small detachment of English soldiers marching from one post to another: how the insurgent Boers invaded Natal, and assembled to the number of three or four thousand among the ridges and boulders of a great pass, and then picked off

and shot down the flower of a force, only several hundred strong, that was led against them by the Queen's representative, in the end killing him as well: how the British retained command over many of the towns and forts scattered about the country: how a British flying column was organized, and traversed a section of country, to the consternation of the armed Boers, and to the relief of the English residents, the well-affected Boers, and the natives. We need do no more than allude to these bare facts, and to the prompt exhibition of British power in the placing an army of 15,000 men in the field within a few weeks of the first outbreak, to reassert the supremacy of the "paramount" Power in South Africa.

What concerns us more than this unfortunate rebellion is the settlement that must ensue. It is necessary to remember that the rebellion is not, in the first instance, a rebellion of all the Boers, but of some discontented spirits who seem, so far as we can tell, to have sought in England's troubles their own opportunity. The Boers are proverbially ignorant, and always have been wilfully oblivious to the fact of England's real power. When we annexed the Transvaal a party among the Boers continued to protest. This party, influenced by the ignorant expectations that a change of party in England implied an immediate change of policy, and disappointed by reason of this ignorance, made the rash determination to appeal to the arbitrament of the sword. They seized the opportunity of the Basuto troubles, and furthermore, it is credibly reported, of the troubles in Ireland. As the rebellion progressed, *because of the insufficiency of English troops present in the Transvaal*, blood of course told, and Boers who had held aloof joined the rising. Race rancour has now been dangerously aroused, and Boer ignorance is again to the fore, fanning the flame of the idea of a Boer Republic owning and dominating the whole of South Africa. But even so, there yet remain large numbers of Boers who still side with the English authorities. And if any lesson at all is to be learned from these lamentable troubles, it is that we must not only set up, but also maintain, the Queen's authority in South Africa, if we have at heart the well-being of the inhabitants.

Eccentric politicians and enthusiastic humanitarians will of course press forward the cause of any who rise against constituted authority, under the specious plea that "there must have been oppression." But statesmen act from the opposite point of view, and seek the material prosperity in preference to mere ideal rights of people. As for the real rights, there is no doubt that the present rebellion is a rebellion against a constituted authority which was quietly and earnestly improving in every way the position and the prospects of a community, which under previous conditions had practically succumbed to surrounding native Powers.

If the English nation is determined to restore to certain of the Transvaal Boers independence in local government, the determination exhibits in full the generosity of conscious supremacy in strength. But, in this, we have a national duty to perform to others besides the disaffected Boers. We shall have carefully to obtain exact justice for those Boers, Englishmen, and others, who have been led, on the faith of our previous national act of annexation, to invest their money and their labour in Transvaal territory, and who declined to throw off their assumption of direct English allegiance. To this action our national faith is pledged, nor is it probable that the English nation will fail to secure for the natives English treatment.

When the final settlement is undertaken, it is to be hoped that South Africa as a whole will be regarded as a whole; and, above all, it is to be hoped the almost criminal error will not be repeated of the hasty withdrawal, from motives of short-sighted economy, of the troops. It will prove far less costly, in the long run, to leave an army of sufficient strength; and only year by year, and gradually, to reduce its numbers. Far less costly will it be to do this than to renew the experiences of late years, and have at enormous expense, not only of money but of invaluable lives, to reassert our supremacy from time to time.

The well-armed authority of the Crown will be necessary for some time to come to impress indelibly upon all the permanence of English supremacy. With this there will grow up a local feeling antagonistic to any reversion to a false and fragmentary independence. South Africa was on the verge of a rapid rise in prosperity, that was rudely stayed by this miserable fighting. The influx of emigrants from overcrowded Europe, more especially of English, will serve to feed and sustain and extend this actual English supremacy; and South Africa will be in a position to grow great as a valuable factor in the commercial world, a prosperous market for manufactured goods, a valuable and rich field for the production of the many raw materials that now rank among the first necessities of civilization.

The English nation will not forget that its own trade with South Africa has quadrupled in the last twenty years; and that it now exceeds our trade with such important countries as Turkey or Italy or Portugal. Our manufacturers and merchants will not forget this. And yet there is no prospect that this community of 200,000 Europeans, in the midst of many million powerful natives, can advance its civilization, its prosperity, and its security, unless it continues to enjoy the direct moral and material support of a powerful empire, which derives, itself, so much benefit from the connection.

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

THEOLOGY.

A LITTLE volume on the social doctrines of Christianity from the pen of a clever and thoughtful writer, M. Yves Guyot, is distinguished by a trenchant criticism, an energetic judgment, and a comprehensive survey.¹ A more sympathetic nature would have recognized the side of Christianity which lies in *light*, and not have seen only that side which is averted from the sunshine of intelligence and affection. A severe critic might indicate certain deficiencies in treatment, or call attention to occasional inaccuracies in M. Guyot's exposition, as when he ascribes to Papias and Cerinthus a belief in a Kingdom of the Saints on earth which should last for *two*, instead of one thousand years; and might ask on what authority he pronounces Mary Magdalene *grande et belle*? But in his general verdict we agree so entirely with the author, that we do not care to examine with microscopic eye the process by which he has reached his conclusion. He has evidently read much, and is a man of clear discernment and energetic character. In the introductory section of his work he glances at some varieties of modern philosophy, offers a definition of religion, and passes in rapid review various developments of theological speculation; his sketch of Buddhism will, however, scarcely satisfy the exact reader. In describing the elaboration of Christian doctrine, he characterizes with epigrammatic ingenuity, yet perfect accuracy, the primitive Christian ideal as at once a terrestrial and celestial Utopia, an International Association on earth and in heaven. His view of the progress of Christianity, if a little overstated, is in the main just, for the movement was essentially a *proletary revolution*. He remarks, too, with truth, that the bourgeois oligarchy of our own time resembles the Roman oligarchy, since it follows the fortunes of a God in whom it has ceased to believe; trusting for its security to repressive laws, and while proclaiming its conservative predilections, in reality conserving nothing but its own imbecility. Under the general category of Application of Social Doctrines of Christianity, M. Guyot depicts the delirium of persecution, the phenomena of Christian hysteria, and the extravagances of religious mysticism, sometimes employing, perhaps, a freedom of speech objectionable to "polite ears." An entire chapter is devoted to the career, casuistry, and general doings of the Company of Jesus. Finally, the religion of Divine Intervention is pronounced incompatible with the *régime* of Natural Law; for M. Guyot, like Augustus Comte, whom, however, he does not profess to follow,

¹ "Études sur les Doctrines Sociales du Christianisme." Par Yves Guyot. 2nd édition. Paris: C. Marpon et E. Flammarion. 1881.

recognizes no philosophy but that which, excluding Theology and Metaphysics, reposes on a purely scientific basis.

As bitterly hostile to ecclesiastical Christianity as M. Guyot's "Social Studies" is Herr Radenhausen's "Christianity is Heathenism, not the Doctrine of Jesus." The German author differs, however, from the French in his acknowledgment of a perennial element in the religion of Christ; and, rather to our surprise, after having digested the strong diet which he provided for us in his audaciously clever but *unauthoritative* "Isis," now many years ago, we find the man we regarded as a religious iconoclast, almost conservatively inclined. Of his analytical examination of Christianity we cannot speak in very laudatory language. In biblical criticism he is not well versed; he appears to consider the Gospel of St. John as genuine, and arbitrarily pronounces its first chapter a late interpolation, apparently thinking that the creative character attributed in it to Jesus was derived from Chaldean Theology. We are entirely at issue with him in his disparaging estimate of St. Paul, whom he considers fussy, sly, and Jesuitical. Some of his verbal derivations appear to us etymological hallucinations, as when he connects Ionia with Jehovah, or *Easter* with *Astarte*, or explains *Essenes* to signify *wretched*. When he declares that Pompey took Jerusalem in the year B.C. 70, he seems to have confused it with the capture by Titus A.D. 70; and his identification of Jehovah with the Moon-God is little better than a freak of fancy, and in every case we should say improbable. His attribution to the Christian Church of usages, symbols, or speculative tenets, borrowed from Paganism, is in our opinion grossly exaggerated. The celebration of the First Day of the Week had originally no connection with the worship of the Sun, and if the early Christians called it *Dies Solis*, in doing so they merely adopted the popular phraseology without any reference to the Syrian or any other Adonis. In some cases, compliances with established usage or artistic adaptations were practised, but the amount of heathenism was minute and the recognition of heathenism imperceptible. Even the *nimbus*, or glory borrowed from the ethnic cultus, was a late accommodation of Pagan and Christian symbolism, and not employed, we believe, before the sixth century. With all its exaggerations and misconceptions, however, Herr Radenhausen's book is not without merit. The spirit in which he writes is that of a theological conciliator, but his sacrifice of dogma is so great that he will hardly propitiate the celestial bosom of Orthodoxy. His object is the restoration of peace to Christendom. With this view, he attempts to demonstrate that the principal causes of discord do not lie in the doctrine of Jesus, but in extrinsic dogmas derived from Rabbinical and Pagan sources. The simple Faith in Jesus, which, if accepted, will he predicts give rest to the Christian world, excludes all this interpolated matter, comprehending only Belief in God, the acceptance of a universally valid morality, and the expansion of the idea of Religion into a theory of all the relations of Man to the rest of the world; that is, we presume, to

² "Christenthum ist Heidenthum nicht Jesu Lehre." Von C. Radenhausen. London: David Nutt. 1881.

the Kosmos. In other words, our author announces the cessation of the divergence between Religion and Morality in the unity of Science, embracing all, explaining all, exalting all; and, lastly, he desiderates the elevation of the sacerdotal class through its transformation into a free Educational Service for the diffusion of the "Glad Tidings of Science" thus conceived. The scientific Theism here proclaimed is Christianized by the acceptance of the Theistic conception of Jesus, of his moral teaching, and the example which he affords of noble disinterestedness.

The champions of unbelief and heresy will find a courteous, a learned, intrepid, and self-confident adversary in Dr. Robert Flint.³ In the Baird Lecture for 1877 he examines and undertakes to refute Atheism, Materialism, Positivism, Secularism, and Pantheism. The chief omission in his "Anti-Theistic Theories" (for such is the title of the present volume) relates to Agnosticism, on which he hopes to execute justice at some future time. The extent of Professor Flint's reading, and, as far as we can judge, of his scientific and philosophical erudition, is considerable; he shows a more than respectable acquaintance with the systems he attacks, and has a quick eye for the weaknesses, extravagances, contradictions, and vulnerable points in their constructors or defenders. The philosophers he has assailed have, some of them, long passed away, as Spinoza and Schopenhauer. His strictures on their theories are worth weighing, and his blows are difficult to avert. Against his misrepresentation of Positivism we must content ourselves with a silent protest. There is in the volume an interesting lecture, challenging the correctness of Sir John Lubbock's instances of the existence of peoples without religious ideas or sentiments, which appears to us to demand careful examination, with a view to possible and even probable rectification of evidentiary errors. For instance (p. 206), the negative testimony adduced by Sir John is rebutted by the affirmative testimony of the Rev. George Turner, who is said to have written a valuable and elaborate account of the Samoan religion. That Dr. Flint does not shrink from hitting "fellows as big as himself" is evident from the blow which he aims at Mr. Herbert Spencer, when he says of his chapter on the Persistence of Force that "probably in no other eight consecutive pages in the English language are there so many physical and metaphysical errors combined." He *squares up* even to the redoubtable Professor Huxley, and, once at least, appears to catch him tripping—viz., "when during an eclipse" he makes "the great shadow creep over the face of the Sun." The strength of Dr. Flint's position lies, very often, in the intractability of the subjects which his opponents endeavour to handle. If men *will* deal with the "great arguments" of Substance, Origin, Self-existence, Infinity, Causation, they cannot but miss their footing sometimes. In our opinion the Theist has never succeeded in making out a satisfactory statement of his case, and when he attempts a demonstration of the existence of a Being "of infinite power, wisdom, and goodness,"

³ "Anti-Theistic Theories. Being the Baird Lecture for 1877." By Robert Flint, D.D., &c., Professor of Divinity in the University of Edinburgh, &c. &c. Second edition. Blackwood & Sons: Edinburgh and London. 1880.

he halts and hobbles and flounders as badly as any Anti-theist. What did one of the more eminent of the English clergy say of the belief in God?—

“To believe in a God is an exercise of faith. That the universe was produced by the will of a personal Being; that its infinite forces are all the power of that one Being; its infinite relations the perceptions of one mind—would not this, if any truth could, demand the application of the maxim *Credo quia impossibile*. Look at it only as a conception, and does the wildest fiction of the imagination equal it?”—MOZLEY’S *Bampton Lectures*.

Notwithstanding Canon Mozley’s discouraging opinion, Mr. Ruskin appears to think that he has “Found the Father,” and is anxious that the clergy of the English Church should not only find Him themselves, but should teach their people to find Him.⁴ He demands that the simple, pure religion of the Bible should be taught by men divinely commissioned to show others the way to the summit of the celestial mountains; and assumes that the terms of the Lord’s Prayer contain a body of divine doctrine. In Eleven Letters, intended to serve as a basis of discussion among the members of a Northern Clerical Society, he explains and defends his position. Mr. Malleon, the friend to whom they are nominally addressed, eventually communicated them to other societies, requesting an expression of opinion in writing from clerical brethren. The original Letters, the Letters suggested by them, some comments of the Editor’s, and an Epilogue by Mr. Ruskin, are reproduced in a volume which might provoke a good deal of ironical criticism. We shall not criticize, however, but report. Mr. Malleon’s friends seem to write a little in awe of the new Great-Heart, their guide: one pronounces him too deep; another thinks what a *classic* he might have been if he had a sounder judgment; another, who doesn’t like “the trimming” he has got, can only describe certain observations on pages 23 and 24 as “bombast.” Mr. Gurney, again, is so taken with the Love of the Father as taught by Mr. Ruskin, that he invents a new heresy.—*Christolatry*—and adds there is no such great choice between that and *Mariolatry*. Remote voices whisper that they care “less than nothing for anything” Mr. Ruskin may write outside the subject of Art. A bishop thinks that the Letters “must do good if only in getting one out of the ruts;” and another dignity of the Church has a great reverence for Mr. Ruskin’s genius, but would rather not say a single word about the Letters. Mr. Malleon seasons the dainty dish of wholesome advice and shaky commentary with some sugar and spice of his own; but the two best things in the book are Mr. Ruskin’s amusing complaint of his maids, who, though all exceedingly pious and devoted to their Church, never think of telling him when they have broken a plate; and the characteristic anecdote which we now give *verbatim* :—

⁴ “The Lord’s Prayer and the Church. Letters to the Clergy by John Ruskin, D.C.L., with Replies from Clergy and Laity, and an Epilogue by Ruskin.” Edited, with Essays and Comments, by the Rev. F. A. Malleon, M.A., Vicar of Broughton-in-Furness. London: Strahan & Co.

"A lady who looked well to the ways of her household, but knew very little of books, once asked me if Mr. Ruskin had not written a book called 'The Old Red Sandstone.' I hinted that probably she meant 'The Stones of Venice,' which was indeed the case. *She knew it was something about stones!*"

A rival monotheistic creed to that of Jesus is that of Mohammed.⁵ Those who have not read the fluent version of the Koran by George Sale are invited to study its doctrines in the more exact translation of Mr. E. H. Palmer, and in the excellent introduction which he has prefixed to it. The central truth taught by the Apostle of God was not new to the Arabs, but it was distasteful. The idea was grand, simple, and relatively true; it was opposed to the prevalent Polytheism and to Trinitarianism, which with the Arab Christians meant belief in the Father, the *Mother*, and the Son. The founder of the new religion regarded it as a fulfilment of Christianity, as Christianity is a fulfilment of Judaism. Jesus, the Son of Mary (c. iv.), is acknowledged as an Apostle of God, as his Word, as his Spirit, and as the Messiah. Islam was a reform, a purification, an elevation. It limited the number of wives to two or three or four; it abolished the inhuman custom of burying female children alive; it inculcated hospitality, compassion, temperance; discouraging the use of wine, divination, &c. It is a common error to suppose that women, in the Koran, are described as soulless, or that entrance into heaven is denied them. Enter ye into Paradise, ye and your *wives*, says Allah (c. xliii.) to his faithful servants. We accept Mr. Palmer's readings of Mohammed's character with cordial sympathy. "The secret of his success was primarily enthusiasm combined with patriotism. Whether he believed to the full in his divine mission and revelations or not, matters but little; but it is certain that he did believe in himself as working for the good of his fellow-countrymen." By this qualification Mr. Palmer does not mean that Mohammed was an impostor, for he distinctly puts that hypothesis aside; but that the embarrassing character of the Enthusiast's position has a tendency to impair the integrity of conviction, and even reduces the Prophet to the alternative of resorting to a pious fraud, or of relinquishing all the results that he has previously attained. The early portions of the Koran are, Mr. Palmer affirms, the genuine rhapsodies of an enthusiast who believed himself inspired. It is doubtful if Mohammed could read or write. At his death no collected edition of the Koran existed. Scattered fragments were in the hands of some of his followers; the greater part of the second book was preserved only in the memories of men. Either Abu Bekr or Omar began to give permanence to these oracles. Zaid, a native of Medinah, a sort of secretary to Mohammed, edited the text from "palm leaves, skins, blade-bones, and the hearts of men; and our present text is held to be in the main identical with that of Zaid." The style of the Koran is described as "curt, grand, and often

⁵ "The Sacred Books of the East." Translated by various Oriental Scholars, and edited by F. Max Müller. "The Qurán." Translated by E. H. Palmer. Parts I. and II. complete. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press. 1880.

almost sublime." We should add (though we know it only through *Salé*, that it is frequently wearisome reading, but relieved by the occasional grandeur, ethical, and descriptive, by curious legends, traditions, and moral and theological utterances, interesting to the student of the history of human beliefs.

Long, very long before Mohammed, the great problem of the world was pronounced very difficult of solution by the Arabian Job,⁶ if Job indeed had an historical existence, which is possible, but which Rabbi Resch Lakisch, in *Baba Bathra*, apparently thought impossible, declaring that he never lived, was never created, and was a mere parable or fictitious character. The beautiful essay, by Mr. Froude, which appeared many years ago in this REVIEW, has aided some to a truer estimate of the sublime poem of which Job was the hero. So miserably defective, however, is the English translation of this Book in our Bibles, that the reader who has access to no other very often wholly misunderstands its author. Mr. Samuel Cox, therefore, has done good service in re-translating it, with a commendable approach to an accurate and forcible interpretation. The excessive obscurity of some passages in the original, prohibits the hope of entire agreement as to their meaning among scholars, as is shown by chap. xii. 15, which Mr. Cox translates "Contempt for mishap is the impulse of the secure," &c.; Umbreit and Rosenmüller, "The torch prepared for faltering feet is despised by the secure;" De Wette, "A torch thrown away, in the judgment of the happy, is he that is ready to falter." Mr. Cox's renderings are characterized by their preservation of Biblical simplicity and by courageous and picturesque veracity of interpretation. In chap. xxix. 18, he gives us a version justified by the context: "I shall die in my nest, and lengthen out my days like the *phœnix*," the legendary bird of Egypt, instead of *the sand*, as in the E.V., alleging that the fabulous character of the legendary Egyptian bird is no obstacle to this rendering. Again, in xxxvii. 22, instead of "Fair weather cometh out of the north," as in the E.V., Mr. Cox has a far truer rendering, "Men cannot look upon the sun when, after a north wind, he cometh forth in gold." In short, after testing Mr. Cox's version in many places, we must pronounce it to be the product of diligent and thoughtful study. The Commentary also which accompanies the text shows real poetic feeling and genuine appreciation of the great Faust-like poem which it is intended to elucidate. On the other hand, Mr. Cox's orthodox prepossessions sometimes incline him to favour an interpretation which we cannot accept. His principal shortcomings are not indeed connected with æsthetic or speculative views, but with critical omissions and historical heresies. He appears to consider the whole poem, as we have it now, to be the production of a writer of the age of Solomon. He declines even to glance at the passages which eminent scholars have pronounced spurious. He has no word to say on the Elihu speeches (xxxii.-xxxvii.); no observation to make on the doubtful section (xl. 15-xl. 26). The opinion that the work was com-

⁶ "A Commentary on the Book of Job, with a Translation." By Samuel Cox, editor of the *Expositor*. London: C. Kegan Paul & Co. 1880.

posed in the reign of Solomon is discountenanced by the later character of the religious philosophy, for the old doctrine of retribution has broken down; it has been discovered that the innocent suffer and the guilty prosper. In the sufferings of Job the later depressed condition of the Jewish people is reflected, and this didactic purpose argues maturity of date. Allusions to a remote foretime, linguistic peculiarities, the representations of contemporary life and manner, the introduction of Satan, who is not once mentioned in the Hebrew books before the Exile, the peculiar use of the sacred names Jehovah and Eloah, the doctrine of angelic intercession, the occurrence of the word Jordan, the river of Palestine, which Mr. Cox would willingly get rid of—all these literary idiosyncrasies are presumptions of a later date than that of the prosperous and triumphant Solomon. In our judgment it could not have been written earlier than the seventh century B.C.

In the second volume of his meritorious work on the Prophecies of Isaiah, Mr. Cheyne affirms a parallelism between the Book of Job and the Servant of Jehovah.⁷ We regret that want of space compels us to avoid discussion on this and many other points which invite remark. The new and concluding volume of the "Prophecies" testifies to the extent of Mr. Cheyne's reading, his independent judgment and daring scholarship, and illustrates the hazy refinements of that mystic Supernaturalism which occasionally biasses his exegesis. In addition to the Translation, Commentary, and Appendices, the volume contains suggestive essays on the Christian element in the Prophecies, the Servant of Jehovah, the Hebrew text, and the Babylonian Inscriptions. The Inscription on Cyrus (perhaps from the Elamitish Kur = mountain) is remarkable. According to "this treasure from Babylon," Cyrus was not a Zoroastrian, but a religious indifferentist and even polytheist. Mr. Sayce candidly observes, "we cannot admit the accuracy of the inscription without detracting somewhat from the accuracy of the inspired Prophet."

The "Variorum Teachers' Bible" is a surprisingly creditable production.⁸ It is not only a *Multum in Parvo*, but a *Tria Juncta in Uno*, containing as it does Messrs. Eyre & Spottiswoode's "Reference Bible," their "Authorized Edition of the Bible with various renderings," and their "Aids to the Student of the Holy Bible." It is distinguished by courage in admitting both readings and renderings which may alarm the ultra-conservative school of critics, and in indicating passages of at least doubtful genuineness. Among the essays intended as "Aids," we particularize those on the Coins and Measures, Money and Weights, of the Old Testament, by Messrs. Madden and Hole; on the Plants of the Bible, by Sir J. D. Hooker; on the Animal Creation, by Canon

⁷ "The Prophecies of Isaiah." A New Translation, with Commentary and Appendices. By the Rev. T. K. Cheyne, M.A. In 2 vols. Vol. II. London: C. Kegan Paul & Co. 1881.

⁸ "The Variorum Teachers' Edition of the Holy Bible, containing the Old and New Testaments," &c. &c. Edited by Rev. T. K. Cheyne; Rev. R. L. Clarke; S. R. Driver, M.A.; Alfred Goodwin, M.A.; and Rev. W. Sanday, D.D., &c. George Edward Eyre & William Spottiswoode, London, Edinburgh, and New York. 1880.

Tristram; the Music of the Bible, by Mr. J. Stainer; and four by the Rev. T. K. Cheyne, especially that entitled "The Bible and the Monuments." The great defect of the work is the archaic orthodoxy which it exhibits here and there; but such a defect will be a principal recommendation to those for whose use and benefit it is primarily designed.

A Popular Commentary on the New Testament, in four volumes, edited by the well-known American theologian, Dr. Philip Schaff, may be placed in the same category of archaic orthodoxy." The second volume, containing the Gospel of St. John and The Acts of the Apostles, is more innocuous even than the Variorum Bible, for it does not even suggest the fallibility of the Book. The maps and illustrations which we find in the volume before us will perhaps help to earn for it the popularity to which it aspires.

In "Three Phases of Modern Theology," by Mr. J. H. Allen, of Harvard University—Calvinism, Unitarianism, and Liberalism—the two former phases are considered as obsolete. The Gospel of Liberalism—an indefinite, catch-me-if-you-can sort of Gospel—is the true Evangel, or an approximation to it.⁹ Its Sunday-side is the restoration of faith in the Divine Personality, which is to come back to us in a glorified form; its working-day side is devotion to the service of Humanity—a principle which the writer refers historically to the *spirit* of the French Revolution, 1789. A similar sentiment animates the author of "The Mythe of Life," a critical presentation of the Story of Er in the tenth book of the Republic of Plato.¹¹ But although the Vicar of Granborough takes, in this little work, a wholly *undogmatic* view of Christianity, we are bound to suppose that in the pulpit he expounds the mystery of the Trinity, the moral beauty of Vicarious Sacrifice, and the "unspeakable comfort" which the prospect of the Eternal Torture of the majority of mankind affords to "such as feel in themselves the working of the Spirit of Christ."

We are pleased to find that the reasonable and generous "Thoughts on Present Church Troubles," occurring in four sermons preached by Canon Liddon in St. Paul's Cathedral in December last—in reality the four entire sermons then delivered—to illustrate some aspects of the Church and teaching, are here offered us in a collected form.¹²

Though we cannot admire the "Phantasmal" Ritualistic Movement, we have no admiration for the Public Worship Regulation Act of 1874; and we are disposed to agree with Mr. James Parker, who,

⁹ "A Popular Commentary on the New Testament." By English and American Scholars of Various Evangelical Denominations. Edited by Philip Schaff, D.D., LL.D. In 4 vols. Vol. II., The Gospel of St. John, and Acts of the Apostles. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1880.

¹⁰ "Three Phases of Modern Theology—Calvinism, Unitarianism, Liberalism." By Joseph Henry Allen, A.M., Lecturer on Ecclesiastical History in Harvard University. London: Trübner & Co. 1880.

¹¹ "The Mythe of Life. Four Sermons, with an Introduction of the Social Mission of the Church." By Charles William Stubbs, M.A., Vicar of Granborough, author of "Village Politics." London: Macmillan & Co. 1880.

¹² "Thoughts on Present Church Troubles," &c., by H. P. Liddon, Canon Residentiary of St. Paul's.

in his serviceable reprint of "The Ornaments Rubrick"¹³ regards the legal interpretation of the Purchas judgment as a palpable sophism.

While clergymen of the English Church are confessing, as in a recent number of the *Contemporary Review*, that the statements in the Bible and the facts which science affirms are irreconcilable, an American professor, Mr. Jacobus, publishes a volume on the Book of Genesis, which evinces that he has the conceit of knowledge without its reality.¹⁴ He declares that geology points to the recent creation of man, and that when its records have at first view appeared to contradict the Mosaic accounts, the further research has decidedly confirmed the exact statements of the Scriptures. He contends also that physiology decides in favour of the origin of the human family from a single pair; that comparative philosophy shows that all the globe had originally one language; and as unexceptionable historical witnesses to the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, he refers us to Manelbo, Hecateus, Lysimachus, Eupolemus, Tautus, Loryinus, Juvenal, and others, among eminent heathen writers. "The Notes," however, on Genesis will be acceptable to all that dread the light of truth and desire to avert its unwelcome consequences.

In a thoughtful essay entitled "Individualism,"¹⁵ Dr. Littlejohn, the Bishop of Long Island, traces the growth and tendencies of this principle on morals, religion, race-traditions, public opinion, modern socialism and art. Against the evils which he supposes to reside in Individualism he appeals for support to the counter-truths which he discovers in the domain of theology and philosophy. Organic life, he maintains, exists in the Family, the State, and the Church, is an outgrowth from the divine purpose, and has ends beyond the salvation of the individual.

PHILOSOPHY.

MR. WALLACE'S work on "Epicureanism,"¹⁶ written at the instance of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, is a valuable exposition of a system of ancient thought, which has experienced the fate of having been as carelessly studied as it has been grossly maligned. Mr. Wallace's book is much more than a *résumé* of a body of practical dogmas, it is a complete *setting* of Epicureanism in its historical frame, a not unhappy effort to depict Epicurus and his Garden

¹³ "The Ornaments Rubrick: Its History and Meaning." Rearranged. London: Rivingtons. 1881. "With Additions and Corrections." London: Parker & Co. 1881.

¹⁴ "Notes Critical and Explanatory on the Book of Genesis." Two vols. in one. By Melancthon W. Jacobus, Professor of Biblical Literature, &c. Edinburgh: W. Oliphant & Co.

¹⁵ "Individualism: Its Growth and Tendencies, &c. Sermons Preached before the University of Cambridge in November, 1880." By the Right Rev. A. W. Littlejohn, D.D., LL.D., Bishop of Long Island. London: Bell & Co. 1881.

¹⁶ "Chief Ancient Philosophies. Epicureanism." By William Wallace, M.A. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. 1880.

in their social and material environment. The portrait of the founder of the system is drawn with a fine hand; and the creed of the languid sage is sketched with equal clearness, being made thoroughly distinct by interjected commentaries rich in references to more modern modes of regarding similar cosmological and mental problems. Indeed in these pages Epicurus appears far more as a theorizer on the natural world than a moralist. The space accorded to the ancient atomic speculations is, however, thoroughly justified; for the whole mode of thought of the school is determined by the ultimate analysis of the macrocosm of which man was only a minute copy. It is clear that Epicureanism was pure and unmitigated Materialism—nay more, Sensism; and, as Mr. Wallace suggests, acquired its vast popularity because it probed the problems of thought and being just as far as, and no farther than, common sense demanded. Its shortcomings are concisely indicated in the following words:—"If we have rightly understood Epicurus," says Mr. Wallace, "he has simply ignored the Ego and consciousness, and turned solely to externality. He has adopted the attitude of science, and not the attitude of philosophy. . . . His only answer to the question, "What are we?" is, that we are what we see, and, if our vision were expanded, might see. Each of us is an *object* of sensitive and intellectual vision: of the other fact, that each is a *subject*, he says nothing." This criticism is not out of place even at the present day; and a careful reading of the little volume now before us may help to stimulate reflection on the frequently assumed all-sufficiency of scientific *αρχαι*, as well as satisfy a curiosity for accurate historic knowledge. It should be said that Mr. Wallace is thoroughly fair in his treatment of a system which lends itself only too readily to adverse criticism or excessive laudation, according to private predilections. "What Epicureanism taught was the unity and harmony of human nature. . . . Many things were ignored by Epicureanism. But in its frank acceptance of the realities of our human life, and of the laws of universal nature, in its emphasis on friendly love as the great help in moral progress, and in its rejection of the asceticism which mistakes penance for discipline, Epicureanism proclaimed elements of truth which the world cannot afford to lose."

A handbook of Psychology for students preparing for examinations² who are debarred from attending regular lectures, or who cannot avail themselves of the services of a competent teacher, has for some time been a crying want. Professor Bain's "Manual of Mental and Moral Science," rich in material as it is, does not quite meet this special need. In many respects it is less useful than the larger treatises on the "Sense and the Intellect" and "The Emotions and the Will," as the fuller treatment is often needed to understand the author's conception of the science. But these works make too large a demand on the merely pass-candidate, and what is wanted is a compact treatise giving considerable space to those more elementary powers of the mind which

² "A Student's Handbook of Psychology and Ethics." Designed chiefly for the London B.A. and B.Sc. By F. Ryland, M.A. London: W. Swan Sonnenschein & Allen. 1880.

admit of most exact treatment, and yet not simply eclectic in dealing with more disputed matters. The physiology of the senses has made such rapid progress of recent years that the older books no longer suffice for a student, who has to meet an examiner equipped with the results of recent physiological science. The present book is published with the view of meeting the class we have had in eye in the above remarks, and, until something more organic be brought to light, may serve to make the student aware of the course of study expected of him. But we fear we cannot say more than that. The aspirant for a University degree who should rely upon the present volume as an adequate support, we believe would lean upon a broken reed. Indeed, the most valuable feature of the book, in our opinion, is the list of references at the end to works where a fuller treatment of the various topics may be found. As for the exposition of psychology contained in the body of the book itself, it is altogether too scrappy to be of much positive service within so small a compass; far too much has been attempted, and the several paragraphs are too loosely connected. At the same time, we must allow that the author has had insufficient help in the way of models. Abstract psychology, as a duly organized science, can as yet hardly be said to exist, and the treatment of even accredited authors leaves much to be desired.

Except for the circumstance of its having emanated from Emanuel Swedenborg, we do not see any value in the under-mentioned farrago of scholasticism entitling it to the honour of reproduction in an English dress.³ Some American gentlemen are evidently, however, of a different opinion, and the translator appears proud of having been selected for the task of translation from the original Latin. The tractate itself appears to be little more than an expansion of Wolf's arid "Ontology." Is it possible that at "Urbana University" this sort of food forms the prescribed philosophical pabulum? If so, the taste for antiquities is even greater in the New World than we had suspected.

The series of Philosophical Classics for English Readers edited by Professor Knight, of St. Andrews, is⁴ fitly introduced by an account of the life and work of René Descartes.⁴ The volume is interesting, and, in conformity probably with the object of its publication, is not calculated to make excessive demands on the reader's attention. Exposition is interwoven with narrative, and the impression carried away after perusal will not be lacking in concrete colouring. As a biography of the renovator of speculative philosophy in the seventeenth century the work is quite up to the mark, and a fuller account is probably neither obtainable nor desirable. There is an honest endeavour also to present an abstract of the results of Descartes' inquiries on most of the subjects on which so restless a mind sought clearer light; but the very variety of topics renders the task of a reporter within such

³ "Ontology." By Emanuel Swedenborg. Translated by Philip B. Cabell, A.M., Professor of Ancient Languages in Urbana University. Printed by J. B. Lippincott & Co., Philadelphia. 1880.

⁴ "Descartes." By J. P. Mahaffy, M.A. William Blackwood & Sons, Edinburgh and London. 1880.

confined limits one of supreme difficulty. The result, we think, is that Descartes' place in the history of philosophy is insufficiently indicated, the reader being rather bewildered than instructed by the amount of detail. At the same time, as a preparation for a more scientific commentary (such as that of Kuno Fischer), the book will have its use, and if the student fail to receive philosophical enlightenment he will at least not be burdened with positive error.

From Descartes to Joseph Butler⁵ is a long way, however, and it says little for the sense of proportion possessed by the editor of the series that, in a list of books intended to "unfold the history of modern philosophy under the light cast upon it by the labours of the chief system-builders," our rather unimaginative Anglican divine should find a place beside the inaugurator of Modern Metaphysics, or even find a place in a series of "system-builders" at all. Much might be said, indeed, upon the high position accorded to Bishop Butler in recent years in this country; an elevation, in our opinion, quite undeserved, and which has never been admitted by the impartial students of thought on the Continent. It is at least significant that Ueberweg devotes only half a dozen lines to the constructive thinker of whom we are so proud, Erdmann ignoring him altogether; and even Jouffroy, when treating only of the moralists proper, allowing him to be utterly overshadowed by Smith and Price. In a series of theological or ethical classics for English readers much might be said for Butler's recognition; but among the philosophical classics, at the assemblage of choice spirits such as Descartes, Hume, Kant, and Hegel, we submit he is an interloper, whose presence reflects little credit on the watchful care of the master of the ceremonies. Turning to the volume whose publication has given rise to the preceding remarks, there is little contained therein to which exception could be taken. Mr. Collins seems to have done his work exceedingly well. His task, indeed, was not a difficult one. Butler's writings are not voluminous, and laborious collection of extraneous materials is not needed to illuminate their dark places. The chief difficulty is to know what Butler himself meant; this, with his heavy and wearisome style, not being always patent at first sight. The self-consistency of Butler is, moreover, beyond the defence of any champion. At times this assenter of disinterestedness and an authoritative conscience bears a close resemblance to an egotistic Hedonist, and the clever parrier of infidel blows is an indubitable pessimist.

Æsthetics seems likely in the near future to receive a larger attention than has been accorded to it of late. Among regulative sciences both Logic and Ethics have fairly outstripped it in scientific regard, but there are not wanting indications that the day of a scientific treatment of the norms of feeling is at hand. The book mentioned below,⁶ how-

⁵ "Butler." By the Rev. W. Lucas Collins, M.A., Honorary Canon of Peterborough. William Blackwood & Sons, Edinburgh and London. 1881.

⁶ "The Beautiful and the Sublime. An Analysis of these Emotions, and a Determination of the Objectivity of Beauty." By John Steinfort Kedney. New York: G. P. Putnam & Sons. 1880.

ever, is not quite in the line of the theoretic march. Although the product of a fine and delicate mind, it is too much imbued with the metaphysical spirit of an older time to be reckoned as a contribution to the theory of the science, as the realistic temper of the time is coming to conceive *Æsthetics*. Mr. Kedney's reading, it is plain, has been among the transcendentalists, and, barring a few British writers of the last century, among the transcendentalists alone. Of contemporary *Æstheticians*, such as Fechner and Lotze and Mr. James Sulby, he seems not to have heard; and although he does lip-homage to the 'ologies, physiology need never have been heard of so far as any practical use thereof is here made. The work is divided into two parts—Book I. "The Beautiful and the Sublime as Subjective;" Book II. "Beauty as Objective"—the former part occupying the larger space. It must be admitted that there is an elevated tone about the book, an aspiration after the widest emotional life, a yearning to grasp the essence of beauty as the core of Nature, which will find an echo in the breasts of many readers, especially those more poetically inclined; but synthesis altogether outstrips analysis, and far too great a strain is put upon the speculative powers. If the author deems a correct metaphysic to be the necessary datum of *Æsthetic science*, he should have taken more pains than he has to justify the metaphysic he feels constrained to adopt. The author is tempted to step aside to discuss "the ethic of the new philosophy," in which a plea is put forward for a purified Egoism in preference to an ultra-Altruism, with which we thoroughly agree; but we are not aware that there is any attempted deduction, at least in any acknowledged phase of recent experientialism, of a doctrine of self-annihilation. At the same time it is an ethic with which we have no sympathy, which would aim at perpetuating selfishness for the sake of the sublimity of moral heroism evoked by social conflicts. If the spirit of beauty is only to be sustained at the price of never-ending moral warfare, we should certainly prefer the realization of the "dream of a uniformly progressive improvement in human instincts" to the gloomy era when the moral motive is "defeated of all desire for one's own individual well-being." * Whilst our American *Æsthetician* cannot rest until he has found "the last secret of beauty" in "the Divine Being, of whom man is the image," the more matter-of-fact Englishman is content with the following four generalizations:—

"1. The subjective element of beauty consists in the emotion of admiration.

"2. The objective element of beauty consists in the quality of suggestiveness.

"3. Beauty attaches only to utility.

"4. The appearance of beauty varies inversely with the appearance of utility."⁷

Here we have at least something definite, and there will assuredly be no complaint by a reader of Mr. Holmes-Forbes' book that the thought is difficult to follow. Little is said on the subjective aspect. Indeed

⁷ "The Science of Beauty: an Analytical Inquiry into the Laws of *Æsthetics*." By Avary W. Holmes-Forbes, M.A. London: Trübner & Co. 1881.

it would seem to need little explicit proof, that the subjective element of beauty is no other than the "emotion of admiration." The stress must be laid on emotion. The epithet "beautiful" cannot properly be applied to sensations. This is saying little else, however, than that beauty involves relations. Divorce intellect from feeling, and beauty vanishes. The author shows by the instance of colours how divergent may be the sentiment of different individuals and people, association always playing a part in the æsthetic judgment. The author has a harder task in showing the necessary alliance of beauty with utility. He argues that there must be a minimum of utility wherever the sentiment of the beautiful is found. Even in those cases where ornamentation seems the sole end, there is always a latent feeling of utility, whenever beauty is ascribed; if nothing else the objects are "the surplusage and the symbols of wealth." But when the utility is completely hid out of sight, as in the case of the rainbow, it is difficult to see that much is gained by the fraction of truth contained in this third "law," that "beauty attaches only to utility." Rightly guarded, more is to be said for the fourth law, that beauty "varies inversely with the appearance of utility." The book is undoubtedly suggestive, but cannot be allowed to be more than an introduction to a thorough treatment of æsthetic problems.

Mr. Duncan is dissatisfied with the present breach between Physics and Psychology,⁸ and refuses to join the loud-voiced chorus, which is calculated to repress the ardour of less courageous minds, asserting the impassability of the gulf between "Mind" and "Matter." The root of the evil Mr. Duncan finds in the time-honoured antithesis of "subject" and "object." This pair of contrasted terms is apt to act as a narcotic, lulling consciousness into an invincible belief in a substantial or essential dualism. But the contrast between Ego and Non-Ego, according to Mr. Duncan, is misconceived. There is but one substance—Matter—endowed with two properties: variously expressed as "Receiving—imparting the received; Feeling—acting or causing to feel; Suffering—causing to suffer." In place, therefore, of Concomitance, the author maintains a theory of Alternation, one omnipresent, universal substance, alternately being shocked and shocking, the one "locus in time" being marked by feeling, the other being characterized as energizing. Matter possesses two forms, the homogeneous undifferentiated ether and body, the latter being nothing but equilibrated groups of force. Body being the equilibration of force, the Ego is the psychological counterpart thereof. "I therefore define Ego to be a compound of feelings; a synthesis of feelings; or a concentration of feelings, so as to form a unit-feeling comprehending a multiplicity of sub-feelings. As force is a local condition of matter, so is feeling. As body is a localized compound of feelings, so Ego is a localized compound of feelings. It follows from this that every group of forces, or body, must have an Ego, the inorganic no less than the organic world. And if the Universe be a connected whole, there

⁸ "Conscious Matter; or the Physical and the Psychological universally in Causa Connection." By W. Stewart Duncan. London: David Bogue. 1881.

must be a hierarchy of Egos, with an *all-comprehending Ego*." Such in essentials is the author's theory. Its most original point is in the attempt to resolve the apparent simultaneous duality, implicit in all theories of perception, into a successional Monism, the alternation of Feeling and Energizing being so rapid as to deceive the observer into the belief of co-existent states or attributes. The writer is evidently a vigorous thinker. There is more gain to Philosophy in a bit of independent thinking like this, however erroneous, than in bulky volumes of orthodox doctrine where learned industry passes for original criticism.

The First Part of Dr. Zeller's invaluable "History of Greek Philosophy" has just been made accessible to the English reader by Miss Alleyne, who has already translated, in conjunction with Professor Goodwin, the account of Plato and the older Academy. The volume on Aristotle alone now remains to complete the English translation of this important work. The present portion of the history has been rendered from the fourth enlarged edition of the "Philosophie der Griechen." Dr. Zeller's style is exceptionally clear, and a translator of his writings must accordingly expect to be strictly judged. We think Miss Alleyne will stand a severe critical test.

POLITICS, SOCIOLOGY, VOYAGES, AND TRAVELS.

IF the terrible word "urgency" can be applied to the practice of our literary tribunal, we shall certainly be compelled to begin our review of political literature with the books and pamphlets relating to the Irish Land Question. We have before us four books and as many pamphlets, in which this extensive subject is considered from eight different points of view. The case for the complainants is stated by Mr. Healy, M.P., in a pamphlet,¹ originally composed for the use of the traversers' counsel in the recent trial. A French translation of this voluminous brief is being prepared for the benefit of the Parisian journalists to whom Mr. Parnell has appealed. It is said that the most successful of English advocates used to cut out and consign to the waste-paper basket those pages of his brief which solicitors are accustomed to head with the word "observations." Mr. Healy has avoided the fate of Scarlett's employers by reducing the original portion of his statement to the smallest possible dimensions. His pamphlet consists almost entirely of extracts from well-known works on Ireland, together with any phrases from Mill and other authorities which seem to countenance the popular Irish view of landlordism. It

⁹ "A History of Greek Philosophy from the Earliest Period to the Time of Socrates. With a General Introduction." Translated from the German of Dr. E. Zeller, by S. F. Alleyne. In two volumes. London: Longmans, Green, & Co. 1881.

¹ "Why there is an Irish Land Question and an Irish Land League." By T. M. Healy, M.P. Published for the Irish National Land League. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. 1881.

is easy enough to make out in this way a striking indictment against the present system; but we could wish that Mr. Healy had been more particular in his account of the proposed remedies of the League. "Expropriation" is a somewhat flexible word, and neither Mr. Healy nor his chief has done much to give it precision of meaning. We should also like to have some detailed information as to the working of the League. If his pamphlet reaches a second edition, perhaps Mr. Healy will let us know what accounts are kept by this "constitutional" society, when and by whom the accounts are audited, and when the results of the audit are likely to be published.

Mr. Atkins² tells us that his Essay was suggested by Mr. Bright's remark that "the case of Ireland had never yet been put before the English public." To meet the want thus indicated, he has given us a sketch of the history of the Irish peasant, whose condition he compares with that of the English copyholder, the Romanised Gaul, and "the Roman pleb." This boldly original way of treating a Latin singular as an English plural leads us to infer that Mr. Atkins's learning is extensive rather than profound. We desire to acknowledge, however, the candour with which he states the case which he has undertaken to support. He sets forth fully and impartially the benefits which Ireland has derived during the past eighty years from her connexion with the British Empire, and he assumes that the English Government is willing to deal fairly and generously with her only remaining grievance. His argument is directed to show that the "three F's" do not constitute an adequate programme of reform, and that peasant proprietorship is the true remedy.

We gave, in our last Number, some reasons for thinking that those who wish to fix the peasants to their holdings and to drive the landlords and their capital out of Ireland are really striving to retard the progress of agriculture and civilization. Our argument is borne out by the interesting record of Mr. Bence Jones.³ We are aware that the statements made in this book have been hotly controverted; but after reading all that has been said against its author, we accept him as a trustworthy witness. English writers who assume that all Ireland is alike, and that no improvements are ever made in that country except by tenants, should study the history of Lisselan. Mr. Jones has put some £25,000 into the soil of Ireland, and, what is much more important, he has given to the business of agriculture forty years of hard work. He has made his own profit out of the business; but his tenants have also profited largely; and he tells us that he has never seen an honest, industrious tenant fail. His land yields a larger produce, and supports in comfort a larger population, than it did when he came to it. These results have been obtained partly by punctual enforcement of his rights. Incapable tenants have been evicted, rent has been regularly collected, and no tenant has been allowed to sell his

² "The Case of Ireland Stated." By T. De Courcy Atkins, B.A. Lond., Barrister-at-Law. London: Chapman & Hall, Limited. 1881.

³ "The Life's Work in Ireland of a Landlord who tried to do his Duty." By W. Bence Jones, of Lisselan. London: Macmillan & Co. 1891.

right of occupancy. "Free sale" deprives the incoming tenant of his capital, and is quite inconsistent with the right management of an estate. We need hardly say that we are not using Mr. Jones's success as an argument on behalf of all Irish landlords. His estate is situated in a comparatively prosperous part of the country; the farms are of a fair size; and the tenants have enjoyed the advantage of their landlord's presence, assistance, and example. If Irish landlords generally had regarded themselves as captains of industry and not as mere rent-chargers, we might never have seen the agitation of 1879-80, and landlordism might have been recognized as the most powerful agency for good which can be brought to bear on a country of backward agriculture.

From Mr. Becker's interesting sketches of "Disturbed Ireland,"⁴ reprinted from the *Daily News*, the English reader may derive some notion of the difficulties which landlords, good as well as bad, have to encounter in these times. Having gone to the West "without either Irish politics or Irish friends," Mr. Becker made a vigorous attempt to discover for himself what the state of the country really was. His researches extended from the lands of Miss Gardiner in County Mayo to those of Mr. Bence Jones in County Cork. In the course of his journey, he had frequent occasion to note that the distress complained of by the peasantry is no fiction, but an impressive and even terrible fact. Mr. Becker's English soul was often vexed within him by the faults of these poor wretches—their prevarication, procrastination, laziness, unthrift, and dirt. At the same time he does full justice to their primitive virtues, and to the singular charm of their native courtesy; and while he speaks with just admiration of the management of Lisselan, he enables us to see that Mr. Bence Jones might possibly have escaped some of his recent troubles if he had taken a somewhat less dogmatic tone with his tenants. Of the League and its agents Mr. Becker has nothing good to report. Writing from Castlebar, he asserts that the population of that district is armed to the teeth, principally with old Government rifles, shortened and re-bored in America. These weapons are not meant to be used in a general rising, but only to terrify the landlords and to facilitate those nocturnal freaks of "Constitutional agitation" of which a fair specimen is given in Mr. Becker's account of the fate of Lawrence Griffin, who had the top of his ear cut off for undertaking to watch the farm of a defaulting tenant. We do not look in a work of this kind for schemes of reform; but the book has nevertheless a political value of its own. We recommend "Disturbed Ireland" to the special attention of those who think that the evils of Irish society can be made to disappear by a few remedial Acts of Parliament.

We turn from the Ireland of 1880 to the Ireland of 1846. In the autumn of that disastrous year, Lord John Manners sought refreshment, after the exhausting labours imposed on him as one of the representatives of "Young England," in an Irish tour, of which he has

⁴ "Disturbed Ireland." By Bernard H. Becker, Special Commissioner of the *Daily News*. London: Macmillan & Co. 1881.

now published a short account.⁵ In a modest Preface, we are informed that his Lordship's ambition is to afford us "half-an-hour's amusement." This promise is more than redeemed in 148 pages of lively gossip. It is pleasant to observe how the author's fine contempt for Puritanism and secular education placed him at once *en rapport* with Catholic Ireland. Those were the days of "brother Pugin, bless his heart;" and Lord John is careful to note any bit of modern Gothic among the more hopeful signs of the country's future. His report of the trial of Mahoney *v.* O'Gorman at the Six-mile Petty Sessions is really a valuable bit of history. It is not wonderful that Irish peasants speak bitterly of landlordism when an English Tory can write such a summing-up as this:—

"Here you have a gentleman, whose health a few days ago was proposed at the great Irish agricultural meeting in Limerick as the type of agricultural progress, demanding that which no landlord has a right in law or equity to demand of a tenant; persecuting that tenant from court to court for resisting that unjust demand; when defeated in law having recourse to violence, and with his own arm assaulting an infirm and helpless old man; receiving a double rent for the same bog; and, lastly, urging a man whose money he had wrongfully received to the perpetration of an illegal act, for which that man is punished!"

We are glad to find that the opinions which we have taken occasion to express in regard to the Irish Land Question are in many points confirmed by the authority of Mr. Boyd Kinnear. In the pamphlet before us,⁶ we are invited to consider the questions of Home Rule and agrarian reform in the light, not of "Irish ideas," but of Liberal common sense. Mr. Kinnear would meet the demand for Home Rule by treating Ireland exactly as Scotland has been treated since 1746. The Irish Government should consist of Irishmen, and the Irish Members should be tamed by throwing on them the responsibility for all Irish business. Dealing with the Land Question, he makes it perfectly clear that a variety of remedies must be applied, and that methods which are appropriate where rents are really exorbitant, or population hopelessly congested, would work nothing but injustice and discouragement in the best cultivated parts of Ireland. Mr. Kinnear has sketched a scheme to be administered by a Commission, not unlike the scheme which we have advocated; but he goes, as we think, beyond the necessities of the case in proposing that the Commission should be empowered to force the owners of mismanaged estates to part with their land for 25 years' purchase of its real annual value. It would be extremely difficult to define the degree of mismanagement which would call for the exercise of such a power.

Mr. Scratchley's pamphlet⁷ is a supplement to his work on the law of land societies, and contains a variety of legal and financial suggestions bearing on the establishment of such societies in Ireland.

⁵ "Notes of an Irish Tour in 1846." By Lord John Manners, M.P. New edition. London and Edinburgh: W. Blackwood & Sons. 1881.

⁶ "Ireland." By John Boyd Kinnear. London: Smith, Elder & Co. 1880.

⁷ "Suggestions for the Establishment of Co-operative Farming and Land Societies in Ireland." By Arthur Scratchley, M.A., &c. London: Shaw & Sons. 1880.

Professor Richey's treatise⁸ is not an exposition of the law of real property in its details, but an historical criticism of the system of tenure, which we are now, for the third time, asked to amend. The author's object is to correct as far as possible those strangely inaccurate notions of tenure and land-management which are frequently taken up even by writers of authority. After an able exposition of the difference between customary and conventional tenure, Dr. Richey proceeds to show that the French law, to which the opponents of free contract have sometimes appealed, is really the most logical embodiment of the contract principle. He then exhibits the Act of 1860 on which the existing Irish law is based as an attempt to establish the same principle to the exclusion of feudal and customary rights. The Act of 1870 amounted to a confession that the attempt had failed, or, in other words, that the social development of Ireland was not sufficiently advanced to admit a system of contract. By those who advocate fixity of tenure we are now invited to emphasize that confession, and to revert boldly to tenure by status. Mr. Richey writes as a lawyer, not as a politician: he does not presume to decide the question whether a complete reversal of the Act of 1860 is necessary. Assuming that such reversal is to be attempted, he condenses in a series of carefully drawn queries the practical problems which we shall have to face. The suggestion at page 113, that "fixity of tenure" should be accompanied by some provision by which the tenant may be enabled to buy up the rent-charge to which his landlord's interest will be reduced, is very much to the point. If we are to have the "Three F's," we ought by all means to realize that we are undertaking to draw a contract for the owners and occupiers of land, and to draw it with care and completeness. In an Appendix to his treatise, Mr. Richey has collected some specimens of "Popular Errors as to Irish Law," taken chiefly from Mr. Cliffe Leslie's "Land Systems."

There is a Land Question in England as well as in Ireland. The agricultural depression of the years 1876-9 has drawn attention to the defects of our land system; and the Government is pledged to deal with the subject as soon as may be. Mr. Brodrick's book⁹ is therefore very opportune: legislators, landowners, and reformers will turn to it for information and guidance with confidence, inspired by the sobriety and thoroughness of the author's previous works. In this Essay Mr. Brodrick has endeavoured to digest for the benefit of the general reader a great mass of historical, legal, and economical matter. He has not entered into the technicalities of the subject: we do not find, for instance, in his list of possible reforms, any allusion to the ingenious proposals of Mr. Joshua Williams. His own programme is decided, without being in the least revolutionary: it includes the equal division of land in cases of intestacy, the abolition of limited

⁸ "The Irish Land Laws." By A. G. Richey, Q.C., LL.D., Deputy Regius Professor of Feudal and English Law in the University of Dublin. London: Macmillan & Co. 1880.

⁹ "English Land and English Landlords." By the Hon. George C. Brodrick. Published for the Cobden Club by Cassell, Petter, Galpin, & Co. London, 1881.

ownership, the compulsory registration of titles and the creation of a class of small proprietors. The period between the fall of feudalism and the invention of settlements was the period which witnessed the permanent establishment of English liberty and prosperity. If, by any means, we could call into being a class of men like the Buckinghamshire yeomen who rode with Hampden, we shall certainly have done something to strengthen the fabric of our society. It would be easy* to prove from the historical chapters of this book that the best traditions of rural England are with the party of Free Land, and not with those who uphold a system which distributes landed property among a small and decreasing number of families. In the interest of the landlords themselves, something must be done to relieve them of their burdensome monopoly, and to simplify the business of county administration in which they are and must continue to be largely concerned. Mr. Brodrick touches, with his usual fairness and moderation, on the "burning question" of rates and the peculiar burdens of land. He exposes clearly the fallacy of the argument which has been developed in the House of Commons by Sir Massey Lopes and Sir Michael Hicks-Beach. To rate personalty in relief of land would be, he says, to benefit the landowner at the expense of the community, and to increase the rental of the eldest son by a contribution from the scanty portion of his younger brothers and sisters. It is to be observed, on the other hand, that the arguments of those who would increase the present burdens on land are frequently based on a totally mistaken view of the facts. The compilers of "Financial Reformers' Almanac" have done their best to popularize an account of the Land Tax, which makes the landlords responsible for a "gross legislative iniquity." In an appendix to Mr. Brodrick's book, contributed by Mr. Humphreys Owen, the true history of the transaction thus described is succinctly stated.

Mr. Henry George¹⁰ is an American economist who has made a special study of the Land Question. His conclusions are widely different from those of English economists like Mr. Brodrick. In "Progress and Poverty" he has undertaken to demolish the Wages Fund theory and the doctrine of Malthus, and to prove that the law of rent, rightly understood, is inconsistent with all forms of private property in land. He contends that wages are not paid out of capital, but out of the produce of the labour which earns them: that the wages of an iron-worker, for instance, are only a symbol of so much iron actually wrought; and that, as this symbol entitles the labourer to receive his share of the bread, butter, &c., which are actually being produced by other labourers alongside of him, the iron-worker is virtually producing his own bread-and-butter at his own forge. There is much virtue in a "virtually." Mr. George seems to regard the Wages Fund as a definite stock of capital, possessed by employers as distinguished from labourers; but, as Cairnes has explained, it is actually an

¹⁰ "Progress and Poverty; an Inquiry into the cause of Industrial Depressions and of Increase of Want with Increase of Wealth. The Remedy." By Henry George. London: C. Kegan Paul & Co. 1881.

indefinite stock, partly consisting in the capital of those labourers who are able to go to work without requiring the employer to provide for their subsistence till something has been produced. Mr. George asks why, if wages are paid out of capital, periods of low interest (i.e., of over-abundant capital) are also periods of low wages? The answer is, that capital and labour are factors in the same process of production. When that process is languid, the capital seeking to enter into the Wages Fund may be large, but the capital which actually enters is small, therefore interest is low; the supply of labour may perhaps be small, but the demand is also small, therefore wages are low. To the Malthusian doctrine Mr. George makes the same objection as Mr. Carlyle. Any given country *can* support more than its present population; how then can it be said that population tends to exhaust subsistence? But Malthus did not profess to deal with countries ideally cultivated. If every Bengal peasant were a model farmer, the Ganges valley would not be over-populated. How does that affect the general statement that Bengal peasants are not, in point of fact, able to make the increasing resources of their country suffice for their own increasing numbers? Increasing population, if unchecked, tends to get ahead of the *actual* ability of the people to raise more food. Mr. George declares that this statement is almost blasphemous, because the *potential* increase of food is unexhausted, and perhaps inexhaustible. In dealing with rent, Mr. George sets out by accepting as axiomatic the theory of Ricardo. He then proceeds to argue that, inasmuch as land is necessary to industry, the community should not allow any individual to acquire an exclusive right to land which enables him to speculate in rent. So far, he is in accordance with great authorities; but when he argues that the community by resuming the land can extinguish poverty we cannot agree with him. If the State be landlord, the persons who occupy the best cultivable land must, in equity, pay for the economic advantage they enjoy; and the amount of their rent will be determined by competition. We have not space to work out the effects of State-landlordism; we have perhaps sufficiently indicated our reasons for doubting whether the extinction of private property would lead to general prosperity. It is only fair to say that Mr. George's book is well written and full of striking illustrations. We must, however, protest against the style which he adopts as often as he refers to owners of land. If landlords must part with their property for the public good, let them at least be dispossessed without violence. To denounce them as "robbers," to hint approval of Nihilism, to rebuke the Irish people for want of spirit because they have "only occasionally murdered a landlord"—all this perilous stuff may do very well for the *Irish World*, but is quite out of place in a grave treatise on "Poverty and Progress."

Mr. Stephen Bourne has collected in a single volume¹¹ sixteen papers dealing with the same problems which have exercised the mind of Mr. George. His "Essay on the Growth of Population"

¹¹ "Trade, Population, and Food." By Stephen Bourne. London: George Bell & Sons. 1880.

supplies a correction of the extreme to which the Malthusian theory is sometimes carried. The Rev. Mr. Malthus himself was quite sure that the country would be ruined by any considerable increase beyond the seven millions at which the population stood in his time. Our population has trebled since then, but the standard of living among the English poor has been steadily rising. But Mr. Bourne has not come forward to prophesy smooth things, to prove that the vast movement of increase and extension now in progress may continue indefinitely without danger. The cardinal doctrine of his book is to be found in the papers which deal with the preponderance of imports over exports, and the dependence of the United Kingdom on foreign supplies of food. Most of our readers must be aware that Mr. Bourne was the first to call attention to a subject which has been vigorously discussed of late years by our leading economical statistes. It is evident that we are becoming, year by year, more dependent on other countries for the necessaries of life; and at the same time our products are becoming less necessary to the countries from which our supplies are derived. Making all due allowance for remittances of interest on British capital invested abroad, there remains a margin of importation over exportation for which it is difficult to find a satisfactory explanation. We are inclined to think that Mr. Bourne exaggerates to some extent the immediate danger of this state of things; but we must acknowledge that he states his view of the case with much ability, and supports it with a mass of interesting and carefully arranged information. His concluding Essay contains a searching examination of Mr. Blackley's scheme of National Insurance.

It is refreshing to turn for a moment from these volumes, filled with the controversies of to-day, to the old world wisdom of "The Boke named the Governour."¹² The sixteenth century, like our own, had its burning questions, and Sir Thomas Elyot, Member of Parliament, and servant of Henry VIII., lived in an element of civil and ecclesiastical debate. He was a protégé of Wolsey's, a friend of More's, and performed in his time no inconsiderable amount of public work, for which, according to the custom of the age, he was often very badly paid. He was also one of the band of scholars who established the New Learning in England; and though his works are now but little known, they enjoyed in their day a reputation not inferior to that of the "Utopia" itself. "The Governour" is a treatise on the moral and intellectual training to be undergone by young men destined by their parents for public life. It appeared to Elyot, as it always appears to middle-aged officials, that the supply of qualified men for the king's service was running short; and he complains of the avarice which prevented rich men from devoting a due portion of their wealth to the education of their sons. Among the "Causes why in England there be few perfect schoolmasters," he enumerates the worldliness of parents, the lack of men who love learning for its own sake, and the

¹² "The Boke named the Governour. Devised by Sir Thomas Elyot, Knight." Edited from the First Edition of 1531 by H. H. S. Croft, M. A., Barrister-at-Law. Two volumes. London: C. Kegan Paul & Co. 1880.

want of tests to prevent pretentious, half-taught young men from usurping the office of teaching. These reflections are not altogether without application to our own times. If Elyot's educational programme is out of date, his book is still worth consulting by those who take an interest in the theory and history of teaching. Apart from its merits as a treatise, it possesses considerable literary value. It is a monument of English prose as it was written by educated men in the generation immediately before Shakspeare. In Mr. Croft the author of "The Governour" has found a most congenial editor. Nothing that could help us to understand the book and to trace its innumerable allusions to Greek and Latin authors has escaped Mr. Croft's diligence. He has provided us with a painstaking Glossary, a "Life of Elyot," and a great mass of excellent notes. His volumes are printed and bound in a style of becoming dignity; and, though we can hardly anticipate popularity for so solid a work, we are sure that it will be received with gratitude by students of our history and literature.

Sir John Phear's description of the Aryan village¹³ is concerned with the everyday life of our Eastern subjects, but it carries us both to the very beginnings of civilization. Maine has remarked that European writers are apt to deal with historical facts on the assumption that progress is the natural law of society, whereas progressive societies are really exceptional. The truth of this general observation is brought home to us when we find that millions of our contemporaries and fellow-subjects are still ruled by the ideas and customs from which our own remote ancestors started. Sir J. Phear gives a minutely detailed account of the industrial and social habits of these primitive communities, clearly explaining the rights and duties assigned to the Zamindar, his clerks and bailiffs, on the one hand, and the headmen of the village on the other hand—not forgetting the Mahajun, who is to the ryot what the gombeen-man is to the Irish tenant, and may therefore be fairly described as the motive power of the whole system. In a supplementary chapter Sir J. Phear explains the evolution of the village from the joint family.

The establishment of a strong European Government in India has raised many interesting problems in jurisprudence and statesmanship. Some of these are touched upon by Sir J. Phear; and if to his general account of what we have done for the ryot we add the more detailed information placed before us by Sir Richard Temple¹⁴ and Mr. Hunter¹⁵ we shall obtain a tolerably comprehensive notion of the conditions and prospects of Indian civilisation. There seems to be no limit to Sir R. Temple's energy. Before he had shaken off the cares of Indian administration he was in the field as a candidate for East Worcestershire; and within a miraculously short time after the close of his

¹³ "The Aryan Village in India and Ceylon." By Sir John B. Phear. London: Macmillan & Co. 1880.

¹⁴ "India in 1880." By Sir Richard Temple, Bart., &c. Second edition. London: John Murray. 1881.

¹⁵ "England's Work in India." By W. W. Hunter, C.I.E., LL.D. London: Smith, Elder & Co. 1881.

unsuccessful political campaign he presented the public with a volume of 500 pages on the present condition of India. We know that the servants of the Crown in India pride themselves on their mastery of the pen; and we do not think that their reputation is likely to suffer in the hands of the author of "India in 1880." His book contains a considerable mass of information, carefully arranged. His style is clear and readable; but some of his chapters are encumbered with a kind of official padding which gives them an unhappy resemblance to leading articles indefinitely produced. No man now living has had a larger or a more varied experience of Indian administration than Sir Richard Temple; and his book will be of great use to all who wish to learn something of the soil, the inhabitants, the arts, and the institutions of our chief dependency. Mr. Hunter's pamphlet has been so well received that we may content ourselves with saying that it deserves all the praise which has been bestowed on it. It is a luminous vindication of our past dealings with India; but, while dwelling with justifiable pride on our achievements, Mr. Hunter has not sought to disguise the magnitude and difficulty of the tasks which await us. To raise a food supply which shall suffice for a population averaging in some parts of the country 680 persons to the square mile, and to provide a Government on the European scale of efficiency without exceeding an Oriental standard of taxation—these are problems which appear to some able writers wholly insoluble. It is comforting to mark that neither Sir R. Temple nor Mr. Hunter belongs to the pessimist order of critics. What we require to overcome our difficulties is, as Mr. Hunter tells us, more knowledge. "The responsibility for India has passed into the hands of Parliament, and through Parliament to the electoral body of Great Britain. They must realize that if, through ignorance or indifference, they fail to discharge that responsibility, they are acting as bad citizens. They must therefore set themselves to learn more about India."

The flood-tide of literature relating to the Eastern Question is past; but, if we are to judge from the books before us, the Turkish Empire still attracts its fair share of interest. Lord Stratford de Redcliffe will always be a leading authority on a subject which he knew better than any Englishman of his time. It was therefore only right that this collection of his articles, letters, and memoranda should be published.¹⁶ Like many famous men of action, the author of these notes and essays seemed to lose part of his power when he took pen in hand. He is always well worth reading, but he is not particularly readable. His personal dignity and his sense of official propriety prevent him from seasoning his remarks on public questions with those personalities which of late have been much in fashion among literary diplomatists. Those who still believe in the policy of "the great Eltchi"—preservation of the Turkish Empire by reformation of its abuses—will be confirmed in their faith by this volume. To the last Lord Stratford de

¹⁶ "The Eastern Question." By the late Viscount Stratford de Redcliffe, K.G. With a Preface by A. P. Stanley, D.D., Dean of Westminster. London: John Murray. 1881.

Redcliffe never doubted that the Ottoman rule might be made a blessing to Europe and Asia; but when we consider the extent of the sacrifices which would, he thinks, be necessary, and then consider the characters of the men who now govern at Constantinople, we cannot be hopeful.

What is the actual condition of the Turkish provinces we may gather from a comparison of the observations of two experienced travellers, Mr. Tozer and Mr. Laurence Oliphant. The journey described by Mr. Tozer¹⁷ extended from Samsoun to Trebizond, by way of Mount Argæus, Lake Van, and Erzeroum. In the course of the two months which he spent in those seldom travelled regions, Mr. Tozer accumulated a considerable stock of information, which he puts before us in a quiet, business-like way, without any attempt at fine writing. He has made a careful examination of the rock-carvings of Euyuk (Pteria), and inclines to the theory of Professor Sayce, that these and other monuments of the same kind are to be referred to the Hittites, whose power seems to have extended at one time from the Euphrates to the Ægean. Not less interesting than these ancient remains are the monasteries and rock-chambers, some of which have been occupied by the same small community since the first age of the Christian Church. Mr. Tozer has also much to tell us of the present Mahometan and Christian subjects of Turkey, of the Kurds and Circassians who range up and down among the more peaceful inhabitants, and of the general depression and discouragement produced by a Government which is active only in levying taxes and making requisition of young men and beasts of burden for its armies. From the Lebanon and the Land of Gilead,¹⁸ Mr. Oliphant makes the same report as to the effect of Turkish rule. But his journey was not merely a tour of observation; it was undertaken with a view to the selection of a site for a Jewish colony which is to begin the redemption of Palestine from its present waste and undeveloped state. Already, in his mind's eye, Mr. Oliphant sees the well-wooded country between Jabbok and Arnou occupied by peaceful Hebrew cultivators, connected with the Red Sea at Akaba, the Canal at Ismailia, and the Mediterranean at Haifa, by lines of railway, and enjoying a reasonable measure of local independence under the protection of the Porte. His vision of social regeneration includes, further, the opening of coal and iron mines in the neighbourhood of Ma'an, and the establishment of a prosperous watering-place at the springs of Amatha, not far from the spot where the possessed swine of old ran down into the sea. We ought to say that this "devout imagination" has not been suggested to Mr. Oliphant by any Scriptural theory of the Restoration of the Jews; his plan is conceived in the interest of humanity in general. Nor is his scheme a visionary extravagance. A Committee has been formed among the Jews of Bucharest, who have suffered much from the peculiar "religious

¹⁷ "Turkish Armenia," &c. By the Rev. H. F. Tozer, M.A., &c. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1881.

¹⁸ "The Land of Gilead," &c. By Laurence Oliphant. London and Edinburgh: W. Blackwood and Sons. 1880.

liberty" which prevails among Roumanian Christians, for the colonization of the Holy Land; the Jews in England are ready to subscribe; all that is now wanted is the Sultan's signature to an *iradé*. Up to the present time the suspicion of the Porte has prevented this signature from being given; we wish Mr. Oliphant success in his efforts to remove political obstacles to the realization of an excellent scheme.

The ancient race of navy men who sailed with Vernon would be greatly astonished if they could witness the literary activity of their successors. Among the books of the quarter we have to notice no less than three by naval officers. Captain St. John¹⁹ has a hereditary claim on our regard; and these sketches of the men and birds of the Far East entitle him to a favourable reception on his own merits. Japan has been much described, but there was much left to describe; and Mr. St. John adds something to the knowledge even of those who have accompanied Miss Bird in her journey along unbeaten tracks. His experience of Japanese and Aino character has been gained in the remoter parts of the empire, where the rapid changes of recent years have hardly been felt. He is able to confirm the praise bestowed by previous writers on the hospitality and courtesy of the people; and his account of the kindness lavished upon the shipwrecked captain of the *Eliza Corry* would almost lead one to believe that in natural goodness the Japanese excel all civilized nations. Their morality is certainly not the morality of the West; but Mr. St. John seems to think that their vices are tolerably harmless, except where foreign trade has introduced bad liquor and Wapping manners. Besides the author's notes on Japan, the book contains some account of cruises in Chinese waters and off the coast of Corea. From the same seas Lieutenant Shore²⁰ has brought home reports of a variety of strange and amusing experiences in China, Formosa, and Siam. There is nothing very profound in his book; but it is amusing and occasionally instructive. His notes on the condition of the Chinese navy, arsenals, and naval schools are particularly interesting. It is becoming a somewhat anxious question whether England can maintain, in all events, her command of the Pacific; and in the solution of this problem the Chinese navy of the future may prove an important factor. Captain St. John's opinion, with which Mr. Shore would perhaps agree, is that we should have a station on the Corean Coast, from which the North Pacific could be thoroughly surveyed. This bold proposal will no doubt excite the wrath of those who regard all annexations as mere robbery. It may be that Sir Wilfrid Lawson will discover that the Coreans are a simple, virtuous people, whom it would be a sin to disturb. Captain St. John, who has seen them, regards them as an exceptionally mean and dirty race of savages; and probably thinks that a little annexation would do them all the good in the world.

Captain Markham's book is an account of a cruise in a forty-three

¹⁹ "Notes and Sketches from the Wild Coasts of Nipon." By Captain H. C. St. John, R.N. Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1880.

²⁰ "The Flight of the 'Lapwing.'" By the Hon. H. N. Shore, R.N. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1881.

ton cutter along the coasts of Novaya Zemlya.²¹ The *Isbjöru* was engaged by Sir H. Gore Booth for a sporting expedition; and Mr. Markham, who is a devotee of the North Pole, was thus enabled to pay another visit to the Arctic regions and to obtain information which confirms him in the belief that discovery should be pushed northward by way of Franz Josef Land. The *Isbjöru* attained a very high latitude without getting into serious difficulty; and the *Willem Barents*, a Dutch schooner which was cruising in the same neighbourhood, actually sighted Franz Josef Land without encountering any pack ice. It is a maxim with Arctic explorers that progress can always be made by land; it is only the frozen sea which opposes an absolute barrier to the boldest navigator. It is evident from Captain Markham's description that Novaya Zemlya has its picturesque and even fascinating aspects. There are icebergs tossing on the sea, glaciers creeping slowly round the black slopes of the hills, reindeer, seals, and walrus to be hunted, butterflies to be netted, and countless flocks of guillemots to be knocked over and picked up à discrétion. Human inhabitants there are none, nor even human visitors, except a wandering party of Samoyedes or Norsemen in search of walrus; and there is always the danger of being caught in the ice, even during the two months of so-called summer. If a British ship is sent to explore in that direction Mr. Markham advises that the commander of the expedition should be a man courageous enough to return and report a failure, rather than run the risk of being imprisoned like the *Tegethoff*.

Under the fanciful title of "The Expiring Continent,"²² an English traveller gives us some notes of recent travel in Senegambia. We have often had occasion to wish that a public office could be established, in which literary experts should be employed to reduce the narratives of travellers like Mr. Mitchinson to a succinct and intelligible form. Senegambia is so little known that we are glad to have any facts about it; but who can extract the facts from a volume of nearly 500 pages, without dates, without exact topography, and without any special charm of style? Mr. Mitchinson, to do him justice, is conscious of the defects of his book; but he might have avoided most of these defects if he had sought out a judicious critic before sending his too voluminous MS. to press. Another, though perhaps a less flagrant, example of want of literary form is "Old Ali."²³ Twenty years ago, Mr. Osmaston travelled from Nijni-Novgorod to Astrakhan, crossed the Caspian to Baku, entered Persia, and rode from Teheran to Aleppo. Without adding much to our knowledge of the country, Mr. Osmaston has an interesting story to tell, and tells it fairly well. But the story is too long; and before it is even begun the reader must wade through 172 pages of adventures such as befall the most ordinary

²¹ "A Polar Reconnaissance." By Albert H. Markham, F.R.G.S., Captain R.N. London: C. Kegan Paul & Co. 1881.

²² "The Expiring Continent." By A. W. Mitchinson. London: W. H. Allen & Co. 1881.

²³ "Old Ali; or, Travels Long Ago." By John Osmaston. London: Hatchards. 1881.

tourist in Norway and Russia. We are reluctant to include a lady in the same condemnation with Mr. Mitchinson and Mr. Osmaston; and we are aware that the ordinary rules of criticism are not to be applied to books of travel in Palestine. Of Miss Weld's "Sacred Palm Lands,"²⁴ therefore, we shall only say that it is equal to the average book about the Holy Land in respect of its style, and rather above the average in respect of the information which it contains.

Mr Gallenga's book about South America²⁵ is a model of special correspondence. As the commissioner of the *Times*, the author spent about nine months in making himself acquainted with the scenery, trade, politics, and social customs of the communities whose wars and revolutions are to European readers a mere confusion of noise and bloodshed. Mr. Gallenga shows very clearly how the difficulties of the South American Republics have arisen from the preponderance of native and half-caste elements, and from the want of some class of people capable of the hard work which is necessary to the development of the country.

To the superficial tourist it might seem impossible to make a book at once long and interesting about the Lake of Constance. Mr. Capper,²⁶ however, has succeeded in collecting a great variety of legendary and historical lore, which he communicates in a rambling, but eminently readable, style, as we accompany him from city to city and through the pleasant valleys that slope towards the Boden See. His account of the *Landesgemeinde* at Trogen gives us a pleasant glimpse into the nature of German freedom as it exists in Switzerland. Mr. Jennings has chosen ground even more familiar for his "Rambles."²⁷ We say "more familiar," but it may be that there are many travelled Englishmen to whom the beauties of Derbyshire and the South Downs are as yet unknown. If any such there be, they have but to read Mr. Jennings to find that they need not leave their own country in search of novelty. The district described by Mr. Blackburn²⁸ is almost an English province. It would be safe to bet that a majority of the thousand umbrellas sketched by M. Doré at p. 71 are of British manufacture. Mr. Blackburn's descriptions of Pyrenean watering-places are amusing; and M. Doré's sketches are good examples of the art, in which he has no rival, of putting a great deal into a very small compass. Another amusing book about an English invalid resort is Mr. Knox's "New Playground."²⁹

Some two months ago, our newspapers gave some account of the

²⁴ "Sacred Palm Lands." By A. G. Weld. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1881.

²⁵ "South America." By A. Gallenga. London: Chapman & Hall. 1881.

²⁶ "The Shores and Cities of the Boden See." By S. J. Capper. London: T. De la Rue & Co. 1881.

²⁷ "Rambles among the Hills." By L. J. Jennings. London: John Murray. 1880.

²⁸ "The Pyrenees." By Henry Blackburn. Illustrated by Gustave Doré. London: Sampson Low & Co. 1881.

²⁹ "The New Playground; or, Wanderings in Algeria." By Alexander A. Knox. London: C. Kegan Paul & Co. 1881.

honour paid by all St. Petersburg, from the Czar to the school-children, to the funeral of Fedor Dostoyeffsky. From this translation of his principal work³⁰ we are able to judge of the powers of one who was so highly esteemed by his countrymen. This story of life in a Siberian prison is as simple, as powerful, as *credible* in every detail as "Robinson Crusoe."

Among the educational treatises of the quarter we have to acknowledge Mr. Bashford's pamphlet,³¹ which gives an account of the Saxon educational code, and Miss Shirreff's description and defence of Froebel's system of infant instruction.³² "Our Public Schools"³³ are described in a volume made up of essays which have already appeared in a magazine. Seven great schools are described, apparently by seven different writers; and the general results are summed up, in an eighth paper, by an "independent mind." We may perhaps include the public school system among the institutions which are now, as the Radical phrase is, on their trial. They are very expensive; their range of teaching is somewhat narrow; and nobody can be altogether satisfied with the moral results obtained by forming great colonies of boys, apart from their families and their friends. If the descriptions of Eton and Harrow given in this book are accurate, we must hold the public school to be an artificial, and even unnatural, product of modern civilization. These schools are commonly judged by their social influence; and we admit that they teach boys to behave politely and to know the world. But these advantages are too often secured by the sacrifice of the weightier matters of the law.

Miss Cobbe's "Lectures on the Duties of Women"³⁴ contain much sound sense in a small compass. Rejecting from the outset the notion that there are certain specially "feminine" virtues, Miss Cobbe has worked out in systematic order the application of the moral code to the circumstances, opportunities, and temptations of women in modern society. It would be useless to put this little book into the hands of those who most need its teaching—the harem school of social philosophers, who think a woman "bold" if she presumes to have a mind of her own. But the doctrines of the harem school are not so generally received as they were; and Miss Cobbe may perhaps succeed in giving them the *coup de grâce*. It is sometimes said that Christianity is the only religion which gives women their rightful place in society. This opinion is, however, contested by Syed Ameer Ali, in the treatise on "The Personal Law of the Mahommedans,"³⁵ which he has just published.

³⁰ "Buried Alive; or, Ten Years of Penal Servitude in Siberia." By Fedor Dostoyeffsky. Translated from the Russian by Marie von Thilo. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1881.

³¹ "Elementary Education in Saxony." By John Bashford, M.A. London: Sampson Low & Co. 1881.

³² "The Kinder-garten." By Emily Shirreff. Second Edition. London: Sonnenschein & Allen. 1880.

³³ "Our Public Schools." London: C. Kegan Paul & Co. 1881.

³⁴ "The Duties of Women." By Frances P. Cobbe. London: Williams & Norgate. 1861.

³⁵ "The Personal Law of the Mahommedans." By Syed Ameer Ali, Moulvi, M.A., &c. London: W. H. Allen & Co. 1880.

Himself a member of the Mutazalita or critical school of Mahomedan opinion, the author discovers in the Koran, rightly understood, a powerful instrument for the protection of women; and he is able to show that many legal rights are conceded to the wife of a Mussulman which European legislators have denied to the wives of Christians. Polygamy, though not forbidden, is discouraged by the laws of the Prophet; and it is, in fact, dying out among the more intelligent and pious Mahomedans in India and elsewhere. The subject of women's rights is one of many dealt with by Syed Ameer Ali in his valuable work.

Mr. Perry's pamphlet³⁶ reminds us that the enlightened principles of the law expounded by Mahomedan jurists have not brought much happiness to the subjects of Mahomedan Governments. In Egypt "the *kurbash* and the *piastre* long did duty for law and equity. The evils of this old state of things were sensibly diminished by the establishment of the mixed tribunals. But in the eyes of certain French critics, jealous of the influence of their nation, the mixed tribunals have not found favour. To correct the false impression produced by M. Charmes and other French writers, Mr. Perry gives some account of what the tribunals have done, and pleads for an extension and consolidation of their powers.

We have to acknowledge a translation of Quinet's "Religious Revolution,"³⁷ executed by an English admirer who wishes to explain to Liberals in this country the position taken up by French Liberals on questions relating to the Roman Church; Mr. Norris-Newman's careful chronicle of the Zulu War;³⁸ Mr. Anderson's notes of travel in Fiji and New Caledonia,³⁹ which gives a not very flattering picture of our new dependency; an excellent reprint⁴⁰ of thirteen voyages of Elizabethan seamen, from the collection of Hakluyt, edited by the very competent hand of Mr. Payne; and a journal of travel in Colorado,⁴¹ which would be more amusing if the writer would strike out two-thirds of his jokes.

Of statistical and financial publications, we desire to mention the *Exposé des Motifs* presented to the Italian Chamber of Deputies in support of the Bill for the abolition of the present inconvertible paper currency.⁴² From the Italian Ministry of Commerce we have received two volumes of Statistical Annals,⁴³ containing a large number of

³⁶ "The Future of Justice in Egypt." By Harold A. Perry, M.A., &c. London: P. S. King. 1881.

³⁷ "The Religious Revolution in the Nineteenth Century." From the *Fr* of Edgar Quinet. London: Trübner & Co. 1881.

³⁸ "In Zululand with the British." By C. L. Norris-Newman. London: W. H. Allen & Co. 1880.

³⁹ "Fiji and New Caledonia." By J. W. Anderson, M.A. London: Ellissen & Co. 1880.

⁴⁰ "Voyages of the Elizabethan Seamen to America." Edited by E. J. Payne. London: De la Rue and Co. 1880.

⁴¹ "New Colorado and the Santa Fé Trail." By A. A. Hayes, jun. London: C. Kegan Paul and Co. 1881.

⁴² "L'Abolition du Cours Forcé, Exposé des Motifs," &c. Rome: Héritiers Botta. 1881.

⁴³ "Annali di Statistica." Serie 2^a, vols. 17 e 18. Rome: Botta. 1881.

valuable tables. The earlier of two gives an admirably executed summary of statistical works of importance recently published in Germany, France, and England. The Currency Question is handled from the Austrian point of view by Herr Neuwirth,⁴⁴ from the English, by Mr. Drysdale.⁴⁵ M. Körösi has drawn up a scheme for the comparison of census returns embodying the requirements made at various times by Statistical Congresses.⁴⁶ That M. Körösi is not a mere theorist in such matters is sufficiently proved by his careful Tables of the Finances of Great Towns.⁴⁷ We observe that the figures for London are wanting in these tables—a fact which will suggest to the English reader useful reflections on our system of Metropolitan management. Victoria⁴⁸ and New Zealand⁴⁹ further statistical inquiry by publishing year-books of social facts. It is to be feared that the extent of our national concerns would not permit of a similar comprehensive return being made for the United Kingdom. Messrs. W. H. Allen and Co. have endeavoured to provide the public with a guide to the ever-increasing multitude of Parliamentary Papers,⁵⁰ in the form of a précis. The condition of schools for the deaf and dumb in Italy is exhibited in a Parliamentary return.⁵¹

We have not space to speak, as we should like to have done, of Sir David Wedderburn's "Colonial Policy,"⁵² of Professor Kiriaki's solid and enlightened Essay on Electoral Reform,⁵³ or of the new edition of Mr. Edwards' standard work on Ventilation.⁵⁴

⁴⁴ "Der Kampf um die Währung." Von Joseph Neuwirth. Jena : Fischer. 1881.

⁴⁵ "Plan for Regulating the Stock of Gold," &c. By John Drysdale. Liverpool: Holden. 1880.

⁴⁶ "Projet du Recensement du Monde." Par J. Körösi. Paris: Guillaumin. 1881.

⁴⁷ "Les Finances des Grandes Villes." Bulletin annuel, rédigé par J. Körösi. Paris: Guillaume. 1881.

⁴⁸ "Victorian Year-book, 1879-80." By H. H. Hayter, Government Statist. London: George Robertson. 1880.

⁴⁹ "New Zealand Statistics." Blue Book. Wellington. By authority. 1880.

⁵⁰ "Official Papers, 1880." London: W. H. Allen & Co.

⁵¹ "Istituti dei Sordomuti in Italia." Roma. 1880.

⁵² "Practical Politics. No. iv. British Colonial Policy." By Sir D. Wedderburn, Bart., M.P. London: Macmillan & Co. 1881.

⁵³ "Della Riforma Elettorale." A. S. Kiriaki. Roma: Forzani. 1879.

⁵⁴ "The Ventilation of Dwelling-Houses," &c. By F. Edwards, jun. Second Edition. Revised. London: Longmans, Green, & Co. 1881.

SCIENCE.

DR. JAMES GEIKIE'S "Prehistoric Europe" is one of the most delightful expositions of modern geological work that has ever been produced.¹ Written with great skill and freshness of style and language, it designs to set out an account rather of the physical problems and discoveries relating to man than those which have made known varieties of animal life. In Geikie's view "Prehistoric" is a large term, carrying him back through the entire period which ranges between the present day and the glacial epoch. The volume consists of twenty-two chapters, in which a good deal is said that has been well said before with regard to the Ages of Stone, Bronze, and Iron, and other recent deposits, but a good deal is also said which will be more or less new to most readers with regard to the older ages of the gravels, caves, glacial and inter-glacial ages. It is essentially a volume that may be read by the unlearned, and which places the best learning of the time in its most attractive form. No analysis could do justice either to the subjects discussed in the volume or the learning with which they are illustrated, and we have no doubt that for a long time to come Dr. Geikie's work will hold its place as the most powerful exposition of the physical history of the latest geological deposits in Europe. In the last chapter the author summarizes some of the results at which he has arrived. He rejects the views of the French geologists that the rude flint implements attributed by them to the Miocene period may have been fashioned by apes which were progressing in development. He discards the conclusions of Professor Dawkins that the makers of the ancient flint implements of the river gravels survive at the present day in the Eskimo, and in some other matters of opinion the author differs from previous writers; but his facts are always drawn from the best sources generally with evidence of immense labour and are set forth with ease.

Milner's "Gallery of Nature"² has long been a favourite, popular work in the elements of astronomy, physical geography, and geology. Its merits are too well known to need to be set forth anew, and there can be no doubt that the work has helped materially in the diffusion of sound knowledge. Now the author has revised and somewhat extended his work, and added to it additional illustrations. It can hardly be said to be always brought down to date, and the vast additions to knowledge which have characterized geology and physical geography find but little recognition. No author is quoted in the geological part of the work more recent than the generation of distinguished men who laid the foundations of the science and have all passed away, while, as a matter of fact, there is no part of geological science which has not more

¹ "Prehistoric Europe. A Geological Sketch." By James Geikie, LL.D., F.R.S. Maps and Illustrations. London: Edward Stanford. 1881.

² "The Gallery of Nature. A Pictorial and Descriptive Tour through Creation, illustrative of the Wonders of Astronomy, Physical Geography, and Geology." By the Rev. Thomas Milner, M.A., F.R.G.S. A new edition, carefully revised and corrected by the Author. London & Edinburgh: W. & R. Chambers. 1880.

or less changed its character in consequence of the labours of men now living. Hence no one not actually moving in the current modifications of knowledge and thought could have made a new edition of this work of corresponding value to the work as it first appeared. Physical geography constitutes a considerable treatise of some 400 pages, excellently conceived and grouped. The knowledge is set forth in an attractive way, but here too we miss the modern advancements. Caverns are described, but without making known the wonderful points connected with human history which have been revealed by excavating them. The new knowledge obtained by the explorations of the *Challenger* finds no place in the account of the ocean, and though new knowledge is sometimes introduced it does not meet the requirements of the day. Considering the excellence of the plan of the work and of the old material, this defect is unfortunate. The volume, however, will probably still retain its charm for many readers, as no other work takes a similarly comprehensive view of Nature.

We have received a pamphlet entitled, "The Reconstruction of Agrippa's Maps of the World." By Dr. F. Philippi.³ It is accompanied by five ancient maps which are briefly described. The work is interesting as a contribution to the earliest attempts at pictorial representation of geographical knowledge.

The Rev. G. T. Carruthers sends us a pamphlet⁴ on Simple Gravity, in which he endeavours to show that Newton's Law of Gravitation is true simply as a result of the action of a constant force in the line of motion. This subject is followed out and discussed in the eleven pages of which the pamphlet consists; but, as far as we can see, without adding materially to the ordinary conception of gravitation. The paper is accompanied by a note consisting of formulæ to be inserted in the author's pamphlet "New Solar Elements."

Messrs. Etheridge and Nicholson continue their description of the Silurian Fossils of the Girvan district in Ayrshire in a third fasciculus, which completes the first volume.⁵ This part is largely occupied with the corals and star-fishes. An interesting account is given of some of the tracks supposed to be made by fossil worms, but which are the work of either gasteropods or crustacea. The plates continue to be excellent, and the work is assuming the character of an exhaustive monograph, which will be indispensable to all geologists.

The Notes of Observation on Injurious Insects for 1880, is as

³ "Zur Reconstruction der Weltkarte des Agrippa." Von Dr. F. Philippi. Mit 5 autographirten Kartenskizzen. Marburg: N. G. Elwert. 1880. London: Trübner & Co.

⁴ "The Attraction of Simple Gravity." By Rev. G. T. Carruthers, Chaplain of Chakrata, India.

⁵ "A Monograph of the Silurian Fossils of the Girvan district in Ayrshire, with special reference to those contained in the 'Gray Collection.'" By H. Alleyne Nicholson, M.D., F.R.S.E., and Robert Etheridge, jun., of the Geological Department, British Museum. Fasciculus III. (The Annelida and Echinodermata, with Supplements on the Protozoa, Coelenterata, and Crustacea.) Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons. 1881.

interesting as its predecessors.⁶ As usual there is a short report on the climatic conditions and the characteristic insect depredations for the year, the most general depredator being the *Jypulæ larvæ*, commonly known as 'daddylonglegs' grubs. Local damage has also been done by the grubs of the carrot fly and onion fly. These insects are always prevalent in wet ground. Wasps were unusually abundant at Dumfries, and at Glenarm in Antrim, but on the whole the weather appears to have been unfavourable to insect injury. The accounts of each species, concerning which there are observations, are in most cases accompanied by excellent woodcut figures. These observations extend to between thirty and forty species. The accomplished editress, not satisfied with thus recording year by year the experience of naturalists and farmers, as to insect ravages and the means of preventing them, proposes, with the assistance of her friends, to issue in the form of a manual, the best knowledge available on this subject.

Probably no more important event in the history of India, than the introduction into the country of Peruvian Bark, has happened in modern times.⁷ It matters little whether we were stimulated to this necessary enterprise by the circumstance that the Dutch had already tried the experiment in Java. The value of Bark as an antidote to fevers is essentially a European discovery, since the Indians of South America appear to have disregarded it, except in the neighbourhood of Loxa, south of Quito, where the tree is called *Quina quina*, signifying, "bark of barks." The bark is first recorded to have been used as a medicine in 1600. It however derives its common name of Chinchona, as is well known, from the Countess of Chinchon, who was cured of intermittent fever by Quina, at Lima, in 1638. In 1640 she brought a supply of the bark to Spain, and in her honour Linnæus named the genus *Chinchona*.

The Jesuits introduced the bark into Italy, and its value was soon after generally recognised throughout Europe, though for some time its use was opposed by the Protestants. The home of the trees in South America was discovered by the French Expedition which measured an arc of the meridian near Quito in 1735. The trees were felled without cessation, and in Humboldt's time the destruction was at the rate of 25,000 trees a year. The trees extend along the curve of the Andes for at least 1,500 miles, reaching as far as 10° N. They never occur below a height of 2,500 feet, nor above 9,000 feet, being higher than the forests of palms and bamboos. In this region there are many species of the genus, and in Bolivia and south of the 12th parallel of latitude, the *Chinchona calisaya* abounds. In the north of Peru, the grey barks occur. The *Chinchonas* in good soil become large forest trees; on higher ground run up tall without a branch, and near the upper limit of their growth are dwarfed to shrubs. The number of species is large, but the medicinal barks are only collected from five localities. The

⁶ "Notes of Observations of Injurious Insects." Report. 1880. London: W. Swan, Sonnenschein & Allen. Edinburgh: Menzies & Co. 1881.

⁷ "Peruvian Bark. A popular Account of the Introduction of *Chinchona* Cultivation into British India." By Clements R. Markham, C.B., F.R.S., 1860—1880. With Maps and Illustrations. London: John Murray. 1880.

active principle of the bark was first separated in 1820 by the French chemists Pelletier and Caventou; but it is not every species of Chinchona that contains much quinine, though Chinchonidine and Quinidine are equally valuable as cures for fever, and Chinchonine only a little less powerful. The barks grown in the neighbourhood of Loxa were called crown-barks, as they were reserved for the royal chemists at Madrid. Another region is the western slope of Chimborazo, which yields the red bark. The third region is Columbia, which yields the Carthagena bark. The Huanuco region in Northern Peru yields the grey barks. After the bark is collected in the forest, it requires to be carefully dried, since it easily becomes mouldy. In Bolivia, the President, in 1859, fixed the duty on bark at 25 per cent. of the current prices, and it furnishes about a fifteenth part of the revenue of the Republic. A good tree yields from 150 to 170 lbs. of dried bark; in the best trees it peels off with great ease. The Dutch sent an expedition to Peru in 1852 to collect Chinchona, but of all the plants collected only two survived the journey to Java. Other plants raised from seed were afterwards added, but the young Chinchona plants were at first unfavourably placed, and a large number raised in Holland, from seed sent out in 1855, furnished the beginnings of the subsequently successful cultivation.

After this introductory account, the author passes on to detail the early efforts to introduce the tree into India, and the work of his fellow-labourers in collecting seeds and plants of the Chinchona trees in the various regions of South America. In this part of the work an interesting account is given of the coca plant. The second part of the volume describes the transmission of the plants and seeds to India. The entire cost of introducing the Chinchona was £857, and the plantations now yield the Government an income of many thousands a year. The third part treats of the cultivation of Chinchona in British India. This is partly carried on at Sikkim, but chiefly in the South of India and Ceylon. The most elaborate details are given concerning the planting of the trees in the Nilgiris, Palnai Hills, Shervaroi Hills, in Tinneveli, and the other localities in which the plant is successfully grown. In Sikkim alone the bark harvest is about 350,000 lbs. a year. The introduction of this industry into India gave great offence to the South American Republics, who passed laws prohibiting the exportation of plants. The prohibition came too late, and although the supply from India is not a fifth of that obtained from Columbia, it is already superior in quality, and Indian bark has sometimes brought as high a price as 15s. 8d. a pound. An appendix gives some account of the cultivation of the *Ficus Elastica*, and other trees, which produce caoutchouc. Other appendices relate to the cultivation of Peruvian cotton and the Peruvian maize in India. The volume concludes with the bibliography of the Chinchona genus, and an index. It is a work of the greatest interest, but much too diffuse, and would admit of considerable condensation, with equal advantage to the subject and the reader. Mr. Markham, however, may well be excused in lingering a little over the details of his story, when the reader contemplates the immense service which he has rendered to humanity,

and especially to India, by the enterprise of which his volume is a simple record.

Under the title "The Evolutionist at Large," Mr. Grant Allen has collected a series of essays from the *St. James's Gazette*, which are designed to make the principles of evolution intelligible by means of familiar illustrations. These essays, written for the general public, are remarkably free from the manner and language of scientific writing, and rather characterized by a tone of fresh experience and enjoyment of Nature, which the average scientific student lives through before he gains the power of speaking with authority upon questions of general interest. There are twenty-two of these chapters, preceded by a whimsical "ballade" of evolution, and it would be difficult to suggest a more pleasant travelling companion than this volume, upon which the printer and the binder have exercised their best skill. The first article, entitled "Microscopic Brains," deals with the intelligence of ants and dogs as manifested through the organ of smell. The second, "A Wayside Berry," gives an account of the strawberry. Then follow articles on "Summer Fields," "A Sprig of Water Crowsfoot," "Slugs and Snails," "A Study of Bones," "Blue Mud," and a multitude of subjects drawn from plant and animal life.

Of late years so much attention has been given to physiological botany, that there is some danger of the student neglecting the old-fashioned study of the structure of the plant as a whole. This very desirable branch of knowledge is facilitated by an excellent little work,⁸ in which Mr. Houston attempts to teach practical botany in accordance with the requirements of the first stage of the Syllabus of the Science and Art Department. Having directed his readers to procure the few pieces of apparatus necessary, he gives demonstrations of representative plants of the fifteen natural orders selected in the South Kensington Scheme, drawing attention to the several points to be observed, and briefly indicating the observations which should be made in each of the several parts of the plant as it is examined or dissected. After the analysis follow a short botanical description, a brief account of other common plants belonging to the same natural order, an enumeration of uses of the plants, and a statement of the general distribution of the Order in time and space. The plants selected are Meadow Buttercup, Wallflower, Greater Stitchwort, Bramble, Cow-parsnip, Dandelion, Great Snapdragon, White Deadnettle, White Goosefoot, Common Hazel, Spotted Ochis, Wild Hyacinth, Common Cotton-sedge, Common Wheat. An Appendix gives a synopsis of the classification of the orders of British flowering plants, with their distinctive characters. This useful little volume is well calculated to improve the character of class teaching in elementary schools.

The late Mr. Frank Buckland, as inspector of fisheries, had many

⁸ "The Evolutionist at Large." By Grant Allen. London: Chatto & Windus. 1881.

⁹ "Practical Botany for Elementary Students. Introduction to the Systematic Study of Flowering Plants." By D. Houston. London: W. Stewart & Co. Edinburgh: J. Menzies & Co.

opportunities for gathering curious knowledge of British fishes. Some of this has appeared from time to time in *Land and Water*. Mr. Buckland, however, did not possess the diligent habits of study which characterize great naturalists, and his "Natural History of British Fishes" is hence somewhat disappointing, when the author's opportunities are remembered.¹⁰ From an ordinary writer it might have been accepted as a useful popular account of the subject. In the Preface, the author tells us that the book is to be regarded not merely as a work on ichthyology, but as an introductory guide to the great and important science of fish culture. The arrangement is approximately alphabetical, and the nomenclature somewhat antiquated. The names of the fishes in the various European languages are given, as well as the families and orders to which they are referred. The volume commences with the Anchovy, under which head we learn that sprats are largely manufactured into anchovy paste. After the account of the Barbel, follows an amusing description of a worm-farm at Nottingham, where worms are raised and educated, as Mr. Buckland expresses it, for the barbel fishermen. The Bleak gives an opportunity for introducing a detailed account of the manufacture of artificial pearls, which it is well-known are prepared from the silvery pigment on the scales of this fish. In fact, the author has made his book interesting and amusing, and has imported into it a good deal of the charm of personal experience wherever possible. At the end of the volume is some account of the cultivation of fish-ponds, of fish suitable for acclimatization, the Fresh Water Fisheries Act, the Fish Culture Museum at South Kensington, the breeding of salmon, and other subjects connected with fish culture. The chief defect of the book is its one-sidedness, in omitting the classification and structure of fishes; but as a popular work it may well claim to be the most amusing account of British fishes that has been written.

Under the modern system of testing knowledge by examinations it by no means follows that the pupil who knows most attains the greatest distinction; for examination is an art needing constant study and practice on the part of the pupil. It is the appreciation of this fact which has made the many private tutors who train young men for examinations successful, while the public schools of the country have for the most part failed in competition with these men. So long as examinations are made tests of knowledge rather than tests of power to turn knowledge to practical account, the student will inevitably avail himself of a guide like that which Mr. Levander furnishes to the questions on Electricity and Magnetism¹¹ set on the elementary examinations of the University of London. By furnishing solutions to

¹⁰ "Natural History of British Fishes: their Structure, Economic Uses, and Capture by Net and Rod. Cultivation of Fish-ponds. Fish Suited for Acclimatization. Artificial Breeding of Salmon." By Frank Buckland, Inspector of Fisheries. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

¹¹ "Solutions of the Questions in Magnetism and Electricity, set at the Preliminary Scientific and first B.Sc. Pass Examinations of the University of London, from 1860 to 1879, together with Definitions, Dimensions of Units, Miscellaneous Examples, &c." By F. W. Levander, F.R.A.S. London: H. K. Lewis. 1880

questions which have been set, the author puts into the hands of a student much the same sort of aid which is known to the public schoolboy as a "crib." The answers, however, are for the most part brief, and not likely to be crammed as a substitute for ordinary reading. They are generally fairly clear, and will put a new educational instrument in the hands of young students to whom examinations are a necessity.

Miss Buckley's "Life and her Children"¹² is an account in simple language of the structure and habits of the lower groups of animals, and is designed to teach young people the elements of natural history. The habits of the animals furnish in most cases the means of grouping them into chapters, though the ladder of life is ascended in the order of its complexity, and not altogether without an appreciation of the influence of evolution in developing the moral as well as the physical characteristics of animals. Among the titles of the twelve chapters are: "Life's Simplest Children," devoted to the Foraminifera and their allies; "How Sponges Live" gives an equally useful account of their development, growth, and habits; "The Lasso-throwers of the Ponds and Oceans" treats of hydra, jelly-fish, anemones, and their allies. Similarly there are chapters on the development and habits of star-fishes and sea-urchins, molluscs, worms, and their allies; crustacea spiders, and the various groups of insects. As a popular book this volume, with nearly a hundred woodcuts, may be recommended as giving a large amount of accurate information which is not always easily accessible to beginners. The account of each group is necessarily brief, and the mode of treatment excludes the conception of classification; the woodcuts, too, are a little rough, but they help to exhibit some of the points of development which give a good deal of its interest to the volume.

There are few monuments more grateful to the pupils of a distinguished teacher, than a gathering up and classification of the scattered publications in which he has endeavoured from time to time to advance his science. Such a service is performed to the memory of Macquorn Rankin, by the present secretary to the Institute of Engineers and Shipbuilders in Scotland.¹³ The volume is prefaced by a memoir from the pen of Professor Tait, and accompanied by an excellent portrait. These papers are grouped into—first those relating to temperature, elasticity and expansion of vapours, liquids, and solids. Secondly, those relating to energy and its transformations, thermodynamics, and the mechanical action of heat in the steam-engine. The third part consists of Papers relating to wave forms, propulsion of vessels and stability of structures. Professor Tait remarks that

¹² "Life and her Children: Glimpses of Animal Life, from the Amœba to the Insects." By Arabella B. Buckley. London: Edward Stanford. 1880.

¹³ "Miscellaneous Scientific Papers." By W. J. Macquorn Rankine, C.E., LL.D., F.R.S., from the Transactions and Proceedings of the Royal and other Scientific and Philosophical Societies, and the Scientific Journals; with a Memoir of the Author by P. G. Tait, M.A., Professor of Natural Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh. Edited by W. J. Millar, C.E., Secretary to the Institute of Engineers and Shipbuilders in Scotland. With portrait, plates and diagrams. London: Charles Griffin & Co. 1881.

Rankine holds a prominent place among the chief scientific men of the last half-century, and ranks with Thomson and Clausius, as one of the founders of the true theory of the action of heat on bodies. The editor has performed his work with the utmost care, and enriched the work with a short preface which gives a brief and useful account of the subject-matter of the several papers contained in the volume. The second part of the second volume of Dr. Mousson's "Introduction to the Study of Physics" is devoted to Optics, and has now reached a third edition.¹⁴ The subject of light is divided into three parts, the first, consisting of eleven chapters, treats of the phenomena connected with the transmission of light and discusses the direction of the rays, the velocity and intensity of light, reflection from plane and curved surfaces; refraction of light, and refraction of lenses, theory of compound lenses, the dispersion of light, optical properties of the atmosphere, optical instruments and the eye. The second part is entitled "The Nature of Light," and treats of the theory of light, interference, the phenomena and theory of diffraction, the solar spectrum, sources of light, absorption, heat and fluorescence of different parts of the spectrum, chemical action of light, molecular motion. The third section of the work treats of Polarization and Double Refraction of Light, and is divided into seventeen chapters. All the excellent characteristics to which we have formerly drawn attention in preceding volumes of this work are here exhibited, and we have no hesitation in regarding this as a most valuable handbook for the scientific student, remarkable at once for its brevity, clearness, ample discussion of theory, plentiful illustration of fact, abundant references to authorities, and useful woodcuts.

The convalescence of a person recovering from typhoid fever is often retarded by recrudescences and complications of various kinds, and occasionally a true relapse, or recurrence of the original disease; with all, or most, of the former symptoms is to be met with. It is to the elucidation of this obscure and comparatively unexplored corner of pathology that the late Dr. Irvine devoted his last energies.¹⁵ The possibility of a true relapse, or even series of relapses, from typhoid fever, is not denied by any writer, but the rarity of such an occurrence has hitherto been a matter of general consent. Dr. Irvine has endeavoured to show that this accident is by no means infrequent, and to prove that a more methodical use of the thermometer would often reveal the true relapsing nature of many sequelæ which are commonly set down as recrudescences and complications. He contends that in many instances a relapse from typhoid is mistaken for a primary attack, the original disease having gone

¹⁴ "Die Physik auf Grundlage der Erfahrung von Dr. Alb. Mousson, Professor an der schweizerischen polytechnischen Schule. Zweiter Band, Zweite Lieferung. Die Lehre vom Licht (Optik)." Mit 306 eingedruckten Figuren und 1 Tafel. Dritte umgearbeitete und vermehrte Auflage. Zurich: Druck und Verlag vom Friedrich Schulthess. 1881.

¹⁵ "Relapse of Typhoid Fever, especially with Reference to the Temperature." By J. Pearson Irvine, M.D., F.R.C.P. London: J. & A. Churchill. 1880.

through its successive phases, without manifesting its presence by anything more than a general *malaise*, and the patient being therefore unable to afford any information concerning its existence. The pathogeny of the second outburst is, in the present condition of our knowledge, necessarily a matter of pure speculation. Dr. MacLagan thinks that relapse is seen only in those cases where there was constipation, and this is in accordance with the views of the author. On the other hand, Liebermeister asserts that it is most common after severe attacks, and these, at any rate in the abdominal form of the malady, are constantly accompanied by characteristic dejections. Although the daily observation of the temperature forms the best means of recognizing the true nature of any post-typhoid disturbance, the thermometric curve is far from presenting a uniform regularity. Relapse may be interrupted by recrudescence, and the graphic of the two will present an irregular appearance. And again, two relapses may occur coincidentally, one setting in a few days after the commencement of the other. In spite of the difficult nature of the inquiry, Dr. Irvine has been able to formulate some general conclusions, which at any rate enable a relapse to be distinguished from the primary onset of typhoid. In the former case "the maximum evening temperature is reached by the fifth day, as in typhoid; but afterwards the curve presents a decided contrast to that of the latter, in which to the twelfth day the fever remains high, though with a maximum scarcely so high as on the fourth to sixth days." Wunderlich has gone so far as to declare that typhoid may be excluded if the temperature on any day between the eighth and eleventh be below 104° Fahrenheit; but an exactly opposite general rule is laid down by Dr. Irvine for cases of relapse. "If normal in their course, a fall about the eighth day occurs, and temperatures far lower than 104° are met with in the interval mentioned by Wunderlich." The practical importance of regular temperature-taking during the period of recovery from the disease under consideration, lies in the absolute necessity of a most careful dietary, as long as there remains the least suspicion of an unhealed lesion. It is not that an error of feeding is likely in itself to induce a relapse; but, should this take place, it cannot but be aggravated by indigestible food. "Mild and severe cases should know no distinction in this respect, for in both there are local lesions which errors increase with fatal results."

Mr. Cullimore's publication consists of two distinct parts. (1) A translation from the German of Professor Cohnheim's pamphlet, "Die Tuberkulose vorn Standpunkte der Infections Lehre;" (2) a Dissertation on the "Etiology of Pulmonary Phthisis, and its Treatment according to the New Views."¹⁶ The first chapter of the translation deals with the anatomical nature of tubercle, and the differences between it and the products of caseous pneumonia. Professor Cohnheim does not think it possible to give a satisfactory histological definition of this

¹⁶ "Consumption as a Contagious Disease. With its Treatment according to the New Views," &c. By Daniel Henry Cullimore. London: Baillière, Tindall & Cox.

deposit. Laennec's description of it does not hold good, unless all kinds of caseation are included under the name of tuberculosis. Virchow is also too comprehensive; the little round nodules found in clusters in lymphatic cells, and said to be characteristic, being frequently met with in syphilitic, lupous, and many completely innocuous granular formations. Neither are the *kernlose schollen*, the giant cells, nor the nodules on their walls, peculiar to true tubercular deposit, occurring, as they do, frequently enough in every other form of tyrosis. Failing the existence of a true "tubercle corpuscle," "there is no other sure criterion of tuberculosis than its contagiousness." Such is the doctrine which the Professor develops in the two succeeding chapters. Starting from Villemin's inoculation experiments on animals, it is concluded that true phthisis in man is the result of infection; sometimes from another human being, but often from the use of tainted articles of food. It is by means of milk from a phthisical cow that many young children of large cities acquire the seeds of disease; and indeed so high an opinion has the author of this virulence, that he entertains the question "whether all the so-called scrofulous inflammations of the lip, mouth, and pharynx, especially the caseated swellings of the lymphatic glands, may not have to thank the tubercular virus contained in the food, and more particularly in the infected milk, for their origin. According to Cohnheim it is only the product of true tubercle which can be so transmitted. If a rabbit, for instance, be inoculated with any other caseous matter, such as degenerated sarcoma, myoma, or lupous nodule, "it will not become tubercular, a result which never fails if the inoculation be performed with the true virus." Other observers, however, have come to a different conclusion. It would seem that boiling does not destroy the tubercular *contagium*, as was shown by an experiment made upon six young pigs, four of which were fed upon milk from a diseased animal. Of these, the two that had lived upon boiled milk were found when killed to be suffering from general tuberculosis; of those fed with uncooked milk, one that died showed caseous enteritis, and the second, very unwell, was still alive. The two others, kept as "control" animals, were found when killed to be quite healthy. The peculiarity of the treatment of pulmonary consumption advocated by Mr. Cullimore, depends upon his acceptance of its contagious origin. In the matter of prophylaxis, all that is possible must be done to strengthen the body and to guard it from contamination, the chief recommendations being warm clothing, sufficient exercise, pure air, a generous diet, and a fairly active life. As regards clothing, the so-called "normal" raiment of Professor Jaeger, of Stuttgart, is mentioned with approval.

"The general object is to prevent the accumulation of fat and water in the system, the principle being that the greater the specific gravity of the body the better able is it to resist disease. To the well-known properties of wool as regards moisture and heat, Professor Jaeger makes this addition: He claims to prove that in our organism there are certain gaseous volatile substances—*Dunststoffe* (odorous substances) which are continually being liberated in the acts of breathing and perspiring, and have important relation to mental states.

Two distinct groups appear—viz., of *lust* and *unlust Stoffe* (substances of pleasure and dislike), the former are exhaled during a joyful and pleasant state of the mind, and produce this state with heightened vitality if inhaled; of the latter, the reverse is true. During joy and happiness the odour of perspiration is not disagreeable, while during anguish and great nervous excitement it is offensive. The substances of disliking have therefore a bad odour, and in an atmosphere of them the vitality is lowered; hence, in a state of anguish and fear the body is more susceptible to contagious diseases. Now Professor Jaeger contends that sheep's wool attracts the substances of pleasure (and this is distinct from its great odour-absorbing capacity in general), while clothing made of plant fibre favours the accumulation of the offensive substances with their evil consequences."

Mr. Cullimore does not state upon what grounds the Stuttgart professor has founded this remarkable theory, and it is therefore quite possible that it has been evolved *in toto* out of its author's own moral consciousness. The only thing which lends a shadow of probability to such a fanciful hypothesis, is the now almost forgotten statement that a similar difference, under different emotional conditions, occurred in the composition of the saliva, sulphocyanide of potassium being detectable when the subject of experiment was thinking of something unpleasant to eat, and absent from the salivary secretion when the gastronomic souvenir was of a more agreeable nature. The curative treatment of pulmonary disease, when once established, is divided into specific and general. The former, which is necessarily local, consists in the topical application, by means of inhalation, of such agents as possess a germicidal power over the virus of tuberculosis. Amongst these a prominent place is given to carbolic acid, iodine, benzoic acid and its salts. The benzoate of soda especially, has been much praised in Germany, but English practitioners have hitherto failed to obtain from it any positive results. Cohn's experiments on the sterilizing effects of strong galvanic currents upon cultivating solutions containing bacteria are here mentioned, and Mr. Cullimore believes that "in electricity we possess an additional weapon for our specific warfare against tubercular disease." We are inclined to think that the *rôle* of currents in such cases is very limited, and that their action is totally different from that of a germicide. The best way, perhaps, of turning electricity to account consists in an application of quite another kind, which we commend to Mr. Cullimore's notice, as it is at the same time both stimulating and antiseptic. The patient being placed upon an insulating stool, and connected with a Franklinic apparatus by means of a suitable conductor, is charged with electricity. An *excitateur* in the form of a brush, as manufactured by GaiFFE of Paris, is then directed towards his open mouth, and he is directed to make a series of deep inspirations. If the machine is working properly, a blue phosphorescence will emerge from the extremities of the brush, and the characteristic smell of ozone will become manifest. The relief sometimes afforded by this operation may be partly due to the immediate action of the force itself; but where permanent benefit results from a continued treatment, it is highly probable that the destructive influence of ozone upon microscopic parasites plays an important part. Fore-

most in the general hygiene of phthisis is the selection of a proper climate, with suitable accommodation for invalids. It is somewhat difficult to get an accurate account of the relative value of different wintering stations, but those who may unfortunately be interested in the matter will do well to read the last two chapters of this book. Iceland, although a disagreeable climate, would seem to be a salutary one, the only drawback being the want of accommodation. Quito and Mexico are recommended by some. The different *sanitaris* on the shores of the Mediterranean are discussed at sufficient length, and a considerable portion of the last section is devoted to Davos. Malaga is said to be for consumptives the El Dorado of cities, milder and more equable in climate than any other place in Europe. A residence there is especially useful in the early stages of disease. We have seen too much of the effects of a sea-voyage to accept the statement that it can be undertaken with benefit only in the first stage of consumption. A phthisical companion is by no means a pleasant cabin companion on board ship, but this should not influence the decision of a physician, who has only to consult the interests of his client. Many hopeless cases have recovered under the influence of a sea-voyage; and in some forms of tuberculosis it is undoubtedly the very best treatment.

Dr. Carter has compiled a little manual of the "Elements of Practical Medicine" which is intended "for those who are not disposed, or have not the leisure, to read large and complete works." We cannot say that we feel very much sympathy with this class of readers, and we look upon the task of reducing an indolent student's work to a minimum as of very doubtful utility. Practical experience is, of course, of paramount importance in the education of a physician, but this should be supplemented by book-work, and the greater its extent the more likely is it to remain in the memory. Knowledge that is required to be lasting should be gleaned, and there can be no more serious mistake made by a teacher than that of "cramming" the pupil with the largest number of facts in the shortest possible space of time. But if, for reason of its condensation, Dr. Carter's précis is as unfit as all such compilations are to be the text-book of the learner, it may prove an excellent companion to other treatises, and a valuable means of reviewing the whole subject, when circumstances require a rapid survey. The information catalogued in these pages is clear and to the point, and nearly every important disease obtains a mention. The paragraphs on treatment are in the main judicious, and an excellent therapeutic index completes their value.

The most interesting part of this work is that which deals with the effect of voluntary muscular contractions on the temperature of the head,¹⁷ a question which has attracted much attention since the publication of Dr. Amidon's experiments on the subject. Physiological

¹⁷ "Elements of Practical Medicine." By Alfred H. Carter, M.D. Lond. London: H. K. Lewis. 1881.

¹⁸ "Experimental Researches on the Temperature of the Head." By J. S. Lombard, M.D. London: H. K. Lewis. 1881.

research has shown that the stimulation of certain parts of the cortical grey matter of the brain gives rise to movements in certain groups of muscles, and pathology has confirmed the existence of motor areas, by numerous instances in which paralysis of a muscular group has followed a lesion of the corresponding nerve centre. Dr. Amidon, desirous of corroborating the exactitude of "cerebral localizations," had instituted a converse series of experiments, from which he had concluded that, just as stimulation of the centre causes contraction of the related muscle, contractions of different muscles affect the temperatures of different areas of the head. Theoretically, it is highly probable that such an increase of heat does occur when a muscle contracts in its corresponding nerve centre; but whether such an increment can be recognized at the surface of the scalp is highly doubtful. According to Dr. Amidon, whose researches were made with a mercurial thermometer, "the contraction of the *quadriceps cruris* of one side caused an average rise of 0.409° c. on the opposite side of the head, in a space commencing 300 mm. behind the root of the nose and extending backwards on the median line 80 mm., and laterally from the same line 50 mm.; the extremes of rise of temperature being 1.388° c., and 0.1388 c.; while contraction of the *orbicularis palpebrarum* of one side produced a rise averaging 0.342° c. The extremes were 0.833° c. and 0.188° c. on the opposite side of the head, in a space situated about 100 mm. above and a little to the rear of the external auditory meatus, and having a diameter of about 18 mm." Dr. Amidon's experiments have been repeated by Drs. Lombard and Haynes, but the latter have preferred to use thermo-electric apparatus instead of mercurial thermometers. With these instruments, which are certainly much more delicate, they have obtained totally different results. In eighty-one cases there were only four in which a rise of temperature predominated—the opposite, that is to say, a fall, occurring twenty-one times. . . . In seven instances the rise and fall were equal; but most often—in thirty-nine of the eighty-one experiments—no change at all of temperature was observed. From these figures it is evident that muscular contractions are often followed by disturbances of the central temperature, but these are, as a rule, both uncertain in their direction as well as in occurrence. It is, moreover, quite possible, as the authors contend, that mental attention to the act performed has more to do with the changes than the movements themselves. As a refutation of the possibility of mapping out an elaborate chart of thermal centres by the experiments in question, Dr. Lombard's book comes somewhat behind its time. M. François Franck has long since demonstrated the fanciful character of Dr. Amidon's labours, and the present volume, as regards this particular question, only serves to endorse the judgment of the French physiologist.

The collection of surgical cases published by Dr. Newman¹⁹ is at the same time a useful record of good work performed by the author and a proof that operative skill is not the monopoly of metropolitan

¹⁹ "Surgical Cases." By W. Newman, M.D. Lond., F.R.C.S. Eng. London: H. K. Lewis. 1881.

practitioners. The cases themselves are for the most part too technical to be noticed here. They consist of injuries or diseases for which a remedy was sought in surgical interference, and comprise amputations, ophthalmic operations, ovariectomy, lithotomy, kelotomy, &c. &c. An interesting account will be found of a Cæsarian section performed with success in a woman affected with carcinoma of the uterus; and a case of encysted peritoneal dropsy, which was mistaken for ovarian tumour, is highly instructive.

An appendix to the preceding volume on the treatment of nævi by electrolysis has been printed separately, in the form of a brochure.²⁰ Dr. Newman has had occasion to treat nine angiomas, and in each case the introduction of needles connected with the positive pole of a galvanic battery produced a satisfactory result.

Dr. Milner Fothergill has chosen a subject of vital importance to suffering humanity. In acute disease the selection of a suitable food is often a matter of life or death, and in most of the chronic complaints which are the outcome of "civilization" more can be done by a proper dietary than with all the digestive medicines ever devised. Some of the precepts to be found in these pages will create not a little surprise. *Paté de foie gras* is said to be a most digestible food. Broiled mushrooms served hot on buttered toast "can hardly be improved," and are especially recommended to invalids and convalescents. Pickled mussels and potted lobster are also allowed to the same class of persons. The best part of this work is the introduction, which explains the principles of digestion and assimilation in a light and popular manner. Dr. Fothergill points out the fallacy of "supporting" the sick with calf's-foot jelly and strong beef-tea, neither of which have much nutritive value. The pathology of "bile-poison, and gout-poison" is clearly explained, and will certainly be new to some of our readers. "With starch and fat the bilious are comparatively well, for neither can produce the nitrogenized bile acids." They cause biliousness, however, when eaten with albuminoid substances, because the oxidizing organs, unable to dispose of all the fuel, destroy the hydrocarbons first, leaving the nitrogenous matters imperfectly combusted. The recommendation of "maltine" for dyspeptic infants appears to have been founded upon a physiological mistake; or, at any rate, upon the application of a fact in physiology which is open to doubt. "When the saliva," says Dr. Fothergill, "is defective in an infant, or at least insufficient to produce the conversion of starch into sugar, it is now customary to give the infant 'maltine.' Maltine is a sweet molasses sort of thing which can be added to the baby's food a brief period before it has to be taken, for the conversion is quick. The starch being thus largely converted into sugar the digestive act in the stomach goes on without painful efforts." Whether "maltine" is able to counteract the evil effects of starchy food in infants, we are unable to say, but it is certainly a mistake to suppose that an infant's saliva can be deficient in ptyalin, for the simple reason that it never contains any. This is why milk is the only proper food before the first dentition

²⁰ "On the Treatment of Nævi by Electrolysis." London: H. K. Lewis. 1881.

Whilst in England the practice of midwifery amongst the lower classes is left in the hands of any ignorant charwoman who may have a taste for the occupation, most Continental countries require a course of training and study. In Germany the direction of these matters is confided to the Minister of Spiritual and Educational Affairs, and an official hand-book has been compiled for the benefit of learners. Of this work Mr. Burton²¹ now offers an excellent translation, which we should like to see in the possession of every woman practising obstetrics. Although the (supposed female) reader is directed to send for medical aid whenever in difficulty, a plain treatment is indicated for every dangerous complication, which should at once be followed in case of urgency. This cannot but be of the greatest utility. There is no danger in teaching a competent person how to perform a serious manœuvre, for no woman acquainted with the difficulties of version would wish to perform it herself instead of sending for additional aid. More mischief is done by the midwife, through ignorance than boldness, and, as Mr. Burton remarks, she ought to know how to save life in extremity. The directions given in the official hand-book for the treatment of *post partum* hæmorrhage are such as are to be found in most treatises on the subject; and we notice, as elsewhere, an important omission. No mention is made of the arrest of bleeding by the application of warmth to the upper lumbar region of the spinal column, a fact first pointed out, we believe, by Dr. Chapman, and amply confirmed by clinical experience.

On the 31st of August, 1875, a Commission was nominated for the purpose of studying the causes of "pellagra,"²² and to indicate the measures which ought to be adopted to diminish its intensity. The very interesting researches of the Commission, which have lasted over three years, are exhibited in the present Report. It is well known that pellagra (*Pellis ægra*) is a skin disease, limited to certain parts of Europe, and which is only a symptom of an extremely serious general condition, which leads to insanity, paraplegia, and a cachectic state which generally ends in death. It has been noticed that it chiefly prevails in countries where Indian corn is the principal, nay, even the only, article of food of the lower classes of the population. Its headquarters are Lombardy and the Valley of the Po. It is met with, however, in Spain (where it has been described under the name of *Mal de la Rosa*), in the South of France, in the Danubian provinces, in Albania, and in the Ionian Islands. Sporadic cases, have also been described in the north of France, but it is an open question whether they were really genuine or not. The immense majority of sufferers are unquestionably found in the plains of Lombardy, which contain over 60,000 individuals affected with the disease. The province of Mantua contains about a third of the number, and furnishes annually about 2,000 new cases. The

²¹ "Handbook of Midwifery, for Midwives." Translated by J. E. Burton, L.R.C.P. London: J. & A. Churchill. 1880.

²² "La Pellagra Nella Provincia de Mantova relazione della Commissione Provinciale." Florence. 1878.

disease almost invariably attacks farm labourers, is scarcely known in cities, and does not seem to affect persons of the higher classes. Poverty, want of cleanliness, and labour in the hot rays of an April sun, are universally acknowledged to be the predisposing causes. It remains to be known whether, as most Italian and some French physicians believe, its origin should always be referred to a peculiar alteration of the maize upon which these people live—to the parasitic fungus called by the Italians *verderame*, and by the French *verdet*. According to the poetical expression of Chiarugi, the disease is brought on by the first kisses of Spring. It is just at the beginning of that season, which in Upper Italy appears earlier than in the North of Europe—towards the end of February and the beginning of March—that the sufferer begins to feel a strange sort of uneasiness, vertigo, weakness in the limbs, and an absolute disrelish for food. At this stage of the complaint the peasant, according to the Italian custom, generally goes to the barber of the neighbouring village in order to be bled, a method of treatment which, instead of relieving the symptoms, invariably aggravates their intensity. Three or four weeks after the appearance of the first symptoms, red spots, accompanied with intense itching and burning, appear on the back of the hand and on the feet, which in Italy are as naked as the hands themselves, and after some days the skin peels off in large flakes, leaving a red, lustrous surface, like that of a blister recently healed. The process is repeated over and over again, and in due course of time the skin becomes black, hard, and full of cracks, a most ghastly sight when the face is affected, which occurs in all the sufferers who leave it uncovered. In fact, it has been ascertained that all covered parts of the body escape the infliction, whilst those which are left bare are affected sooner or later. The influence of the chemical rays of light is hereby made manifest. Their action, as is generally known, is much more intense in spring than at other seasons of the year, and greater in the early morning than at later hours of the day. The peasant, therefore, rising at break of dawn and going out to his work in the open fields, is immediately exposed to their action. But while the outer surface is thus severely punished, disorders of much greater importance affect the internal organs. The mouth grows sore, the stomach refuses to digest food, the bowels are disturbed, and excruciating pains arise in all parts of the digestive tube. The patient's health rapidly declines, he becomes emaciated, and his strength fades away. As the physical condition declines, strange symptoms are observed in the sphere of the intellectual faculties. Extreme depression of spirits is the first symptom, soon followed by a state of stupidity, in which the action of the mind seems totally suspended. The patient stares vacantly at those who question, and cannot give an intelligible answer. In close connection with this state of dementia is a morbid development of religious feeling. The sufferer goes on his knees, mutters prayers, and devoutly crosses himself; and lastly, there is a strange impulsion to suicide, chiefly by drowning, to such an extent that Strambio calls

this particular kind of delirium "hydromania." A totally different form of insanity is observed in those who exhibit violent tendencies: subject to fits of the most ungovernable passion, they occasionally commit criminal assaults which bring them before justice. Paralysis of the lower limbs is also, in many cases, one of the symptoms of this disease, especially in its later period, when the patient is rapidly approaching the grave. It must not, however, be supposed that all these phenomena occur in rapid succession; the process is essentially slow. The sufferer generally recovers during winter, and has another attack in the course of the ensuing spring, and, although generally fatal within the first three or four years, pellagra has been known to extend over a period ten times longer. Whether connected or not with a peculiar kind of alimentary poisoning, its spread is unquestionably favoured by the squalid poverty in which certain classes of the population live. As before stated, it seldom affects any but the rural population, and among these the poorest of all. In Lombardy, farm labourers are divided into the *obligati*, or those who are bound by an engagement to work for the farmer who maintains them, and the *disobligati*, or free labourers, which practically signifies—free to starve. It is among this latter, and unfortunate, class of the population that pellagra rages with the most fearful severity. The food of the Italian peasant is, at best, miserable. He is a perfect illustration of starvation in the midst of plenty. It is also noticed that the female sex are the chief sufferers, because in a poverty-stricken home, the head of the family fares better than his wife and children, and even has now and then an opportunity of getting intoxicated, which, in spite of temperance societies, is decidedly an advantage in his condition. As a remedy to this state of things it is proposed:—1. To create houses of refuge for the earlier stages of the disease, which, taken in time, may be arrested in its development. 2. To improve the peasant's condition, introduce animal food into his diet, and substitute, in some slight measure, corn flour for maize. Lastly. To modify his social position by certain changes introduced in the tenure of land. But here we meet the difficulty which rises as a bar to the most benevolent intentions, that of adjusting a distribution of property to the real wants of society. There is, we all know, a wide breach in this instance between theory and practice, and if a small amount of the millions wasted by the Italian Government upon military preparation were employed in improving the condition of the Lombardy peasants, a better result would, no doubt, be obtained, and one of the darkest spots in modern civilization would be expunged for ever.

Dr. Koeppé, a practitioner of Zell, favours us with an elaborate study on Homœopathy, in Hahnemann's time,²⁸ and in our own days. He discusses the works published on the subject and the critical objections raised against them. He then proceeds to study the system of its founder, and that of modern times, theoretically and

²⁸ "Die Homœopathie Hahnemann's und die der Neuzeit." Von Dr. Karl Koeppé. Berlin. 1881.

practically. He comes to the conclusion that homœopathy now walks side by side with scientific medicine as a legitimate sister—a conclusion which might be discussed if our limits allowed us to enter into the argument.

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

IF any one has ever deserved the honours of biography, it is assuredly the man who introduced the penny postal system. The *Life of Sir Rowland Hill*, which is now presented to us¹ in these two handsome volumes, is one well worthy of being written, and we may congratulate the author upon the skill with which he grasps his facts, and upon the graphic manner in which he portrays the disadvantages under which the postal service formerly laid, and the benefits that have accrued to the country from the reforms effected by the late Sir Rowland. The book is not only interesting as a picture of English social life during the earlier decades of this century, but contains much valuable political information upon a subject which most modern historians have failed fully to discuss. Sir Rowland Hill was the third son of a schoolmaster near Birmingham, and first saw the light in the year 1795. After having busied himself in emigration matters, as secretary to the Commissioners for the Colonization of South Australia, he turned his keenly practical mind to the deficiencies then existing in our Post Office arrangements. In 1837 appeared his well-known pamphlet, introducing the postal system he advocated, and which was gravely considered by a Committee of the House of Commons. The result of this investigation proved the necessity of reform in the postal service, that the old system worked badly, and was injurious to the commercial interests of the country, and accordingly it was recommended that the scheme suggested by Mr. Hill should be accepted. This advice was followed by the introduction of the penny postage in 1840 under the supervision of Mr. Hill, who was appointed to a post in the Treasury. He was, however, not very handsomely treated, for two years afterwards a change of Government occurred, and Mr. Hill was removed from office on the ungrateful grounds that his services were no longer wanted. The country now declined to take any part in this mean and ungenerous conduct; the proceedings of the Treasury were strongly disapproved of; a public subscription was set on foot, and in 1846 the author of the penny postage was presented with a testimonial of the value of thirteen thousand guineas. After a brief period of commercial activity as chairman of the London and Brighton Railway, Mr. Hill returned to his old love, and became secretary to the Postmaster-General. In 1854 he was appointed chief secretary, and a few years afterwards

¹ "*Life of Sir Rowland Hill.*" By his Nephew, J. B. Hill, D.C.L. 2 Vols. De la Rue.

was made a K.C.B. in acknowledgment of the ameliorations he had created in our postal system. Owing to ill-health he was compelled to retire from the public service in 1864, when the Treasury highly complimented him on his past labours, and allowed him to be superannuated on his full salary of £2,000 a year. We at the present day can hardly conceive a condition of things without a cheap and frequent postal service, but those who wish to appreciate its inestimable advantages had better read the pages of this biography, and see for themselves the annoyance, the delay and the difficulties which impeded the progress of commerce before the now familiar penny stamp and numerous deliveries came into operation.

This "History of Modern Europe"² is one of those works which it is difficult to criticize when appearing in piecemeal. The author has been advised to publish his volumes separately, and the consequence is, that from the first instalment we have no more idea of how the subject will be worked out than we can judge of the architecture of an elevation from its foundation. We see the beginning, but we cannot tell the end. From this first volume we soon arrive at the conclusion that Mr. Fyffe has well studied his subject, and that the aim he sets before him is a good one; but, on the other hand, his style is heavy, he crowds his pages more with facts than with reflections; he lacks the power of narrative, and as far as he has gone he tells us nothing new. The object of his work is to show how the States of Europe have merged into their present position; how the outbreak of the Revolution in 1792 set in motion forces which have succeeded in producing the united Germany and the united Italy of our own day. The first volume deals with the period between the years 1792 and 1814; the second volume will be brought down to the year 1848; whilst the third will conclude with the present time. The idea of such a history is excellent, but we fear Mr. Fyffe will be one of those authors whose talents are not equal to their ambition; who aim high, but unfortunately hit below their mark. Political history requires to be written, if it is to be of any value, in a spirit something higher than that of the compiler, and to be illumined by reflections somewhat deeper than those which are in vogue in university essays. Facts are excellent in themselves, and especially when they are correct, as they appear to be in this volume; yet facts are only an element of history, and not history itself. We want to know more about the causes which led to the events narrated and the results that ensued, than about the mere events themselves. Let Mr. Fyffe compare his account of the French Revolution with that given by Carlyle; between the two there is all the difference that exists between a catalogue and a description. In a very different spirit have Mr. Buckle, Mr. Lecky, and Mr. Leslie Stephen written their histories; and if Mr. Fyffe wishes to take rank with them he must be more original in his matter, more of the philosophical historian, and less of the compiler.

We are not surprised that a work so graphic in its style, so practical

² "A History of Modern Europe." By C. A. Fyffe. Vol. i. Cassell.

in its reflections, and so free from second-hand research as Mr. Froude's history of the "English in Ireland"¹ should have been published in a new and cheaper edition. The volumes appear at an opportune moment, and the author writes a supplementary chapter dealing with the present condition of Irish affairs. Mr. Froude shows by the advice he offers how rightly he understands the political position of Ireland. One by one the grievances complained of by the Irish people have been redressed. Their Catholic population has been emancipated, the Protestant Church, as a State Church in Ireland, has been abolished, reforms in respect to the land have been effected; yet still the Emerald Isle declines to be grateful in the slightest measure. And why? Because, says Mr. Froude truly, it is English rule in Ireland, and not the institutions planted there to defend English interests, which is the real object of Irish hostility. Ireland cannot be independent as our Constitution now stands. Home Rule under the Queen's sovereignty is impossible. The administration of Ireland under a local Parliament returned by household suffrage would be the transfer of authority to those who are now terrorizing the western counties. If Ireland is to be ruled by "Irish ideas," and Irish ideas are to be interpreted by the votes of the peasant majority, it must be under the condition that we are no longer responsible. Yet if we chose to be firm, and to ignore the selfish interests of party government, Ireland can be rendered quiet and prosperous. "Were England," writes Mr. Froude, "even now, at this eleventh hour, to say that she recognized the state of Ireland to be a disgrace to her, that she would pass no hurried measure at the dictation of incendiaries, but that deliberately and with all her energies she would examine the causes of her failure, and find some remedy for it, that meanwhile she must be free from political pressure, that the Constitution would be suspended, and that the three southern provinces would for half a century be governed by the Crown, the committee of the Land League are well aware that, without a shot being fired in the field, their functions would be at an end." By these means confidence would be restored, the law would recover its authority, enterprise would take heart again and prosperity be introduced. If we refuse to pursue this course, then let Ireland be free. "She is miserable," cries our author, "because she is unruled. We might rule her, but we will not, lest our arrangements at home might be interfered with. We cannot keep a people chained to us to be perennially wretched because it is inconvenient to us to keep order among them. If we will neither rule Ireland nor allow the Irish to rule themselves, nature and fact may tell us that, whether we will or no, an experiment which has lasted for seven hundred years shall be tried no longer." Between these two conditions we have no alternative; we must either govern Ireland or Ireland must be independent and govern herself. We can rule in India; why not in Ireland?

This little work of Col. Warren, entitled "The Temple or the

¹ "The English in Ireland in the Eighteenth Century." By James Anthony Froude. Popular Edition. Four vols. Longmans.

Tomb?"⁴ completely disproves the theory of Mr. Fergusson, that the tomb of Christ is on the site where the Temple once stood, instead of being, where most Christians ordinarily place it, beneath the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Col. Warren shows Mr. Fergusson to be very hasty in his conclusions, very contradictory in his judgments, and very one-sided in his arguments. The author has laboured for many years as the chief of the expedition for the exploration of Palestine, and what he writes should be accepted as coming from one who is a great authority upon the subject. His book is curious and interesting.

It is not surprising that the career of Cicero, the most typical Roman of his day, should especially appeal to one who, through the medium of fiction, has made social life and character his particular study. Unlike the other biographers, Mr. Trollope, in his "Life of Cicero,"⁵ deals with the great Roman as if he were in the habit of meeting him in society, or as if he were discussing the character of the Duke of Omnium or of the hero of "Framley Parsonage." To Mr. Trollope, Cicero is no abstract being of a remote past, famous only as one of the illustrious of history, but an actual living man of our own time and generation. We see him struggling along the path to fame, biding his time till opportunity favours him to display his splendid powers, rising rapidly to the highest posts in the State, moaning over his unhappy domestic relations, frankly revealing in his voluminous correspondence both the strength and weakness of his character. So complete is the sympathy between Mr. Trollope and his subject, that we almost forget we are reading about one who lived in the past, and whose eloquence was a matter of history ere Christianity dawned upon the world. Rome dissolves itself into London; and we find ourselves insensibly thinking of Cicero as if he were an advocate of our own day, as one whose good things are the talk of every bar mess, whose speeches are sharp political weapons, whose books and articles are noticed in all the reviews, and whose wit and geniality make him a favourite in every society. In advance of the old notion of Cicero as the great Consul, the fierce denouncer of Cataline and the author of the Philippics, Mr. Trollope reveals to us the humanity of the man so very clearly, that, putting on one side the public life of the great Roman, we think only of what a charming companion he must have been, how firm must have been his friendship, how chatty his gossip, how open his heart and his purse, how volatile his flirtations, how perfect his "little dinners," and above all what a really good creature he was. Mr. Trollope has a high appreciation of his hero, and stoutly defends his political actions. Still it will not be as the statesman, but as the advocate and charming man of letters, that Cicero will be honoured by posterity. Defend him as you will, throughout his life as a politician, he was a trimmer and identified his own interest with that of the country. In his early days he trimmed between the people and the aristocracy, varying his policy according to the influence that was dominant; in his latter

⁴ "The Temple or the Tomb." By Charles Warren. Bentley.

⁵ "Cicero." By Anthony Trollope. Two vols. Chapman & Hall.

days he trimmed between Pompey and Cæsar, and unscrupulously ratted when such a course suited his ambition. "It is a bitter pill," he writes to Atticus on one of these occasions, "and I have been long swallowing it; but farewell now to honour and patriotism."

Mr. Longman's history of Frederick the Great⁶ is a welcome addition to the valuable series entitled "Epochs of History." With the mass of material ready to hand touching this reign it was scarcely probable that Mr. Longman could go far astray as to his facts. He writes in a pleasant narrative style, and his little book will be read, as it throws much light upon a period about which much has been written, but unfortunately in so voluminous a form as more to repel than attract the student. This short biography will serve as a useful introduction to the great work of Carlyle, and help the reader to keep the facts of the time clearly in his head whilst perusing the brilliant yet occasionally confusing volumes of the late philosopher.

Mr. Henderson, the author of these pleasant angling experiences,⁷ can say with old Izaak Walton, "God did never make a more calm, quiet, innocent recreation than angling." He is a clever and enthusiastic fisherman, and in his pages he tells us many of the secrets of his craft, many good stories and much of use anent the wily trout in Swiss streams and the salmon in Scotch rivers. To all lovers of the rod his chatty work will serve as an amusing and practical text-book.

The history of the "Rise and Fall of the Republic of Genoa"⁸ is a subject well worthy the labours of the student, and Mr. Bent has done his work well, consulting original authorities, and giving us much information upon a State and a period little familiar to the general reader. The history of a principal naval and commercial commonwealth like Genoa, which, though it occupied but a speck on the map of Europe, yet through its colonies and research greatly influenced the then known world, presents many features of interest. The Italian Republics were the first to succeed in substantially gathering together the threads of commerce which had been familiar to the old world of Phœnician, Greek, and Roman merchants, and amongst the leaders of these Republics was Genoa. It was Genoa which drew to her ports the chief wealth of the commerce of the Black Sea, of the Mediterranean, and of the waters outside the Pillars of Hercules. She was close pressed by Venice, still for more than one hundred years she was greatly superior in strength and resources to the Queen of the Adriatic. To those who wish to know the part Genoa played in former days, how intimately she was connected with the expeditions of the Crusaders, how wide and wealthy was her commerce, how she triumphed over her rivals, Pisa and Venice, how indebted was geography to her voyages and discoveries—in short, the whole history of her rise and fall—cannot do better than consult the pages of this carefully compiled volume.

The object of Mr. Gregory's "History of the Western Highlands

⁶ "Frederick the Great." By F. W. Longman. Longmans & Co.

⁷ "My Life as an Angler." By Wm. Henderson. W. Satchell & Co.

⁸ "Genoa." By J. T. Bent. C. Kegan Paul.

and Islands" is to trace, between the years 1493 and 1635, the history of the territory once owned by the great Lords of the Isles, from the downfall of that princely race in the reign of James IV. of Scotland, until the accession of Charles I. His matter is a little dry, his style somewhat heavy, and what he has to narrate is perhaps too purely local to interest the ordinary Englishman. But to all desirous of becoming acquainted with the intricacies of clan relationships, his book will be very serviceable. The author has consulted many of the public records for his information.

We were prepared to view this "Story of the Zulu Campaign" ¹⁰ with disfavour. So many accounts of the late war have appeared that the subject is overdone, and there remains little scope for new matter of any importance. We have, however, been agreeably surprised. Captain Edgell, who unhappily fell at Ulundi, was present at most of the scenes he describes, and consequently there are a freshness and a vividness in his narrative not to be found in the other works upon this unfortunate campaign. One of the best chapters in the book is that which gives an account of the death of the Prince Imperial.

Mr. Lethbridge's "History of India" ¹¹ supplies a want that has long been felt in the educational world. Until the appearance of this little manual, no work has been published which gives in a brief but correct form the particulars necessary to be known of our Indian Empire—its history, geography, varieties of creed, agricultural and population statistics, literature, and form of government. We have had volumes on each of these subjects, but never before a small work dealing with them all in a concise and popular fashion. Mr. Lethbridge brings to his matter a personal knowledge, for he holds a high educational appointment in India, and consequently his facts have been well tested, and may be relied upon.

Mr. Bagehot's "Biographical Studies" ¹² will fully bear out the reputation their author enjoyed during his lifetime as a keen observer of men and manners, and a sound philosophical critic upon all questions relating to constitutional government. They are written with all the late Mr. Bagehot's vigorous ease, are replete with those caustic and critical observations which made his pen famous, and throughout display, without any of the pretensions of the manufactured erudition of the bookmaker, the results of deep and well-digested reading. Especially would we recommend the judgment and happy analysis of character exhibited in the Essay on Mr. Gladstone. Mr. Bagehot is as good a critic of the future as of the past. His remarks as to the future course our present Premier should adopt and avoid are worthy of attention. Mr. Gladstone, so says Mr. Bagehot, "is essentially a man who cannot impose his creed on his time, but must

⁹ "History of the Western Highlands and Islands." By Donald Gregory. Hamilton, Adams & Co.

¹⁰ "The Story of the Zulu Campaign." By Major Ashe and the late Captain Wyatt Edgell. Sampson Low and Co.

¹¹ "A History of India." By Hoper Lethbridge. Macmillan & Co.

¹² "Biographical Studies." By W. Bagehot. Edited by E. Hutton. Longmans & Co.

learn his creed of his time." Mr. Gladstone may well be the expositor of his time, the advocate of its conclusions, the admired orator in whom it will take pride; but he cannot be more. Parliamentary life rarely admits the autocratic supremacy of an original intellect; the present moment is singularly unfavourable to it; Mr. Gladstone is the last man to obtain it. Then he must not object to war, because it is war, or to expenditure, because it is expenditure. War is often necessary; finance is not an end; money is but a means. Nor must he again commit himself to a long period of bewildering opposition. If Mr. Gladstone's mind is to be kept in a useful track, it must be by the guiding influence of office, by an exemption from the misguiding influence of opposition. "If Mr. Gladstone," writes our author, "will accept the conditions of his age; if he will guide himself by the mature, settled, and cultured reflection of his time, and not by its loud and noisy organs; if he will look for that which is thought rather than for that which is said, he may leave a great name, be useful to his country, may steady and balance his own mind. But if not—not."

Dr. McKerrow was a Presbyterian minister at Manchester, who took a keen interest in the education of the people, and was admired by a large congregation. His biography has been written by his son,¹³ and it no doubt will be read with interest by those to whom he was friend and pastor.

The Life of so representative a divine as William Law is one that certainly should be written,¹⁴ and Mr. Overton has acquitted himself well of his task. Law, nonjuror and mystic, was one of the ablest theological writers in a period remarkably fertile in theological literature. Born in an age which took its philosophy from Locke, its theology from Tillotson, and its politics from Walpole, he stood singularly apart from his contemporaries, though he influenced them all. He was as one placed out of due time; he may be regarded as a relic of the past, or as an anticipation of the future, but of his own present he was an utterly abnormal specimen. Law's life and writings possess more than a mere historical interest. He anticipated many of the theological and political difficulties which weigh upon the minds of the thoughtful now-a-days, and answered them, if not always satisfactorily, yet always in a way that deserves and will command the most careful attention. Until this work of Mr. Overton's no adequate biography of Law has appeared; in the pages before us he is represented as a thorough man, full of human infirmities, yet a grand specimen of humanity.

A second edition of Mrs. Heaton's interesting life of Albrecht Dürer, the greatest of German artists, is now before us, revised and considerably enlarged.¹⁵ Since the appearance of her first edition the

¹³ "Life of Wm. McKerrow, D.D." By his Son, J. McKerrow. Hodder & Stoughton.

¹⁴ "The Life and Opinions of William Law." By J. H. Overton, M.A. Longmans & Co.

¹⁵ "The Life of Albrecht Dürer." By Mrs. Heaton. Seeley, Jackson & Halliday.

life and works of Dürer have attracted much attention. Mr. W. D. Scott has written a scholarly criticism on the subject, and his labours have been followed by the works of Dr. Lochner, of Nürnberg, Dr. Max Allihn, and especially by Professor Moritz Thausing, who has subjected Dürer's life, writings, and artistic work to a critical analysis that had not previously been attempted. To these volumes Mrs. Heaton has been indebted, and hence the second edition of her biography is the completest work we have on the subject in the English language. The illustrations of Dürer's chief pictures are beautifully engraved, and the descriptive accounts written by the authoress are full and critical, and throw considerable light upon both the genius and the teaching of the artist. In these days of art development this well got-up volume should be welcome.

The Turkish letters of Ghiselin de Busbecq, which now appear in two handsome volumes,¹⁶ have long been known to historians and antiquaries. Several of the most striking passages in Robertson's "History of Charles V." are taken from Busbecq; De Thou has borrowed largely from them; whilst the pages of Gibbon, Coxe, Von Hammer, Ranke, and Motley, testify to the value of information derived from this source. Written somewhat in the style of "Æthien," these interesting letters take us back three centuries, and show us the Turk as he was when he dictated to Europe instead of Europe dictating to him, and at the same time conjure into life once more Catherine de Medici, Navarre, Alençon, Guise, Marguerite the fair and frail, and that young queen whom he loved so well and served so faithfully. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries no author was more popular than De Busbecq. More than twenty editions of his letters were published in the literary capitals of Europe—Antwerp, Paris, Bâle, Frankfort, &c.—and he was regarded as the great authority on contemporary history. He was eminently what is called a "many-sided man:" nothing is above or beneath his notice. His political information is important to the soberest of historians; the Imperial Library at Vienna is rich with MSS. and coins of his collection. To him scholars owe the first copy of the famous "Monumentum Ancyranum." We cannot turn to our gardens without seeing the flowers which Busbecq introduced from the East to the West around us—the lilac, the tulip, the syringa. Throughout his letters will be found hints to the architect, the physician, the philologist, and the statesman; yet in them he has stories to charm a child, and tales to make a grey-beard weep. And still, whilst furnishing information of the highest value, he never assumes the air of a pedant. He tells his story in a frank and genial way, not unlike that of the modern newspaper correspondent. The object of Busbecq's mission to Constantinople was to stay by the arts of diplomacy the advance of the Asiatic conqueror, to neutralize in the Cabinet the defeat of Essek and Mohacz. In this policy he was to a great extent successful. His letters from Constantinople are full of curious information as to Turkey and her people,

¹⁶ "Life and Letters of Ghiselin de Busbecq." By C. T. Forster and F. H. Blackburn Daniell. Two vols. C. Kegan Paul.

and will be read with the keenest interest. The letters from France to Maximilian and Rodolph are important chapters on contemporary history. The joint editors have done their work most carefully. An interesting biography of Busbecq prefaces his letters, and every event related by the writer which calls for explanation is pleasantly commented upon in foot-notes.

BELLES LETTRES.

GRIFFITHS, whose mother was the novelist, tells a story of a lady who was enraptured with Plutarch's Lives, being under the impression that they were fiction, but, upon being told that they were real, refused to read another line. We are afraid that this feeling is still very common in our day. Anything, as long as it is fiction. "How delicious this water would be," cried the thirsty French actress, "if it were only wicked to drink it!" Well, our novelists sail as near as they can—we will not say to the wicked, but the naughty. Here comes Captain Hawley Smart, with the promising title of "Social Sinners."¹ But the book, after all, is a very harmless affair. The sinners are quite as much sinned against as sinning. Most of them sin, too, in such a fine, gentlemanly, genial way, that we hardly know whether it is not all pretence. We do not, for one moment, believe in their sins. To draw Iagos requires genius. Captain Smart, however, to do him justice, has a good deal of talent. He is always lively. His novel is full of good things. The opera in July is defined as a "Turkish bath set to music." Publishers' contingencies are "things that never happen." Here is a piece of encouragement to faint hearts: "It is always a point in a man's favour, when a woman takes to thinking about him at all. The fair sex, like Balaam, often reverse the malediction they originally intended to pronounce." Miss Riversley is neatly hit off in a sentence, as "a girl whose partners always come back." We might easily make an anthology of such sentences.

"Prince Fortune and Prince Fatal,"² tells almost its own story by its title. As the author writes further on in the tale—

"Love is helpless, so is hate,
To destroy the web of fate;
Hating little, loving less,
Better chance has of success."

The first chapter, describing the child-lovers, is excellent, not merely on its own account, but because it strikes the key-note of the whole story. We can see, as we read, bearing this opening in mind, that the

¹ "Social Sinners." A Novel. By Hawley Smart, Author of "Breezie Langton," "Bound to Win," &c., &c. London: Chapman & Hall (Limited). 1880.

² "Prince Fortune and Prince Fatal." By Mrs. Carrington, Author of "My Cousin Maurice." London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle, & Rivington. 1880.

author set out with a definite story and a definite set of characters. These last are particularly well done, clear, and sharp-cut. They are set off, too, by the writer's cultivated style, wide reading, and knowledge of the world. Many of her remarks remind us of some of the best things by Thackeray, as, for instance, her criticism upon the preternatural knowledge which servants have of their masters' and mistresses' affairs. There is a deep knowledge of human nature implied in such remarks, that if there is love at first sight there is also "hate at first sight;" and again, that "pleasure, like colour, is purely subjective"—a remark which is substantially the same, when expanded, as that of Sir George Lewis's: "that life would be very tolerable if it were not for its pleasures." But still better than even her character-drawing, and deeper even than her knowledge of the world, is Mrs. Carrington's power of description. Here the reader can, by an extract, judge for himself. It is impossible to take a character out of its frame; a piece of scenery may, however, be detached. Here is an Italian landscape early in the year:—

"Traces of the storm, so lately raging, were to be seen in the levelled vines, the scattered lemons, the broken boughs; in the trenches in the roads, and in the swollen streams. But the cloudy veil had rolled back below the verge; the wind stirred not; the air was calm as a dream of soft zephyrs; the tawny hills were turned to a tender purple, and their heights beheld again the snowy range; the flowers hid their dead blooms beneath new budding blossoms; the rock-swallow, shrill twittering, darted after his tiny prey; the honey bee worked and hummed—that bright yellow bee, famous amongst its fellows; and on the balmy breeze went the white butterflies in pairs, floating like happy souls mistaking this glad earth for Paradise. . . . The groves, the gardens, the shores, the mountain paths were all alive. The people had got back to their light hearts. They babbled, they chattered, they gesticulated, they sang, they danced, they could even work. The beggars came out; the children clamoured and crowded. All things were themselves once more—for the deluge was come and gone."

The first part might be almost taken for some of Ruskin's workmanship, before he adopted his high-flown and intricate mannerism. The second part, with its touch about the beggars, reminds us of E. V. B.'s poetical cartoon in *Child's Play*, entitled "Watch Dogs," with its picturesque town-walls and noble Italian landscapes and the stately beggars with the little children crowding and clamouring round them. To show, however, that this piece of description is not a mere accidental performance, we will take another of a different kind:—

"The white town sleeps in the lap of the blue bay. The snowy surf fringes the long sea line, telling how rocks and waves measure their strength together. On the margin hangs the terraced citron, glistening in its dark foliage; higher rise the green pine forests, and the dim olive woods, hiding in their deep recesses full many a path by waterfall and hollow, many a wilderness all untrod, many a sunny bank spangled with spring flowers; and higher still rises the rocky range, Nature's gigantic barrier, unveiled to-day, clear and cloudless; its fantastic peaks pierce the blue ether, its bare steeps shine yellow and red and gray. Now it retires behind the wooded summits, and now it plants its iron-hued feet in the depths of the rainbow sea."

After these two quotations, we trust that the reader will echo a

criticism by Socrates, "Since what I have seen is so good, I will believe the rest to be equally so."

We must deal now briefly with the remaining novels. Ouida,³ we are glad to see, writes in a quieter frame of mind than usual. It is, however, rather hard that she should attack England for staying the song-birds, considering that we have just passed the "Wild Birds' Protection Act." But Ouida still does not very much care what she writes as long as she can round off a sentence.

In the "Wards of Plotinus"⁴ Mrs. John Hunt has undertaken a most difficult task, in which perfect success was almost impossible. Here and there some of her descriptions are vivid, especially the scene of the fire at the theatre.

One of the very best and healthiest novels which we have read for a long time, is Mr. Norris's "Matrimony."⁵ From beginning to end, it is written with verve and spirit. Mr. Norris is most happy in hitting off characters, especially vulgar people like the Lamberts. And such characters are far harder to do than is generally supposed, for if they are overdrawn they soon become repulsive. Mr. Norris is equally at home, too, with characters of a pleasanter kind.

Another bright and lively novel, though at times a little Bohemian, is Mr. Francillon's "Queen Cophetua,"⁶ but scarcely, perhaps, equal to his "Olympia."

Mr. Meredith⁷ is nothing if he is not epigrammatic. His new novel perfectly bristles with points and allusions. But is there not just such a thing as being a little too clever? No book is so wearisome after a time as a collection of jests. Let us, for instance, take a passage:—"Perhaps, for the sake of peace . . . after warning him . . . her meditations tottered in dots." Now this, we think, is a little too clever. It is, in fact strained. "But when the heart hungers," the author continues, "behind such meditations, that thinking without language is a dangerous habit; for there will come a dash usurping the series of tentative dots, which is nothing other than the dreadful thing resolved on, as of necessity, as naturally as the adventurous bow-legged infant pitches back from an excursion of two paces to mother's lap; and not much less innocently within the mind, it would appear." Again we think that this also is a little too clever and enigmatic for ordinary Mudie readers. Of course, Mr. Meredith's meaning is quite plain, but could he not have made it a little plainer?

Three other novels we can only mention—Mr. Saunders' "Two Dreamers,"⁸ gossipy, but not uninteresting; Mr. Muir's "Harold

³ "A Village Commune." By Ouida. London: Chatto & Windus. 1881.

⁴ "The Wards of Plotinus." By Mrs. John Hunt. London: Strahan & Company (Limited). 1881.

⁵ "Matrimony." By W. E. Norris, Author of "Mademoiselle de Mersac." London: Smith, Elder & Co. 1881.

⁶ "Queen Cophetua." By R. E. Francillon. London: Chatto & Windus. 1880.

⁷ "The Tragic Comedians." By George Meredith. London: Chapman & Hall (Limited). 1881.

⁸ "The Two Dreamers." By John Saunders. London: Chapman & Hall (Limited). 1880.

Saxon,"⁹ in which there are some capital clerical scenes; and Mr. Greg's "Errant,"¹⁰ dealing with war and literature.

Of the three tales in the "Ten Years' Tenant,"¹¹ we, perhaps, like "Over the Sea with a Sailor," if not the best, amongst the best. A few very critical readers might object to it as being, just at the commencement, a trifle Bohemian. We think, however, that in this part it paints with considerable truth the ways and the feelings of a good many literary men and artists, who go down into the country to work and end by falling in love. But it is the discussions in the story which are of the greatest interest. Why, for instance, did England espouse the cause of the South in the great American civil war. The authors give up the solution of the problem. Bishop Butler once asked his chaplain if he did not think that nations, as well as individuals, sometimes went mad? Perhaps that is the solution. Bearing upon this question, we may here notice "The New Virginians,"¹² not a novel, but quite as interesting as one, written, however, with other aims than those of a mere novel. The author's views must evidently be taken with some caution. "Bound by Law,"¹³ does not come up to a very high standard. The writer makes the mistake of being too literal. "The Unknown City,"¹⁴ will, we think, hardly be popular in England, whatever it may be in the United States. Lastly, to conclude our list of novels, we have to call attention to a few translations,¹⁵ and a new edition¹⁶ of "Don Quixote," which require to be dealt with by a specialist.

There may roughly be said to be two distinct schools of poetry in England at the present moment. One takes its rise from the days of the pre-Raphaelites, of

"Miles and Giles and Isabeau,
Tall Gehan du Castel beau,
Alice of the golden hair,"—

and counts amongst its leaders Swinburne and Rossetti. The other school took its rise by the banks of the Isis. Clough and Matthew Arnold, and the author of "Poems" by "Proteus" are its high

⁹ "Harold Saxon." By Alan Muir. London: Smith, Elder & Co. 1880.

¹⁰ "Errant." A Life Story of latter-day Chivalry. By Percy Greg. Author of "Across the Zodiac." London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington. 1880.

¹¹ "The Ten Years' Tenant," and other Stories. By Walter Besant and James Rice. London: Chatto & Windus. 1881.

¹² "The New Virginians." London and Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Sons. 1880.

¹³ "Bound by Law." By Ellen Werché. London: Ellinson & Co. 1880.

¹⁴ "The Unknown City." A Story of New York. By W. T. Washburn. London: Trübner & Co. 1880.

¹⁵ "The Ingenious Knight: Don Quixote de la Mancha." A New Translation from the Originals of 1605 and 1608. By Alexander James Duffield. London: C. Kegan Paul & Co. 1881.

¹⁶ "The History of Don Quixote of la Mancha." Translated from the Spanish by Motteux. Edited by J. C. Lockhart. Preceded by a short notice of the Life and Works of Motteux, by Henri Van Laun. London: J. C. Nimmo & Bain. 1880.

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priests. Mr. Penderrick¹⁷ can hardly be said to belong to either of these schools. Now and then he gives us something of the gorgeous colouring of the first, and still more frequently something of the sober cast of thought of the second. He possesses, too, much of the rhythm and the melody of the first, though he every now and then falls into mere jingling metres. Against this last fault he must guard himself *tanquam a scopulo*, as Quintilian would have said. His Muse is evidently facile and versatile, and has not in this matter learnt the art of self-criticism. With the same school he is a lover of the outward beauties of Nature, and in this particular possesses real powers of description. His finest poem, "Siliot," however, more resembles the tone and feeling of the second school. Here, for instance, is a picture of the past as it appears to one communing alone with himself,—

"In troops they come, the hooded years,
Like clouds across an April sky;
He calls them his and Memory
With firm pale lips declared them hers.
'Thine, thine no longer,' loud they cry,
'We were but shadows but when we were,
We are not now, nor canst thou stir
For all thy wit unanswered 'why.'"—(Page 90.)

The inquirer, after bootless self-examination, determines to renounce the world and seek Nature, and comes to the hill of Siliot, which is sketched in with firm strokes—

"No smallest leaf of all the trees,
Beeches and our sad sister pine
That girdles in this haunt benign,
Was stirring, yet the truant breeze
Not far was known where quick sunshine
And shadows playing hide-and-seek
Amidst its cliffs, alternate freak
The eastward mountains' solemn line.

"In middle distance soft to scan,
A landscape lay of such repose,
As you might tell is found for those
Who rest in fields Elysian;
'Mid greenest foliage there rose
Sparse farmsteads and the silent spire;
And southward, where the land is higher,
An old Round Tower the prospect knows."
(Pages 88, 89.)

Now this is really a clear and vigorous piece of description. There is no attempt at fine writing. The landscape is just such a landscape as we may see in the south-west of England. To Siliot across the fields, "where kingcups pay a golden debt," the inquirer comes. At the top of the hill he finds a hermitage, tenanted by a hermit. Here, with the hermit's story of his own life and his own experiences, begins

¹⁷ "Sonnets and Miscellaneous Poems." By Maurice Penderrick. London: Simpkin, Marshall & Co., 1890.

the finest part of the poem. We can only, however, find room for one quotation. The hermit, after many wanderings, comes to a quiet bay, where he sees a vessel lately shipwrecked. On the deck is stretched a corpse. The hermit thus apostrophises the ocean :—

“ Oh ! mighty ocean hear me call,
Thine be the power, the mildness thine,
In thee resides the true divine,
Resided has and ever shall.

There was a rushing in the West—
Like a bold hunter came the gale,
Scourging his laggard clouds, and pale
With fear each billow reared a crest,
And ocean writhed. ‘ Of what avail
Thy majesty, poor king ? ’ I cried,
‘ This be the limit of thy pride,
Before the wind let all things quail.’ ”

But the hermit sees that the wind, too, dies away, and his sum and conclusion of all things is,—

“ Where’er I looked a younger hour
Trampled his fellow gone before ;
Change was in all, but evermore
Power did succeed to other power,
Life ever lived. The vital store
Exhaustless did itself renew
From death, whereout there always grew
Fresh forms of life which Nature bore.

(Pages 100, 101, 102.)

Such lines as these deserve unstinted praise. It is utterly impossible to predict the course and the future of a poet. Mr. Penderick is, we believe, quite a young man. He evidently possesses great capabilities. It remains to be seen whether he is only one of the many that are called, or one of the few that are chosen.

It is always difficult to estimate a great contemporary poet.¹⁸ As Emerson says, the mountain is too near. In the very year that Shakespeare died, an Elizabethan critic thus summed up his estimate of the poetry of his day : “ Poetry now always marcheth with impudency, for whereas ancient poesie studied so to make virtue famous, the moderns endeavour to make vice glorious, esteeming honesty an idle word, and a simple ornament, but ribbaldry a witty mirth and sweete contentment.” Now there is some such undercurrent of feeling abroad at the present day about poetry, and Mr. Swinburne is generally made the object of virtuous indignation. The modest British public need not, however, be afraid of venturing upon his last work, “ *Studies in Song*.” It is true to its title. The poet would appear to have been pushing his powers over the English language to the extreme limit. It is hardly possible that greater mastery will ever be exhibited over rhyme and rhythm. Open the volume where

¹⁸ “ *Studies in Song*.” By Algernon Charles Swinburne. London : Chatto & Windus. 1880.

we will, we are carried away by the strong flow of the verse. Mr. Swinburne has many imitators, but their imitations are thin and pale when compared with the original. They give words, he gives substance also. They give mere splashes of colour, he gives both colour and form. Take, for instance, the following North-country sea-coast landscape, and mark how rich yet how clear and sharp-cut it is :—

“Tall the plumage of the rush-flower tosses,
 Sharp and soft in many a curve and line,
 Gleam and glow the sea-coloured marsh-mosses,
 Salt and splendid from the circling brine.
 Streak on streak of glimmering sunshine crosses
 All the land sea-saturate as with wine.

“Far, and far between, in divers orders
 Clear grey steeples cleave the low grey sky ;
 Fast and firm as Time-unshaken warders,
 Hearts made sure by faith, by hope made high.
 These alone in all the wild sea borders
 Fear no blasts of days and nights that die.”

Quotations of a similar rare quality might be multiplied over and over again. The volume may not contain anything so good as the opening of the chorus in “Erechtheus,” but it must take a high place amongst Mr. Swinburne’s works.

How is it that Mr. Payne¹⁹ is not more popular with the general public? Perhaps the question may be best answered by asking another, How is it that Mr. Morris is so popular? How is it that business men read Mr. Morris’s poetry, when they can read no other? Perhaps, the answer lies in the fact that Mr. Morris, besides being a great poet, is also a consummate story-teller. He possesses the rare gift of being able to tell a tale, and to interest the reader. Now, Mr. Payne has all the qualities of Mr. Morris’s school, colour, power of rhyme and rhythm, and both love for and subtle knowledge of Nature, but he has never until the present volume shown himself as a story-teller. This is a matter of no little importance. Why, for instance, is Emerson’s poetry so little welcomed by the general public? Probably because he cannot tell a tale, cannot construct a story, and has never given us a hint that he can draw a character. Where great poets are strong, Emerson is weak. In the very points on which the popularity of great poets rests, Emerson is deficient. He is weak in human interest. Men and women delight in men and women, and not in pale abstractions. Mr. Payne will not, we trust, misunderstand us in comparing him with Emerson. His poetry is as unlike Emerson’s as can be, except that it is not popular. We have endeavoured to explain why Mr. Payne is not popular, but trust that the present volume may be the means of introducing him to many new readers. He has, whilst sacrificing none of his former characteristics, his delicacy of treatment, his melody, and happiness of expression, developed new powers. In the “Ballad of Isabel,” and in “Salvestra,” he shows him-

¹⁹ “New Poems.” By John Payne. London: Newman & Co. 1880.

self to be an accomplished story-teller as well as singer. Both poems possess life, movement, and action. His lyrics, too, show all his old mastery over rhyme and rhythm, and his tenderness of thought and expression. We deeply regret that we have not space to quote any of them at length. We must, however, call attention to the "Rondel" at page 140, with its refrain of—

• "Kiss me sweetheart, the Spring is here,
And love is lord of you and me."

We must not forget, also, another equally beautiful "Rondel" at page 187, beginning—

"The year has cast its wede away
Of ruin, of tempest, and of cold."

And lastly, we would direct the reader to the exquisite "Villanelle," at page 276, beginning—

"The thrush's singing days are fled."

There is a story, that the Laureate, being asked what he thought of the average poetry of the day, replied that, in his opinion, it reached a very high standard. Certainly, this quarter it is unusually good. "Justine,"²⁰ for instance, is a poem which, fifty years ago, would have at once made the author's reputation. The "Hymn to Venus" owes nothing at all to the modern-antique; it is entirely original. The writer is equally happy in his shorter pieces. There is a ballad, "I am my Mother's Maid," which—without the slightest imitation—recalls Wordsworth's best manner.

"Fancy"²¹ hardly comes up to the level of "Justine." The author allows his too facile Muse to run into such lines about the wind as—

"Gently breathing from the mead,
Whispering of violets hid,
And the wild-rose with woodbine thrid."—(Page 32.)

But there are some good things in the volume. The prettiest is "To Mildred," and the deepest, "The Canon of Life."

"The Shakespeare Tapestry"²² contains a very good groundwork for a short poem, rather, we should have imagined, in the style of "The Rape of the Lock," than that which the author has chosen. He has, unfortunately, spun the idea out to too great a length. Had he condensed his poem by at least one-half, his humour, playfulness, and fancy would have been seen to much greater advantage.

We are glad to see that the distinguished author of "Olrigr Grange" has announced his name on the title-page of his new poem.²³

²⁰ "Justine: A Martyr. And other Poems." London: Simpkin, Marshall & Co. 1880.

²¹ "Fancy; and other Rhymes." By John Sibree, M.A. London: Trübner & Co. 1880.

²² "The Shakespeare Tapestry woven in Verse." By C. Hankey. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons. 1881.

²³ "Raban; or Life-splinters." By Walter C. Smith. Glasgow: James Maclehose. 1881.

It is not well that the knight should always appear with a blank shield; but it is well that a name which carries such weight should be attached to a poem which, we trust, will do much to remove some of the intolerance and bigotry which is the reproach and the curse of Scotland. The title of the poem is taken from the name of the hero, who was a minister in the Established Kirk of Scotland:—

“But he was not made
For the priest’s work, whose Sundays domineer
The week with preaching, as he goes about
Slow, sermon-grinding till his thought is thin
As the shrill fife, the while he makes his rounds,
And hears the parish gossip, and grows small
With its small interests, only, now and then,
Lit up by broader lights that shoot athwart
From that dread door which opens for all men.”

Many a clergyman in England, as well as in Scotland, might sit for the latter portion of this picture, with the exception that, in England, when “the door opens,” there is too often an unseemly scene over the very grave. Raban’s creed is, however, very different to that of the average clergyman, either in Scotland or in England:—

—“His faith
Was true to the old creeds he left behind,
As the fresh art of a new age still holds
All past achievement in its schemes of progress,
And moves on the old lines. He kept their spirit ;

Only the framework, and the rigid joinings
Clamped, as with iron, by mistaken texts,
He loosened; for he deemed the truth was there,
But yet in forms too rounded to be true,
And clothed as with an armour which grew not,
Though the man grew within, till what was meant
For a defence, brought weakness.”

Of course, the sequel may be easily guessed. His flock first forsook him, and then he forsook the priesthood. From the pulpit he turned to literature. He became famous as an essayist on social subjects. His large views very speedily bring down upon him the hostility of the Philistines. He is on all sides denounced as a Firebrand. The picture, however, is not all gloom and vexation. We see other sides of Raban’s life. We have sketches of him abroad, hunting among old book-stalls for Elzevirs and Aldines and Caxtons, and sketches of him at home, poring over his treasures. But his zeal for progress was greater than his interest in the past:—

“His love
Of ancient lore was less than that which drew
His heart to the opening Future; full of hope,
He hung about the dawn, like morning star,
And watched the coming day; not fearing greatly,
Although he saw the germs of larger change,
And deeper movements in the thought of man
Wrestling for birth, than centuries had known.”

Such is the portrait of Raban. By-and-by he dies, but not until his life's work has been partly done. He leaves all his papers to his friend, who had made his acquaintance at a book-stall. Amongst the papers are the poems. We deeply regret that we cannot possibly find room to criticize these poems in the way which they deserve. The poetry itself, as poetry, demands attention; but it is the substance which demands still greater attention. As the man Raban is, so is his poetry—eloquent, earnest, and full of thought. Here, however, is a passage which will recall certain recent events in the Church of Scotland. The scene is just before Raban leaves the Church:—

“ High Cardinals
Bourgeon in all the Churches; there red-stockinged
And crimson-hatted, here in sober black :
Now bald with age, now shaven to look like age
And gravity; and mostly portly men
Of large discourse, and excellent taste in wines,
They cultivate the wisdom of the serpent,
And leave the rest to play the harmless dove,
Fulfilling thus the Scripture by division
Of labour, as the modern law requires;—
You do the simple dove, as Christ enjoins,
And I will do the serpent.”

But here we must stop. We trust that we have said enough to show that this is no common poem. The subject is the most vital of all subjects. As Epictetus would say: “It is about no common thing, but about being mad or not.” The writer treats the subject, too, with that breadth and liberality of spirit which is rare enough in England, but still far more so in Scotland. We do not hesitate to say that “Raban” is by far not only the most beautiful poem which Dr. Smith has produced, but the one from which the most important results may be expected. Without being didactic, he teaches, and without preaching, preaches the most eloquent of sermons.

How is it that so-called religious poetry is, as a rule, always so bad? Here is a specimen from “*Foreshadowings*,”²⁴ apparently descriptive of the fate of Satan, but it may be of somebody else, for we do not feel sure:—

“ And since so short
His sole retort
For his long bonds,
Into his rage
He casts an age,
Woe to earth's habitants,—woe, woe!”

Catnatch would write better than this on the Devil.

On the other hand, Mr. Mansill²⁵ does not attempt any sketch of the Evil One, but gives us a picture of the end of the world. Here is his account of it:—

²⁴ “*Foreshadowings*.” A Poem in Four Cantos. By Charles Reom. London Elliot Stock. 1881.

²⁵ “*De Soto; and other Poems*.” By Thomas Mansill. St. Louis: The Hundreth Printing Company. 1880.

“What can one hear?—the thunderfall
Of aged walls; once in a day
A zephyr asks distinctly, ‘Where?’”

It is certainly better to have a zephyr cross-examining us at the end of the world than a devil.

Mr. Wilding²⁶ is, we should suppose, from the general tone and cast of his poetry, quite a young man. His verse gives rather promise than actual performance. He belongs to the Rossetti and Swinburne school. His ear is, as a rule, though not always, correct, and he has an eye for colour. Perhaps the best things in his volume are the poems on Burne-Jones’ “Golden Stavis,” and on “Keats.” He must, however, practise far more self-restraint before he can hope to be heard amongst the poets of the day.

Mr. Noel’s poetry²⁷ is always well worth reading. He is not nearly so well known as he ought to be. His poems do not appeal to the popular taste. They are refined and cultivated. Perhaps in the present volume he touches too often upon one note. “In Memoriam,” and even Shakespeare’s sonnets to his friend, would be intolerable did they not raise larger questions than the immediate love or pain from which the poet himself is suffering. We regret that we have not space to quote from Mr. Noel’s new volume any of the very many passages which are so remarkable for their delicate colouring and classical grace.

Mr. Ranking²⁸ shows great versatility in his new volume. There is both power and pathos in “Under the Dark Arches,” pleasant humour in “Angling,” and a subdued cynicism “At the Back of the Opera Box.” In turning over the pages of the volume we are apt to pause, and ask, How is it that a poet who has accomplished so much has really accomplished so little? The answer probably is, that Mr. Ranking has wasted his really great powers in attempting too much. He is everything. He is both mystic and man of the day. Had he cultivated one particular line of poetry he would have done far more. It is not for us to counsel him what he is to do. We cannot, however, help thinking that with his great dramatic instincts, his command both of rhyme and of rhythm, his rare skill in word-painting, and his aptitude for character-drawing, that he might produce a poem which should be worthy of a high place in English literature.

Mr. Waddington²⁹ has hit upon the excellent idea of giving us a collection of the best sonnets by living writers. Mr. Waddington mentions the collection of sonnets by Mr. Dennis and Mr. Main, but says nothing about Leigh Hunt’s excellent collection, who, if our

²⁶ “Songs of Passion and Pain.” By Ernest Wilding. London: Newman & Co. 1881.

²⁷ “A Little Child’s Monument.” By the Hon. Roden Noel. London: C. Kegan Paul. 1881.

²⁸ “Fulgencius. With other Poems, Old and New.” By B. Montgomerie Ranking, author of “Bjorn and Bera,” “Fair Rossmund,” &c. &c. London: Newman & Co. 1880.

²⁹ “English Sonnets.” By Living Writers. Selected and Arranged, with a note on the History of the Sonnets, by Samuel Waddington. London: George Bell & Son. 1881.

memory is not at fault, also gave us sonnets by living writers. We are glad to see that Mr. Waddington has printed some of the sonnets of an almost utterly forgotten poet, Lord Hanmer. Few modern sonnets have more character than Lord Hanmer's. That Lord Hanmer should be so strangely neglected as a poet is a mystery. Mr. Waddington, however, has forgotten to give any of the still more remarkable sonnets published a few years since by "Proteus." This is certainly a grave omission. Mr. Waddington concludes his volume with a most interesting Essay on the Sonnet. This we cannot, unfortunately, now discuss. We will merely say that the sonnet is beginning to take the same place, making allowance for altered circumstances, amongst us as the epigram did with the Greeks.

We gladly welcome the two concluding volumes of "The English Poets."²⁰ It is a great descent, however, from the first two volumes to the third. Not one great man, except Burns, occurs between Addison and Blake. Our interest, however, in these volumes is rather with the critics than with the poets. It is the criticism which is the attraction. As in the former volumes, the two most valuable essays are those by the Rector of Lincoln College and Mr. Matthew Arnold. Those who remember Mr. Pattison's volumes of Pope will know what to expect when he writes upon the author of the "Dunciad." One passage in the essay, where he speaks of Pope having been the first to apprehend that condensation and terseness were now necessary for English poetry, has in certain quarters, we perceive, been misunderstood. But Mr. Pattison's meaning is plain enough. Pope's terseness is of a very different kind to Shakespeare's: one is more of words, the other more of thought. Pope's alliteration is of a very different kind to Shakespeare's, and for a very different purpose. The aim of the one is beauty, the aim of the other is to make the verse a better vehicle for the satire. Pope's sting is polished, not for beauty, but that it may penetrate. Not only is it polished, but it is barbed so that it may stick when it does penetrate. Not only is it barbed, but it is poisoned. This, we take it, is in part Mr. Pattison's meaning, which he makes plainer further on when he remarks that Pope's "main effort is expended how to say" whatever he may have to say. Pope's verse, in short, answers to the definition of a proverb, "The thought of many and the wit of one." The great value of the essay, however, is rather in that portion where Mr. Pattison shows that the motive of Pope's satire "is not the desire of the moral reformer to improve mankind, but the rancour and malevolence of literary jealousy." The "Dunciad" is an admirable illustration of Shakespeare's line, "most mischievous foul sin is chiding sin." The same spirit that led Pope to crucify his victims in verse would have led him in a different age to have impaled them alive. The effect which Pope now produces upon

²⁰ "The English Poets." Selections, with Critical Introductions by Various Writers; and a general Introduction by Matthew Arnold. Edited by Thomas Humphrey Ward, M.A., late Fellow of Brasenose College, Oxford. Vol. III., Addison to Blake. Vol. IV., Wordsworth to Debell. London: Macmillan & Co. 1880.

all liberal minds is very different to what he intended—we now pity his victims and loathe him. But we must turn from the Rector of Lincoln, to Mr. Matthew Arnold. His two essays on Gray and Keats are marked by the same characteristics. They advance our knowledge of them as men. They throw new light, consequently on their poetry. Mr. Arnold shows how it was that Gray did not produce more poetry, and by what quality of his poetry it is that Keats ranks with Shakespeare. Besides Mr. Arnold's there are one or two other articles upon which we should have liked to have made some remarks, especially Dean Church's on Wordsworth, Mr. Symonds' on Byron, Dr. Service's on Burns, as well as the contributions of Mr. Dobson, Mr. Gosse, and especially that of Mr. Theodore Watts on Chatterton; but it is impossible to do so, from sheer want of space. There are but few omissions. We may, however, be allowed to express our surprise that when *Praed* is noticed, Thackeray should be forgotten; that when *Dobell* is given, his friend Alexander Smith should be omitted; that when Mrs. Hemans is quoted, Miss Blamire should be passed over in silence.

At the end of all these volumes of poetry we may, perhaps fittingly, put that mocking-bird, the parodist.³¹ No saying can be more untrue than that *Ridicule* is the test of Truth. Everything can be turned the seamy side out. The author of the "*Heptalogia*," shows us how easy it is to take hold of the wrong handle. Here is a sample of some of his notes:—

"One who is not we see; but one whom we see not, is;
Surely this is not that; but that is assuredly this;
Parallels all things are, yet many of these are askew,
You are certainly I; but certainly I am not you."

"The Person in the House" is, perhaps, somewhat better. One or two others are also fairly good, though none of them are brilliant, and some of them even miss fire. But after having laughed at them, let us not fail to say with Goethe, "I have never made a secret of my enmity to parodies and travesties. My reason for hating them is because they lower the beautiful, noble, and great, that they may annihilate it." One word more: if the "*Heptalogia*" is written by the author to whom rumour assigns it, he has made a most grievous mistake.

Amongst the translations of the quarter we may call especial attention to the new edition of Miss Toru Dutt's versions of French poetry,³² and can only express our astonishment that one who was cut off so prematurely should have been able in her short span of life to have accomplished so much and such good work.

We should have imagined that there were already plenty of translations of *Faust*.³³ As far as we can perceive, there is nothing in

³¹ "Specimens of Modern Poets: The *Heptalogia*; or the Seven against Sense. A Cap with Seven Bells." London: Chatto & Windus. 1880.

³² "A Sheaf Gleaned in French Fields." By Toru Dutt. A New Edition. London: C. Kegan Paul & Co. 1880.

³³ "*Faust*." From the German of Goethe. By Thomas E. Webb, LL.D., one of Her Majesty's Counsel; sometime Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, &c. &c. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1880.

Dr. Webb's version which calls for any very great praise. He is seen at the best in the most ludicrous and rollicking parts. Some of the songs, too, are well managed; but, on the whole, his work will not bear comparison with Bayard Taylor's.

In making any selection from the riches in "Les Réveils"³⁴ by M. Laurent-Pichat, we are sure to fall into two opposite errors. In spite of the popularity of Musset and Gautier just now in England, and in spite too of the adoption of French metres by our most popular poets, yet French and English tastes about poetry differ radically whenever there is a question of criticism and selection. French critics complain that English critics do not take the same view as they do. This must be so, since national tastes, national manners, national modes of thought at bottom so widely differ. The most popular poem in "Les Réveils" would in France, or rather in Paris, decidedly be "Saint Marc." Here we get that side of M. Laurent-Pichat's genius which has made Victor Hugo so popular in France, but not the side which makes him popular in England. In "Saint Marc" M. Laurent-Pichat speaks the voice of all cultivated Frenchmen with no indistinct sound. We regret that we cannot give the conclusion of the fourth part, with its solemn tones of mingled invective and mingled warning. But there is another, and a very different side to M. Laurent-Pichat's poetry, which we think will have great attraction for all English readers. Here he shows not one, but the three great requisities of poetry demanded by our own Milton, simplicity, sensuousness, and passion. If we may venture to compare him with any of our own singers, we should say that he united something of the sensuousness of Keats with a certain measure of Wordsworth's simplicity, mingled with a passion that is entirely his own and entirely French. For instance, the very first piece in the volume, "La Clé Rose," is a very good example of what we mean. It deals with the old theme which Goethe and Coleridge have both sung—the hopes, the aspirations of youth, and deals with them too in a manner which comes home to all hearts alike. Another equally beautiful piece is "Les Cheveux," and with it may be placed, for tenderness and pathos, "Le Ramier." Amongst the lighter pieces, marked alike for their joyfulness and their simplicity, we would especially select "Pour une Enfant" and "Le Cri-Cri." Both of these might have been written by Wordsworth in his happiest mood. But the poem which we prefer to all the rest is "Au Bord de la Mer." Here is a single stanza from it:—

" L'Océan garde une chimère,
La santé, dans l'air et le vent ;
Chaque vague est comme une mère,
Une grande nourrice amère,
Une berceuse au sein mouvant."

Here is another version of Keats' "waters at their priestlike task of pure ablution." With this quotation we must stop. M. Laurent-

³⁴ "Les Réveils." Poésies. Par L. Laurent-Pichat. Paris: Alphonse Lemerre. 1880.

Pichat is not unknown in England, and we are quite sure that this volume will bring him many fresh readers, both for its beauties and for its thoughts and aspirations.

We are glad to see that "The English Dialect Society"³⁵ continues its important work. Its usefulness would be still greater if more recruits would join its ranks. This is a matter of greater importance than may at first sight appear. The money and the help, which would be invaluable just now, will in a few years be valueless, for there will be no provincialisms left to collect. Now is the time, and now is the only time. In looking through the list of subscribers, we are struck by the fact that the Society derives scarcely any support from those who ought to be its chief patrons, the nobility. The owners of the magnificent libraries which are amongst the glories of our country, with one or two exceptions, do not even lend a helping hand. Something should be done to remedy this state of things. It cannot be that they shirk the paltry subscription, but simply that they do not understand the aims of the Society. To enlighten them upon this point, to show that in a few years help will be utterly useless, should, we think, be one of the duties of the Society. To turn, however, to its work for the past year, let us congratulate Mr. Patterson on his excellent glossary of *Autrim and Down*. We cannot go into the history of the colonization of the district by English and Scotch settlers, but must content ourselves with noting a few of the more picturesque words which Mr. Patterson has collected. The first thing which strikes us in the glossary is the large number of terms for birds which Mr. Patterson has got together. In the provincial names of birds, and in fact of natural objects generally, most glossaries are very deficient. Here, the puffin (*Fratercula Arctica*) becomes the "Ailsa cock," and the "coultter-neb." The beautiful sheldrake (*Tadorna Belloni*) is the "borough duck." The common snipe is the "weather-bleat," so called from the noise which it makes with its wings during the nesting period. The jay is unknown in the district, but the missel-thrush, whilst still also retaining its English local name of "screech cock," is so called. The hard weather which often occurs in April, and is known in various parts of England as "lambing storm" time, and "the winter of the blackthorn," is here called the "Gouk storm," because the cuckoo appears about that period. Mr. Patterson's glossary is full of other quaint terms. Besides names of birds, the glossary is especially rich in Shakespearian words. Here we find "seam" for fat ("goose-seam"): "neave" for fist (Shakespeare's "neif"), "deck" for pack, "a deck of cards;" "plucket-hole," pocket, still locally retained, we believe, in the United States; "scantling," a carpenter's measure of wood; and "soil" to feed with grass, still used in the Midland Counties (Shakespeare's "soiled horse"). Here we must

³⁵ "English Dialect Society." I. "A Glossary of Words in the Counties of *Autrim and Down*." By William Hugh Patterson, M.R.L.A. II. "Old Country and Farming Words." Gleaned from Agricultural Books. By James Britten, F.L.S. III. "Glossary of Words in use in Cornwall." West Cornwall, by Miss M. A. Oburney. East Cornwall, by Thomas L. Couch. London: Trübner & Co. 1880.

stop.. To one thing more, however, we must call attention. Mr. Patterson very rightly makes use of old local newspapers. They are a perfect mine of provincialisms, and are not half sufficiently used by glossarists. We think that the committee of the Dialect Society would do well to direct the attention of their workers to this great store-house of archaisms. We deeply regret that we can do no more than notice Mr. Britten's "Old Country and Farming Words." It is from many points of view, more especially in explaining our Elizabethan dramatists, of the utmost value. And here we would take the opportunity of impressing upon the workers of the Society, that the names of not merely the parts of a plough or a cart, but even of a horse's shoe, are different in different parts of England. A carpenter's shop and a smith's forge in the North will furnish quite a different vocabulary to what they will do in the South. Another most attractive volume is Miss Courtney's and Mr. Couch's Glossary of West and East Cornwall. We are indeed glad to see that the division of labour which we have so constantly urged in this REVIEW has been adopted. We hope it may be followed in other cases. In this case, the result is a book remarkably rich, not in one, but in every direction.

Mr. Davenport Adams' "Treasury of Modern Anecdote,"²⁶ is one of the best books of the kind which we have seen. The only fault which we have to find is, that he is too comprehensive. Some of his anecdotes are just a little thin. Then, again, puns should on no account be admitted. Puns are a mere mechanical wit—the humour, in short, of the dictionary, the wit of words and not of thought. In turning over Mr. Adams' pages we are surprised to see under what various forms the same joke appears. For instance, the saying which Mr. Adams ascribes to either Jekyll or Davy, that "the further he went West the more convinced he felt that the Wise Men came from the East," we have met in some of the seventeenth century jest-books. It may have been the retort of some statesman from the Eastern countries in reply to Queen Elizabeth's speech, that when she was in difficulties she always sent for a Devonshire man. Again, the story that Luttrell told of the Irish Member who said, "if I have any partiality for the honourable gentleman, it is against him," we have seen in a much funnier form—of a provincial grocer, who said, "when he was made Mayor he would be neither partial nor impartial."

Mr. Wace's "Life and Works of Tennyson"²⁷ is one of those little personal gossiping books which are now unfortunately so popular. Under "Obscure Passages" we find that Mr. Wace states that the "sea-blue bird of March" is the kingfisher. It is very much more likely to be the wheatear, which makes its appearance about that time, and is seen immediately after its arrival flitting about on the downs from bush to bush, as described by the poet, and whose upper parts in the spring are a light sea-blue grey. We believe, though we do not speak with

²⁶ "The Treasury of Modern Anecdote." Edited, with Notes and Introduction, by W. Davenport Adams. London: Simpkin, Marshall & Co. 1881.

²⁷ "Alfred Tennyson: his Life and Works." By Walter E. Wace. Edinburgh: Macniven & Wallace. 1881.

certainty, for we are writing far away from any good library, that in some editions the text runs "blue sea-bird." Under "Textual Variations," Mr. Wace has omitted many of the most interesting changes which Tennyson has introduced into his poems. The book, however, is one of those which will attract a certain class of readers, who wish, not to understand the poetry, but to know all about the poet.

We are very glad to see a translation of Stapfer's well-known work on Shakespeare.³⁸ Nobody need be alarmed by the title. The book is by no means a mere dry-as-dust collection of barren dates. In his discussion on Venus and Adonis, the critic goes out of the way to call attention to Shakespeare's love of country scenery.

"Cuthbert of Lindisfarn,"³⁹ and "Asgard and the Gods,"⁴⁰ are two books on very different subjects, but each written in a popular style, and appealing to the general public. The last is also illustrated in what may be called a popular style.

In conclusion, we have to call attention to a number of reprints. The most valuable are Professor Max Müller's "Selected Essays;"⁴¹ Green's edition of "Addison's Essays,"⁴² nicely printed and nicely got up; Mr. Minto's valuable "Manual of English Prose;"⁴³ Locke's "Conduct of the Understanding,"⁴⁴ edited in a handy form by Professor Fowler; and the two last volumes of the English reprint of Bret Harte's works.⁴⁵

A Greek novel is certainly a curiosity in literature, and one which in this instance we do not regret having appeared. "Loukis Laras"⁴⁶ was first published in a Greek periodical called the *Hestia*, and shortly afterwards was translated into French, German, and Italian, and met with a very warm reception. It now appears in an English dress, and is well worthy of the reader's attention. It consists of the reminiscences of a Chiote merchant during the war of independence against Turkey. Loukis Laras lives in the most eventful period of modern Greek history, and though he is precluded from taking an active part in the great struggle in which the Greek nation was then engaged, he is a sufferer from its consequences, and a faithful narrator of the deeds and the martyrdom of his countrymen. The book is very

³⁸ "Shakespeare and Classical Antiquity." By Paul Stapfer. Translated by Emily J. Carey. London: C. Kegan Paul & Co. 1880.

³⁹ "Cuthbert of Lindisfarn : his Life and Times." By A. C. Fryer, F.R.Hist. Soc. London: Partridge & Co. 1880.

⁴⁰ "Asgar and the Gods." Adapted from Dr. W. Wagner. By M. W. Macdonal. Edited by W. S. W. Anson. London: Sonnenschien. 1880.

⁴¹ "Selected Essays." On Language, Mythology, and Religion. By F. Max Müller. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1881.

⁴² "Essays by Joseph Addison." Edited by J. R. Green, M.A. London: Macmillan & Co. 1880.

⁴³ "A Manual of English Prose Literature." By William Minto. London and Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons. 1881.

⁴⁴ "Locke's Conduct of the Understanding." Edited by Thomas Fowler, M.A. Oxford: The Clarendon Press. 1881.

⁴⁵ "The Complete Works of Bret Harte." Vol. V. London: Chatto & Windus. 1881.

⁴⁶ "Loukis Laras." By D. Bikelas. London: Macmillan & Co.

true to historic facts, though it can hardly be called an historical romance. It is rather a graphic narration of individual experiences during times of great national convulsions, very much after the style of the *Romans Nationaux* of Erckmann-Chatrian. To the ordinary novel-reader "Loukis Laras" will be an agreeable change from conventional plot and monotonous dialogue.

MISCELLANEA.

MR. SIDNEY COLVIN has rendered a real service to art by editing a translation of Woltmann and Woernmann's "History of Painting."¹ A work of the kind was a great need in English literature, but unfortunately it was almost impossible that the need could be filled by an English writer. There are very few English critics (Mr. Colvin is no doubt one of them) who could possibly undertake the task with any likelihood of success; and those few are so much occupied that they could scarcely devote the time necessary for the perfection of such work. German men of letters have been remarkable, ever since the revival in German literature, for their capacity for research and their power of composing monumental studies of special subjects. It was but natural, therefore, that in Germany we should find an exhaustive work on painting, as we have already found exhaustive works on philosophy, on theology, and on scientific thought. The first part of the vast work is now before the world, and is in itself an able and exhaustive study of the history of painting, from the earliest times of Egyptian art to the Mediæval period and the illuminators of the fourteenth century. The wonderfully mystic, grotesque, and terribly impressive art of ancient Egypt, with its masterly combinations of simple colour and its fantastic defiance of the laws of perspective, is first discussed and disposed of. In their turn come the monarchies of Western Asia, with their limited scale of colour and their subtle sense of ornamentation, and what is truly described as a greater feeling for perspective than that of Egypt, but no scientific knowledge of it. To many persons the chapter on Painting in Ancient Greece will be the most attractive portion of the volume. Those who had the rare good fortune to listen to Mr. Newton's masterly lectures on this subject, which were delivered some little time since at the University College, will come to this portion of the book with a memory informed and quickened by recollections of the great erudition, enlivened by the delicate sense of criticism and the keen enthusiasm, of one of the greatest living authorities on ancient art. Here in the book before us we have the processes of Greek painting traced from their obscure

¹ "The History of Painting." From the German of the late Dr. Woltmann and Dr. Karl Woernmann. Edited by Dr. Sidney Colvin, M.A. Vol. I. C. Kegan Paul & Co. 1880.

commencement, and vague suggestions of the Homeric epics through Kimon of Kleoni and the famous Polygnotus to that mighty school of immortal artists of whom Phidias and Praxiteles, Zeuxis and Parrhasios, were the chief names. As we read the list of pictures which adorned the famous Painted Gallery, we must sigh to think that the taking of Troy by Polygnotus, and the battles of Theseus and the Amazons which were created by the hand of Mikon, are lost to us forever, more hopelessly lost, perhaps, than the songs of Sappho or the comedies of Menander. Strange chance may find some day the lost ornaments of Greek literature in monastery vaults, or under some wine vat, such as that which hid for long the lyrics of Propertius; but never again can we hope to realize what the representations of the mythical battles of the heroic legends and the real battles of Greek history were as portrayed to the eyes of the Hellenic people by Polygnotus and by Mikon. Of these wonderful works, indeed, we have the descriptions of ancient critics, and in our later days we have endeavoured, with feebler fingers, to reconstruct the wonders of that earlier time. But we cannot refashion such a Polyxene as was shaped by Polygnotus, of whom it could be said that she carried in her eyelids the whole history of the Trojan War. One of the greatest of French poets, François Villon, has devoted ballade after ballade to melancholy inquiries as to the fate of the fair women who have gone with last year's snow, and the mighty heroes who have faded with old Charlemagne, and the great princes of the Church, of whom he says the wind has carried them all away. Even a sadder and sterner strain of song might be consecrated to regret for the lost paintings of the old Greek world. We must understand as best we can, from what poor remains the buried cities present to us, to what a point the art of painting was carried by a people who created the Hermes of Praxiteles, the Theseus of Phidias, the Phædo of Plato, the lyrics of Minnermus. It is impossible to read the chapters—the admirable chapters—of this book on the paintings of ancient Greece and Italy, without a feeling of profound regret for the lost beauty of those ancient artists whose names alone remain to us to make our regret the keener.

The articles on early Christian and Mediæval painting are specially full for the purpose of the volume. With early Christian symbolism indeed, with the monograms of Christ, with such emblems of the Church as the ship, and of the Saviour as the fish, the work has indeed nothing to do. These properly have no more connexion with the history of painting than Egyptian hieroglyphics would have. But it is with the early conceptions of the Good Shepherd and the early representations of Biblical stories that these chapters treat. The curious connexion between pagan art and the beginnings of Christian art is traced at once clearly and decisively. The fantastic combinations of Scriptural figures with the winged genii, the mosaics, and the intricate ornamentation of Roman arabesque, is explained in a very interesting manner. Of the paintings of the Catacombs the book sums up by stating that they contain no trace of artistic tendency that can be called specifically or distinctively Christian, and the writer goes on to say :

"We cannot even assent to the opinion that in these works it is possible to discern a superiority of Christian over contemporary pagan art, a superiority resting on the difference between the Christian and pagan conceptions of the universe; still less that in the Christian representations the pictorial element and the perspective element play a greater part than in the others." In the study of Christian mosaics the whole field of Christian art is more widely considered, and it is in the Christian mosaics that some of the most peculiar features of the painting of the new religious school becomes evident. Thus, for example, the bearded type of Christ occurs in its earliest instances in the perhaps most beautiful of all the Roman mosaics—that in the apse of St. Prudentiana, on the Esquiline. In speaking of the Ravenna mosaics, the writer combats the opinion expressed by Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, that Ravenna exhibits a superiority due to its closer connection with the Greek world than Rome. Of the Christian paintings in manuscripts the book treats comparatively briefly, but with great clearness, and one especially valuable truth is inculcated, when the writer tells us that "it often happens that the pictures as well as the text of an early manuscript are copied in later times, so that even in the choicest books it may be hard to tell to what extent the illuminations are original, and to what extent repeated from earlier models."

Mr. Kynaston's "Extracts from the Greek Elegiac Poets"² form a most delightful little volume. Fifty-four pages of text and as many of notes make up a book that ought to be a delight to every scholar into whose hands it may be put. In this small compass is presented to the student a very comprehensive survey of one of the most interesting fields of Greek literature; for the Elegiac poets, often called, from the character of their songs, the Gnostic poets, have contributed some of the sweetest as well as the most splendid examples of Hellenic song. Here we have the melancholy muse of Mimnermus represented by four selections from the too few fragments that time has left to us of one of the most characteristic singers of the ancient culture. Mimnermus has been called by a classic scholar the Greek Petrarch, but the term, though pretty, is perhaps scarcely applicable. The passionate devotion of Petrarch to Laura, which has left behind it one of the most noble monuments of human love that does honour to any literature, has but little in common with the sentiments experienced by the Greek singer for the flute-girl whose name of Nanno he has made immortal. All Mimnermus's verses are charged with an intense and almost hopeless melancholy, such as has been, perhaps, best expressed in modern times in some of the songs of Mr. William Morris. The melancholy lines telling of that voice of "Death himself," who—

"Crying solemnly,
Even from the heart of sweet forgetfulness,
Bids us rejoice, lest pleasureless ye die,
Within a little time must ye go by;
Stretch forth your open hands, and while ye live
Take all the goods that death and life may give,"—

² "Extracts from the Greek Elegiac Poets." Edited by the Rev. H. Kynaston, M. A. Macmillan & Co. 1880.

which sound so sweetly from the lips of the poet of the "Earthly Paradise," find their counterpart in the wailing of Mimnermus. Death stands behind the poet at his brightest moments; and, more hideous than Death, old age is ever before his eyes. The keen delight in life which a Greek could feel so well is deepened and intensified by this terrible dread of advancing years and the yawning grave. Yet the singer is anxious to die rather than live and be unable to love and be loved, and to feel with all the keenness of youth the delights that life can offer. He weeps for the flower of youth so soon passing, and the resemblance that men bear to the leaves that last so brief a while. He prays for death in his sixtieth year, and pities in his lazy luxury the labours of the sun. He strikes but a single chord of the lyre with a monotonous iteration, which the beauty of his speech renders strangely fascinating. The beauty of youth makes him tremble, in that exquisite eight-lined lyric, one-half of which is devoted to shuddering reflections upon cruel and formless old age, and the disgrace that it brings upon manhood. It is perhaps a pity that one of the most characteristic of all Mimnermus's poems, that one beginning with the question, "What is life, what is pleasure, without golden Aphrodita?" should be omitted from this collection. It would have been more appropriate than the curious and less interesting fragment in which Mimnermus appears to be defending the bravery of some unknown person. But the little volume could not contain everything, and there are other poets besides the lover of Nanno to find a place. The songs of Solon and the counsels of Theognis to his friend Cyrnus must have fair place, and room must be found for that delightful banquet poem of Xenophanes, with its pleasant babble of money, sweet wine, and golden loaves, and flowers, and music, and talk of noble deeds. Several pages, too, are given, and rightly given, to Callimachus, than whom, perhaps, no lovelier poet has been left of the Grecian lyrists. Here, happily, is to be found that tender and exquisite elegy of regret for Heracleitus, which has been so perfectly rendered by the author of "Ionica," and which no apology need be offered for reproducing here:—

"They told me, Heracleitus, they told me you were dead;
 They brought me bitter news to hear, and bitter tears to shed.
 I wept as I remembered how often you and I
 Have tired the sun with talking, and sent him down the sky.
 And now that thou art lying, my dear old Carian quest,
 A handful of grey ashes, long, long ago at rest,
 Still are thy pleasant voices, thy nightingales, awake
 For death he taketh all away, but them he cannot take."

Archilochus, too, is here, and Theocritus, Meleager, and Antipater, and Simmias of Rhodes, and many others most dear to the Muses and to us, on whom we have not space to linger lovingly; and the wise philosopher, Plato, is placed here by virtue of those songs that bear his name. Why, though, has that most famous of all, that star-sown epigram, been omitted?

Those who, weary of a town life, become suddenly possessed by that longing for pastoral pleasures which seized upon the friends of Horace,

and who burn with a desire to own a farm, should be sure to provide themselves with a copy of Mr. Long's volume.³ In this volume is enough valuable information on all topics connected with farming to enable them at least to carry on their little enterprise with something approaching to a fair understanding of its difficulties. Mr. Long's book is not, of course, written for amateur farmers who wish to play at pastorals for a season, and to experiment in farming for their own amusement; but as there are always such persons, the book should be acceptable to them as to the more seriously minded at whom it is written. Amateur farming is not invariably a successful or profitable undertaking. The late Mr. Horace Greeley had a great taste for spending his money and his time upon his farm in Chappaqua, and obtained therefrom much amusement, but a decided loss from a business point of view; and his experience would be no doubt the experience of a great many others who enter upon their agricultural enterprises with something of the spirit and something of the success which attends the hero of "My Summer in a Garden." The study of Virgil's "Georgics" does not always lead its readers to become farmers, as it did Triptolemus Yellowley in "The Pirate," but more than one who has read the lines in which the poet describes the happiness of that old Corycian gentleman whom he once knew, and who passed his happy life, through all the seasons of the year, in the cultivation of a little piece of ground and the enjoyment of the fruits thereof, have felt stirred by a wish to go and do likewise; to forget the troubles and the cares of daily life in the still sweetness and the healthy labour of a rural life. Any such will find that Mr. Long has written a book which will be likely to be of more practical value to them in their attempt even than the four delightful poems which have been devoted to the charms of husbandry.

At a time when the taste for decoration appears to be in danger of developing into a slavish adoration of the clumsy imitations of an artistic revival, a book like Mr. Edis's is of great value.⁴ Mr. Edis is well qualified to take the tone of a master in speaking upon all questions connected with decoration, and even those who are not inclined to accept all that he may say as without question, cannot help admitting the admirable suggestiveness of his observations and the clear intelligence of his ideas. He has little in common with the æsthetic mania that has of late seized in so silly a manner upon London, and has been doing its best to reduce every dwelling to a dull monotony of black furniture, blue china, peacock feathers, and brass plates, the whole a clumsy perversion and distorted caricature of the admirable art impulse given some years ago by Mr. William Morris and his fellow-workmen. It is as against this stupid mannerism, almost as bad itself as the evils which it claims to combat, that the observations

³ "Farming in a Small Way." By James Long. London: Smith, Elder & Co. 1881.

⁴ "The Decoration and Furniture of Town Houses." By Robert W. Edis. London: C. Kegan Paul & Co. 1881.

of Mr. Edis will be especially valuable. Prefacing his work with a quotation from Mr. Ruskin, Mr. Edis naturally holds, with the author of "Stones of Venice," that to think for oneself is an essential matter in decoration as in the higher ways of art; and it is this feeling of independence which it is exceedingly necessary to stimulate at present, when so many houses intended to appear beautiful seem only as if they had been turned off after a machine-made pattern. Mr. Edis's book can be cordially commended as a healthy expression of educated opinion on a really important question which is in danger of being injured by its well-meaning but rather silly adherents.

We may also mention a useful handbook to the art of the year;⁵ an admirable Handbook to the Mediterranean, bearing the honoured name of Murray;⁶ the third division of Spon's "Encyclopædia of Arts and Manufactures,"⁷ and several of Messrs. Macmillan's valuable school books.⁸ "The Reference Catalogue of Current Literature"⁹ is a very useful work of reference.

⁵ "The Year's Art." Compiled by Marcus B. Huish Macmillan. 1881.

⁶ "Handbook to the Mediterranean." By Lieut.-Col. R. L. Playfair. Part I. John Murray. 1881.

⁷ Spon's "Encyclopædia of Industrial Arts, Manufactures, and Commercial Products." Division III. B. & F. N. Spon. 1881.

⁸ "Progressive French Reader." Second year. By G. Eugene Fasnacht. 1880. "Progressive French Course." Third year. By G. Eugene Fasnacht. 1880. "First Lessons in Greek." By John Williams White, Ph.D. 1880. "The Story of Achilles, from Homer's Iliad." Edited by the late John Henry Pratt, M.A. and Walter Leaf, M.A. 1880. "Elementary Classics: Cæsar: Gallic War." Books V. and VI. C. Colbeck, M.A. 1880. "The Miles Gloriosus of T. Maccius Plautus." A revised text, with Notes by Robert Yelverton Tyrrell, M.A. 1881. "The Fasti of Ovid." Edited, with Notes and Indices, by G. H. Hallam, M.A. 1881.

⁹ "The Reference Catalogue of Current Literature." Joseph Whitaker. 1880.

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